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A CRITICAL STUDY OF SOME
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS BALLADS

Thesis presented for the degree of M.A.
in the University of Durham

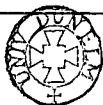
by

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14 MAY 1984

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

A CRITICAL STUDY OF SOME TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS BALLADS

Presented for the degree of M.A. in the University of Durham by Mary D. McCabe, B.A. (Dunelm).

The subject-matter of the British religious ballads indicates that they were made before the Reformation or in its immediate aftermath. A study of this small, homogeneous group provides valuable information regarding the ballad genre and its mode of survival, yet is undertaken here for the first time. Eleven traditional religious ballads are studied in depth: their sources and analogues in the bible, apocryphal legend and Middle English literature are described, their place in European folk tradition is outlined and their survival through oral transmission, the Christmas carol custom, and the broadside press is traced. The features of the medieval ur-ballads underlying the extant texts are suggested and a brief critical appreciation of each ballad is given. The ballad variants are listed as fully as possible in the appendices and include several unpublished texts. The earliest ballad, Judas, provides evidence that the genre existed in England in the thirteenth century and indicates that the themes of religious ballads may diverge sharply from official Christian tradition: not even Dives and Lazarus is free from the influence of medieval legend. Although five ballads, two mistakenly excluded from Child's collection, were printed as broadsides, The Bitter Withy, a ballad unknown to scholars before 1905, was transmitted purely in English oral tradition. A few ballads have survived in Scottish or Irish folk tradition in unlikely circumstances. Sir Hugh illustrates the gradual secularisation of a saint's legend in Britain and America. Though often considered untypical of traditional balladry, the religious ballads exhibit the metre, dramatic structure and formulaic diction characteristic of the genre and differ only in their use of scriptural or apocryphal material and their often didactic purpose. Their devout religious feeling and delicate irony, dependent on their hearers' knowledge of Christian tradition, have not hitherto received sufficient praise.

Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam

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In England, I have received kind help from Mrs. Margaret Hamer, widow of the collector Fred Hamer; Mrs. Lavender Jones, biographer of the Herefordshire Folklorist Ellen Mary Leather; A.L. Lloyd and Frank Purslow, well-known folksong scholars. Above all, I must thank Mr. A.L. Connell of the Vaughan Williams Library, Cecil Sharp House (headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society) for his great help in locating folk song texts.

I wish also to thank the Hereford Times for printing my appeal for new ballad texts, to which several people responded very kindly. I am indebted to Mrs. Beatrice Brown of Whitecross, Hereford, for sending me her recollections of carol singing in Fownhope immediately after the First World War.

I am grateful to staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxford and of the British Library; to Miss D. McCulla and Miss Kurkiewicz of Birmingham Local Studies Library; to Mrs. K. Foster at Manchester Central Library and Miss D. Grieves of Newcastle-

upon-Tyne Reference Library. All these people aided and welcomed me in my research at their libraries.

I also owe thanks to the following libraries and librarians for sending me copies of texts held in their collections: Mr. B.J. Whitehouse and Mr. R.J. Hill of Hereford Reference Library; Miss J. Owaroff of the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Alderman Library, University of Virginia and the Western Kentucky Folklore Archive, Bowling Green, Ky. H.P. Barnes of Dudley Local History Library, Walter T. Woods of Kent County Library (Gravesham Division) and Keith Kissack of Monmouth Museum all kindly assisted me with information on local history.

Staff of the following libraries responded courteously to my appeal for broadside texts by checking their stock, although they found nothing: Cheshire Central Library, Ellesmere Port; Cornwall County Library, Local Studies Department, Redruth; City of Coventry Local Studies Library; Devon County Library, Exeter; West Devon Central Library, Plymouth; Dorset County Library, Dorchester; The Manx Museum, Douglas; Edinburgh Central Library; Edinburgh University Library; The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; The University Library, Glasgow; Gloucester Reference Library; Leeds Reference Library; City of Liverpool Record Office; Newcastle University Library; Salop County Local Studies Library, Shrewsbury; Somerset County Music Library, Bridgewater; Staffordshire County Library, Stafford; County Museum, Warwick; South-West Warwickshire Divisional Library, Stratford-upon-Avon; Wolverhampton Reference Library; and North Yorkshire County Library, York.

Finally, I wish to thank my husband, John F. McCabe, for his unflagging encouragement and support, and for his assistance with research at the Bodleian Library, Cecil Sharp House and Manchester Central Library. For any mistakes I have made in this thesis I must, however, take sole credit.

MEMORANDUM

The work for this thesis was done at Durham University between 1977 and 1980. It has involved visits to libraries at Birmingham, London, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Oxford.

No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree. It is the original work of the author, except where noted by reference, and apart from some assistance in the location of texts and the compilation of Appendix M afforded to the author by her husband, J. F. McCabe.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT,
FOOTNOTES AND APPENDICES

Details of printed works listed here may be found in the Section of the Bibliography indicated in parentheses.

(a) USING CAPITAL LETTERS

<u>B.R.C.:</u>	<u>Brown Robyn's Confession</u> (Child 57)
<u>B.W.:</u>	<u>The Bitter Withy</u>
<u>C.C.:</u>	<u>The Carnal and the Crane</u> (Child 55)
<u>C.M.:</u>	<u>The Cruel Mother</u> (Child 20)
<u>C.T.C.:</u>	<u>The Cherry Tree Carol</u> (Child 54)
<u>D.g.F.:</u>	S. Grundtvig, <u>Danmarks gamle Folkeviser</u> (II)
<u>D.L.:</u>	<u>Dives and Lazarus</u> (Child 56)
<u>D.N.B.:</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> (VI)
<u>D.O.S.T.:</u>	<u>Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</u> (VI)
<u>E.:</u>	East
<u>E.D.D.:</u>	<u>English Dialect Dictionary</u> (VI)
<u>E.E.T.S.:</u>	<u>Early English Text Society</u>
<u>E.L.H.:</u>	<u>English Literary History</u>
<u>E.S.:</u>	Extra Series
<u>E.S.P.B.:</u>	F.J. Child, <u>English and Scottish Popular Ballads</u> (II)
<u>F.M.J.:</u>	<u>Folk Music Journal</u> (II)
<u>H.W.:</u>	<u>The Holy Well</u>
<u>J.A.F.:</u>	<u>Journal of American Folklore</u> (II)
<u>J.E.F.D.S.S.:</u>	<u>Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society</u> (II)
<u>J.F.S.S.:</u>	<u>Journal of the Folk Song Society</u> (II)
<u>J.W.O.M.:</u>	'Joseph was an Old Man' (variant title of <u>C.T.C.</u> , Child 54).
LC/AAFS:	Library of Congress, Archive of American Folk Song, Washington D.C.

L.P.:	Long Playing Record
M.E.:	Middle English
<u>M.E.D.:</u>	<u>A Middle English Dictionary</u> (VI)
<u>M.L.R.:</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>M.P.:</u>	<u>The Maid and the Palmer</u> (Child 21)
MS.:	Manuscript
N.:	North.
<u>N.C.E.:</u>	<u>New Catholic Encyclopaedia</u> (VI)
N.T.:	New Testament
<u>O.E.D.:</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u> (VI)
O.S.:	Original Series
<u>P.L.:</u>	J-P. Migne, <u>Patrologiae Cursus Completus</u> <u>... Series Latina</u> (VI)
<u>P.M.L.A.:</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language</u> <u>Association</u>
<u>R.B.:</u>	<u>Roxburghe Ballads</u> (III)
R.V.W.:	Ralph Vaughan Williams
S.:	South
<u>S.E.L.:</u>	<u>South English Legendary</u> (IV)
<u>S.F.Q.:</u>	<u>Southern Folklore Quarterly</u> (II)
<u>S.H.:</u>	<u>Sir Hugh</u> (Child 155)
<u>S.P.:</u>	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
S.S.:	Supplementary Series
<u>S.S.H.:</u>	<u>St. Stephen and Herod</u> (Child 22)
S.T.S.:	Scottish Text Society
<u>S.V.:</u>	<u>The Seven Virgins</u>
W.:	West

(b) SHORTENED WORDS, ETC.

addit., adds.:	additional
adj.:	adjective
adv.:	adverb

anc.:	ancient
apoc.:	apocrypha(1)
b.:	born
beg.:	beginning
Bodl.:	Bodleian
Brit. Mus.:	British Museum
c.:	<u>circa</u>
Cap.:	'Capitulum' (Chapter)
Co.:	County or Company
Coll.:	College
colld.:	collected
colln.:	collection
d.:	died
ed.:	edited, edition
esp.:	especially
f.:	following
fol.:	folio
Harl.:	Harleian
Lib.:	Library or 'Liber' (Book)
<u>Lyrics XIII:</u>	C. Brown, <u>English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century</u> (IV)
<u>Lyrics XIV:</u>	C. Brown, <u>Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century</u> (IV)
<u>Lyrics XV:</u>	C. Brown, <u>Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century</u> (IV)
med.:	medieval
no.:	number
p.:	page
para.:	paragraph
priv. pr.:	privately printed
Pt.:	part

r.:	recto
relig.:	religious
rev.:	revised
sb.:	substantive
sta.:	stanza
trad.:	traditional
transd.:	translated
univ.:	university
v.:	verso
vb.:	verb

- (c) Note that abbreviations for English Counties and American States are those given in Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, ed. A.M. Macdonald, rev. ed. 1977, pp.1605-1625.

NOTES ON THE TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

- (a) Numbers and letters denoting particular song texts in the collections of Bronson, Child and Greene, or in the Appendices of this thesis are underlined for clarity. Within a text, the stanza number is preceded by the abbreviation 'sta.' and lines within a stanza are marked by a preceding full stop. Thus Child 77 C sta. 12.3-4 signifies lines 3 and 4 in stanza 12 of ballad text 77 C in Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads.
- (b) The spelling and punctuation of Middle English writings are reproduced exactly as printed in the editions cited in the Bibliography, except for the following alterations: where an editor has expanded a contracted word to its full form, the letters added are not italicised or otherwise distinguished; Middle English 'thorn' and 'eth' ('þ' and 'ð') are replaced by 'th'; Middle English 'yogh' ('ȝ') is replaced by 'y' when it occurs at the beginning of a word and by 'gh' when it occurs medially or finally.
- (c) Ballad texts are usually given exactly as they occur in the manuscript or printed source; occasionally, however, quotation marks or commas have been introduced for the sake of clarity. The printing errors of some broadside texts have not been reproduced.
- (d) Quotations from the Bible are taken from the Authorised Version of 1611, unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER ONE

RELIGIOUS BALLADS AND THE BALLAD TRADITION

"For folklorists", writes Margaret Killip¹, "it is always too late, and for some it was too late even a hundred years ago". For the student of British ballads, it was "too late" even four hundred years ago: the traditional ballad was already out of fashion in London, the precise nature of its origins in the middle ages forever obscured². Yet even today it is not too late, for the old ballads are still sung by the travelling people of Britain³, whilst enthusiasm for traditional ballads and folk songs has been successfully revived.

Because the most well-known ballad versions were recovered as late as the eighteenth century, tracing their history has been problematic. The British traditional religious ballads therefore hold a special interest for the scholar: in their Catholicity, they almost certainly pre-date the Reformation and are hence among the few ballads extant which can be proved to have a medieval origin. The study of these ballads as a homogeneous subgroup will also throw light on the traditional art of the ballad and its mode of transmission and survival. The study of this subgroup is undertaken for the first time in this thesis⁴.

The aim of the study is to provide a historical and critical commentary on eleven religious ballads, from their origins in the English language to the latest independent text recovered. The size of this undertaking has made it necessary to impose several limitations. The title of the thesis specifies only "some" traditional religious ballads not only because new ballads may yet come to light, but also because several known ballads are in some ways 'religious': King John and the Bishop (Child 45) has a churchman for its hero; Young Beichan (Child 53) might be



shown to have originated in the life of Gilbert Becket, the father of St. Thomas; The Cruel Mother (Child 20) and Proud Lady Margaret (Child 47) have an overtly Christian moral. The religious folk song known as The Dessexshire Ballad⁵ has been regretfully omitted from consideration because it does not have the traditional ballad style. The eleven songs chosen represent the only British traditional ballads which deal directly with Christ and His saints, and the sacraments of the Catholic Church. Sir Hugh, however, is discussed in less detail than the others because in most of its versions it is no longer recognizable as a religious ballad.

It has not been possible to consider in detail the music of the religious ballads but tunes are listed with the ballad versions in the appendices and Professor Bronson's conclusions recorded where relevant⁶. Though music is undoubtedly important in the study of traditional balladry⁷, it has less relevance to the religious ballad in that many texts survive without music in manuscript or on broadsides. Others share tunes with unrelated carols found in the same area. Only The Cherry Tree Carol and Sir Hugh have enough variants with tunes to make a full-scale musical study worthwhile.

A more serious limitation is that I discuss in detail only versions of religious ballads in the English language. European analogues of British religious ballads are, however, noted and described, and it appears that only St. Stephen and Herod, The Carnal and the Crane, Brown Robyn's Confession and The Maid and the Palmer have analogues close enough to warrant the thorough-going linguistic analysis which alone can establish the country of origin and process of transmission of these ballads.

Within the English language tradition, I have attempted to outline both the textual relationship of different ballad versions and the features of the ur-ballads which underlie them. It has usually been deemed hazardous, however, to draw up a precise stemma of relationships or to assert that one variant must be directly derived from another. The field of religious ballad study is complicated by too many factors for this to be feasible: the vagaries of oral tradition, the effect of broadsides and chapbooks, many lost, and the likelihood of the same emendations being made spontaneously and independently by singers or printers in different regions of Britain.

Scholarly discussion of the religious ballads has centred on their supposed clerical authorship, and because of this they have been judged to lie outside the main body of traditional balladry⁸. Some critics, however, have contrariwise found the origins of all traditional ballads in the writings of the medieval church, such as verse saints' legends⁹ or religious songs and carols¹⁰, the earliest of which were written by Franciscans¹¹. This theory of ballad origins is untenable, mainly on grounds of style: Middle English carols are mostly lyrical, not narrative, and employ different stanzaic forms, such as the monorhyme quatrain. The narrative method of the saint's legend, on the other hand, is more diffuse than that of the traditional ballad, and although the metre generally employed, the septenary couplet, resembles 'ballad measure', it is more regular and syllabic, designed for detailed descriptive narrative rather than vigorous stanzaic movement¹².

There is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the originators of religious balladry. Nevertheless it appears quite probable that the genre originated in the work of popular-

ising clerics, especially friars¹³, who copied and adapted an existing secular genre. It has been proved that clerics adapted other types of popular song for religious ends¹⁴. Christian apocryphal legend is used in the earliest religious ballads, and the friars' fondness for strange legends and exempla in their preaching is well-attested¹⁵.

Later religious ballads, however, are as likely to be the work of the laity, whether skilled local singers or 'minstrels',¹⁶ (in this thesis merely a convenient term for professional entertainers). Christian legend was popular with all sections of society before the Reformation.

In any case, no theory of ballad origins can be used as a definition of what constitutes a ballad, religious or secular. Professor Gerould is right to stress that the British ballad as it has existed for some centuries is the result of several traditions¹⁷. Some ballads may have originated in folk tradition as dance-songs¹⁸: Scandinavian ballads were commonly danced¹⁹ and ballad titles appear in a list of dances in The Complaynt of Scotland²⁰. Other traditional ballads, such as Thomas Rymer (Child 37), The Boy and the Mantle (Child 29) and the ballads of the Robin Hood cycle (Child 117 - 154), are plainly derived from late medieval popular romance²¹.

The two major criteria of definition which can be applied to any ballad in Child's heterogeneous collection²² are narrative style, including metrical form, and use in popular tradition. Hodgart argues that Judas ought to be accepted as a genuine ballad because of its dramatic and stylistic characteristics²³, and the same argument can also be applied to the later religious ballads. Gerould attaches greater importance to the oral transmission of the ballad in folk tradition²⁴.

Full discussion of the nature of oral transmission would

require a book in itself²⁵. J. H. Jones applies the researches of Parry and Lord²⁶ on Yugoslavian epic to the formation of the British ballad and concludes that individual ballad singers did not memorise their texts, but recreated the ballad at each performance by using a stock of ballad commonplaces. This argument is false because the British traditional ballad is much shorter and can easily be memorised²⁷. 'Oral transmission' in British balladry seems rather to consist of folksingers of average ability memorising ballads learned from older generations, combined with the practice of occasional variation, both conscious and unconscious, by skilled singers such as Mrs. Brown of Falkland²⁸.

Religious songs, because of their sacred associations, often remain stable in oral tradition: the 'Corpus Christi Carol', for example, which survives in a sixteenth century manuscript, has been recovered some three to four hundred years later, hardly changed, from oral tradition in Scotland, England and America²⁹.

Of the religious ballads, The Bitter Withy, The Maid and the Palmer, Sir Hugh and probably Brown Robyn's Confession have survived mainly through oral transmission. The milieu in which British traditional ballads have been preserved, however, is better termed 'popular' than 'oral' tradition: Judas and St. Stephen and Herod, like The Boy and the Mantle (Child 29), survive only in manuscript and thus cannot be proved to have been orally transmitted, yet their inclusion in manuscripts of popular material implies that they were at least part of 'popular' tradition. Moreover, until recently insufficient attention had been paid by ballad scholars to the influence of the broadside press on ballad preservation³⁰.

Five of the religious ballads, The Cherry Tree Carol, The Carnal and the Crane, Dives and Lazarus, The Holy Well and The Seven Virgins, may owe their survival to being printed on broadsides or in chapbooks during the eighteenth century, at a time when the traditional ballad repertoire of the English countryside was dying out under the influence of the Industrial Revolution. Versions of these religious ballads recovered from twentieth century 'oral tradition' may simply reflect the prevalence in the West Midlands of broadsides from the Birmingham presses.

Broadside ballads were first printed in London in the sixteenth century and from 1557 were required to be registered by the Company of Stationers³¹, though many ballad printers doubtless avoided registration. The most popular broadsides were on journalistic subjects or on political or religious polemic³², but some traditional ballads were printed, for example Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard (Child 81)³³.

London remained the centre of broadside printing throughout the seventeenth century, but broadsides were disseminated to the surrounding counties by pedlars and 'flying stationers'³⁴. After the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695, ballads were no longer so strictly censored and this resulted in an expansion of the printing industry and the establishment of provincial presses in the early eighteenth century³⁵.

The broadside industry reached its peak in the early nineteenth century with the enormous output of James Catnach³⁶, whose broadsides on executions were extremely popular. By about 1840 broadsheets of traditional ballads and old Christmas carols had been superseded in London in fashionable music hall songs, though the provincial presses continued to print carols for some years afterwards³⁷.

The provincial printers were able to find a market for their large output of old Christmas carols, including some religious ballads, because of the traditional custom of carol-singing which had survived in the English countryside since before the Reformation. Most medieval carols are religious and related to Christmas, although it is probable that they represent an attempt by the Church to replace semi-pagan by Christian customs³⁸. This attempt seems to have succeeded, at least in England³⁹, by the sixteenth century, judging by records of Christmas celebrations and printed collections of religious carols⁴⁰. It seems reasonable to assume that the continued popularity of carol-singing was from then onwards partly dependent on the broadside press⁴¹.

Although there is evidence that the tradition continued up to the Civil War⁴², it is not clear how far the Puritan attempt during the Commonwealth period to suppress Christmas festivities was successful⁴³. New carols printed during the later seventeenth century merely celebrated Christmas cheer⁴⁴, but the eighteenth century saw a revival of the religious carol, and some carols collected from manuscript⁴⁵, broadside⁴⁶ and oral tradition⁴⁷, from the late eighteenth century onwards, are clearly survivals from pre-Reformation times.

The carol-singing tradition had declined somewhat by the early nineteenth century⁴⁸ but later was again revived⁴⁹, though some local carol-singing traditions used modern 'composed' carols and were connected with the parish church⁵⁰. The ballad of The Bitter Withy was, however, sung in Gloucestershire on Old Christmas Eve in connection with the folk-tradition of wassailing⁵¹. Carol-singing also survived among English gypsies, who used it as a seasonal source of revenue⁵².

Chapter One: Religious Ballads and the Ballad Tradition

Although five of the religious ballads clearly owe their survival to the Christmas carol-singing tradition, they are readily distinguishable both from the medieval carol - lyrical, often macaronic, and employing a 'burden' or end-refrain⁵³ - and from the well-known Christmas hymns sung today as carols. The religious ballads exhibit all the stylistic features which have been regarded as specially distinctive of the traditional ballad genre.

They are all narrative, and most were clearly sung⁵⁴. Nine of them concentrate on a single episode⁵⁵, and the story is often told in "a series of flashes"⁵⁶: the best example of the latter technique is the earliest ballad, Judas. All the religious ballads employ dramatic dialogue⁵⁷. The whole structure of Dives and Lazarus is based upon the 'incremental repetition' which Gummere deemed to be the core of ballad style⁵⁸. Eight religious ballads use 'ballad measure', the septenary couplet, or quatrain with pattern of stresses 4.3.4.3., which is the most common of all ballad metres⁵⁹. Finally, all the religious ballads use commonplace formulae⁶⁰ found both in other ballads and in medieval romances. Detailed illustration of these points will be given in succeeding chapters.

The eleven songs of this study, then, are unquestionably 'traditional ballads' by virtue of their narrative style and their mode of survival. In two features only do they differ from secular ballads. The objectivity of the ballad is judged to be "one of the touchstones of its authenticity"⁶¹, but the religious ballad is meant to be edifying as well as entertaining and cannot resist the occasional didactic 'aside':

Tokyn he Steuene, and stonyd hym in the way,
And therefore is his euyn on Crystes owyn day.
 S.S.H. sta. 12.

Chapter One: Religious Ballads and the Ballad Tradition

This feature, however, is not completely foreign to the secular ballad⁶²:

Little Musgrave came to the church-dore;
The preist was at private masse;
But he had more minde of the faire women
Then he had of our lady('s) grace.

Child 81 A sta. 2.

Religious ballads differ from secular also in that they use a religious and literary tradition well-known to their hearers: the bible, apocryphal legends, and even religious lyrics. They are thus slightly less 'popular' and more 'literary' than their secular counterparts. Yet this is also a strength: because the religious ballad can appeal to the Christian knowledge and devotion of the hearer, it is able to achieve profound pathos or wry irony by delicate allusion. At first reading, the religious ballad appears simple and even naïve; but on reflection, no line could be more powerful in its irony, to the medieval believer in the Real Presence in the Eucharist, than Christ's magnificent jest to His apostles in Judas:

'Wou sitte ye, postles, ant wi nule ye ete?
Ic am iboust ant isold to day for oure mete.'
(sta. 14.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. M. Killip, The Folklore of the Isle of Man, London and Sydney, 1975, p.15.
2. This thesis will omit the once customary discussion of the outdated 'communalist - individualist' controversy. The history of ballad scholarship may be studied in A. B. Friedman, The Ballad Revival, Chicago, 1961; S. B. Hustvedt, Ballad Books and Ballad Men, Cambridge, Mass., 1930; and D. K. Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898, New Brunswick, 1959.
3. For variants of religious ballads sung by English gypsies and Scottish and Irish 'tinkers', see below, Appendix M, Index of Singers, under 'itinerants'.
4. The genre of religious balladry is, however, discussed, though not in great detail, by J. R. Mackey, 'Medieval Metrical Saints' Lives and the Origin of the Ballad' (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis, 1968).
5. A. E. Gillington, Old Christmas Carols of the Southern Counties, London, 1910, pp.16-17; E. M. Leather and R. Vaughan Williams, Twelve Traditional Carols from Herefordshire, London, 1920, p.18; F. Hamer, Garners Gay, London, 1967, pp.54-55.
6. B. H. Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, 4 vols., Princeton, 1959-1972.
7. See B. H. Bronson, The Ballad as Song, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, especially pp.37-63, 'The Interdependence of Ballad Tunes and Texts'.
8. M. J. C. Hodgart, The Ballads, London, 1950, p.16.
9. Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, pp.184-185.
10. L. Pound, 'The English Ballads and the Church', in Poetic Origins and the Ballad, New York, 1921, pp.161-188.
11. R. L. Greene, The Early English Carols, rev. ed., Oxford, 1977, pp.cl-clvii; R. H. Robbins, 'The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans' in Modern Language Notes, LIII (1938), pp.239-245.
12. Even when the saint's legend deals with similar subject-matter, its style is more diffuse and sentimental than that of the religious ballad: see the story of St. Cuthbert's childhood in S.E.L. I, pp.118-119, lines 1-24.
13. E. Routley, The English Carol, London, 1958, p.52; D. Brice, The Folk Carol of England, London, 1967, p.36.
14. e.g. 'The Red Book of Ossory', a collection of Latin lyrics composed in the first half of the fourteenth century by the Franciscan Bishop Richard de Ledrede, to each of which is prefixed a scrap of English or Anglo-Norman song in order to indicate the tune: Greene, Early English Carols, pp.cxv-cxvi.
15. H. G. Pfander, The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England, New York, 1937, pp.12-14.
16. See M. A. Price, 'The Status and Function of Minstrels in England between 1350 and 1400' (Birmingham Univ. M.A. thesis, 1968).

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17. G. H. Gerould, The Ballad of Tradition, Oxford, 1932, pp.121-122 and 223.
18. For the theory that both ballad and medieval carol originated in dance-song, see Greene, Early English Carols, pp.lxiv-lxxx.
19. See J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, The Medieval Popular Ballad, transd. E. G. Cox, Boston, 1914, reprinted with foreword by D. C. Fowler and bibliographic essay by K. -I. Hildeman, Washington, 1968, chapters 2 and 3, pp.9-33.
20. 'Robene hude, thom of lyn ... ihonne ermistrangis dance': The Complaynt of Scotland (c.1550) by Mr. Robert Wedderburn, ed A. M. Stewart, (S.T.S., 4th ser., no.11), Edinburgh, 1979, p.52. Cf. Child 117-154, 39 and 169: the ballads may, however, simply have lent their tunes to popular dances.
21. For a review of the theory of romance origins, see H. O. Nygard, 'Popular Ballad and Medieval Romance' in E. B. Lyle (ed.), Ballad Studies, Cambridge, 1976, pp.1-18.
22. T. G. James, 'The English and Scottish Popular Ballads of Francis J. Child' in MacEdward Leach and T. P. Coffin, The Critics and the Ballad, Carbondale, Illinois, 1961, pp.12-19 concludes (p.19) that "a 'Child ballad' means little more than one collected and approved by Professor Child".
23. Hodgart, The Ballads, p.71.
24. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.3.
25. See D. J. McMillan, 'A Survey of Theories concerning the Oral Transmission of the Traditional Ballad' in Southern Folklore Quarterly, XXVIII (1964), pp.299-311.
26. J. H. Jones, 'Commonplace and Memorisation in the Oral Tradition of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads' in J.A.F., LXXIV (1961), pp.97-112; A. B. Lord, The Singer of Tales, Cambridge, Mass., 1960.
27. A. B. Friedman, 'The Formulaic Improvisation Theory of Ballad Tradition - A Counterstatement' in J.A.F., LXXIV (1961), pp.113-115.
28. Anna Brown, née Gordon, 1747-1810, was the daughter of Thomas Gordon, Professor of Humanity at King's College, Aberdeen; she learned most of her ballads from an aunt, who herself learned them from the singing of countrywomen at Allan-a-quoich in Braemar; however, Mrs. Brown habitually varied lines and even stanzas of her versions: see Bronson, Ballad as Song, 'Mrs. Brown and the Ballad', pp.64-78.
29. Greene no. 322 A - E.
30. See, however, T. Crawford, 'Scottish Popular Ballads and Lyrics of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Some Preliminary Conclusions' in Studies in Scottish Literature, I (1963), pp.49-63; Crawford shows that many famous ballad versions were printed on broadsides in Scotland in the eighteenth century, contemporaneously with their recovery from oral tradition.
31. E. Arber, A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640, vols. 1-4, London (privately printed), 1875-1877, vol.5, Birmingham (priv. pr.) 1894, 5 vols. reprinted New York, 1950, I, pp.xxviii-xxxii.

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32. L. Shepard, The Broadside Ballad, London, 1962, p.51.
33. H. E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Register of the Company of Stationers of London' in Studies in Philology, XXI (1924), pp.1-324, nos.1506-1508.
34. F. Kidson, 'The Ballad Sheet and Garland' in J.F.S.S., II (1905), pp.70-78, esp. p.71.
35. P. Morgan, Warwickshire Printers' Notices 1799-1866 (Publications of the Dugdale Society vol.28), Oxford, 1970, p.xi.
36. Shepard, Broadside Ballad, pp.80-81; for information regarding the printers of religious broadsides, including Catnach, see below, Appendix K.
37. This observation is based on my own experience in searching through broadside collections in Birmingham Public Library and the British Library; for details of religious ballad broadsides, see below, Appendices A - E.
38. On riotous and semi-pagan Christmas celebrations in the middle ages, see E. K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford History of English Literature), Oxford, 1945, pp.83-85; on the Church's suppression of the originally pagan 'carol' or dance-song, see Greene, Early English Carols, pp.cxxxix - cl.
39. Ibid., pp.lxxiii-lxxiv: as late as 1618 the Kirk of Scotland had to contend with the singing of indecent carols at Christmas.
40. Ibid., pp.xl-xli; E. Bliss Reed, Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, p.xlvi.
41. See A. B. Friedman, 'A Carol in Tradition' in B. Rowland ed., Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins, London, 1974, pp.298-302. An example of the interaction between broadside printing and rural tradition is the carol beginning 'Joseph an aged man truly', printed as a black-letter broadside in the seventeenth century and sung in Cornwall in the early nineteenth century: R.B., VII, Pt.2, pp.781-782; Rollins, Index, (S.P. XXI), nos.1311-1312; I. Gundry, Now Carol We - Twelve Carols from an Old Cornish Manuscript, Oxford, 1966, pp.18-19.
42. The anonymous writer of a satirical tract, 'Certaine Propositions Offered to the Consideration of the Honourable Houses of Parliament' (1642), proposes that carols "which farmers' sonnes and servants sing on Christ's Birthday before they may eate or drink" be replaced by songs commemorating the deeds of parliamentary leaders: The Antiquarian Repertory, ed. F. Grose and T. Astle, 4 vols., London 1807-1809, III, p.34. Cf. Child 149 sta. 16.
43. P. Dearmer, R. Vaughan Williams and M. Shaw, ed., The Oxford Book of Carols, rev. ed., London, 1964, pp.ix-x.
44. See the carols printed by A. H. Bullen, Carols and Poems from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Time, London, 1885, pp.189-209.
45. 'Gloria Tibi Domine' (Greene no. 152 A and B) is recorded in a fifteenth century manuscript, and in two manuscript books of 1767 and 1777 recording carols sung in the Cornish village of St. Just: see R. L. Greene, 'The Traditional Survival of Two Medieval Carols' in E.L.H. VII (1940), pp.223-238, esp. pp.231-236, and see below, Appendix A, C.T.C. 1.

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46. 'Sweet Jesus' (Greene no. 142 A and B) is recorded in fifteenth century manuscript and printed on early nineteenth century broadsides: Greene, E.L.H. VII, pp.225-231; Oxford Bodleian Library, Douce Adds. 137 nos. 27 and 42; A Good Christmas Box, chapbook printed by G. Walters, Dudley, 1847, reprinted in facsimile by M. and J. Raven, Wolverhampton Folksong Club, 1967, p.16.
47. Oxford Carols nos. 3, 18 and 17.
48. W. Hone, Ancient Mysteries Described, London, 1823, p.97.
49. E. F. Rimbault, A Collection of Old Christmas Carols, London, 1863, preface (unpaginated).
50. W. A. Pickard-Cambridge, Dorset Carols, London, 1926 prints eight carols sung every Christmas at Bloxworth under the supervision of John Skinner, parish clerk from 1817-1879. See also W. D. Shawcross, Some Notices of Castleton and its Old Inhabitants from A.D. 1645 to A.D. 1837, Hemsworth, 1903, p.26.
51. F. Sidgwick, 'Collectanea, The "Bitter Withy" Ballad' in Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.190-200, on pp.192-193; on wassailing and the observance of Old Christmas in the West Midlands, see J. Simpson, The Folklore of the Welsh Border (Batsford 'Folklore of the British Isles' Series), London, 1976, pp.135-137.
52. Gillington, Old Christmas Carols, preface; J. Locke, 'Gypsy Life in Shropshire - as it was and as it is' in Gypsy Lore Society Journal, vol.1 (1974), pp.14-21, on p.17.
53. On the style of the Middle English carol, see Greene, Early English Carols, introduction, esp. pp.lxxxi-lxxxv, clx-clxxii.
54. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.11, "A ballad is a folk song that tells a story ...". Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, pp.148-149, however, rightly points out that music has not always been an essential concomitant of the ballad.
55. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.86. (Both C.T.C. and C.C. include several episodes).
56. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.90.
57. Ibid., pp.6-8.
58. F. B. Gummere, The Popular Ballad, Boston and New York, 1907, pp.117-134, esp. p.134 n.1; also p.227.
59. J. W. Hendren, A Study of Ballad Rhythm with Special Reference to Ballad Music (Princeton Studies in English no.14), Princeton, 1936, p.78, found that ballad measure or 'common metre' was almost twice as common as its next rival 'long metre' (quatrains of lines of four feet).
60. Hodgart, The Ballads, p.114; F. J. Child, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, edited and abridged in one volume by H. Child Sargent and G. L. Kittredge, Boston, 1904, introduction (by Kittredge) p.xxi.
61. Greene, Early English Carols, p.lxv.
62. Cf. also Child 26 sta. 10; 162 A sta. 4.3-4.

CHAPTER TWO

'JUDAS' (Child 23)

Ever since Child included it in his collection, Judas has been the subject of particular interest, both because it is some two centuries earlier than any other ballad text in English, and because the story it tells is unique¹. These very facts have led some critics to doubt whether it ^{is} a popular ballad at all². Yet it would be hard to find thirty-six lines of verse that exhibit so many 'ballad features', and the existence of the ballad-genre in thirteenth century England has received some support from recent Scandinavian scholars who have been inclined to push back the beginnings of the ballad in France and Scandinavia to the early thirteenth century or before³.

The manuscript containing Judas, Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 323 or B. 14. 39, is a collection of Latin sermons and verse in Latin, French and English, including popular tags, lyrics and saints' legends, of which some may have been part of the folk tradition of the day⁴. Carleton Brown maintained, on the basis of the variety of hands, that the manuscript was compiled in a religious house; yet it contains many pieces "plainly designed for the instruction of laymen"⁵, crucial among which is the exemplum of an incestuous daughter⁶:

... who was finally converted by a certain 'predicator'. The penitent ... died through excess of grief, but an angel revealed to the 'predicator' that her soul had been saved - whereupon he too died through excess of joy.

This led Carleton Brown to assign the manuscript to a community of Dominicans ('Ordo Fratrum Predicantium'), and the benediction to a Latin sermon⁷, which asks God to bless "pedes ad ambulandum", also suggests a mendicant order.

Karl Reichl, the manuscript's recent editor, agrees that the Trinity manuscript probably comes from a house of friars⁸ but assigns it to the Franciscans: a later version of the exemplum cited by Brown, which explicitly mentions a "frater praedicator", is found in the Fasciculus Morum, a fourteenth century Franciscan preaching handbook, and other exempla by and about Dominicans occur in the Franciscan compilation, the Liber Exemplorum⁹.

Reichl's conclusion in favour of Franciscan authorship is founded on his view of the manuscript's provenance: scribal spellings indicate an area between Worcester and Hereford in the South West Midlands as the region in which it was written down¹⁰. (No conclusion as to the original dialect of Judas is possible¹¹.) Palaeographical evidence assigns the writing of the main scribes of the manuscript (there are twelve hands in all) to the third quarter of the thirteenth century¹². Reichl believes, however, that the manuscript was written between 1255 and 1260, on the grounds that it includes a Latin poem which quotes a French verse used in preaching by St. Edmund Rich (canonised 1246) and two poems concerning 'Robertus', probably Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (died 1253)¹³. Reichl argues in favour of Worcester rather than Hereford as the manuscript's place of origin¹⁴ and notes that the Dominicans had no convent in Worcester in 1260, whereas the Franciscans were established there in 1227¹⁵. He attempts to prove that other manuscripts containing the same or related material as the Trinity manuscript were also written by Franciscans¹⁶.

It is reasonable to conclude at least that Judas was in some way connected with the popularising methods of the preaching friars, whether Franciscan or Dominican. Attempts by scholars

to prove that the poem was actually composed by a cleric have not, however, been successful.

The copier of Judas, whom Reichl designates 'scribe B', wrote several other pieces in the Trinity manuscript: a long stanzaic legend of St. Margaret (extant also in five later redactions), three English lyrics, a narrative poem on the Epiphany ('Twelfth Day') and two pieces on St. Nicholas (a French poem and a Latin prayer)¹⁷. 'Twelfth Day' has been described by Greg as "a thirteenth century literary imitation of a popular ballad"¹⁸. The leaves following this Epiphany poem contain in their lower margin faint scribblings in red chalk, apparently the original composition notes from which the finished poem was worked up and written down¹⁹. Greg supposed that this plummet draft was "apparently in the same hand as the text, certainly contemporary"²⁰ and this prompted Chambers to surmise that Judas likewise was not only copied but also composed by the same scribe²¹. Reichl, however, identifies the plummet draft as the work of 'scribe D', perhaps one 'Michel of Arras'²².

'Twelfth Day' is, however, very different in style from Judas, and this hardly suggests that the two poems were composed by the same man. Nor is 'Twelfth Day' at all ballad-like, despite its being a narrative poem, in which it merely resembles later carols on the Epiphany²³. 'Twelfth Day' uses an elaborate poetic form. It is written in monorhyme quatrains, each line having eight stresses with a caesura at the mid-point. The a-lines also rhyme with each other, but often imperfectly²⁴:

Thre kinges seten in here thede bothen yonge men ant hore.
Ho iseien one sterre scinen, ne seien ho neuer none more.
Wel ho westen wou hit hede, wise men ant witti of lore:
That Jesus was incomen for nede, so hit was iquidded yore.

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These imperfect rhymes led Carleton Brown to conclude that the author was accustomed to the long septenary line and had trouble in making four-stress lines function properly; he hints that the same scribe may have composed Judas, 'Twelfth Day' and the Life of St. Margaret²⁵. However, the septenary line is too common in Middle English verse to be firm evidence of authorship, even had Judas been composed in regular septenaries. Reichl concludes merely that the author of 'Twelfth Day' had an uncertain rhyming skill²⁶; by contrast, the rhyme scheme of Judas is carefully adhered to.

The narrative method of 'Twelfth Day' is diffuse and didactic: thus the contrast between Christ's Deity and the poverty of His childhood is made four times²⁷, as is the statement that the kings brought gifts²⁸. Dialogue is introduced clumsily and is abrupt and unballadlike²⁹:

Foret the kinges gunnen iwenden, the sterre bigon
for to springen,
the on sait: 'Gold we sculen him beden, so me scal
to riche kinge.'
'The stor is god to prestes nede!' the thridde:
'Mirre we sculen him bringe.'
Heo comen into Heroudes thede, ant ther heo herden.
sotele tidinge.

Alliterative tags are used, as in Judas, but by contrast those in 'Twelfth Day' add nothing to the narrative, but are mere metrical 'fillers' such as "wise men ant witti of lore"³⁰ or "The sterre was bothen sotel ant sene"³¹.

Reichl gives a complete list of the very different qualities which suggest that Judas is either a popular ballad or an imitation of one³²: its metre, its epic opening formula, juxtaposition of scenes or 'montage'³³, use of incremental repetition, and inclusion of the ritual curse and oath common in later balladry. Reichl lists, in addition, survival in oral transmission, for he accepts a modern ballad entitled 'Judas',

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printed by the singer J. J. Niles³⁴, as an authentic recovery from American folk tradition. Since Reichl rejects as arbitrary the decisions of American scholars who have rightly disregarded the Niles ballad³⁵, I must briefly describe Niles's spurious collection.

Niles provides many homely details, which cannot now be checked, about old singers in remote districts of Kentucky, the supposed source of the ballads he claims to have collected during the 1930's. The tunes given apparently bear no relationship to British folk tunes for the same ballads³⁶. Niles's collection arouses suspicion mainly because it contains so many medieval ballads not found elsewhere in oral tradition, whether British or North American: for example, a unique modern American version of The Marriage of Sir Gawain (Child 31)³⁷, another of The Bonny Birdy (Child 82)³⁸, known elsewhere only from Mrs. Brown's recitation, and versions of early Robin Hood ballads such as Robin Hood's Death (Child 120)³⁹, Robin Hood and the Potter (Child 121)⁴⁰ and Robin Hood and the Monk (Child 119)⁴¹. The opening stanza of the latter provides a good example of the pseudo-archaic doggerel which distinguishes Niles' versions:

Ne'er trust a monk, though he be mild
And wear a skirt of black.
He'll turn you to the sheriff
When you do turn your back.

Niles's version of Judas likewise contains several phrases not only unballadlike but also completely unidiomatic, the work of a half-educated rhymester attempting to fill his lines⁴²:

'Twas in the merry month of May,
The Easter time (!) was near ...

'Nor tarry long upon the way
Nor seek out folk or foe ...'

Now Judas took a little rest,
He took a nap of sleep ...

Niles's Judas version is simply a modern rewriting of Child 23 and there seems little point in discussing his alleged source, the 'yarb doctor' named Mayberry Thomas who reported that a version of Judas was sold on broadsheets in the nineteenth century in the neighbourhood of Chatanooga⁴³. It is all too fantastic.

If the existence of Judas in oral tradition cannot be proved, however, its failure to survive to the present day can be explained. According to the Child ballad, Judas, at Christ's bidding, goes to Jerusalem to buy food and is deceived by his sister, who takes the thirty pieces of silver while he sleeps. To recoup his losses, Judas betrays Christ to Pilate, a rich Jew. Later, at the Last Supper, Christ reveals His knowledge of the transaction and foretells Peter's denial.

The usual motivation provided in the middle ages for Judas' betrayal is quite different: cast adrift at birth because of a disastrous prophecy, he returns to Jerusalem on reaching adulthood, enters Pilate's service and then, like Oedipus, unwittingly kills his father and marries his mother. When the truth comes to light Judas, by way of penance, becomes one of Christ's disciples but takes to pilfering, and finally betrays Jesus to recover the tithe on the three hundred pence which Mary Magdalene's ointment would have fetched, and of which he considers that he has been cheated. This is the version in Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea⁴⁴, by which it was disseminated all over Europe by the late middle ages⁴⁵. The earliest Latin versions of the story apparently predate the Legenda Aurea and are of the middle to late twelfth century⁴⁶ but the earliest extant text in English is in British Museum Harleian MS. 2277, of about 1300, which comes from Gloucestershire⁴⁷, just South of the area in which the Trinity

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manuscript was written. In MS. Harl. 2277, as in later manuscripts, the story forms part of the collection known as the South English Legendary⁴⁸. This legend of Judas, then, was apparently well-known during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and probably supplanted earlier stories which were not well-entrenched.

The Oedipus-type legend of Judas reappears in English during the eighteenth century in printed chapbook versions, both prose and poetry⁴⁹. However, the relatively 'polite' style of these productions hardly supports Baum's suggestion that the legend had survived in British folk tradition⁵⁰. Nevertheless, the constant reprinting of this medieval legend is valuable evidence of a taste for apocryphal Christian legend in the eighteenth century which perhaps stimulated the printing of traditional religious ballads.

Still other explanations of Judas' perfidy have been offered: an early Coptic gospel fragment relates that Judas was tempted to betray Christ by his evil wife⁵¹. The story of Eve's temptation of Adam has clearly been influential here, and indeed is explicitly mentioned. Beyond the involvement of a wicked woman in both stories, there is nothing to support Baum's suggestions of an indirect relationship between Coptic fragment and English ballad⁵².

The story nearest to the English ballad of Judas is a nineteenth century Wendish ballad from Lusatia⁵³ which relates that Judas volunteered to buy bread for Christ and His disciples but lost the thirty pieces of silver gaming with Jews. At their suggestion, he sells his Master to regain the money. Later, when Judas has rejoined the company, Jesus asks who has sold Him, and Peter, John and finally Judas ask,

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"Is it I?". To Judas, Jesus replies, "Thou knowest best", after which, despite Christ's assurance of forgiveness, Judas hangs himself on an aspen tree. Baum suggests that the ballads may be distantly related and notes seven points of similarity⁵⁴, but four of these - the selling of Christ for thirty pieces of silver, Peter's denial of guilt, the sudden transition from Judas' bargain to the Passover meal, and Judas' despair - are mentioned in the gospels⁵⁵. Another of the shared features, Judas' going to buy food for the Twelve, may have been prompted independently by St. John's explanation of why the disciples did not remark on Judas' departure from the Last Supper to betray Jesus:

... some of them thought, because Judas had the bag,
that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that
we have need of against the feast ...

Jn. XIII. 29.

Apart from these shared biblical features, the two ballads are really rather dissimilar, and the value of the Wendish analogue lies mainly in its evidence that stories about Judas other than the common Oedipus-type legend survived in European folk tradition.

The ballad of Judas⁵⁶ has as its setting Sheer ('bright') Thursday, the Thursday in Holy Week⁵⁷:

Hit wes upon a Scerethorsday that vre louerd aros;
Ful milde were the wordes he spec to Iudas.

Judas sta. 1.

Reference to particular seasons of the year is a common opening in traditional balladry⁵⁸:

It was in and about the Martinmas time,
When the green leaves were a falling,
That Sir John Graeme, in the West Country,
Fell in love with Barbara Allen.

Child 84A sta. 1.

Scholars have derived the 'seasonal incipit' from medieval chansons d'aventure⁵⁹ but Judas may well have been influenced by

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medieval saints' legends, where the citing of the church calendar often begins different episodes in a saint's life⁶⁰:

An Holy Thoresday he werth sik . as it fel in the yere
He let of sende is frend . that specials him were.

The more common medieval tradition was that Judas betrayed his Master upon a Wednesday⁶¹. This tradition is preserved in a carol recovered from nineteenth century folk tradition, but obviously of pre-Reformation origins⁶²:

It was on Holy Wednesday
And all in the morning,
That Judas betrayed
Our dear heav'nly King.

It was on Sheer Thursday,
And all in the morning,
They plaited a crown of thorns
For our heav'nly King.

The ballad tradition, however, is found in a carol of the sixteenth century, along with other features of Judas, the 'thirty plates' and Peter's denial. The Virgin Mary is speaking⁶³:

Whan that my swete Son was thirti wynter old,
Than the traytor Judas wexed very bold;
For thirti plates of money his Master he had sold,
But whan I it wyst, Lord, my hart was cold!

Vpon Shere Thursday than truly it was,
On my Sonnes deth that Judas did on passe;
Many were the fals Jewes that folowed hym be trace,
And ther beffore them all he kyssed my Sones face.

My Son, beffore Pilat browght was he,
And Peter said iii tymes he knew hym not, perde;
Pylat said vnto the Jewes, "What say ye?"
Than they cryed with on voys, "Crucifyge!"

Betrayal on a Thursday, however, is implied in John's gospel (XIII.30), where Judas leaves the Last Supper to sell Christ; the composer of this carol, then, may not have known Judas, though clearly he was using traditional phrasing⁶⁴.

The succinctness of Judas has been praised by Peter Dronke⁶⁵ and is illustrated by its opening stanza, which prepares us for the scene in which Christ reveals His knowledge of the betrayal,

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later in the poem, by establishing the day as the one on which the Last Supper took place. We are told in addition that Christ's words are "ful milde" and this indicates that Judas is mistaken when he tells his sister, later in the ballad, (stanza 6.2) that Christ will take His revenge on her.

Throughout the ballad, Christ reveals His prophetic powers, a trait of which there is ample illustration in the gospels⁶⁶:

'Thou comest fer ithe brode stret, fer ithe brode strete;
Summe of thine cunesmen⁶⁷ there thou meist i-mete."
Judas sta. 3.

These words are immediately fulfilled in action in the next stanza, and this type of fulfilment is noted by Gerould as a common feature of ballad style⁶⁸. Judas indeed meets one of his kinsmen, his sister:

Imette wid is soster, the swikele wimon:
'Iudas, thou were wrthe me stende the wid ston
'Iudas, thou were wrthe me stende the wid ston,
For the false prophete that tou bileuest upon.'
Judas stas. 4 and 5.

Stoning was the official punishment for blasphemy in New Testament times⁶⁹. The terse description of Judas' sister as "the swikele wimon", like that of Pilate later (stanza 10.1) as "the riche Ieu" resembles the characterisation by stock epithet found throughout traditional balladry, such as "the ugliest witch i the north country"⁷⁰ or "the gallant Gordons gay"⁷¹.

The repetition of the line, "Iudas, thou were wrthe me stende the wid ston", is indicated in the Trinity manuscript by a mark - .ii. - standing against it. This mark is also set against the second lines of the thirteenth and sixteenth stanzas⁷². Repetition of the last line of a stanza at the beginning of the next is found also in later balladry:

'No news,' said the beggar, 'no news at a',
But there is a wedding in the king's ha.

'But there is a wedding in the king's ha,
That has halden these forty days and twa.'
Child 17 A stas. 9, 10.

There is other evidence that the scribe took pains to indicate the correct reading of the poem: in stanza 13.1, the abbreviation c'st for Christ has been erased⁷³ - if left in, it would have given the complete line eight stresses instead of seven; 'Lord' is spelt 'louerd' in stanzas 1.1, 6.2, 10.2, 11.1 and 17.2, where the metre requires a disyllable⁷⁴, and 'lord' in stanzas 12.1, 13.1 and 15.1, where a monosyllable is needed⁷⁵. The caesura in each line is usually discernible from the rhythm but in four places where emphatic statements are made - stanzas 11.2, 12.2 and 18.1-2⁷⁶ - the caesura has been indicated by means of a full stop. This scribal concern to indicate repetition and metre, with the repetition of the half-line in stanza 3.1⁷⁷, is supporting evidence that Judas is a ballad and may well have been sung. The latter conclusion cannot, of course, be proved, but Judas is singable, with the usual adaptation practised by folk-singers, to folk-tunes of ballads written in 'ballad measure'.

Judas rebukes his sister with a curse:

'Be stille, leue soster, thin herte the tobreke!
Wistemin louerd Crist, ful wel he wolde be wreke.'
Judas sta. 6.

This stanza exemplifies two characteristics of later balladry, the rebuke which enjoins silence, and the 'ballad curse'. The ballad rebuke usually takes this, or a similar, form⁷⁸:

'Hold your tongue, my sovereign leige,
And let your folly be.'

The words 'be still' are, however, used in a folk song collected by David Herd in the eighteenth century, 'The Lowlands of Holland'⁷⁹:

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'O had your tongue, my daughter dear,
Be still and be content.'

This type of rebuke seems already to be a commonplace in Judas, since Christ contradicts Peter's assertion of bravery in similar fashion later in the poem (stanza 18). The device is common in the saints' legends of the period⁸⁰:

Be(o) stille thou fol quath sein Gorge . for thou
spext embe noght

The 'ballad curse' is usually a form of this commonplace⁸¹:

'Woe be to you, father,' she said,
'And an ill deed may you die!'

Cursing, usually authorial, is also a feature of contemporary saints' legend and romance:

thenne spec Olibrius, ... awarie him sonne and mone!⁸²

Crist him warie with his mouth!⁸³
waried wurthe he of north and suth!

Syr Trylabas home can wende⁸⁴,
There euell mote he thee!

The authorial curse is a common feature of the ballads too⁸⁵.

Judas' sister does not appear to be angry at her brother's rebuke, but instead successfully urges him to rest in her arms:

'Iudas, go thou on the roc, heie up-on the ston;
Lei thin heued i my barm, slep thou the anon.'

Judas sta. 7.

Judas' unsuspecting acceptance of her offer should be a warning against expecting complex characterisation in the ballad. The motive of Judas' sister is probably sheer malevolence against Christ; as in the case of the persecutors of saints in the South English Legendary, this is not felt to need explanation. Dronke reads too much into Judas' rebuke (stanza 6) when he supposes that Judas shares a fear of Christ's revenge with his 'sister' (a term Dronke supposes to be a euphemism for 'mistress', derived from the Song of Solomon) and that consequently the woman steals the money in order to draw her lover away from

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Christ⁸⁶. Rather Judas' sister is a symbol of woman the temptress: Judas is betrayed, as Christ was tempted by Satan, in a high place⁸⁷. Moreover, he is tricked, as Samson was by Delilah⁸⁸, while sleeping in a woman's lap. Chaucer's monk uses the same word, 'barm', to describe Delilah's action⁸⁹:

And slepynge in hir barm, upon a day,
She made to clippe or shere his heres away ...

In view of Christ's earlier prophecy (stanza 3) that Judas will meet a 'kinsman' (see note 67), it seems probable that the woman is indeed Judas' blood sister; it is, of course, possible that the ballad poet hints, in stanza 7, at an incestuous relationship between the pair.

When Judas awakes and discovers that his money has been taken,

He drou hym selue bi the top⁹⁰, that al it lauede ablode;
the Iewes out of Iurselem awenden he were wode.

Judas sta. 9.

'Jews of Jerusalem' is a tag phrase used in other Middle English religious poetry⁹¹. Judas' madness is a conventional method of characterisation in medieval writings⁹², especially religious literature. Pagan onlookers explain Christian sanctity as lunacy⁹³. Sudden changes of behaviour are likewise seen as madness⁹⁴. Those who oppose Christ often rage as extravagantly as Judas⁹⁵:

Bot whene Jhesus come to that Cite
Alle his goddes thay felle to noghte.
Froudeus was wrothe thane & nerehande wode,
And smate hym-selfe thane appone the heuede,
That nesse and mouthe braste alle one blode -
Vnnethes was hym his lyfe be leffede.

This method of characterisation may have been suggested by the gospels, in which both the Jews in general, and Judas in particular, are said to be influenced by the devil⁹⁶.

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In the ballad, Pilate, described as "the riche Ieu" (stanza 10.1), approaches Judas and asks him to sell his Master. Dronke suggests, plausibly enough, that this is a caricature of the unpopular Jewish moneylender⁹⁷. It may, however, reflect a knowledge of the legend of Pilate found in the Legenda Aurea⁹⁸ in which Pilate, the bastard son of King Tyrus and a miller's daughter, enters the service of King Herod of Judaea but then treacherously gathers treasure and bribes the Emperor to allow him to hold Jerusalem directly from Caesar. In this legend, as in the Oedipus-type legend of Judas, Judas later becomes Pilate's steward. Characterisation of Jesus and His apostles as men of a separate race from 'the Jews' is conventional in Middle English religious literature and probably derives from the terminology of John's gospel⁹⁹. The description of Pilate's soldiers as 'knights' later in the ballad (stanza 16.2) is likewise conventional¹⁰⁰.

The dialogue between Pilate and Judas resembles that in later traditional ballads:

Foret hym com the riche Ieu that heiste Pilatus:
'Wolte sulle thi louerd, that hette Iesus?'

'I nul sulle my louerd for nones cunnes eiste,
Bote hit be for the thritti platen that he me bi-taiste.'

'Wolte sulle thi lord Crist for enes cunnes golde?'
'Nay, bote hit be for the platen that he habben wolde.'
Judas stas. 10-12.

This is a type of incremental repetition which emphasises Judas' perverse anxiety to recover the money with which Jesus has entrusted him, and so fulfil his duty, even if by so doing he must betray Christ. (There is no evidence for Baum's speculation that Pilate is an accomplice of the theft¹⁰¹ or Child's that the ballad-maker is alluding to other medieval legends concerning the thirty pieces of silver¹⁰².) These

stanzas of dialogue also illustrate the ballad feature of an apparent denial which is in fact an affirmation, exemplified in Hind Horn¹⁰³:

'What news, what news, my silly old man?
What news hae ye got to tell me?'

'Na news, na news,' the puir man did say,
But this is our queen's wedding day.'

The sudden transition to the Last Supper in Judas is typical of the ballad manner even if, as has been pointed out, it was prompted by the gospel account. Christ's genial invitation to his disciples to eat, since He has Himself provided the price of the meal, is consistent with His earlier characterisation (stanza 1.2) as 'mild'.

Judas' wickedness is emphasised by his direct lie when he denies his earlier conversation with his sister¹⁰⁴:

Vp stod him Iudas: 'Lord, am I that ... [frek]¹⁰⁵
I nas neuer othe stude ther me the euel spec.'
Judas sta. 15.

In contrast to this false affirmation of the lost soul is the assertion of Peter (stanzas 16 and 17), who represents the ordinary weak man. Peter's affirmation is introduced by a similar formula, 'Vp him stod Peter' (stanza 16.1). It is a common device in later balladry to introduce speeches within a ballad by the same formula: compare, for example, the use of "Up bespake" in the 'A' version of Archie o Cawfield (Child 188)¹⁰⁶

Jesus' rebuttal of Peter is devastating:

'Stille thou be, Peter, wel I the i-cnowe;
thou wolt fur-sake me thrien ar the coc him crowe.'
Judas sta. 18.

We are left with a Christ who is alone in His foreknowledge and His sacrifice, deserted by all men. I do not, however, agree with Dronke¹⁰⁷ that the text of the ballad in the Trinity manuscript is complete. Brief though it is, the ballad shows

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signs of careful composition and it seems unlikely that it would not have gone on to describe Judas' death and Peter's denial. Certainty on this point, however, is not possible at present.

The metre of Judas is irregular, but Hendren's conclusion¹⁰⁸, that the six-stress line is predominant, is sound. Metrical irregularity is not very great within the couplet. No couplet within the ballad has seven stresses in both lines, but couplets of six-stress lines occur at stanzas 6 and 14-18, whilst stanzas 3 and 11-13 each have one seven-stress and one six-stress line; couplets containing four- and five-stress lines, usually in combination, occur at stanzas 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8, whilst stanzas 9 and 10 have a more irregular pattern. Some shorter lines have been composed from alliterative formulae. An example is:

the Iewes out of Iurselem awenden he were wode.
Judas sta. 9.2.

The nearest parallel to the metre of Judas in later balladry is The Laird o Wariston (Child 194 A and B)¹⁰⁹.

To conclude, Judas is clearly a ballad, and moreover a good one. Its story is interesting and well-structured, its dialogue lively and its characterisation simple but, within its limits, successful. The ballad's message is the kindness and shrewdness of Jesus, who allows Himself to be bought and sold for our food by the wickedness of Judas. The original audience would not have been perturbed by the apparent arbitrariness of Judas' malevolent actions, for the tyrant in the saint's legend - for example, Olibrius in the Life of St. Margaret in the same manuscript - proceeded in much the same way. It was no part of medieval religion to mitigate the offence of Judas.

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1. P. F. Baum, 'The English Ballad of Judas Iscariot' in P.M.L.A. XXXI (1916), pp.181-189, on p.181.
2. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.153; Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, pp.202-203.
3. M. Arnberg, ed., Den Medeltida Balladen, Stockholm, 1962, pp.144-145. (This book was produced by Swedish Radio to follow a series of programmes broadcast in Spring 1958, and contains summaries in English of each chapter.) E. Dal, Danish Ballads and Folksongs, transd. H. Meyer, Copenhagen and New York, 1967, pp.13-14.
4. See Lyrics XIII no.21, p.32, 'Say me, viit in the brom', which appears to enshrine a folk belief.
5. Brown, Lyrics XIII, p.xx.
6. Ibid., p.xxi; for the exemplum, see K. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften Philosophische Fakultät, Texte und Untersuchung zur Englischen Philologie, Band i), München, 1973, text 5, p.160, beginning "Quidam miles habuit filiam...".
7. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 103, pp.458-460, 'Sermo de die pasce'.
8. Ibid., pp.49 and 51-52.
9. Ibid., p.53. Reichl adds that little weight can be placed on the exemplum about the 'predicator' since it was written by a later scribe when the manuscript was almost finished.
10. Ibid., p.49.
11. Ibid., p.377.
12. Ibid., p.48.
13. Ibid., pp.46-47, and see texts 85 (p.441) and 123 and 124 (pp.479-482). Since text 123 is a lament for the death of 'Robertus', Reichl argues that the manuscript is later than 1253; a vigorous but fruitless campaign for Grosseteste's canonisation was mounted in the early 1260's.
14. Ibid., p.61 and footnote 8: Reichl's conclusion is reached on the basis of the similarity of the 'Worcester fragments' (Oxford Bodl. MS. 343 and Worcester Cathedral Library MS. F. 174) to text 74 in the Trinity MS.
15. Ibid., pp.52-53.
16. Ibid., chapter 8, pp.59-82.
17. Ibid., texts 6-9, 67, 97 and 98; the Life of St. Margaret (text 6) is no.2672 (and see also no.203) in Carleton Brown and R.H. Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse, New York, 1943.
18. W. W. Greg, 'A Ballad of Twelfth Day' in Modern Language Review, VIII (1913), pp.64-67, on p.64; the poem is printed also by Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, pp.388-391, and by Brown (in eight-line stanzas), Lyrics XIII, no.26, pp.39-41.

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19. Brown, Lyrics XIII, p.186.
20. W. W. Greg, 'Miscellaneous Notes: A Ballad of Twelfth Day' in Modern Language Review, IX (1914), pp.235-236, on p.235.
21. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.153.
22. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, pp.24-31; on p.24, footnote 21, however, he admits the possibility that different forms of handwriting may be written by the same scribe; Reichl calls scribe D 'Michel of Arras' because of the couplet in the scribe's hand, text 31, p.319:

"Hic am Michel of Arras,
Wl sone ic am viryeten ... alas!"
23. See Greene, nos. 124-129.
24. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, lines 5-8; Lyrics XIII, no.26, lines 9-16.
25. Lyrics XIII, p.186.
26. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, p.115.
27. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, lines 4, 27-28, 30 and 38-39; Lyrics XIII, no.26, lines 7-8, 53-56, 59-60 and 75-78.
28. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, lines 11-12, 14-15, 22 and 31; Lyrics XIII, no.26, lines 23-24, 27-30, 43-44 and 61-62.
29. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, line 13-16; Lyrics XIII, no.26, lines 25-32.
30. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, line 7b; Lyrics XIII, no.26, line 14.
31. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 69, line 7b; Lyrics XIII, no.26, line 51.
32. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, p.116.
33. See Hodgart, The Ballads, pp.27-30.
34. J. J. Niles, The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles, Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1961, no.16A, pp.91-93; (Niles prints two other songs about Judas, unrelated to Child 23, on pp.94-98).
35. Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, p.163, n.7; Bronson, Trad. Tunes, and T.P. Coffin, The British Traditional Ballad in North America, rev. ed., Philadelphia 1963, reprinted with supplement by R. de V. Renwick, Austin and London, 1977 show that they reject the Niles version by omitting it from their thorough compendia.
36. Niles, Ballad Book, p.xix.
37. Ibid., pp.106-108, no.18, 'Sir Gaunie and the Witch'.
38. Ibid., pp.200-201, no.35, 'The Tattle-tale Birdy'.
39. Ibid., pp.240-241, no.43, 'Robin Hood's Dyin' '.
40. Ibid., pp.244-245, no.44.

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41. Ibid., pp.236-237, no.42, 'Robin Hood and the Twenty Pounds of Gold'.
42. Ibid., p.93 stas. 1.1-2, 4.1-2 and 7.1-2.
43. Ibid., p.91.
44. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis, (The Temple Classics), 7 vols, London, 1900, reprinted as 7 vols. in 4, New York, 1973, III, pp.55-58.
45. P. F. Baum, 'The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot' in P.M.L.A., XXXI (1916), pp.481-632, on p.481.
46. Ibid., p.515.
47. Ibid., p.526; S.E.L., III, p.4.
48. For a list of MSS. containing the legend, see Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('Med. Legend'), pp.526-527; for this version of the legend, see S.E.L., II, no.89, pp.692-697 (printed from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 145, of the early fourteenth century).
49. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('Med. Legend'), pp.572-580; six chapbooks are listed in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Catalogue of the Lauriston Castle Chapbooks, Boston, 1964, p.140.
50. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('Med. Legend'), pp.584-585.
51. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('English Ballad'), pp.185-186; M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924, p.149. James, p.147, dates the fragment as not earlier than the fifth century.
52. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('English Ballad'), p.186; another Coptic fragment unnoticed by Baum relates that Judas's wife was foster-mother to the child of Joseph of Arimathaea: James, Apoc. N.T., p.149.
53. Paraphrased by Child, E.S.P.B., I, pp.242-243 and by Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('English Ballad'), p.183.
54. Ibid., p.184.
55. Matt. XXVI. 14-25; Mk. XIV.10-21; Lk. XXII.3-6, 21-24; in Jn. XIII. 21-30 Judas leaves the Last Supper to betray Christ; Judas' despair is implicit in his hanging himself (Matt. XXVII.5) and it was common medieval teaching that the sin which damned Judas was despair of God's mercy: see S.E.L., I, p.131, ll. 103-108.
56. Judas is quoted in this thesis (except for minor alterations) from E.S.P.B. (one vol.) ed. Sargent and Kittredge, pp.41-42; Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 323 or B. 14. 39. was missing when Child compiled vol.I of E.S.P.B. and hence the ballad is not printed there, pp.243-244, quite correctly; a transcript from the manuscript made by Skeat may be found in E.S.P.B., V, p.288.
57. 'Sheer Thursday' was apparently so called in allusion to the purification of the soul by confession on Maundy Thursday; the last recorded use of the term is in Dewsbury Parish Register for 1621: see O.E.D., VIII, Pt.II, p.667, 'Sheer Thursday'.
58. Cf. the openings of Child 118, 119, 121, 158C, 161A and 227.

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59. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.108.
60. S.E.L., I, p.210, lines 193-194 (De Sancto Dunstano).
61. Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ, ed. a monk of Parkminster, London, 1926, Bk. III, Chapter 38, p.190; Caxton's Golden Legend, I, p.65.
62. Oxford Carols no.17, stas. 6 and 7; see also R. Vaughan Williams, Eight Traditional Carols, London, 1919, no.1, pp.4-7.
63. Greene no.163, stas. 1-3, from Richard Hill's commonplace book (c.1536); another version was printed in Richard Kele's Christmas Carolles Newly Inprynted (c.1550); cf. also Greene no.317, sta. 4.1.
64. The carol's burden is related to lines in another of the religious ballads, The Seven Virgins: see below, Chapter Seven, p.180.
65. P.Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, London, 1968, p.69.
66. e.g. Matt. XXIV. 2-35; Mk. XI. 2-3; Jn. I. 48.
67. In the E.S.P.B. printings (see above, note 56) this word is given as 'tunesmen' (i.e. 'townsmen') but the reading 'cunesmen' (i.e. 'kinsmen') has been preferred by more recent scholars: Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.152; Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, p.375.
68. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.110.
69. See Acts VI. 12-13, VII. 59; Jn. VIII. 59.
70. Child 35 sta. 1-2.
71. Child 161 B sta. 2.2; cf. also Child 30 sta. 11.3, "a proud porter"; 32 sta. 4.3, "a griesly ghost".
72. In Skeat's transcript, E.S.P.B., V, p.288, the lines so marked are nos.8, 25 and 30.
73. Skeat's transcript, E.S.P.B., V, p.288, line 24.
74. Ibid., lines 1, 11, 19, 20 and 31.
75. Ibid., lines 22, 24 and 27.
76. Ibid., lines 21, 23, 32 and 33.
77. Ibid., line 5. This would be repetition of a full line if the stanzas of Judas were printed as quatrains. For examples in later balladry where the first and second lines of a quatrain are almost the same, see Child 32 stas. 7, 9, 11, 13, 15; 37 A sta. 5; 120 A sta. 24; 164 sta. 3.
78. Child 173 B sta. 23.1-2; cf. the first and second lines of Child 69 A sta. 25; 176 sta. 9; 243 C sta. 19.
79. E.S.P.B., II, p.318, sta. 4.1.
80. S.E.L., I, p.156, line 27 (De sancto Gorgio) and cf. also p.185, line 168 and p.192, line 352 (Sein Brandan).

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81. Child 70 A sta. 14.1-2; cf. also Child 66 B sta. 17.1-2; 81 A sta. 27.1. 83 B sta. 18.1-2; sometimes curse and command to silence occur together, as in Judas, e.g. Child 39 A sta. 12.1-2.
82. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, text 6 (Life of St. Margaret) line 73 (p.185).
83. The Lay of Havelok the Dane, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2nd ed., revised K. Sisam, Oxford 1915, p.17, lines 433-434; this romance was probably written before 1300 (see p.xxv).
84. 'The Erle of Tolous' (written after 1350), lines 416-417 in W. H. French and C. B. Hale, Middle English Metrical Romances, New York, 1930, p.406.
85. e.g. Child 65 A sta. 6.2; 69 B sta. 16.2; 71 sta. 19.2.
86. Dronke, Med. Lyric. p.68; see Song of Solomon, V. 1-2.
87. Matt. IV. 5, 8.
88. Judges, XVI. 19.
89. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed., Boston, 1957, repd. London, 1966: 'The Canterbury Tales' ('Monk's Tale'), Group B2, lines *3256-7, p.190; (quoted in M.E.D., I, p.652, 'barm', sense 1b).
90. Child and Skeat (texts cited above, note 56) read this word as 'cop', meaning 'head' (M.E.D., II, p.589, sense 2b); Chambers and Reichl (see above, note 67) adopt the reading 'top', i.e. 'hair of head' (O.E.D., X, Pt. I, p.143, 'top' sb.1, sense 1); the latter reading appears preferable because the action would be easier to perform physically and corresponds to the 'tearing one's hair' of later popular poetry - e.g. ed. R. Vaughan Williams and A. L. Lloyd, The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs, Harmondsworth, 1959, p.94, 'A Sailor's Life', sta. 6.1.
91. e.g. (John of Grimestone), A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book, ed. E. Wilson (Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series, II), Oxford, 1973, p.46, line 144; S.E.L., II, p.701, line 105 (Life of Judas).
92. Baum, P.M.L.A., XXXI ('English Ballad'), p.184.
93. S.E.L., I, p.22, line 87: "Somme sede that he(o) was a wicche . & somme that he(o) was wod" (bystanders are amazed at St. Agnes' obstinate faith).
94. e.g. St. Stephen and Herod (Child 22) sta. 7.1; in the late fourteenth century romance 'Ywain and Gawain', lines 483-484, the queen asks Sir Kay if he is mad after he has challenged Ywain to go on a quest: Ywain and Gawain, ed. A. B. Friedman and N. T. Harrington (E.E.T.S., O.S. 254), London, New York and Toronto, 1964, p.14.
95. C. Horstmann, 'Nachträge zu den Legenden : 1. Kindheit Jesu, aus MS. Addit. 31,042' in Archiv für das Studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen, ed. L. Herrig and H. Viehoff, LXXIV (1885), pp.327-339, lines 131-136 on p.329; this poem on the Childhood of Jesus is discussed in detail below, Chapters 4-6.
96. Jn. VIII. 44, XIII. 27; Lk. XXII. 3.
97. Dronke, Med. Lyric, p.68.

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98. See S.E.L., II, pp.697-706 and Caxton's Golden Legend, I, pp.80-85.
99. e.g. Jn. VI. 41, 52; cf. Horstmann, Herrig's Archiv LXXIV, p.329, line 167.
100. e.g. S.E.L., I, p.84, line 1, "Seint Longius was a blind knight", where the description refers to 'Longinus', the legendary figure corresponding with the centurion of Matt. XXVII. 54.
101. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('English Ballad'), pp.188-189.
102. E.S.P.B., I, pp.242-243.
103. Child 17 G stas. 11, 12. (Stanzas from this section of the A version of Hind Horn were quoted earlier in the chapter.)
104. That the form of Judas' affirmation is a direct lie was pointed out by Dronke, Med. Lyric, p.68.
105. There is a blank space at this point in the manuscript; Skeat suggested, E.S.P.B., V, p.288, that the word 'frek', meaning 'man' (M.E.D., III, p.878, 'freke', noun, sense b) would restore the rhyme; Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, p.376, suggests that the present line-ending, 'that', may have rhymed with 'spac', or that the manuscript's 'spec' may have rhymed with 'thet'; I prefer Skeat's suggestion.
106. 'Up bespake' occurs in the first lines of Child 188 A stanzas 3, 4, 14, 16, 19, 26, 35, 36, 38 and 44.
107. Dronke, Med. Lyric, p.69.
108. Hendren, Study of Ballad Rhythm, p.96.
109. Cited in this connection by Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.127.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MIRACLE OF THE COCK IN 'ST. STEPHEN AND HEROD' (Child 22) AND 'THE CARNAL AND THE CRANE' (Child 55)

The sole authentic copy of St. Stephen and Herod survives in British Museum Sloane MS. 2593: a modern version collected from G. L. Edwards in 1934 was almost certainly derived from print¹. Brit. Mus. Sloan MS. 2593 dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, measures approximately 6 by 4½ inches, and in its present incomplete state consists of thirty-seven leaves². Its 'pocket' size and the popular tone of most of the pieces it includes, particularly one song which apologises for a bad voice and another which begs for a drink, led R. H. Robbins³ to agree with the manuscript's original editor, Thomas Wright⁴, that the collection was the repertoire of a minstrel. The manuscript contains fifty-seven English carols, several English lyrics, three Latin poems, and two English ballads, St. Stephen and Herod and Robyn and Gandeley (Child 115). Most of these poems are, however, religious. Both Chambers and A. K. Moore conclude that the free use of Latin in the manuscript suggests a learned, clerical origin, rather than a source in secular minstrelsy⁵.

Very few of the pieces in the Sloane manuscript are entirely secular in origin or application: several carols of moral counsel, for example, would be suitable for both lay and religious audiences⁶. A carol which parodies part of the Mass and relates the seduction of a maid by a clerk, 'Joly Jankin', is sacrilegious in tone, yet plainly of clerical origin⁷. One of the religious lyrics, a translation of a Latin hymn with the Latin text written above it⁸, was probably intended for a

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clerical reader or auditor, though one should not underestimate the knowledge of Latin possessed by some, at least, of the laity by the fifteenth century. Two satirical carols on the power of money, two warning against marriage, another (full of sexual innuendo) concerning the chapman's wares, a carol satirising the contemporary fashion for wearing a baselard, and a well-known Latin drinking song⁹ suggest, however, that if the manuscript belonged to an ecclesiastic then "he must have been rather a Friar Tuck"¹⁰.

Moreover, many of the religious poems are written in a popular style, approaching that of folk song and ballad. A carol celebrating the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, despite its Latin burden and stanza endings, commences with the appeal to the audience which is a common feature of popular medieval style, though it does not, of course, imply 'oral' or 'folk' transmission¹¹:

Lestenythg, lordynges, bothe grete and smale;
I xal you telyn a wonder tale ...

Several carols, particularly those on the Epiphany¹², are narrative in content and employ dialogue. A carol (Greene no. 315) which relates how St. Nicholas helped three dowerless girls employs, in stanzas 4-6, a type of incremental repetition in which each daughter speaks in turn: compare the speeches of the seven brothers in Clerk Saunders (Child 69 A, stanzas 11-14).

Two poems in the Sloane manuscript have links with later folk songs. Each stanza of Greene no. 231, a carol concerning the five joys of Our Lady, concludes with the line, "With Fader and Sone and Holy Gost". A later popular carol, 'The Joys of Mary' has as its chorus,

...and blessed may he be,
Both Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
To all eternity.

Oxford Carols no. 70.

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A riddle song in the Sloane manuscript, 'My Young Sister'¹³, contains a sequence of riddles found in such later popular songs as Captain Wedderburn's Courtship (Child 46) and 'Perry Merry Dixi Domini'¹⁴.

Complete certainty as to whether Sloane MS. 2593 was the collection of a minstrel or an ecclesiastic may not be possible, but perhaps this does not matter greatly: it is clear, after all, that the songs include many pieces suitable for popular minstrels of the day¹⁵, but that they are aimed at an audience predominantly concerned with religious matters. Medieval monasteries, for example Durham Priory, a Benedictine house, seem to have employed the services of minstrels at great festivals such as Christmas¹⁶. Most, perhaps all, of the songs in the Sloane manuscript would be suitable for a Christmas entertainment in a religious house, and in fact Greene very plausibly concludes, on several grounds, that the manuscript comes from the Benedictine monastery at Bury St. Edmunds¹⁷: the form of the language in the whole manuscript is East Anglian, whilst one of the carols (Greene no. 357) commemorates damage caused by a storm at (King's)Lynn in Norfolk in the mid-fourteenth century; further, the collection contains the only preserved English carol in honour of St. Edmund (Greene no. 312), with the only two known carols in honour of St. Nicholas (Greene nos. 315 and 316). St. Edmund is patron of Bury, and there was an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas in the abbey church and an unusual town guild of the Translation of St. Nicholas. The boy-bishop who was rewarded at Bury in the fifteenth century was known as 'the bishop of St. Nicholas' (compare, however, similar usages in other places¹⁸). A memorandum on folio 36^v of the manuscript reads "Johannes bardel

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debet istum librum the qweche bardel is of ... dwellyd In In": Greene points out that Bardel and its cognate forms are Suffolk surnames, that Bardwell is a parish near Ixworth in that county, and that a 'Johannes Berdwell' is one of two monks of Bury St. Edmunds named in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Holkham Misc. 37.

Possible connection with a monastic Christmas entertainment does not, however, prove that Robyn and Gandeleyn (Child 115) and St. Stephen and Herod are not ballads but Christmas songs, as Chambers suggests¹⁹. Robyn and Gandeleyn, certainly, appears to resemble medieval carols in having an end-refrain, but so also do several traditional ballads²⁰. The song is clearly a 'greenwood ballad' like some of the earliest ballads we have²¹: Robin Hood ballads may have been popular even before the fifteenth century, to judge by Sloth's famous statement in Piers Plowman²²:

I kan noght parfitly my Paternoster as the preest
it syngeth,
But I kan rymes of Robyn hood and Randolf Erl of
Chestre.

The opening of Robyn and Gandeleyn resembles those of popular lyrics, including ballads, in which the narrator overhears someone talking²³:

I herde a carpyng of a clerk,
Al at yone wodes ende,
Of gode Robyn and Gandeley; n;
Was ther non other thyng.
Robyn lyth in grene wode bowndyn.

Stanzas 7 - 10 employ incremental repetition, stanzas 5 and 15 are an introductory formula for a set action²⁴, whilst the dialogue used is of a challenge-and-answer type common in traditional balladry²⁵. The concern for who will have the first shot, in stanza 12 -

'Ho xal yeue the ferste schote?'
 Seyde Gandeleyne:
 'And I xul yeue the on be-forn,'
 Seyde Wrennok ageyn.

is paralleled in American versions of Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard (Child 81)²⁶:

'And you may strike the very first blow,
 And strike it like a man,
 And I will strike the second one
 And kill you if I can.'

The presence of one other traditional ballad in the Sloane manuscript obviously makes it more likely that St. Stephen and Herod was composed as a ballad, not as a carol, despite its Christmas theme, Latin tag, and reference to the boar's head of medieval feasts²⁷. The poem contains many stylistic features of the popular ballad, with some from other popular medieval genres.

The rapid identification of the hero at the beginning of the ballad,

Seynt Steuene was a clerk in kyng Herowdes halle,
 And seruyd him of bred and cloth, as euery kyng befalle,

is similar to other ballad openings, for example²⁸:

Sir Egrabell had sonnes three ...
 Sir Lyonell was one of these.

Similar openings, however, are a common feature of saints' legends²⁹:

Sein Ieromin was swuthe god clerk . & wis thoru
 alle thinge
 Muche he made of Godes seruise . that me deth in
 church singe.

As Stephen carries the boar's head from the kitchen, he sees the star of Bethlehem. Mention of the "boris hed" (stanza 2.1) is simply the adaptation of the story to contemporary conditions which occurs regularly in traditional balladry: thus, Johnie Cock, the hero of Child 114 (A, stanza 13.3), wears shoes of "American leather". A boar's head features incidentally in

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stanzas 38 and 39 of a secular ballad derived from romance, The Boy and the Mantle (Child 29), the action of which, according to its opening line, took place "In the third day of May".

Stanzas 3 and 4 of St. Stephen and Herod show the same kind of repetition of a line which occurs in Judas³⁰:

He kyst adoun the boris hed and went in to the halle:
'I forsak the, kyng Herowdes, and thi werkes alle.

'I forsak the, kyng Herowdes, and thi werkes alle;
Ther is a chylde in Bedlem born is beter than we alle.

Later in the ballad (stanza 9.1), there is repetition within the line³¹, another ballad characteristic found in Judas.

Stephen's forsaking of King Herod 'and all his works' seems to be deliberately reminiscent of the ancient formula of renunciation of Satan in the baptismal rite³². This is symbolic of Stephen's new life in Christ, but also deeply ironic: Herod, like other tyrannical figures, was depicted, in medieval church art, wearing a hat crowned with a demon, a badge of his subservience to the devil³³.

Stanzas 5 - 8 employ a type of incremental repetition. Herod's request to know of his servant, Stephen, whether he has lacked money or food has, however, even closer parallels in later balladry. In Lamkin (Child 93), for example, the lady asks this of the false nurse, who replies, as Stephen does in Child 22, by repeating the questioner's words³⁴:

'Oh wanted you meat, nurice?
Or wanted you fee?
Or wanted you anything
that a lady can gie?'

'I wanted no meat, lady,
nor wanted I fee,
But I wanted mony a thing
that a lady could gie.'

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Herod also asks St. Stephen if he is mad:

'Quat eylyt the, Steuyn? art thu wod, or thu gynnyst
to brede?³⁵

Lakkyt the eyther gold or fe, or ony ryche wede?'

S.S.H. sta. 7.

This is again ironic, since, according to medieval literary conventions, it was the pagan tyrant who was mad. The characterisation in St. Stephen and Herod owes much to the saint's legend and its tradition: the reproaches of the pagan overlord, the steadfastness of the saint, and the tyrant's anger and sudden decision to punish the saint can be seen also, for example, in the life of St. Sebastian in the South English Legendary³⁶:

Wod wroth was this emperor . sein Bastian he sede
Habbe ich thus ynorissed the . turn thi thoght ich rede
Bote thou honury oure godes . ich ssel the such pine take
that ar thu be(o) to dethe ibroght . ech lime the ssel ake
Sire sede sein Bastian . thi thretynge ne drede ich noght
Sorore me greue that thou nelt habbe . reuthe on thi thoght
And honure him that the made . & thine maumetis bileue
That ne mowe the helpe worth a stre . for hi beoth dombe & deue
This emperor in grete wraththe . this holyman let take
And lede him ver into a ueld . & binde hym to a stake

Other features of St. Stephen and Herod may be derived from the saint's legend: for example, Herod's sudden desire for his "turmentowres" (stanza 11.1) is paralleled in the life of St. Laurence³⁷:

Decius tho the emperor . ferde as he were wod
the companie of turmentors . wel prest biuore him stod

Stephen's execution outside the town in stanza 11.2 is derived from Acts VII. 58; however, this is so common a feature of the South English Legendary that it has crept into the life of St. Alphege³⁸:

Hi ladde him forth withoute the toun . & dud him ssame inou
And hende him with harde stones . as me seinte steuene slou

In actual fact, Archbishop Alphege was murdered by drunken Vikings, who hurled bones at him³⁹.

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Herod's reaction to Stephen's announcement of Christ's birth is to scoff that this is as true as if the capon in his dish should crow. At once the miracle occurs:

That word was not so sone seyde, that word in that halle,
the capoun crew Christus natus est! among the lordes alle.
S.S.H. sta. 10.

The cock's announcement, however, is not a Latin tag suggesting clerical authorship but part of a popular tradition, perhaps referred to in Hamlet⁴⁰, that the cock crew on Christmas night to announce Christ's birth. A broadsheet printed in London in 1631 displays a woodcut of the Nativity scene with birds and beasts, and underneath this explanation⁴¹:

The Cocke croweth, Christus natus est. Christ is borne.
The Raven asked, Quando? When?
The Crow replied, Hac nocte. This night
The Oxe cryed out, Ubi? Ubi? Where? Where?
The Sheepe bleated out, Bethlem. Bethelem.
A voyce from Heaven sounded, Gloria in Excelsis. Glory be on high.
Whilst armies of Angels sung, Halleluiah.

Child shows that this tradition of the beasts' dialogue, with the same words, was widespread throughout Europe⁴².

Enraged by the miracle of the cock, Herod calls on his executioners to take Stephen and stone him. Herod's fury was, of course, a popular feature of medieval mystery plays⁴³. The ballad ends with Stephen's death and a didactic 'aside':

Tokyn he Steuene, and stonyd hym in the way,
And therefore is his eyn on Crystes owyn day.
S.S.H. sta. 12.

This might be a sign of clerical adaptation or authorship, or simply a piece of folk aetiology, like the mention of Old Christmas in The Cherry Tree Carol or the explanation of why willow wood decays in The Bitter Withy⁴⁴. Certainly, according to the author of a life of St. Stephen written in a northern dialect in the early fifteenth century British Museum Harleian MS. 4196, it is "laude" or 'unlearned' men who propagate the ballad story⁴⁵:

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Saynt Steuyn his passion has puplist
 Next folowand efter the birth of Crist,
 Als haly kirk it has ordand.
 Bot we sal noght so vnderstand
 That saynt Steuyn died when Crist was born,
 Als sum laude men haue said biforn -
 For he died, als with clerkes es kend,
 Efter the tyme that Crist to heuyn assend.

The metre of St. Stephen and Herod varies, like that of Judas, but approximates more closely to ballad metre: out of twenty-four lines, ten contain six stresses, nine contain seven stresses and five either six or seven stresses depending on one's reading⁴⁶. Since the Sloane manuscript contains many popular songs, it is reasonable to suppose that the ballad was sung and that the irregularities of the metre would disappear in song. The position of a number of tag phrases in the ballad (always after the caesura in the long lines) suggests that the poem could be sung or printed in quatrains. Use of tag phrases in the second and fourth lines of a quatrain is a feature of several traditional ballads⁴⁷. One at least of the tags in St. Stephen and Herod is paralleled in medieval romance:

S.S.H. sta. 1.2b: as euery kyng befalle
 sta. 10.1b: that word in that halle
 sta. 10.2b: among the lordes alle⁴⁸
 sta. 11.1b: be to and al be on
 sta. 11.2b: ... in the way

As this list of tag-lines partly reveals, the ballad-maker, with a certain poverty of imagination, returns time and again to rhymes on '-alle'. Nevertheless, the ballad is lively and dramatic, and with a fine irony contrasts Herod's bluff pronouncements with the cock's elegant Latin.

The Carnal and the Crane (Child 55), no copy of which is older than the eighteenth century, is discussed in detail in Chapter Five, below. In this chapter the text used is that

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printed by Child. In The Carnal and the Crane the miracle of the cock forms one episode (stanzas 8 - 12) in an account of several Christmas legends. These cock stanzas are verbally related both to St. Stephen and Herod and other English poetry, but are alone in English in connecting the incident with the wise men or Magi. Details of the stanzas will be given in the history of the legend of the cock following.

All Christian cock legends were prompted by the incident in the canonical gospels where St. Peter denies Christ three times before the cock crows⁴⁹. Legends satisfying the natural curiosity of Christians about this cock seem to have arisen early amongst heretical groups in the Church. One such legend is extant in a Coptic fragment probably not earlier than the fifth century, paraphrased by James thus⁵⁰:

Matthias set a dish on the table in which was a cock, and told Jesus how, when he was killing it, the Jews said: 'The blood of your master shall be shed like that of this cock.' Jesus smiled and answered that it was true; and after some more words, bade the cock come to life and fly away and 'announce the day whereon they will deliver me up.' And it did so.

Here already the cock's fate symbolises Christ's Passion and Resurrection and is associated with a taunt made by unbelieving Jews. A later Ethiopic legend, from the 'Book of the Cock' read in the Abyssinian Church on Maundy Thursday⁵¹, links the story with Judas and his evil wife: Simon the Pharisee's wife brings in a cock before Jesus. The Lord blesses the bread and gives it to Judas. As in John's gospel (XIII. 27), Satan then enters Judas and he leaves. After this, Jesus touches the cock and it stands up whole and endowed with human speech. As instructed by Christ, it follows Judas and overhears Judas' wife urging her husband to betray Jesus, and Judas' later dialogue with the chief priests at the temple. Returning to Bethany, the cock tells its story to Jesus and the disciples whilst weeping bitterly.

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Jesus dismisses the cock to mount up into the sky for a thousand years. This story may be the precursor of the Greek legend which prompted the European ballads, but James warns that the Copts ceaselessly revised and embroidered bible stories and that consequently it is difficult to be sure which details are really archaic⁵².

Child traces the ultimate source of the miracle of the risen cock in European balladry to an interpolation in two late (fifteenth century) Greek manuscripts of the Gospel of Nicodemus⁵³, which is a combination of the Acta Pilati and the Descensus Christi ad Inferos. The story of Judas occurs in Recension B of the Acta Pilati, the original copy of which must post-date the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), since it several times refers to the Virgin Mary as the 'Theotokos' or 'Mother of God'; the older Greek version, Recension A, is dated about 425 A.D., but may go back to a first century original⁵⁴. James's translation of the interpolation is as follows⁵⁵:

And departing to his house to make a halter of rope to hang himself, he found his wife sitting and roasting a cock on a fire of coals or in a pan before eating it: and saith to her: Rise up, wife, and provide me a rope, for I would hang myself, as I deserve. But his wife said to him: Why sayest thou such things? And Judas saith to her: Know of a truth that I have wickedly betrayed my master Jesus to the evil-doers for Pilate to put him to death: but he will rise again on the third day, and woe unto us! And his wife said to him: Say not nor think not so: for as well as this cock that is roasting on the fire of coals can crow, just so well shall Jesus rise again, as thou sayest. And immediately at her word that cock spread his wings and crowed thrice. Then was Judas yet more convinced, and straightway made the halter of rope and hanged himself.

In this version the cock spreads his wings and crows thrice, at the word of the challenger: these features recur in European balladry.

The version in Acta Pilati may have been known early in England since it appears in a modified form in the Cursor Mundi,

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an early fourteenth century Northumbrian poem of 30,000 lines on the history of the world from the Creation to the Day of Judgement. The modifications are that Judas recounts his betrayal of Christ to his mother, not his wife, and that she does not console him, but blames him for his treachery; it is Judas who challenges the cock⁵⁶:

- Iudas saide nay godote.
sal hit neuer be squa.
15985. Ne salle he neuer rise eft
truli I. the hight.
or sal this ilk cok vprise
was skalded yuster-night.
vnnethes had he saide that worde
15990. the cok lepe vp on flight
fetherred fayrer then be-forne.
& krew thorou goddis might.
& then be-gan the traitour fals.
to drede him for this plight.
15995. This hit was that ilk cok
that petre herde him craw.
quen he had nite his lorde thris.
he did him feloun know.

Line 15989 of Cursor Mundi, "vnnethes had he saide that worde", resembles the phrasing in St. Stephen and Herod (stanza 10.1), "that word was not so sone seyde, that word in that halle." The language of Cursor Mundi also resembles the cock stanzas in The Carnal and the Crane and this likeness has perhaps prompted Reichl's conjecture that there may have been a Middle English popular ballad on the theme of Judas and the cock⁵⁷. In both Cursor Mundi and The Carnal and the Crane we are told that the cock grew feathers again by the direct power of God:

The cock soon freshly feathered was
By the work of God's own hand
And then three fences crowed he
In the dish where he did stand.
C.C. (Child 55) sta. 11.

These features are absent from St. Stephen and Herod.

The 'Oedipus-type' legend of Judas⁵⁸ is not referred to in Cursor Mundi, but knowledge of it may have prompted the change from Judas' wife to his mother. A combination of the Oedipus-type

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legend and the cock miracle occurs in a fourteenth century Irish story of Judas in the Leabhar Breac⁵⁹.

The process whereby the cock miracle was transferred from Easter to Christmas is not known, though obviously the cock as a symbol of new life might as easily herald the Incarnation as the Resurrection. The identification of St. Stephen as Herod's steward, prompted, no doubt, by the saint's feast day falling on 26 December, might be linked with Judas' being Herod's servant in a twelfth century Latin version of the Oedipus-type legend⁶⁰. In the Middle English craft cycles, the arrival of the Magi is arranged by Herod's nuncio⁶¹, and a fifteenth century carol may refer either to this figure, or to the St. Stephen of the English ballad:

Jhesu whas borne in Bedlem Jude
Alle off a mayden, so fyndythe we;
Owte off the este com kynges iii
Wythe ryche presente, as Y yow say.

(Burden:) The ster he schynythe bothe nyghte and day
To lede iii kynges ther Jhesu lay.

The stuarde whas bolde off that contre
And bade Errod schollde com and see
Lyke as they wentyn alle y iii,
Goyng furrthe yn ther jornay.

Greene no. 124 B stas. 1, 2.

The earliest extant source which connects the miracle of the cock with Herod and the Magi, as in The Carnal and the Crane, is the twelfth century Old French romance of 'Ogier le Danois'; the miracle occurs here quite incidentally in a prayer which Ogier makes during one of his many battles against the Saracen⁶²:

Et les troi roi vos alèrent quérant,
En la maison Hérode le tirant
Se erbergèrent, ce trovon-nos lisant;
11610. Demanda lor qu'il aloient quérant,
Il respondirent: "Sire, le Roi amant,
Qui de la Virge est nés apertement
Sire sera de cest siècle vivant,
Mult par est joules, n'a pas encor un an."

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11615. Hérodes l'ot, mult ot le cuer dolant,
Après parla mult airéemant;
Voit un capon c'on li ot mis devant,
En l'esquiele à la table séant,
Atornés iert por mengier ricemant,
11620. Et dist Hérodes: "Jâ ne l'querrai niant
Se cis capon que ci m'est enprésant
N'en est plumeus com il estoit devant
Et se redrece à la perche en cantant."
Vertus féistes, biaux Pères, roi amant,
11625. Il ot luec eles et plumes et vivant;
De l'esquiele est sailis maintenant,
Et s' en ala à la perche en cantant.

Unless it is just a meaningless tag, "ce.trovon-nos lisant" (line 11609) implies that the poet, Raimbert de Paris, was using a written source for this miracle. Here, as in Cursor Mundi and The Carnal and the Crane, the cock grows feathers again: indeed, the Old French "plumeus com il estoit devant" (line 11622) is remarkably like the "fetherred fayrer then beforne" of Cursor Mundi (line 15991). Raimbert relates also that the cock flew up to a perch, a detail missing from the English poems⁶³. The miracle is followed, in the Old French poem, by an account of the slaying of the Innocents, as in The Carnal and the Crane and some Scandinavian ballads: this, however, is probably narrative coincidence, based on Matthew's gospel (II. 1-18).

Later French tradition and European balladry outside Scandinavia, admirably summarised by Child⁶⁴, prove the popularity of the miracle both during and after the middle ages, but are not directly relevant to the English tradition: not only cocks, but other birds, and even fish, rise to the honour of the Saints - James, Dominic, Anne and Peter - or to prove that a city will be captured. In Russian folk tales⁶⁵ and in Scottish and Irish Gaelic ballads recovered since Child's death⁶⁶ the risen cock is used as a proof of the Resurrection, as in the original tradition. One significant detail, derived from the

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Acta Pilati, occurs in the French ballads of the pilgrims to Saint James' tomb where the cock, who rises to convince a stubborn magistrate that a hanged man is still alive, claps its wings thrice and crows thrice. This detail is preserved in The Carnal and the Crane, where the cock crows "full fences three"⁶⁷, but it would be dangerous to base a theory of relationships on this detail, since triads of all kinds are common in folk songs and tales.

The English and Scandinavian ballad traditions of the risen cock are remarkably close. It seems likely that there has been transmission from one region to the other, but it is outside the scope of this thesis to determine the date (or dates) and the direction of the influence, a task which, in any case, should only be undertaken by an expert linguist. Several facts, however, appear to preclude the assumption that the English ballads are simple borrowings from Scandinavia: the early date of 'Ogier le Danois', Cursor Mundi and St. Stephen and Herod, the verbal links of The Carnal and the Crane with other Middle English poetry (more details are given below, in Chapter Five) and the inclusion in the latter ballad of Christmas legends not found in the Scandinavian ballads of the cock.

The oldest Scandinavian text is a Danish ballad recovered by Erik Pontoppidan in 1736 from the singing of an old beggar woman; the ballad is also alluded to by Syv in 1695, and one stanza is given⁶⁸. Five of the ballad's eleven stanzas concern the beauty of the Virgin, the Annunciation and the Nativity. Stanzas 6 - 11 tell the story of Herod's rage: St. Stephen sees the star as he does his duties, as in the English ballad. In Scandinavian tradition, however, Stephen is Herod's groom.

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Stephen announces the birth of a prophet who will save the world. Herod says he will not believe the story till the cock claps its wings (cf. the Acta Pilati) and crows. When the cock does so, Herod falls off his seat in a swoon. He then mounts his horse and rides to Bethlehem to kill Jesus, but the Holy Family has fled to Egypt. We are told that fourteen thousand children were killed.

An eighteenth century Danish broadside⁶⁹ tells the story of the Annunciation and the miracle of the cock up to Herod's swoon (stanzas 1 - 6); the Magi then arrive, inquiring where the child can be found. Herod calls his men and puts the question to them; hearing that the child is born in Bethlehem, Herod rides there. Mention of the Holy Family's escape and of the number of Innocents slain is then made. Since the interpolation concerning the Magi is based on Matthew's gospel (II. 1-7), it probably arose independently of the tradition in The Carnal and the Crane.

In Sweden, a fragment of the ballad of St. Stephen, the Staffansvisa, is sung by young people going from house to house at Christmas⁷⁰. Recently a fuller version of the Staffansvisa, which apparently resembles Child 22, has been recovered from Swedish-speaking Finland⁷¹. St. Stephen, seeing the reflection of the star in the well, goes in to Herod and renounces his service because he wishes to enter the service of a greater king: compare Stephen's pronouncement in Child 22 (stanzas 4.2 and 6.2), "ther is a chyld in Bedlem born is beter than we alle". Herod answers that he will believe this when the roasted cock comes to life and crows. The cock flies up and starts to crow, but Herod puts Stephen to death, as in the English ballad.

Chapter Three: The Miracle of the Cock

It seems useful to give here a full summary of a Swedish broadside⁷², in two copies dated 1848 and 1851, which combines the miracle of the cock and the miracle of the sower, as does The Carnal and the Crane: in Bethlehem of Judah a star arises. An unidentified speaker, probably St. Stephen but just possibly the Magi, says, "A child is born into the world who will die for us". Herod then calls his court and says that he cannot believe this story unless the cock claps his wings and crows. After the miracle, Herod says that he intends to torture the Christ Child: he steeps his hands in the blood of the Innocents and falls off his throne in a swoon. The Lord speaks to Joseph through an angel, warning him to go to Egypt. On the journey, they meet a sower and ask him not to tell anyone that they have passed. The sower replies that he has promised God not to tell a lie. Our Lady tells him to go home and fetch people with him to cut the corn. When Herod passes and asks the sower if he has seen a man, woman and child, the sower answers that he has seen no-one since he sowed the corn: the corn is now being harvested. Herod turns his horses and wagon round so fast that he knocks them over. He comments that Jesus must be at the world's end.

The Carnal and the Crane resembles this broadside and the Danish ballads in several respects: it contains a prologue (stanzas 1 - 7) in which the worth of the Virgin, and the Nativity are mentioned. The Carnal and the Crane, St. Stephen and Herod and all the Scandinavian ballads discussed here use the sight of the star as the impetus for the miracle: the usual medieval tradition, based on Matthew's gospel (II. 9, 10), was that the star was not visible in Jerusalem since the Magi caught sight of it again only when they had left Herod's court⁷³.

Chapter Three: The Miracle of the Cock

In The Carnal and the Crane the star is seen either by the Magi or by the 'wise men' of Herod's court:

The Wise Men soon espied it
And told the king on high
A princely babe was born that night
No king could e'er destroy.

Child 55 sta. 9.

Herod's council are witnesses of the miracle in the Swedish broadside⁷⁴; the Magi appear, independently of the cock miracle, in the Danish broadside. The Carnal and the Crane shares other material with the Scandinavian analogues: the slaying of the Innocents, the journey of the Holy Family, the miracle of the sower, and the mention of thousands of children slain (Child 55 stanza 29). The number of Innocents slain, however, (traditionally 144,000) is often mentioned in Middle English religious works⁷⁵ and the other material could have been grafted on to the English and Swedish ballads independently. The miracle of the sower is, after all, treated very differently in the Swedish broadside, for Mary, not Jesus, there performs the miracle.

The Carnal and the Crane and St. Stephen and Herod share some features which are not found in the Scandinavian analogues discussed here. Herod's words in both English ballads are quite similar:

'That is al so soth, Steuyn, al so soth, iwys,
As this capoun crowe xal that lyth here in myn dysh.'

Child 22 sta. 9.

'If this be true,' King Herod said,
'As thou tellest unto me,
This roasted cock that lies in the dish
Shall crow full fences three.'

Child 55 sta. 10.

In the Scandinavian analogues, the cock is said to lie on the table⁷⁶. The form of this stanza in The Carnal and the Crane resembles a ballad commonplace⁷⁷.

Herod's direct command to his executioners, not present in the Scandinavian analogues, is also similar in both English ballads (in Child 55, Herod commands his guards to kill the Innocents):

'Rysyt vp, myn turmentowres, be to and al be on,
And ledyt Steuyn out of this town, and stonyt hym wyth ston!'
Child 22 sta. 11.

'Rise up, rise up, you merry men all,
See that you ready be;
All children under two years old
Now slain they all shall be.'
Child 55 sta. 12.

These stanzas are both forms of a ballad commonplace in which a king or nobleman summons his retainers. The stanza usually begins⁷⁸:

He called up his merry men all,
By one, by two, and by three.

Herod's direct words to his guards are not given in Matthew's gospel (II. 16), but can be found in the early Greek apocryphal gospel, the Protevangelium⁷⁹:

... when Herod perceived that he was mocked by the wise men, he was wroth, and sent murderers, saying unto them: Slay the children from two years old and under.

In summary, it appears that the miracle of the risen cock originated in the Eastern church in the early Christian centuries, as proof of the Resurrection and in association with Judas' treachery. The story spread into Europe via the popular Acta Pilati and was known in England perhaps as early as the thirteenth century. During the middle ages the miracle was adapted to fit other contexts, such as saints' legends. By the twelfth century, the miracle was associated in France with the Nativity. By the fifteenth century, the story connecting the cock with St. Stephen as Herod's steward may have been quite well-known in Britain. The Scandinavian ballad on this theme can be traced only to the

late seventeenth century, but it contains a folk tradition, probably old, that Stephen was Herod's groom. A later English ballad, The Carnal and the Crane, appears to rely on the Middle English tradition but has adapted the legend to connect it with the wise men and the massacre of the Innocents: this adaptation might have occurred independently of the Old French tradition.

The history of the miracle of the cock illustrates several features of religious balladry: its use of legendary material from the New Testament Apocrypha, the popularity throughout Europe of the spectacular miracle as the subject-matter of ballads, rather than bible history or more sober saints' lives⁸⁰ and, finally, the use of traditional religious ballads at Christmas festivities in Britain and Scandinavia. Association with Christmas customs has been an important means of survival for religious ballads.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. See Bronson, Traditional Tunes, I, p.297.
2. Greene, Early English Carols, p.306.
3. R. H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1955, p.xxvi and see lyrics 4 and 5.
4. T. Wright, Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the Fifteenth Century (Publications of the Warton Club no.4), London, 1856, p.3.
5. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.90; A. K. Moore, The Secular Lyric in Middle English, University of Kentucky, 1951, reprinted Connecticut, 1970, p.158.
6. Greene nos. 339, 341, 355-357 and see Appendix V.
7. Greene no. 457 and see Greene's remark in Early English Carols, p.494.
8. Lyrics XV no. 90 (p.130).
9. Greene nos. 390, 392, 403, 405, 416 and 417; Wright, Songs and Carols, no. LXVI, p.92, 'Meum est propositum in taberna mori'.
10. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.100.
11. Greene no. 114 a., sta. 1; cf. no. 341 sta. 5.1, which appeals to "Good men that stondyn and syttyn in this halle"; D. Mehl, The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, London, 1968, p.8, points out that such tags in M.E. poetry "are a purely literary convention, designed to create an atmosphere of lively recitation, and ... probably in the majority of cases read out from the manuscript rather than improvised."
12. Greene nos: 122 B, 123 B, 124 A and 125 A.
13. R. H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics, no.45.
14. For versions of 'The Joys of Mary' and 'The Riddle Song', see M. Dean-Smith, A Guide to English Folk Song Collections 1822-1952, Liverpool, 1954, pp. 82 and 100; an up-to-date index of folk songs is kept at the Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House (headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society), London, N.W.2.
15. Moore, The Secular Lyric, p.158.
16. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.100; for extracts from the account books of Durham Great Priory, see E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903, II, Appendix E, pp.240-243.
17. Greene, Early English Carols, pp.306-307.
18. Chambers, Med. Stage, I, pp.362-3, 369-370.
19. Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, pp.131, 153.

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20. e.g. Child 82, 107 B, 112 A, 178 A, 189; Greene, Early English Carols, p.lxxi, thinks that Robyn and Gandeley may have been adapted from a ballad to a carol form.
21. e.g. Child 116-121; Child 119 is from a manuscript of c. 1450.
22. Piers Plowman: The B Version, ed. G. Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, London, 1975, Passus V, lines 394-395; (usually dated as about 1377 - Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.130); on the early popularity of Robin Hood, see R. M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of Medieval England, 2nd ed., London, 1970, pp.128-131.
23. e.g. Child 108, 111 A; Greene no. 378; Penguin Book of Folk Songs, p.42 (version of Geordie, Child 209).
24. cf. the stanzas beginning "Janet has kilted her green Kirtle" in Tam Lin, Child 39 A stas. 3, 8, 17.
25. cf. Child 162 A stas. 15-21.
26. Bronson 81 no. 21 sta. 18.
27. These are the supposed 'carol characteristics' in S.S.H. noted by Chambers, Close of Middle Ages, p.153.
28. Child 18 A sta. 1; cf. also the openings of Child 99-102.
29. S.E.L., II, p.428, lines 1-2; cf. also the opening lines of the lives of SS. Philip and James, Brendan, Aldhelm and Theophilus in S.E.L., I, pp.164, 180, 211 and 221.
30. cf. Judas sta. 4.2 and 5.1.
31. See above, Chapter Two, note 77.
32. In the Sarum rite, used in England before the Reformation, the priest asked the infant's godparents, "Abrenuncias Sathane ... et omnibus operibus eius ... et omnibus pompis eius?": Manuale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis, ed. A.J. Collins (Henry Bradshaw Society vol. XCI), Chichester, 1960, p.36. The formula of renunciation can be traced back to the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, written c. A.D.215: see E. C. Whitaker, Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy (S.P.C.K.), 2nd ed., London, 1970, p.5.
33. M. D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches, Cambridge, 1963, p.163, and Plates 16a, 16d and 23b.
34. Child 93 J stas. 16 and 17; cf. Child 103 A stas. 43, 44.
35. Herod's question is, "What ails thee, Stephen? Are you mad? Do you begin to rave?" (or: "Are you starting to go mad?"). See M.E.D., I, p.1130, 'breiden' vb. 1, sense 11a, 'breiden wod', to turn mad or rave.
36. S.E.L., I, p.17, lines 37-46.
37. Ibid., II, p.362, lines 115-116; cf. also vol.I, p.26, line 28 and p.157, line 33 (SS. Vincent and George).
38. S.E.L., I, p.148, lines 179-180; cf. also p.158, line 179, (St. George).

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39. D. Attwater, The Penguin Dictionary of Saints, Harmondsworth, 1965, p.41.
40. W. Shakespeare, The Complete Works, ed. P. Alexander, London and Glasgow, 1951, 'Hamlet' I. i. 157-161.
41. R. Lemon, Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broad-sides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, London, 1866, no.305, p.84; Child, E.S.P.B., I, p.240, cites a copy of this broadsheet printed in London in 1701.
42. E.S.P.B., I, pp.241, 505; II, p.501; IV, pp.451-452.
43. Herod goes "wood" for wrath in Play VIII (Magi) of The Chester Mystery Cycle, ed. R.M. Lumiansky and D. Mills (E.E.T.S., S.S.3), London and New York, 1974, p.173, lines 382-385. In Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, ed. H. Craig (E.E.T.S., E.S.87), London, 1902, Play I (Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant), p.27, lines 777-783, Herod rages and runs "wode", according to the stage direction, "in the pagond and in the strete also".
44. e.g. below, Appendix A, C.T.C. text 30 stas. 7 and 8; Appendix C, B.W. text 18 sta. 8; for discussion of these ballads and their endings, see Chapters Four and Six, below.
45. C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden Neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881, p.28, lines 1-8; this life of St. Stephen is no.3056 in Brown and Robbins, Index of M.E. Verse.
46. Lines with six stresses: S.S.H. stas. 1.1-2; 2.1-2; 5.1; 8.2; 10.1; 11.1; 12.1-2. Lines with seven stresses: S.S.H. stas. 5.2; 6.1; 7.1-2; 8.1; 9.1-2; 10.2 and 11.2. Lines with either six or seven stresses: S.S.H. stas. 3.1-2; 4.1-2; 6.2. This metrical reading is, of course, subjective.
47. e.g. Child 31 stas. 1.2,4 and 2.2,4; 161 A stas. 8.2 and 17.2; 189 stas. 1.2 and 2.2; 158 B stas. 36.4 and 38.4.
48. cf. the use of "among his knightes alle" in the thirteenth century romance King Horn, ed. J. Hall, Oxford, 1901, lines 224 and 256, p.15, and line 894, p.53; these lines, cited from 'C', i.e. MS. Gg. iv. 27.2, University Library, Cambridge, all rhyme with 'halle' as in S.S.H.
49. Matt. XXVI.34, 69-75; Lk. XXII.34, 55-62; Jn. XIII.38 and XVIII.16-18, 25-27; in Mk. XIV.30, 66-72, Peter denies Christ thrice before the cock crows twice.
50. James, Apoc. N.T., p.147 (on date) and p.150 (paraphrase).
51. Ibid., p.150; see also E.S.P.B., I, p.240.
52. James, Apoc. N.T., p.152.
53. E.S.P.B., I, pp.239-240; the interpolation is given in C. de Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876, p.269 n.3.
54. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, ed., New Testament Apocrypha (2 vols., Tübingen, 1959-1964), transd. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols., London 1963-1965, I, pp.447-448.
55. James, Apoc. N.T., p.115.

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56. Cursor Mundi, ed. R. Morris, (E.E.T.S., O.S.57, 59, 62, 66 and 68), 3 vols., London, 1874-1878, II, lines 15983-15998, pp.914-915; all quotations in this thesis are from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS. 14 (Lancashire dialect, of the early fifteenth century), unless otherwise stated.
57. Reichl, Religiöse Dichtung, p.118.
58. See above, Chapter Two, pp.19-20.
59. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('Med. Legend'), p.550, paraphrasing "p.222 of the facsimile edition", which, however, he omits to cite.
60. Baum, P.M.L.A. XXXI ('Med. Legend'), pp.490-491, 'Type Ap'.
61. Chester Mystery Cycle, Play VIII, pp.161-162, lines 125-150; Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, Play I, p.19, lines 533-539 and pp.21-22, lines 603-641; Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi, ed. K.S. Block (E.E.T.S., E.S.120), London, 1922, Play XV, pp.154-156, lines 95-142; The Towneley Plays, ed. G. England and A.W. Pollard (E.E.T.S., E.S.71), London, 1897, Play XIV, pp.142-143 stas. 9-14 and pp.148-151 stas. 44-61; The York Plays, ed. L.T. Smith, Oxford, 1885, Play XVII, scene II, pp.128-129, stas. 7, 8.
62. (Raimbert de Paris), La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche par Raimbert de Paris, Poème du XIIe Siècle, ed. J. Barrois, 2 vols., Paris, 1842, II, p.485, lines 11607-11627.
63. See, however, the Faroese ballad of St. Stephen summarised by Child, E.S.P.B., I, p.234.
64. See E.S.P.B., I, pp.236-239, 505; II, p.501; IV, p.451; V, pp.212, 288.
65. E.S.P.B., III, pp.502-503.
66. A. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Edinburgh and London, 1928, II, pp.176-177; D. Hyde, The Religious Songs of Connacht, 2 vols., Dublin and London, n.d. (1906), II, pp.152-157.
67. The term "fences" (Child 55 sta. 10.4) or "senses" (Appendix B, below, C.C. texts XI sta. 10.4 and 2 sta. 3.4) is obscure in this context and has never been satisfactorily explained; my own tentative and rather unconvincing suggestion is that the original word was 'sennets' or 'trumpet calls' (O.E.D., VIII, Pt. II, p.455).
68. D.g.F., II, p.525, no.96 A, 'Jesusbarnet, Stefan og Herodes'; partly translated in E.S.P.B., I, pp.233-234; translated in full in R.C.A. Prior, Ancient Danish Ballads, 3 vols., London and Edinburgh, 1860, I, pp.398-399 and in Dal, Danish Ballads and Folk Songs, pp.53-54.
69. D.g.F. 96 B in vol.III, p.881, from two copies of the middle and late eighteenth century; summarised in E.S.P.B., I, p.234.
70. E.S.P.B., I, pp.234-235.
71. Arnberg, Medeltida Balladen, p.149 (summary only).
72. D.g.F. III, pp.882-883; described in E.S.P.B., I, p.235 and II, pp.7-8.

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73. For this tradition, see Greene nos. 122 A sta. 7 and 129 stas. 5, 6 and also Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, Play I, p. 24, line 695.
74. D.g.F. III, p. 882 (Swedish broadside) sta. 2.1; the presence of Herod's council is perhaps implied in Child 22 sta. 10.2, "among the lordes alle".
75. Chester Mystery Cycle, Play X, lines 169-172, p. 191; Caxton's Golden Legend II, p. 177. Cf. the later carol 'In the reign of great Caesar, the Emperor of Rome' in W.H. Husk, Songs of the Nativity, London, n.d. (1868), p. 58, sta. 11.
76. D.g.F. 96 A (vol. II, p. 525) sta. 7.3; D.g.F., III, p. 882 (Swedish broadside), sta. 2.3.
77. cf. Child 59 A sta. 10; 81 A sta. 11; 165 sta. 6. (All ballad versions of the seventeenth century).
78. Child 74 A sta. 10.1-2; cf. also Child 100 A sta. 8; 102 A sta. 11; 110 A sta. 15; 156 A sta. 2.
79. Protevangelium XXII.1, translated by James, Apoc. N.T., p. 48. The Protevangelium, a Greek work, probably of the second century, is printed by Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp. 1-50 and translated into English by James, Apoc. N.T., pp. 38-49, B.H. Cowper, The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ, 4th ed., London, 1874, pp. 1-26 and Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., I, pp. 374-388. A Latin version was probably known in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: ibid., I, p. 370 and see M.R. James, Latin Infancy Gospels, Cambridge, 1927, esp. pp. ix-xi.
80. Hodgart, The Ballads, p. 20 is wrong in supposing that the survival of ballads on apocryphal subjects is the sign of an undercurrent of paganism and heresy among the English peasantry.

CHAPTER FOUR

'THE CHERRY TREE CAROL' (Child 54)

Sixty-six traditional and seventeen English Broadside variants of The Cherry Tree Carol are listed and described below in Appendix A and will be referred to by number alone in this chapter. These variants, none older than the late eighteenth century, have been recovered from the Southern, Western and West Midland counties of England, and from North East Scotland, Eire and North America, particularly the Appalachian mountain region in the United States of America. Although certain broad textual relationships can be discerned, and will be described below, there is much variation among the listed texts and it has not proved practicable either to classify the texts according to group, or to draw up a precise stemma of the process of transmission.

One difficulty of classification is that the structure of The Cherry Tree Carol is episodic: the ballad may end in several ways. The core of the ballad, however, is the 'episode of the bowing tree', in which Joseph churlishly refuses to gather cherries for his pregnant wife, the Virgin Mary: the tree then bows miraculously, usually at the bidding of the unborn Christ Child, and Mary eats her fill. This section of the ballad uses traditional language and motifs found in Middle English poetry and probably therefore derives from an ur-ballad known in the early fifteenth century or before.

The ultimate source of the 'episode of the bowing tree' is the apocryphal infancy gospel of Pseudo-Matthew¹, a Latin compilation of the eighth or ninth century which includes much material from the Protevangelium². In Pseudo-Matthew XX, the Holy Family,

accompanied by servants and animals, are travelling to Egypt. Mary, tired by the heat of the sun, suggests to Joseph that they rest in the shade of a date-palm. While she rests there, Mary notices that the tree is laden with fruit and speaks to Joseph of her desire for the fruit. Joseph wonders that she can think of such a thing, since the tree is high and he is worried by the travelling party's lack of water³:

Then the little child, Jesus, sitting with a glad countenance in his mother's lap, saith to the palm, O tree, bend down thy branches, and with thy fruit refresh my mother. And straightway at this word, the palm bowed down its top to the feet of the blessed Mary, and they gathered from it fruit wherewith all were refreshed. Now after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bowed down, waiting to rise at his command at whose command it had bowed down. Then Jesus said to it, Raise thee, O palm, and be strong, and be a partner with my trees which are in the paradise of my Father.

At Jesus' command, the tree releases a fountain of clear water from its roots and the next day is rewarded when an angel bears one of its branches to Paradise.

There are many differences between this account and The Cherry Tree Carol: in Pseudo-Matthew, Jesus is a small child, not an unborn baby; the tree is a date-palm; Joseph is merely worried, not churlish; there is the additional miracle of the spring; finally, the incident takes place in hot, desert country, on the way to Egypt.

Nevertheless, The Cherry Tree Carol is clearly based on a Middle English tradition derived from Pseudo-Matthew, and the account in the apocryphal gospel can be used to distinguish which expressions and motifs in the extant variants of The Cherry Tree Carol belonged to the ur-ballad. Thus, in most ballad texts, it is merely stated that the trees were heavy with cherries, but in some variants it is Mary who notices the fruit, as in Pseudo-Matthew⁴:

As they went a-walking
 In the garden so gay
 Maid Mary spied cherries
 Hanging over yon tree.

The variants of The Cherry Tree Carol explain the miracle in several different ways. Usually the unborn Christ Child speaks from Mary's womb. He may tell Mary to, "Go to the tree ... and it shall bow down"⁵, or issue a direct command to the tree⁶:

O then bespake the babe in his mother's womb,
 'Bow down he tall trees (sic) to my mother's hand.'
C.T.C. 1a sta. 6.

Then whispered Jesus
 So meek in the womb,
 'Bow down, gentle cherry bush,
 That my mother may have some.'
C.T.C. 17 sta. 4.

In some variants, Mary herself commands the tree to bow⁷; in others, God speaks from heaven⁸ or an angel performs the miracle⁹. It seems probable, however, that in the ur-ballad Jesus gave a direct command to the tree, that it bow to His mother, as in Pseudo-Matthew and in several Middle English poems: this is also especially appropriate to the ballad, where the baby Jesus, as the Second Person of the Trinity, responds to Joseph's challenge, 'Let him pluck thee cherries that got thee with child'.

The ur-ballad of the bowing tree probably concluded with the announcement to Joseph by an angel of the impending birth and true identity of the Christ Child, judging by the varied references to angels which survive in many texts of the present ballad: Joseph, while walking, may hear an angel directly describe the poverty of Christ's lodgings and clothes¹⁰; the same stanzas may be misplaced and used as an indirect description of Christ's birth¹¹, or as the Christ Child's prophecy of His own poverty¹²; sometimes both Joseph and Mary hear angels sing¹³ and sometimes just Mary alone, as she puts Jesus to bed¹⁴. Whilst

the original ballad episode of the angel was probably suggested by Matthew's gospel (I.21), it may also have been prompted by the appearance of an angel at the conclusion of the miracle in Pseudo-Matthew.

Pseudo-Matthew influenced much medieval vernacular literature, and there are several European ballads of the bowing tree¹⁵, most apparently unrelated to The Cherry Tree Carol. A ballad found in French and Provençal¹⁶, however, may well be derived from a medieval ballad similar to the English carol, since it too recounts that the incident took place before Christ's birth: Joseph and Mary walk in a garden, and Mary confesses to a desire for apples; Joseph replies that the man who caused her such longing (i.e. the 'pica' of pregnant women) should gather her the fruit; Mary raises her hand, and the tree bows, whereupon Joseph falls on his knees and begs Mary's pardon; the Provençal version concludes with the journey to Bethlehem and the miracle of the armless girl who grows arms to pick up the Christ Child. Curiously enough, the latter miracle is found appended to an Irish Gaelic cante-fable of the cherry tree from recent tradition¹⁷.

The Cherry Tree Carol itself, however, is clearly related to the Middle English tradition of the bowing tree on the flight to Egypt. The earliest Middle English example of the episode from Pseudo-Matthew occurs in a poem on the Childhood of Jesus in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. 1486 (also called Laud Misc. MS. 184 and Laud MS. 108), of the late thirteenth century¹⁸; the language of this poem is Southern, and it appears to be based on an Old French original¹⁹. In Laud MS. 108, Mary notices the fruit (apparently apples²⁰) as in Pseudo-Matthew, but Jesus forestalls Joseph's reply by speaking to the tree "mildeliche"²¹:

and seide: Ich the hote, treo,
To mi Moder a bouwe thou the
With gret plente nouthe yif hire
Of that fruit that thou dest bere!

The tree immediately bows²²:

Marie inoughh thar of et
And al so dude Josep ek
Tho huy weren wel i fuld
Of that fruyt erore wild.

Jesus' direct command to the tree that it bow to His mother is, as we have seen, a feature of The Cherry Tree Carol. The Childhood poem's reference to Mary eating 'enough' is found also in a Scottish ballad variant:

The small branch did break,
And the rough branch did bow,
And Mary's gotten cherries,
She's gotten cherries enow.
C.T.C. 25 sta. 8.

Many other variants imply that Mary ate her fill of the cherries²³. The rhyme 'wild' used in the Childhood poem is found in other Middle English accounts of the bowing tree, and in a broadside variant of The Cherry Tree Carol, though the latter seems to be a later emendation²⁴.

Not much later than the Childhood poem in Laud MS. 108 is the account of the bowing tree in the Northumbrian poem Cursor Mundi²⁵, which corresponds closely with Pseudo-Matthew: here also, Mary notices the fruit and Jesus issues a direct command to the tree²⁶:

bowe the til us squithe thou tree
and of thi frute gif us plente
vnneth had he saide the soun.
quen the tree louted down.
right to mari his moder fote.

The tree's bowing to Mary's foot is derived from Pseudo-Matthew. Extant ballad variants adapt this detail in that the tree bows to Mary's hand or knee and they retain the further detail, found in Pseudo-Matthew²⁷, that it is the very highest part of the tree (sometimes "the uppermost sprig"²⁸) which bows:

Then the highest branches bent as low
As Mother Mary's knee
And she picked of the cherries
By one, two and three.

C.T.C. 6b sta. 8.

In Cursor Mundi, Jesus describes the trees in Paradise as "my awen orcharde"²⁹. In several variants of The Cherry Tree Carol, Joseph and Mary walk through an 'orchard good'; in others, they walk through a garden, usually 'green' or 'gay'³⁰. However, the walking of a man and his wife or sweetheart in a 'garden green' is also a ballad commonplace³¹.

A later poem on the Childhood of Jesus occurs in three redactions in fifteenth century manuscripts of the North and North Midlands³². In this poem's account of the bowing tree³³, the tree apparently bears both flowers and fruit³⁴. Mary's request to Joseph, and his rude answer, are omitted; Jesus issues a direct command to the tree³⁵:

Jhesu thane spake to the tree anone
Lowte doune, he sayde, my modir vn-tille,
Tille scho and Joseph bathe hafe tane
Of thy froyte all that thay wille.

Here also Mary is said to have "ynoghe"³⁶, the tree bows to Mary's feet³⁷ and, as in the earlier Childhood of Jesus, Mary thanks her Son for the miracle³⁸.

An early fifteenth century Life of St. Anne acknowledges Pseudo-Matthew as one of its sources³⁹. In the episode of the bowing tree in this poem⁴⁰, it is Mary who notices the fruit; Joseph's reply, that no man could climb so high a tree⁴¹, is akin to the ballad quip that another man, the father of Mary's child, should get her the fruit. Here also Jesus commands the tree⁴²:

... 'yow make the boun
& to my moder here bow down.'

The Middle English work most closely related to our ballad is, however, the cherry tree episode in the Ludus Coventriae⁴³ or 'Hegge Plays', a compilation of mystery plays written down in or about 1468⁴⁴ in an East Midland dialect: the plays may have originated in Lincoln⁴⁵ or perhaps Norfolk⁴⁶. As the banns

attached to the plays do not correspond with the cycle of plays we have, it is thought that a group of plays on the life of the Virgin Mary, made in honour of St. Anne, has been written into a cycle of Corpus Christi plays which were already Marian in tone⁴⁷.

The cherry tree episode occurs on the journey to Bethlehem in the Birth of Christ (play XV) and is followed in the play by Joseph's encounter with the midwives. According to both canonical and apocryphal gospel, Joseph's doubts about Mary's virginity have been allayed before the journey to Bethlehem: in the manuscript cycle of Ludus Coventriae, moreover, Joseph's doubts have been shown to be resolved in two earlier plays, Joseph's Return (XII) and the Trial of Joseph and Mary (XIV), both usually adjudged, with the Birth of Christ, to have been part of the Corpus Christi cycle before the addition of the St. Anne plays⁴⁸. Other reasons besides this thematic one suggest that the episode of the cherry tree is a later interpolation: it is not mentioned in the Proclamation of the Banns⁴⁹, it contains a type of 'tumbling verse' considered a sign of late revision⁵⁰ and it has been marked with mid-line points, like the St. Anne plays, but unlike the rest of the Birth of Christ, Joseph's Return or the Trial of Joseph and Mary⁵¹.

In my opinion, the cherry tree episode in Ludus Coventriae is based on an existing poem⁵², probably the ur-ballad of the cherry tree, which, however, differed in some significant ways from Child 54. The poem must have been popular to have prompted the intrusion of such an awkward episode, not only inconsistent with what has gone before, but also briefly told and yet apparently demanding the difficult stage property of a tree which first flowers and then bears cherries. Ludus Coventriae, however, appears to have involved the use of complicated stage

equipment⁵³; alternatively, it could be argued that the spectators of such scenes were required to use their imagination⁵⁴.

The Birth of Christ opens with a monologue by Joseph explaining the Census of St. Luke's gospel (II.1-5). He then announces to Mary that he must make the journey to Bethlehem⁵⁵:

Now my wyff mary . what sey ye to this
For sekyr nedys I must fforth wende
On to the cyte of bedleem ffer hens i-wys
Thus to labore I must my body bende.

Mary: Myn husbond and my spowse with yow wyl I wende
A syght of that cyte ffayn wolde I se
If I myght of myn Alye ony ther ffynde
It wolde be grett joye on to me.

Joseph's invitation and Mary's willing reply seem to be traditional by the fifteenth century, since similar forms are found before the journey to Bethlehem in both the (true) Coventry Nativity Play and the Life of St. Anne⁵⁶. Moreover, it seems probable that a similar invitation and reply formed part of the ur-ballad of the cherry tree, since in two variants, from Scotland and Ireland, Joseph announces to Mary that he will make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem⁵⁷:

He made her a bed
O' the pillows and sheets;
Says, 'Lie doun, my Mary,
And take a quiet sleep
For I'm going to Jerusalem
My sins to beweepe.'

'I winna lie doun, Joseph,
For sleep I'll get nane,
It's I will go wi you
Wherever you gang.'

Scottish and Irish Gaelic ballads of the cherry tree⁵⁸, adjudged by the Irish scholar Hugh Shields certainly to be derived from the English Cherry Tree Carol⁵⁹, throw further light on this invitation. The Scottish Gaelic version (stanza 1) indicates that Joseph and Mary are travelling to the Census. An Irish Gaelic version introduces Joseph's pilgrimage after the miracle, to demonstrate Joseph's repentance⁶⁰:

Then spake St. Joseph, and cast himself upon the ground, "Go home, O Mary, and lie upon thy couch until I go to Jerusalem, doing penance for my sin." Then spake the Virgin with utterance that was blessed, "I shall not go home, and I shall not lie upon my couch, but you have forgiveness to find from the King of the Graces for your sins."

It seems likely, then, that in the ur-ballad, as in Ludus Coventriae, the miracle of the bowing tree occurred on the journey to Bethlehem, as is explicitly indicated by several of the present ballad variants⁶¹. However, in most later variants the stanzas of Joseph's invitation and Mary's reply dropped out. Where they remained, the Census was forgotten, and the journey became a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; later, in some texts, the penitential pilgrimage was understood as part of Joseph's contrition and hence placed after the miracle. Joseph's request that Mary lie down probably indicates his solicitude about her condition, a trait he also exhibits in the Ludus Coventriae episode⁶²:

My Spowse ye be with childe . I fere yow to kary
Ffor me semyth it were werkys wylde
but yow to plese ryght ffayn wold I
yitt women ben ethe to greve . whan thei be with childe.

In Ludus Coventriae it is Mary who notices the tree⁶³, which is bare at first. Joseph remarks that it is a cherry tree and that in due season she might eat her fill. Mary then announces that the tree has just burst into bloom. Joseph urges her to hurry, but Mary replies⁶⁴:

Now my spowse I pray yow to be-hold
How the cheryes growyn vpon yon tre
Ffor to haue ther-of ryght ffayn I wold
and it plesyd yow to labore so mech for me.

Joseph at first tries to 'pluck' the cherries and then gives up⁶⁵:

Your desyre to ffulfyllle I xal Assay sekyrly
Ow . to plucke yow of these cherries . it is a werk wylde
Ffor the tre is so hygh . it wol not be lyghtly
Therefore lete hym pluk yow cheryes . begatt yow with childe.

The suddenness of Joseph's verbal attack on Mary supports my thesis that the playwright here is working into his speech a traditional rejoinder from the ur-ballad, a quip preserved almost unchanged in many later ballad variants⁶⁶.

It has appeared to some scholars⁶⁷ that the cherry tree in Ludus Coventriae bows at Mary's command. In fact, however, Mary first prays to God and then comments that the tree is bowing to her⁶⁸:

Now good lord I pray the . graunt me this boun
to haue of these cheries and it be your wylle
now I thank it god . this tre bowyth to me doun
I may now gaderyn A-nowe . and etyn my fylle

The tree's bowing to Mary, and Mary's eating 'enough' is, as we have seen, a feature of the Middle English Childhood poems. Mary throughout the scene in Ludus Coventriae acts as a commentator on the tree's actions, and her words here are almost a paraphrase from her own point of view of this section of the ballad:

Then up speaks the little child in his own mother's womb
'Bow down, you sweet cherry tree, and give my mother some.'
Then the top spray in the cherry tree bowed down to her knee:
'And now you see, Joseph, there are cherries for me.'
C.T.C. 12, stas. 4,5.

Joseph's challenge demands that Jesus or God the Father perform the miracle directly in order to prove the Paternity of the Christ Child. Also, it would be difficult to portray on stage the Christ Child speaking from Mary's womb. Joseph's words of contrition, moreover, imply that he has just witnessed a demonstration of the power of the Trinity⁶⁹:

Ow . I know weyl I haue offendyd my god in trinyte
Spekyng to my spowse these vnkynde wurdys
Ffor now I beleve wel it may non other be
but that my spowse beryght the kyngys son of blys

Joseph's reference to his 'vnkynde wordys' suggests that the ur-ballad of the cherry tree contained the phrase 'words so

unkind' which is preserved in so many later variants⁷⁰:

Then Joseph spoke to Mary
In words so unkind
'Let him pluck thee cherries, Mary,
Who brought thee with child.'
C.T.C. 6b sta. 6.

At an earlier stage still, Joseph may have spoken with words 'unmild'⁷¹, since this would emend the rhyme. Joseph's acknowledgement that Mary is bearing God Himself occurs also in the Scottish Gaelic ballad of the cherry tree⁷². Joseph's repentance in the English ballad is discussed below. In Ludus Coventriae, Mary thanks Joseph for his apology, and they proceed to Bethlehem.

Carr suggests that the episode of the bowing tree was first adapted as a Nativity story in Ludus Coventriae and that both Child 54 and the Middle English romance of 'Sir Cleges' are derived from the play⁷³. The two fifteenth century recensions of 'Sir Cleges', however, are thought to be derived from a common original of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries⁷⁴, i.e. earlier than the compilation of Ludus Coventriae. Moreover, apart from the motif of a cherry tree bearing fruit on Christmas Day, the romance story of the restoration of Sir Cleges' fortunes through his gift of the cherries to the king resembles neither Ludus Coventriae nor Child 54 very closely⁷⁵. It is, of course, not impossible that the composer of 'Sir Cleges' knew the ur-ballad of the cherry tree, but C.G. Loomis shows that many much earlier saints' legends recount the mid-winter bearing of fruit⁷⁶.

Furthermore, it has already been demonstrated that Child 54 contains motifs found in Pseudo-Matthew and the Middle English poems derived from it, but not in Ludus Coventriae: these are, mainly, Jesus' direct command that the tree bow, and the

detail that the very top of the tree bows to Mary's knee.

The present ballad also preserves more clearly the fact that Mary suffers the 'pica' of pregnant women⁷⁷:

O then bespake mary so meek and so mild,
'Pluck me a Cherry for I am with Child.'
C.T.C. 1a sta. 4.

Mary's announcement here is a more natural spur to Joseph's anger than her modest request in Ludus Coventriae.

The most significant difference between Ludus Coventriae and Child 54 is that in the former the tree both blossoms and bears fruit as Mary looks at it. This may well have been a feature of the ur-ballad, since the tree in the later Childhood poem bears both flowers and fruit. However, the reviser of Ludus Coventriae might simply have utilised the common medieval tradition that on Christmas Night all created things, including plants, honoured Christ. According to the Stanzaic Life of Christ preserved in fifteenth century manuscript, but probably compiled at Chester during the fourteenth century⁷⁸, the vines of Engedi flowed with balm and bore fruit suddenly on Christmas Night⁷⁹:

The thrid wonder hit was tys
thay sprongen wer so sodeynly
ffor las then in an hour i-wys
thay burionut & leuet apertly,

And beren fruyt eke also,
thus knew that creatur God almyght
that beyng & lif hade both two
but nouthur felyng, wit ne sight.

Similarly the tree in Ludus Coventriae probably blooms and bears fruit not primarily to honour Mary's gaze, but to acknowledge the presence of its Creator in her womb, as Joseph, at first, would not.

The resemblances between Child 54 and the episode in Ludus Coventriae are in general so strong that it is possible to

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conjecture which features were part of the ur-ballad from which both are derived. Features found only in Ludus Coventriae are given in parenthesis; apparently archaic features found only in The Cherry Tree Carol are underlined:

- (1) Joseph, an old man, married Mary in Galilee.
- (2) Mary, his cousin, proved with child, but Joseph
knew her not.
- (3) Joseph announces that he is going on a journey
(to Bethlehem).
- (4) Mary says that she will go with him.
- (5) (a) They walk in an orchard.
(b) (They climb a hill.)
- (6) Mary notices a cherry tree:
(a) it already bears cherries.
(b) (it is bare, but first blooms, then bears
cherries as Mary looks at it.)
- (7) Mary asks for cherries.
- (8) (Joseph at first tries to pick the cherries.)
- (9) Joseph uses unkind words: 'Let him pluck you
cherries who got you with child.'
- (10) In response to these words, Jesus speaks from the womb.
- (11) Jesus commands the tree to bow down to his mother, so
that she may gather the cherries.
- (12) The highest part of the tree bows to Mary's knee, or hand.
- (13) (Mary thanks God.)
- (14) Mary eats 'enough'.
- (15) Joseph is filled with contrition:
(a) (he acknowledges his sin against God and confesses
that the child in Mary's womb is God.)
(b) he begs Mary's pardon.

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- (16) (Mary acknowledges Joseph's apology and forgives him.)
- (17) The identity of Christ is announced by an angel.
- (18) Mary and Joseph continue their journey to Bethlehem and Christ is born.

Apart from Ludus Coventriae, no Middle English work testifies unequivocally to a knowledge of the cherry tree ballad on the part of its author. Rosenberg, indeed, claims that Chaucer deliberately alluded to the cherry tree story in 'The Merchant's Tale', by such details as the ages of January and May, their initials, the garden setting, and May's attribution of her appetite for fruit to pregnancy⁸⁰. Most of these details, however, are adequately explained by other medieval works⁸¹.

The Chester Shepherd's Play (VII) indicates the popularity of stories of the bowing tree in the middle ages, and perhaps beyond: the Chester Plays are extant only in late sixteenth century manuscript, though they may represent their fourteenth century originals quite faithfully⁸². In the Shepherd's Play, the fourth boy presents the Christ Child with a nut hook⁸³:

Nowe, chyld, although thou be comen from God
And bee thyselfe God in thy manhoode,
yet I know that in thy chyldhood
thow will for sweetemeat looke
To pulle down apples, payres, and ploomes,
ould Joseph shall not need to hurte his handes
because thow haste not plentye of cromes
I give thee here my nuthooke.

In Ludus Coventriae, also, it is suggested that Joseph hurts himself whilst attempting to pick fruit⁸⁴.

In the Towneley 'Secunda Pastorum', written by the 'Wakefield Master' in the first half of the fifteenth century⁸⁵, the first shepherd offers Jesus a "bob of cherys"⁸⁶. This does not necessarily indicate, pace Carr⁸⁷, that the Wakefield Master knew the cherry tree story. The cherries might have been

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intended, like the other shepherds' gifts of a bird and a ball, simply to emphasise Christ's childhood⁸⁸: compare the quotation from the Chester play above.

Cantelupe and Griffith argue from the evidence of paintings that cherries have been a Christian symbol from the seventh century, associated with the Blood of the Crucifixion and the Wine of the Eucharist⁸⁹. The cherries of Ludus Coventriae and Child 54, however, may not have much significance: in the Provençal ballad, the fruit is an apple, and apples are mentioned with cherries in several variants of The Cherry Tree Carol⁹⁰. The Middle English proverb, 'This world is but a cheri-feire'⁹¹, perhaps implies that the cherry was thought delicious enough to symbolise the fleeting joys of human life; if so, the Virgin's longing for cherries is poignantly human.

The most important alteration made to the story in Pseudo-Matthew by the ballad and Ludus Coventriae is, however, the retiming of the miracle so that it takes place before Christ's birth. The motive for this change was probably the enhancement of Christ's power, for if Christ was two years old on the Flight to Egypt, as some clerics thought⁹², then Christ's power of speech itself would not be miraculous. A legend of Christ's talking in the cradle was clearly known early in Arabia, for it occurs both in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy⁹³ (Chapter I) and in the Koran⁹⁴. By the early fifteenth century the tradition of Luke's gospel (I.15,41) that John the Baptist leapt in his mother's womb had been amplified in England and Germany to suggest that he also talked⁹⁵. Early talking, both before and after birth, is a common feature of medieval saints' legends⁹⁶:

... the situation which is presented most frequently is that of false accusation of paternity. The infant in each instance reveals his true father.

Christ's command in The Cherry Tree Carol does in fact reveal His true paternity. The transference of the 'early talking tradition' to the ballad was doubtless fostered by the popular belief that Jesus was perfect Man, fully formed, from the moment of His conception⁹⁷.

Before examining other motifs and episodes which make up The Cherry Tree Carol, it seems appropriate here briefly to describe the textual relationships between the ballad's many variants. The Cherry Tree Carol seems to have been preserved without important changes until the eighteenth century, assuming that the final ballad episodes, of 'Joseph and the Angel' and the Christ Child's prophecies, are not post-medieval additions. Most of the extant broadsides, none much older than about 1800⁹⁸, are based on an 'old London version', probably of the second half of the eighteenth century, which itself appears to be derived from oral tradition, since it is disordered and corrupt. The 'old London version' is represented by Pitts' broadside, XIV, printed without stanza divisions and including an 'extra line' in Mary's request:

Then bespoke Mary with words both meek and mild:
 'Gather me some cherries, Joseph, they run so in my mind;
 'Gather me some cherries, for I am with child.'
XIV, 'sta. 4'..

Later in this version, another 'extra line' is included:

Then bespoke Jesus all in his mother's womb
 'Go to the tree, Mary, and it shall bow down
 'And the highest branch shall bow down to Mary's knee,
 And she shall gather cherries by one two or three.'
 'Now you may see, Joseph, the cherries were for me.'
XIV, 'stas. 6, 7'.

These 'extra lines' may well be remnants of lost stanzas of incremental repetition. Two curious corruptions occur later in this version: instead of the angel's declaration that Jesus was not christened in white wine nor red, we are told that

"He never did require white wine and red" (stanza 10.1); instead of the Christ Child's prophecy that He will be as dead as the stones in the wall, He announces to Mary:

'This world shall be like the stones in the street
For the sun and the moon shall bow down at thy feet.'
XIV, 'sta. 13'.

Broadsides XIII and XVII are likewise variants of the 'old London version', but contain the further corruption, 'He never did require white wine and bread' (Stanza 10.1). This latter version was adopted by the Birmingham printer Joseph Russell, but the 'extra lines' caused him to divide the stanzas awkwardly:

As Joseph and Mary walked through the garden gay,
Where the cherries they grew upon ev'ry tree
O then bespoke Mary with words both meek and mild,
'Gather me some cherries, Joseph, they run so in my mind,

'Gather me some cherries for I am with child.'
Then bespoke Joseph with words most unkind,
'Let them gather thee cherries who got thee with child.'
Then bespoke Jesus all in his mother's womb.

VII stas. 2, 3.

Other Birmingham printers attempted to regularise Russell's version. Bloomer, the printer of broadside V, merely switched Mary's lines of request so that 'mild' rhymed with 'child' and 'mind' with 'unkind'. Wright, in broadside IX, emends 'they run so in my mind' to "Gather me some cherries, Joseph, they run so wild" (stanza 2.4). Broadside I and VI are virtually identical: Cowper may have used Jackson's chapbook (VI) and merely made a few editorial alterations. In this version, the awkward stanzas have been rewritten to regularise the rhyme:

As Joseph and Mary walked the garden gay,
Where cherries grew upon every spray,
O then bespoke Mary, with words so meek and mild,
'Gather me some cherries, for I am with child.

'Gather me some cherries, Joseph, they run so in my mind.'
Then bespoke Joseph with words so unkind,
'I will not gather cherries.' Then said Mary, 'You shall see
By what shall happen, these cherries were for me.'

VI stas. 2, 3.

The London printers Batchelar, Catnach and Taylor (Broadside XI, XII and XV) solved the problem of the 'extra lines' by shortening the version represented by XIV and omitting the incident of the bowing tree completely. These versions thus consist of four 'long-line' stanzas, one describing Joseph's marriage and Mary's pregnancy, two more Joseph's encounter with the angel, and the final one the Christ Child's prophecy that the world will be like the stones in the street.

Hone, writing in 1823, admitted that he was presenting his own version made up from several broadsides. His version (II) appears to be based on the 'old London version' with several additional stanzas, including two from the Christ Child's prophecy of His Resurrection. Broadside X, printed at Gravesend c. 1846, is virtually identical with Hone's version.

A broadside version independent of the 'old London version' appears, however, to have been known in the West Midlands during the late eighteenth century and may be represented by the version printed by Husk in 1868 (III), for which he gives no source. This has a different account of the bowing tree:

O then bespoke our Saviour
All in His mother's womb,
'Bow down, good cherry-tree,
To my mother's hand.'

The uppermost sprig
Bowed down to Mary's knee,
'Thus you may see, Joseph,
These cherries are for me.'

'O eat your cherries, Mary,
O eat your cherries now,
O eat your cherries, Mary
That grow upon the bough.'

III stas. 6-8.

The version also has the 'correct' form of the christening stanza from the episode of 'Joseph and the angel', and a full and correct version of the Christ Child's prophecies:

Then Mary took her young Son
 And set him on her knee:
 'I pray thee, now, dear child,
 Tell how this world shall be?'

'O, I shall be as dead, Mother,
 As the stones in the wall;
 O the stones in the street, mother,
 Shall mourn for me all.'

III stas. 14, 15.

Three stanzas concerning the Crucifixion and the Resurrection follow, of which two are found also in II and X.

The Birmingham printing family of Wood, which began work in the late eighteenth century, printed a corrupt variant of the 'independent West Midland version' (VIII) in which the episode of 'Joseph and the angel' is omitted, but two stanzas from it are kept and appear to be uttered by the Christ Child Himself (see VIII, stanzas 10 and 11). A version like Wood's was obviously the basis of Swindells' Manchester broadside, XVI, which has bowdlerised Mary and Joseph's conversation so that it is the born Christ Child who performs the miracle:

As Joseph and Mary walk'd thro' a garden green
 The cherries hung heavily upon every limb
 O then bespoke Mary, so meek and so mild,
 'O gather me cherries, Joseph, to give to my child.'

O then replied Joseph in words so unkind,
 'I'll not gather thee cherries to give to thy child.'
 O then bespoke our Saviour, all on his mother's knee,
 'Unto my mother's hand, bow down sweet cherry tree.'

XVI stas. 2, 3.

English traditional versions 3 and 23 contain a similar form of Mary's request and Joseph's reply (see stanzas 3 and 4), and are probably derived from the independent West Midland version but have been adapted in several ways, perhaps even before the nineteenth century since they contain some traditional (though not always 'original') features: in texts 3 and 23 it is Mary who notices the cherries and performs the miracle, the episode of 'Joseph and the angel' is retained and the water in which

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Jesus is christened is 'fresh sprung from Bethine' (3 stanza 12.4, 23 stanza 11.4). Bramley and Stainer's version (3) appears to be the source from which some twentieth century American versions (60 and 62) are derived.

The oldest and best traditional variants come from Cornwall. The oldest text of The Cherry Tree Carol, 1a, dated 1767, was part of a village carol singing tradition in the deanery of Burian. This contains (at stanza 10) the 'correct' version of Christ's prophecy of the 'stones in the wall', and also two old stanzas on Joseph and Mary's walk through a garden:

Joseph and Mary walk'd through the orchards Good
Where was Cherrys and berrys as Red as the blood

Joseph and Mary walk'd through the orchards Green
Where was Cherrys and berrys as good as might be seen.
1a stas. 2, 3.

A later Cornish version, 6b, preserves the second of these stanzas and other old features, but in other respects resembles the 'independent West Midland version' in that stanzas from 'Joseph and the angel' are spoken by the Christ Child Himself (see 6b stanzas 11 and 12).

It was probably a lost English version which was transmitted to the Southern Appalachians during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries and there adapted. The version was transmitted from England to Scotland and Ireland at about the same date. This hypothesis best explains the marked similarities between English variants sung by gypsies, Scottish and Irish versions, and the 'standard American version': Joseph is often a young man who 'courts' the Virgin⁹⁹; Mary and Joseph walk through a garden green where apples and cherries are to be seen (see note 90); Joseph speaks not of him 'who got Mary with child' but of 'the father of her child'¹⁰⁰; the cherry tree bows

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'low to the ground',¹⁰¹; Jesus is sometimes called 'Our Saviour',¹⁰². Apparently an Irish feature is that Mary gathers the cherries in her apron¹⁰³. The ending of the 'standard American version', in which the unborn Christ Child prophesies His birth accompanied by apocalyptic signs, is probably an amalgamation of the two ballad sequels to the cherry tree miracle, 'Joseph and the angel' and the stanzas in which the born Christ Child prophesies His own death. 'Misplaced angel stanzas' occur in some English, Scottish and Irish variants (see notes 11 and 12), whilst in Irish and Scottish variants (see below) the Christ Child describes the apocalyptic signs which accompanied the Crucifixion.

Bronson's analysis of the ballad melodies at least does not contradict my theory of transmission¹⁰⁴: twenty-five of Bronson's thirty-two tunes belong to a central melodic group, A: group A.a, containing ten tunes, is English and Irish, group A.d, containing nine tunes, is connected with the South Appalachians.

Three English variants have been contaminated by other carols, variant 2 by the carol of 'Joseph and Mary',¹⁰⁵, and variants 17 and 18 by 'The Holly and the Ivy',¹⁰⁶.

Much in the ballad besides the cherry tree miracle derives from pre-Reformation tradition. The first line of most variants relates that Joseph was old when he married Mary: this idea, found in the Protevangelium (IX.2) and Pseudo-Matthew (VIII) is usual in Middle English literature. Joseph's old age obviously strengthened the Catholic doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity¹⁰⁷ and the tradition is preserved also in other Christmas carols¹⁰⁸.

The second stanza of The Cherry Tree Carol is best preserved in Cornish text 6b:

And when he had a-wedded her,
And at home had her brought,
Mary proved with child
But Joseph knew her not.

The stanza is probably based on Matthew's gospel (I.24,25); other versions render the last line "By whom Joseph knew not"¹⁰⁹ or "And Joseph knew it not"¹¹⁰. The last word in this line was probably originally 'noght', the emphatic Middle English negative which became obsolete by the seventeenth century¹¹¹, since this would give the stanza perfect rhyme. The stanza may in fact be adapted from a medieval commonplace, since in the late fourteenth century romance of 'Sir Launfal' Arthur's marriage to Guinevere is described thus¹¹²:

So he dede & hom her brought
But Syr Launfal lykede her noght.

The 'old London version' of our ballad asserted at this point that Mary was Joseph's 'cousin'¹¹³, an ancient tradition: Catholic genealogists claimed that both Mary and Joseph were descended from the house of David¹¹⁴ and according to the Legenda Aurea, Joseph was the brother of Cleophas, St. Anne's second husband¹¹⁵.

The story of Joseph's doubts of Mary's virginity occurs in Matthew's gospel (I.19-25) and is developed in Pseudo-Matthew XI, where, after being reassured by an angel, Joseph apologises to Mary¹¹⁶:

... and he was comforted concerning Mary, saying,
I have sinned in that I had some suspicion of thee.

Later, when Joseph and Mary have been proved innocent by the trial of the 'water of jealousy', the people apologise, kissing Mary's feet and embracing her knees¹¹⁷. In the English mystery

cycles also, Joseph repents and is forgiven after the advent of the angel¹¹⁸; in play XII of Ludus Coventriae, he offers to kiss Mary's feet but is freely forgiven¹¹⁹:

(Joseph:) A mercy, mercy my jenty l make
 mercy I haue seyde al Amys
 All that I haue seyde here I forsake
 Your swete fete now lete me kys.

(Mary:) Nay lett be my fete not tho ye take
 my mowthe ye may kys i-wys
 and welcom on to me.

As we have seen, Joseph's repentance was probably a feature of the ur-ballad, since it occurs also in the cherry tree episode in Ludus Coventriae; it survives in several English variants¹²⁰:

O then bespake Joseph,
 'I have done Mary wrong
 But cheer up my dearest
 And be not cast down.'
 1b sta. 8.

Then the cherry tree it bended and the cherry tree it broke
 And Joseph regretted the words he had spoke.
 7 sta. 6.

In several texts, Joseph's repentance has been replaced by a stanza in which he urges Mary to eat her cherries¹²¹. Mary's forgiveness, however, is not preserved in any English variant¹²², unless 'Cheer up, my dearest' reflects words originally spoken by Mary to Joseph. In the Southern Appalachian version, Joseph apologises with Mary sitting on his knee¹²³:

Then Joseph took Mary
 All on his right knee.
 He cried, 'O Lord have mercy
 For what I have done.'
 31 sta. 7.

This stanza, though influenced by the later ballad episode of Mary taking the Christ Child on her knee, may be derived from an older stanza in which Joseph fell upon his knee to ask Mary for 'mercy', as in Ludus Coventriae play XII. According to Renwick¹²⁴, a man taking his sweetheart or wife upon his knee to ask for an explanation is an American ballad commonplace.

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Both of the ballad sequels to the cherry tree miracle, 'Joseph and the angel' and the Christ Child's prophecies, use traditional language and ideas and may well have been part of the ur-ballad. The angel's description of Christ's birth may have been suggested, as Child notes, by the announcement of the angels to the shepherds in Luke's gospel¹²⁵. Christ's poverty was a favourite theme of Middle English carols¹²⁶. In The Cherry Tree Carol, as in The Carnal and the Crane (Child 55, stanzas 3, 6 and 7) Christ's poverty is described by contrast with the riches he lacked, a method perhaps popularised by a passage in the Legenda Aurea¹²⁷:

O palace celestial in which thou dwellest, not
as King adorned with precious stones, but in-corporate.
To whom, for a soft bed was duress and hard crib, for
curtains of gold and silk, the fume and stench of dung,
but the star of heaven was clearly embellished ... O ye
kings, what do ye? Ye worship the child in a little
foul house wrapped in foul clouts. Is he then not God?
Ye offer to him gold, and whereof is he King, and where
is his royal hall? Where is his throne? Where is his
court royal frequented and used with nobles? The stable
is that not his hall? And his throne the rack or crib?
They that frequent this court is it not Joseph and Mary?

The angel describes Christ's lodging to Joseph thus¹²⁸:

He neither shall be born
In house nor in hall
Nor in the place of Paradise
But in an ox-stall.

3 sta. 9.

Christ's being born in an 'ox-stall' is a commonplace of medieval carols¹²⁹. 'House nor hall' is a medieval tag phrase¹³⁰. 'Place' here probably has the meaning of 'seat, mansion, palace', first recorded about 1349 but surviving to the present day¹³¹.

The angel describes Christ's clothing thus:

He neither shall be clothed
In purple nor in pall,
But all in fair linen,
As were babies all.

III sta. 11.

The tag phrase 'purple and pall' is recorded from the thirteenth century¹³² and is commonplace in traditional balladry¹³³.

Christ's cradling is also described:

He neither shall be rocked
In silver nor in gold,
But in a wooden cradle
That rocks on the mould.
III sta. 12.

The last word here was Middle English 'mold' meaning 'earth', last used (except as a deliberate archaism) in the early seventeenth century¹³⁴.

These stanzas are well-preserved, but the christening stanza has undergone some degeneration. The usual form is:

He neither shall be christened
In white wine nor red
But with fair spring water
With which we were christened.
III sta. 13.

The last line of this stanza is awkward and consequently the rhyme scheme in some variants has been altered:

He neither shall be christened
In milk nor in wine
But in pure spring-well water
Fresh sprung from Bethine.
3 sta. 12; cf. 23 sta. 11.

This child was not baptized
Wi brandy nor wine
In a bowl o clean water
And his name was divine.
25 sta. 12; cf. 26 sta. 10.

By analogy with this stanza the clothing stanza in some variants has also been remodelled¹³⁵:

This babe was not dress-ed
In silk nor in twine
But a piece of fine linen
Was his mother's design.
26 sta. 9.

In the older versions of The Cherry Tree Carol, the Christ Child, now born and sitting on his mother's knee, prophesies His death. This was a common feature of medieval lullaby carols¹³⁶, no doubt inspired, as Child suggests, by Christ's

foreknowledge of His death in the gospels¹³⁷. This final ballad episode originally contained up to six stanzas. First, Mary sets her Son on her knee and asks Him how the world will be¹³⁸. Jesus replies that He will be as dead as the stones in the wall¹³⁹ ('dead as a stone' was a common simile in Middle English poetry¹⁴⁰); He adds that the stones in the street will mourn for Him, a motif doubtless derived from Luke's gospel (XIX.40).

The Christ Child then prophesies that He will suffer on Wednesday (the day on which He was betrayed) and Friday¹⁴¹:

'And upon a Wednesday
My vow I will make
And upon Good Friday
My death I will take.'
III sta. 16.

Much significance was attached to the days of the week in medieval religious literature¹⁴². According to the South English Legendary¹⁴³:

Wel weste oure Louerd biuore is deth . al that was to done
Ordeini he wolde al isdede . bi the cours of sonne & mone
In the heiuol he wolde deie . and that it Friday were

Originally the ballad seems to have contained a description of the darkness and the earthquake which according to the gospels¹⁴⁴ accompanied the Crucifixion. This ballad description of the Crucifixion seems also to have included some of the signs prophesied by Christ for His Second Coming¹⁴⁵: the darkness of sun and moon, the falling of the stars, lightning, the shaking of the powers of heaven. The details are preserved most clearly in the Irish Gaelic ballad¹⁴⁶:

There shall come thunder and lightning, great wind
and rain, that shall take the light from the stars,
from the sun and from the moon.

However, one Scottish and two American versions of The Cherry Tree Carol also preserve apocalyptic signs at the Crucifixion:

All on that same Friday when all things are clear
 The earth it shall be darkened and the sun disreappear.
36 sta. 7; cf. 25 sta. 14.

All on some solemn Friday his death day it will be
 When the hills and the mountains will quake around me.
56 sta. 9.

The death prophecies were followed by two stanzas descriptive of the Resurrection. The darkness of the Crucifixion would cease¹⁴⁷:

'Upon Easter-day, Mother,
 My rising shall be;
 O, the sun and the moon
 Shall uprise with me.'
III sta. 17.

According to a popular English folk belief, the sun and the moon could be seen to dance early on Easter morning¹⁴⁸. A nineteenth century broadside version of a fifteenth century carol relates that the stars too honoured Christ's Resurrection:

On Easter Sunday so bright,
 A glorious star gave light,
 Our Saviour rose from death to life,
Sweet Jesus is his name.
 Greene no. 142 B sta. 7.

The final stanza of the born Christ Child's prophecies, describing general rejoicing, may allude to a popular belief such as the Cornish legend that the robin, a friend of the Christ Child, pulled a thorn from Jesus' head as He made His way to the Cross, and later joined in the angels' chorus of joy at Christ's Resurrection¹⁴⁹:

'The people shall rejoice
 And the birds shall sing
 To see the up-rising
 Of our Heavenly King.'
VIII sta. 14.

In the 'standard American version', the usual prophetic episodes have been adapted. Joseph asks the Child in Mary's womb to prophesy His own birth. The Christ Child foretells that He will be born with apocalyptic signs on Old Christmas Day:

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'The very first Sunday
 On Old Christmas Day
 When the rocks and the mountains
 Are bending down to me,
 When the stars in the elements
 Are shining so free.'
30 sta. 8.

'On the fifth day of January
 My birthday will be
 When the stars and the elements
 Doth tremble with fear.'
31 sta. 9.

'Old Christmas Day' was created by the Gregorian Calendar Reform in September 1756, when ten days were dropped from the calendar. Since then some country people in England and America have tenaciously celebrated Christmas on the old day¹⁵⁰, which fell on 5 January between 1752 and 1799, and 6 January after 1800, when yet another day was lost from the official calendar¹⁵¹. The most common dates in the South Appalachian variants are 5 January¹⁵² and 6 January¹⁵³, which suggests that the South Appalachian ending was first composed in the late eighteenth century, revised in the nineteenth century, and then left unchanged, since no variant records the date of Old Christmas in the twentieth century, 7 January. It is impossible to tell whether the South Appalachian ending, found only on American soil, was originally made in America or in England. Clearly the adaptation was made in order to give divine authority to the celebration of Old Christmas.

Despite its didacticism and episodic structure, The Cherry Tree Carol is plainly a traditional ballad. Its metrical and melodic pattern, of 'dactylic or hypersyllabic couplets' allies it with traditional ballads such as Lamkin (Child 93) and The Death of Queen Jane (Child 170)¹⁵⁴. The poem also uses ballad commonplaces, such as 'then bespoke', a formula often used to introduce speech in traditional ballads¹⁵⁵. The motifs

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of the Christ Child's response to a challenge¹⁵⁶ and His prophetic utterances on His mother's knee¹⁵⁷ are also paralleled in secular balladry.

The rambling structure and corrupt phrases of many variants, particularly the American, are ludicrous rather than moving. Nevertheless, in its complete form (e.g. broadside III), The Cherry Tree Carol is powerful, beautiful and, for the Christian, instructive. The exquisite wit of the cherry tree miracle gives place to the joyful angelic description of Christ's humility in the Incarnation. The full meaning of the Incarnation is then conveyed by the Christ Child's solemn and pathetic prophecies of His Crucifixion, but the ballad ends with hope, in the glory of Christ's Resurrection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.51-112; all English quotations from Pseudo-Matthew in this thesis are taken from the translation of Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.29-83.
2. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N. T. Apoc., p.406; James, Apoc. N. T., p.70; on the Protévangélium, see above, Chapter Three, note 79.
3. Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.60.
4. C.T.C. 3 sta. 2 (English); cf. also English texts 4 sta. 3 and 23 sta. 2; Scottish 25 sta. 4; American 56, 57 and 59, first stanzas; 60 and 62, second stanzas.
5. A feature of the English broadsides: see stas. 4.1 of V, VII and IX; stas. 4.2 of I, VI; stas. 6.3-4 of II, X; stas. 6.2 of XIII, XIV, XVII; and IV stas. 5, 6; also American C.T.C. 44 sta. 5.3-4.
6. See also C.T.C. English texts III sta. 6; VIII sta. 6; XVI sta. 3.3-4; 2 sta. 3.1-2; 6 sta. 7; 7 sta. 5; 8 sta. 5; 12 sta. 4; 14 sta. 5; 21 sta. 1; Irish 26 sta. 5; 27 sta. 6; 28 sta. 5; American 30, 32, 34, 40 (fifth stanzas); 37, 39 and 47 (fourth stanzas); also 38 sta. 2.
7. See the fifth stanzas of English C.T.C. nos. 3 and 23 and American 60 and 62; also Scottish 24 sta. 4.
8. American 31 and 33 sta. 5; 46 sta. 6.
9. Scottish C.T.C. 25 sta. 7.
10. The 'Joseph and angel' stanzas occur in broadsides I, V, VI, VII and IX, stas. 5 and 6; II, X, stas. 10-14; III, IV, stas. 9-13; XI, XII, XV, stas. 2, 3; XIII, XIV, XVII, stas. 8-11; also in English 3 and 23, stas. 8-11; American 46 stas. 7-9; 60 stas. 7-8; 62 stas. 7-11. The stanzas sometimes form an independent song, e.g. C.T.C. nos. 5, 19 and 22, but these are included in Appendix A since the 'Joseph and angel' stanzas have formed an episode in The Cherry Tree Carol for at least 200 years, perhaps longer, pace Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, p.14, note on 54 no. 32.
11. C.T.C. nos. 4 stas. 8, 9; 8 stas. 7-9; 14 stas. 8-10 (all English gypsy variants); Scottish 25 stas. 10-12; Irish 26 stas. 9, 10 and 27 stas. 8-10; American 61b stas. 1-4.
12. English VIII stas. 10, 11; XVI stas. 5.3-4 and 6.1-2; 6b stas. 11, 12.
13. English gypsy 4 sta. 7; Scottish 25 sta. 9; Irish 26 stas. 7, 8; American 51 stas. 3, 4.
14. English 3 and 23, stas. 13 and 14; American 60 stas. 9, 10.
15. For a list of these, see E.S.P.B., II, pp.1-2, 509; V p.220.
16. A Millien, Littérature Orale et Traditions de Nivernais: Chants et Chansons, vol.I, Paris, 1906, p.9; D. Arbaud, Chants Populaires de la Provence, 2 vols, Aix, 1862-1864, reprinted Marseilles, 1971, I, pp.23-25.

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17. Béaloides (Folklore of Ireland Society Journal), XXI (1951-1952), pp.5-6, 282 and 304, no.1b.
18. C. Horstmann, ed., Altenglische Legenden, Heilbronn, 1875, pp.3-61; the incident of the bowing tree occurs on pp.5-9, lines 89-208 of the poem; see also J. Burke Severs and A.E. Hartung, ed., A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500; by Members of the Middle English Group of the Modern Language Association of America, 5 vols., New Haven, 1967-1975, II, pp.413, 447.
19. G. H. Gerould, 'The Ballad of the Bitter Withy', P.M.L.A., XXIII (1908), pp.141-167, on pp.156-157.
20. The poem itself does not specify the type of fruit, but a prose heading says that the tree is one "that bar apples and other fruyt": Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.5, before line 89.
21. Ibid., p.6, lines 116-120.
22. Ibid., p.6, lines 123-126.
23. Most frequently Mary gathers cherries, 'by one, two and three', admittedly a ballad commonplace (see above, Chapter Three, note 78); e.g. English 4 sta. 6.3-4; 14 sta. 6.2; Scottish 24 sta. 4.3-4; American 44 sta. 7.1-2. In other C.T.C. variants, Joseph urges Mary, 'O eat your cherries, Mary': e.g. III sta. 8 and 3 and 23 sta. 7.
24. Ludus Coventriae, XV, line 36 (p.136); CTC. IX, sta. 2.4 (this broadside, however, is derived from the 'older London version', represented by XIII, XIV and XVII).
25. Cursor Mundi, II, pp.668-673, lines 11657 - 11729.
26. Ibid., p.670, lines 11683 - 11687.
27. Pseudo-Matthew XX (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.88): "... et confestim ad hanc vocem inclinavit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariae ...". Curiously and perhaps coincidentally, the tree bows to Mary's hand and lap ('gremium') in two popular European accounts in Latin of Jesus' Childhood, probably of the thirteenth century: see A. Vögtlin, ed., Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica (Bibliothek Des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CLXXX), Tübingen, 1888, p.79, lines 2208 - 2211; O. Schade, ed., Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beate Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris ex codice Gissensi, Halis Saxonum Regimontum, 1870, pp.16-17, chapter XXIV.
28. C.T.C. nos. III and VIII, sta. 7.1; XVI, sta. 4.1; 3 sta. 6.1; 62 sta. 6.1; references to the highest part of the tree occur also in I and VI, sta. 4.3; II and X, sta. 7.3; IV, sta. 5.3; V, VII, IX, sta. 4.2; XIII, XIV, XVII, sta. 7.1; 1a and b, and 27, sta. 7.1; 4, 14, 23, 28 and 53, sta. 6.1; 12 sta. 5.1; 15, sta. 5.3; 30, sta. 6.4; 37, sta. 5.2; 56, sta. 4.2 and 66, sta. 7.4. The detail is not usually preserved in the South Appalachian texts.
29. Cursor Mundi, II, p.670, line 11695.
30. An "orchard" is mentioned in C.T.C. IV, sta. 3.2; 1a, sta. 2.2; 1b, sta. 3.2; 15, sta. 2.2; 39 sta. 1.2. The word 'garden' is much more common: e.g. C.T.C. I and VI, sta. 2.1; VIII, sta. 3.2; 4, sta. 3.2 ('garden school', a corruption of 'garden good') and see below, Appendix A, features E, E1 and E2.

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31. See the opening stanzas of Child 42A, 50, 69A, 195A and cf. 53D sta. 26; 78A sta. 6; 175 sta. 4; 229A sta. 3.
32. The redactions in Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 2399 and Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 3954 (a shorter version), both from the North Midlands, are printed by C. Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, 1st ed., Heilbronn, 1878, reprinted Hildesheim and New York, 1969, on pp.111-123 and 101-110; the Northern version in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 31,042, used for most references in this thesis, is printed by Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, pp.327-339; on the date and dialect of the poems, see Severs and Hartung, Manual, II, p.447; Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, pp.157-158, however, dated Harl. MS. 3954 as of the fourteenth century, though he considered MS. Addit. 31,042 as closest to the original poem.
33. Lines 65-121 of Addit. MS. 31,042: Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.328; lines 65-112 of MS. Harl. 2399 and lines 65-108 of MS. Harl. 3954: Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, pp.112-113 and p.102.
34. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.328, lines 73-74.
35. Ibid., p.328, lines 81-84.
36. Ibid., p.328, line 80.
37. Ibid., p.328, line 85.
38. Ibid., p.328, lines 101-102; Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.6, lines 127-132.
39. (Anne:) The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne, ed. Roscoe E. Parker (E.E.T.S., O.S. 174), London, 1928, (MS. University of Minnesota Z.822, N.81), pp.88-89, lines 3415-3422; the dialect of the poem (see p.xii) is generally Northern, with many Midland and a few Southern forms.
40. Ibid., pp.39-40, lines 1489-1548.
41. Ibid., p.39, lines 1504-1506; cf. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.328, lines 75-76.
42. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS), p.40, lines 1519-1520.
43. Ludus Coventriae, play XV, lines 9-55, pp.136-137.
44. Most of the manuscript is written in a hand of the third quarter of the fifteenth century; the date 1468 is written at the close of the Purification Play (folio 100 verso), but this play is an interpolation: see Block, Ludus Coventriae, p. xv. The date of 1468 is, however, accepted as a probable one for the copying of the other plays too by H. Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1955, p.242.
45. Ibid., pp.265-280: Craig uses evidence concerning the prominent cult of St. Anne in Lincoln.
46. M. Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae: Lincoln or Norfolk?' in Medium Aevum, XI (1971), pp.135-141.
47. The St. Anne plays are: The Conception of Mary (VIII); Mary in the Temple (IX); The Betrothal of Mary (X); The Salutation and Conception (XI) and The Visit to Elizabeth (XIII); see Block, Ludus Coventriae, pp. xx-xxv, xxx and Craig, English Relig. Drama, pp. 246, 249-250.

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48. See Block, Ludus Coventriae, pp. xx-xxi, xxiv, xxvii; Craig, English Relig. Drama, pp.245-247, 250, 253; Parker, however, Life of St. Anne, pp. xxxiv - liii, considers that all the plays on the Virgin, including the three mentioned, are a group derived from the poem on St. Anne in the Minnesota MS.
49. On the other hand, Joseph's Return, The Trial of Joseph and Mary and the incident of Joseph and the Midwives in the Birth of Christ are mentioned in the Banns: see Ludus Coventriae, p.6, lines 170 - 190.
50. Craig, English Relig. Drama, p.257: "This tumbling, not usually alliterative, verse is used extensively for prologues and formal and connective passages, for the fitting in of the Saint Anne's day additions, and for a very considerable number of special episodes." See also ibid., pp.248, 258.
51. Block, Ludus Coventriae, pp. xxvi - xxvii.
52. This is the opinion also of Parker, Life of St. Anne, p. lii.
53. Cf. the stage direction on the depiction of the Incarnation, Ludus Coventriae, XI, p. 107, after line 292.
54. Craig, English Relig. Drama, p.8.
55. Ludus Coventriae, p.136, lines 9 - 16.
56. Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, I, lines 167 - 175, p.6; Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), lines 907 - 915, p.24.
57. Scottish C.T.C. 25 stas. 2 and 3; cf. Irish 28 stas. 1 and 2; (All Irish texts in Appendix A were collected in America, but known to have originated in Ireland.)
58. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, II, pp. 162 - 163 (collected in 1891 from Malcolm Macmillan, crofter, Grinnis, Benbecula, a Catholic island until the mid nineteenth century); Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, pp.278 - 285 (collected from Michael MacRury and Martin O'Callally in County Mayo).
59. H. Shields, 'Old British Ballads in Ireland' in Folk Life, X (1972), pp.68-103, on p.71.
60. Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, pp.280 - 281 (Hyde's literal translation, as a footnote, of stas. 11, 12).
61. e.g. English C.T.C. 2 stas. 4.3-4, 5; 3 sta. 12; 14 sta. 7; 23 stas. 9, 11; American 39 sta. 7; 61b sta. 4; 62 sta. 11.
62. Ludus Coventriae, XV, lines 17 - 20, p.136.
63. Ibid., lines 23 - 24, p.136.
64. Ibid., lines 31 - 34, p.136; Mary's reference to 'yon tree' is found also in line 27, and in line 24 the tree is standing on 'yon hill'; in the Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), Mary, in line 1502, p.139, asks Joseph for 'yhone fayre frute'; the expression 'yon tree' is also found in some C.T.C. texts: English 3 and 23, sta. 2.4; American 60 sta. 2.2 and 62 sta. 2.4.

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65. Ludus Coventriae, lines 35 - 38, p.136; the word 'pluck' is used in Joseph's reply in some of the oldest C.T.C. variants: English 1a sta. 5.2, 1b sta. 5.3; 2 sta. 2.4; 3, 4 and 23 sta. 4.3; 6b sta. 6.3; Scottish 24 sta. 3.3; American 60 sta. 4.2; 62 sta. 4.3
66. Cf. sta. 5.3-4 of English II, III, VIII, X, and 1b; sta. 5.2 of XIII, XIV, XVII and 1a; also IX sta. 3.3; 6b sta. 6.3-4; 12 sta. 3.2; 17 sta. 3.3-4 and American 53 sta. 4.3-4; variants mentioned which also use the word 'pluck' rather than 'gather' (see note 65) are the closest verbally to Ludus Coventriae.
67. S. T. Carr, 'The Middle English Nativity Cherry Tree: the Dissemination of a Popular Motif' in Modern Language Quarterly, XXXVI, (1975), pp.133-147, on p.144.
68. Ludus Coventriae XV, lines 39 - 42, p.137.
69. Ibid., lines 43 - 46, p.137.
70. The phrase 'words so unkind' or phrases derived from it occur in variants from every country, e.g. English I and VI sta. 3.2; 3 sta. 4.2; 8 sta. 4.2; Scottish 24 sta. 3.2; Irish 26 and 28 sta. 4.2; American 37 sta. 3.1; 39 sta. 3.2; see also C.T.C. texts II, III, V, VIII - X, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII; 1b, 2, 6b, 12, 14, 15 and 17; 44, 52, 53, 56, 60, 62, 63, 65 and 66. Most South Appalachian variants have dropped the phrase.
71. O.E.D., X, Pt. I, p.272, 'unmild', adj., obsolete, sense 1.
72. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, II, pp.162-163, 8th (last) stanza.
73. Carr, Modern Language Quarterly, XXXVI, p.135; 'Sir Cleges' is printed by French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.875-895.
74. Ibid., p.877; see also L.A. Hibbard Loomis, Medieval Romance in England, new edition with supplementary bibliographical index, New York, 1963, p.79.
75. Carr, Modern Language Quarterly, XXXVI, p.145, argues wrongly that Sir Cleges had a special Marian devotion whereas he and his wife thank God throughout the poem, e.g. lines 190 - 191 and 226 - 228, French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.883, 884.
76. C.G. Loomis, 'Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology' in Modern Language Notes, LIII (1938), pp.591-594: the British (Celtic) legends do not feature cherries, but continental saints' lives do, e.g. St. Gerard de Monza, of the early thirteenth century.
77. This is hinted at in Joseph's remark, Ludus Coventriae XV, p.136, line 20, "yitt women ben ethe to greve whan thei be with childe".
78. A Stanzaic Life of Christ compiled from Higden's Polychronicon and the Legenda Aurea, ed. F.A. Foster (E.E.T.S., O.S. 166), London, 1926, pp. ix, xiv - xvii and xxviii - xliii.
79. Ibid., p.34, lines 1001 - 1008; the poet's disquisition on the vines of Engedi (pp.33-34, lines 981 - 1008) expand a detail found in Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, ed. T. Graesse, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1850, Chapter VI, p.45; see also Caxton's Golden Legend, I, p.20.
80. B.A. Rosenberg, 'The Cherry Tree Carol and the Merchant's Tale', in The Chaucer Review, V (1970-1971), pp.264-275; see also Chaucer, Works, ed. Robinson, 'The Merchant's Tale', lines 2335 - 2337, p.126.

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81. See G. Dempster, 'The Merchant's Tale' in Sources and Analogues, ed. Bryan and Dempster, pp.333-356.
82. Craig, English Relig. Drama, pp.166, 178-182.
83. Chester Mystery Cycle, VII, lines 633 - 640, p.153.
84. Ludus Coventriae, XV, p.136, line 36: 'Ow . to plucke yow of these cheries . it is a werk wylde.'
85. A.C. Cawley, The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle, Manchester, 1958, p. xxxi.
86. Ibid., IV, line 718 and see note on p.113.
87. Carr, Modern Language Quarterly, XXXVI, p.134.
88. See, however, E.B. Cantelupe and R. Griffith, 'The Gifts of the Shepherds in the Wakefield "Secunda Pastorum": an Iconographical Interpretation' in Medieval Studies, XXVIII (1966), pp.328-335.
89. Ibid., pp.331-333.
90. See the Irish Gaelic ballad, Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, p.279, sta. 3; also C.T.C. text 7 sta. 2.2 (English gypsy) and sta. 2.3 of American 30 - 34, 40, 42, 43, 54, 61a and 63; also sta. 1.2 of 36, 37 and 47 sta. 2.2; English 15 sta. 2.3 has "apples, plums, cherries".
91. M.E.D., II, pp.216-217, 'cheri', sense 2a. The saying is first recorded c. 1390.
92. Stanzaic Life of Christ, lines 3401 - 3448, pp.114-116.
93. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.181-209 (Latin translation); English translation in Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.172-216; the Arabic Infancy Gospel, based on a Syriac original, was a late compilation in a single MS., now lost, edited in 1697, but stories in this gospel found their way, perhaps through other works, into vernacular writings including the M.E. Childhood poems: see James, Apoc. N.T., pp.67-68.
94. The Koran, translated by N.J. Dawood, 4th ed., Harmondsworth, 1974, Sura XIX. 29, p.34.
95. M.T.W. Forster, 'Two Notes on Old English Dialogue Literature' in An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, Oxford, 1901, pp.102, 105, 106; (English scriptural riddle no.6 in Ashmole MS. 59; two German collections of Latin scriptural riddles at Munich and Tübingen).
96. C.G. Loomis, White Magic, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p.24; examples of early talking occur in the lives of SS. Amandus, Simon and Jude, and Brice: Caxton's Golden Legend, III, p.41 and VI, pp.79, 159.
97. Life of St. Anne (MS. Bodl. 10234), p.126, lines 441 - 444; Ludus Coventriae, XI, p.107, lines 293 - 296; the tradition is probably derived from Pseudo-Matthew XVIII.2, where the Christ Child tells Joseph and Mary, "Fear not, nor consider me because I am a little infant, for I was, and am ever perfect": Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.58.

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98. Detailed information regarding the dates and sources of all listed variants is given below in Appendix A; on the dates of broadside printers' work, see also Appendix K.
99. See the first stanzas, lines 1 and 3 of Scottish C.T.C. 25, American 30 - 34, 55 and 63, and cf. 41 - 43, 50, 54.
100. English gypsy C.T.C. 4 sta. 4.4; 8 sta. 4.3; Scottish 25 sta. 6.4; Irish 27 sta. 5.2; 28 sta. 4.3; see also sta. 4.3 of American texts 30 - 34, 40, 42, 43, 52, 54 and 61a; also American 36, 37, 57 and 59 sta. 3.2; 50, 55 sta. 4.2; 56 sta. 2.3.
101. Sta. 5.1 of English gypsy C.T.C. 7 and 14 and American 47, 50, 55 and 59; sta. 6.2 of Irish 26 and 28 and American 31 - 34, 40, 43, 54 and 61a; also American 42 sta. 5.2.
102. Broadside III, VIII and XVI sta. 6.1; see sta. 5.1 of English gypsy texts 4, 7 and 14, of Irish texts 26 and 28 and American 30.
103. Sta. 6.4 of Irish texts 26 and 28 and American 52 and 53; also Irish 27 sta. 7.2.
104. See Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, pp.3-4.
105. Cf. C.T.C. 2 sta. 5 and 'Joseph and Mary', sta. 1 in A Good Christmas Box (facsimile), p.16.
106. Both C.T.C. 17 and 18 use the chorus, and 17 stas. 5-9 verses, from 'The Holly and the Ivy', for versions of which see Dean-Smith, Guide to English Folk Song Collections, p.74; Dean-Smith is wrong to suggest (p.57) that both carols were fragmented from the same long carol; the contamination was triggered by the description of both cherries and holly berries as 'red as the blood':
107. e.g. in the Chester Mystery Cycle, VI, p.102, lines 134 - 136, Joseph explains that he has not fathered Mary's child:

"for I am both ould and could;
these xxxtie winters, though I would,
I might not playe noe playe."
108. See Oxford Carols no.37, 'The Angel Gabriel from God' sta. 2.5 and the title of the seventeenth century carol mentioned above, Chapter One, note 41.
109. Sta. 1.4 of broadsides I, V, VI, VII, XI, XII, XV; sta. 2.4 of II, X; sta. 2.2 of XIII, XIV and XVII.
110. Sta. 2.4 of III, VIII and American 46; XVI sta. 1.4; Irish 27 sta. 2.2.
111. O.E.D., VI, p.237, 'nought', sense C2, 'NOT, adverb, obsolete'.
112. Thomas Chestre, Sir Launfal, ed. A.J. Bliss, London and Edinburgh, 1960, p.54, lines 43 - 44 (see p.15 on the date of 'Sir Launfal').
113. XIII, XIV, XVII sta. 2.1; found also in sta. 1.3 of the derivative broadsides I, V - VII, IX, XI, XII and XV; see also II and X, sta. 2.1
114. Joseph's descent from David is stated in Matt. I. 1-16, Lk. III. 23-28, Mary's in Protevangelium X.1 (James, Apoc. N.T., p.43) and Pseudo-Matthew I (Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.30).

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115. Caxton's Golden legend, V, pp.97-98.
116. Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.46.
117. Ibid., p.49 (Pseudo-Matthew XII).
118. Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, I, p.6, lines 156 - 166;
Towneley Plays, X, p.96, lines 356 - 361; York Plays, XIII, p.111,
lines 294 - 300.
119. Ludus Coventriae, XII (Joseph's Return) p.114, lines 182 - 188.
120. C.T.C. 1a sta. 7.1; 1b sta. 8; 2 sta. 4.1-2; 7 sta. 6;
also American 39 sta. 4.
121. II, X sta. 9; III, IV, VIII sta. 8; XVI sta. 4.3-4; 3 and 23 sta. 7.
122. That Mary's forgiveness was a motif of the ur-ballad of the cherry tree
is suggested by its presence in the Irish Gaelic ballad, sta. 12,
Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, p.281.
123. See sta. 7 of American C.T.C. 31 - 34, 37, 40, 54, 61a; also 47,
55 sta. 6; 56 sta. 5.
124. Coffin and Renwick, British Trad. Ballad in North America, (1977), p.6,
citing American versions of Child 54, 73 and 81 (e.g. Bronson 73 no.77
sta. 15, 81 no.4 sta. 20); the oldest example of this motif occurs,
however, in a Scottish text, Child 81 I sta. 20.
125. E.S.P.B., II, p.1; Lk. II.10-12.
126. See Greene nos. 50, 150 C (sta. 3), 151 A (stas. 2-4).
127. Caxton's Golden Legend, I, p.49, wrongly ascribed to St. Jerome;
however a similar passage occurs in the 'Homilia de Nativitate Domini'
in Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in
Marci Evangelium Aliaque Varia Argumenta, ed. D. Germanus Morin
(Corpus Christianorum Series Latina LXXVIII), Turnhout, 1969, p.524;
in Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, chapter XIV
('De Epiphania Domini'), p.92, the first passage is ascribed to
St. Augustine, the second (from the omission points) to St. Bernard.
(I have not been able to ascertain the sources in Augustine's or
Bernard's work.)
128. See above, notes 10 - 12, for variants containing stanzas from
'Joseph and the angel'; to discover which stanzas occur in which
version, see below, Appendix A, Description of Texts.
129. e.g. Greene nos. 27C sta. 2.2; 41 sta. 2.1; 46 sta. 1.1; 74 sta. 3.3;
81A sta. 5.2; 93 sta. 7.6.
130. e.g. "house ne halle" in York Plays, XXXVII, p.380, line 136.
131. O.E.D., VII, Pt.II, p.926, 'Place', sense II.5b.
132. O.E.D., VII, Pt.II, p.395, 'Pall', sense I.1 and see p.1629, 'purpur', A.
133. Child 80 sta. 17.2; 110 A stas. 12.2, 13.2; 112 sta. 5.4.
134. O.E.D., VI, Pt.I, p.702, 'Mould', sb., sense 5.

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135. English C.T.C. 8 sta. 8; Scottish 25 sta. 11; Irish 26 and 27 sta. 9; American 46 sta. 9.
136. e.g. Greene nos. 146 A (sta. 2); 148 A; 151 A (stas. 6 - 9); 152 A (stas. 4 - 9).
137. E.S.P.B., II, p.1; e.g. Matt. XXVI.2; Lk. XVII.25; Jn. XII.23
138. I, V, VI, VII, IX sta. 7.1-2; II, X sta. 15; III, IV sta. 14; VIII sta. 9; XI, XII, XV sta. 4.1-2; XVI sta. 5.1-2; XIII, XIV, XVII sta. 12; 1a sta. 9; 1b sta. 10; Scottish 25 sta. 13; Irish 27 sta. 11; American 53 sta. 8.
139. III, IV sta. 15; 1a sta. 10; 1b sta. 11; Irish 27 sta. 12; American 53 sta. 9. The corruption, "This world will be like the stones in the street", etc. occurs at I, V - VII, IX, sta. 7.3-4; II, X sta. 16; XI, XII, XV sta. 4.3-4; XIII, XIV, XVII sta. 13.
140. e.g. The Lay of Havelok the Dane, p.66, line 1997; p.89, line 2649; S.E.L., I, p.21, line 80.
141. II, X sta. 17; III, IV sta. 16; VIII sta. 12; XVI sta. 6.3-4; cf. Scottish 25 sta. 15; Irish 27 sta. 13; Irish Gaelic ballad sta. 16 (Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, pp.282-283).
142. e.g. the list of fatal Tuesdays in the legend of St. Thomas of Canterbury: S.E.L., II, pp.691-692, lines 52 - 72.
143. S.E.L., I, p.134, 'De Sancto Pascha', lines 7 - 9.
144. Matt. XXVII. 51, 52; Lk. XXIII. 44, 45.
145. See Matt. XXIV. 29; Mk. XIII. 24 - 25; Lk. XVII. 24 and XXI. 25.
146. Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, p.283 (literal translation of sta. 18).
147. The stanza of the sun and moon rising occurs mostly in the broadsides: C.T.C. II, X sta. 18; III, IV sta. 17; VIII sta. 13; XVI sta. 7.1-2; also 1a sta. 11, 1b sta. 12.
148. C. S. Burne, Shropshire Folklore, London, 1883, reprinted in 2 vols., Wakefield, 1973-74, II, p.335; T. Deane and T. Shaw, The Folklore of Cornwall (Batsford 'Folklore of the British Isles' Series), London, 1975, p.167.
149. Ibid., p.132; angels rejoice with music in the Irish Gaelic ballad, stanza 19 (Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, p.285); the stanza of general rejoicing occurs at C.T.C. III sta. 18, VIII sta. 14 and XVI sta. 7.3-4.
150. Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.396; J. Thomas, Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky, New York, 1939, reprinted 1964, p.227; see also above, Chapter One, note 51.
151. C. J. Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, ed. M. Karpeles, London, 1932, p.388 (Karpeles' note).
152. C.T.C. 31 sta. 9.1; 33 sta. 8.1; 57 sta. 6.3.

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153. C.T.C. 32, 40 and 61a sta. 9.1; 47 and 50 sta. 7.1; 43 sta. 8.1; 54 sta.10.1; 60 sta. 11.1.
154. Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, p.3.
155. Cf. the first lines of C.T.C. III stas. 4 and 6 with the first lines of Child 117 stas. 362, 367 and 379; 162 A sta. 22; 165 sta. 14. See also above, Chapter Two, note 106.
156. Cf. Child 20 B stas. 6, 7; 29 stas. 8, 9; 37 C stas. 5, 6; 39 A stas. 6, 7.
157. Cf. Child 169 B sta. 24; 191 E sta. 15; 203 A sta. 41.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THE CARNAL AND THE CRANE' (Child 55)

A list of eleven broadside texts of The Carnal and the Crane, with six fragmentary variants from oral tradition, is given below in Appendix B. All but one of these texts are from the West Midlands. The exception, 3a, sung by Surrey gypsies, may also have originated in the West Midlands, since gypsies from the Southern counties travelled there in the summer to help with hop-picking¹.

The extant ballad appears to be a sixteenth century redaction of an earlier poem or poems which has itself undergone slight remodelling at a later date. The evidence for this conclusion will emerge during discussion of the ballad's sources in the apocrypha, its analogues in Middle English tradition, its 'polite' style and its deficient end-rhymes.

The broadside variants are closely related, being thirty stanzas long and comprising four episodes: first, the singer overhears a conversation by a riverside between two birds, a 'carnal' and a crane. The carnal informs the crane of the advent of the Son of God and goes on to inquire about the Virgin Birth. The crane explains that Christ's mother was a pure virgin and that Christ Himself lived in poverty. The crane then relates three Nativity stories: a roasted cock revives and crows to announce Christ's birth and Herod in rage orders the slaughter of the Innocents. Jesus, Joseph and Mary, however, take flight for Egypt. On the journey, Mary grows weary and they rest among fierce wild beasts. Jesus tells His mother to observe how the beasts will worship Him. The lion, the first to approach, is made the King of Beasts. Next, the Holy Family meet a

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husbandman sowing corn. Jesus greets him and tells him to gather in his corn, which has miraculously ripened. The husbandman falls on his knees and acknowledges Jesus as the Redeemer. Jesus replies that he has spoken the truth and urges him to tell anyone who makes inquiries for Jesus that He passed by as the husbandman was sowing his seed. Shortly afterwards, Herod and his guards arrive, but the husbandman answers as instructed. The Captain of the Guard urges his men to turn back, for it must be three quarters of a year since the husbandman sowed his seed. Thus Herod was deceived by the work of God Himself. The crane concludes his narrative by reflecting on the thousands of Innocents slain, explaining that he has now told how the Virgin brought forth God the Son.

A hitherto unnoticed poem in a Birmingham chapbook of about 1800 would seem to be a version of Child 55 rewritten in a more 'elegant' style, probably during the eighteenth century. The chapbook, Three New Carols for Christmas, was printed by "S. Martin, Printer, Ann-street, Birmingham"² and the poem, 'A Carol for Christmas Day', is of particular interest in that it suggests that The Carnal and the Crane once contained other episodes. I give this poem in full, exactly as printed in the chapbook, except that the letter 's' is given in its modern form. Obvious mistakes are rectified in parenthesis in the margin:

Line
No.

- 1 When Jesus Christ our Lord,
Descended from on high,
For to redeem mankind's lost race,
In great humility,
- 5 A glorious star appear'd
Like Phoebus in the morn,
Whose rays (till then unknown bespoke,
Some mighty king was born.
This star some wise men saw,
- 10 And they by magic art
Knew it denoted some great birth,
Salvation to impart.
Elate with joy they soon,
Prepar'd our Lord to find,



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Line
No.

15 And guided by the star they came,
Unto the place assigned.
The choicest drugs their land,
Could yield they with them bring,
Myrrh for a man, increase for God, (incense)
20 And gold, as for a king.
To Herod's court they came,
Enquiring where he was,
That was born king of the Jews, for they
In the east this star did see
25 A panick seiz'd king Herod,
Who thus in rage reply'd,
Then may this cock revive and crow,
In sign you have not ly'd;
No sooner spoke but straight,
30 To admiration rose,
The naked cock, his youthful plumes,
Around his body shows.
In gaudy pride array'd
Thrice o'er he clap'd his wings,
35 And crow'd as usual thrice,
Herod that haughty king,
Surpris'd with fear he stood,
Amaz'd with horror quall'd (quailed)
Like thunder struck, untill at length,
40 Rage o'er his fear prevail'd.
Then he in wrath commands,
Our Saviour's life to gain,
All children should (not two years old,)
In Bethlehem be salin.
45 The executioners,
Without delay proceed,
And in a most inhuman sort
Young infants caus'd to bleed.
But God who knows all hearts,
50 Frustrates their great design.
And into Egypt sends his Son
With presence all divine.
When that our Saviour came,
Into the Nillian Land,
55 Their idols all in silence fell,
Nor could his power withstand.
By some it is affirmed
When they in Egypt fled,
That being weary, they to rest,
60 Sat on a mossy bed.
And straight around them came,
Both tame and savage beasts,
Frisking around to make them sport,
As they sat there to rest.
65 And further as they pass'd,
An husbandman they spy'd,
Sowing a cultivated field,
Near to the highway side
Now as he sow'd behold
70 The seed sprung up amain,
A yellow harvest crown'd the field,
And full ripe was the grain.

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Line
No.

Thus did our blessed Lord,
Shew both his power and might,
75 Even when a babe, when he was born,
Clouded with heavenly light.
Such was his wonderous love,
To us his people here,
From thickest darkness us he brought,
80 His righteous laws to fear.
Then let us all unite,
And praise his holy name,
And at this holy festival
84 His mighty acts proclaim.

FINIS.

This poem omits the dialogue of the carnal and the crane, but both the combination of incidents and the similar wording in lines 9, 31-32, 43-44, 59-60, 62 and 64, 65-66 and 73 indicate that this is a rewritten version of our ballad³. The poet includes several extra details: the wise men's gifts are named and their significance given (lines 15-20) and the idols fall at the approach of the Infant Jesus (lines 53-56). The significance of the magi's gifts is well-known and is probably the reviser's own addition. The miracle of the falling idols, however, derived from Pseudo-Matthew, is introduced in the poem only briefly. Since the episode probably formed part of the ur-ballad, it is included in discussion of the ballad's sources. The rewriting of The Carnal and the Crane in a more fashionable style suggests that the ballad was well-known in the West Midlands in the eighteenth century and consequently there was a market for a revised version.

The broadside copies of Child 55 differ mostly in minute, insignificant details, upon which it would be hazardous to erect precise theories of transmission, since it is likely that many broadsides have been lost. The largest variation occurs at the point where the husbandman acknowledges Christ's Divinity.

Broadsides IV and V (Sandys and Sylvester) have:

The husbandman fell on his knees,
Even before his face;
'Long time hast thou been looked for,
But now thou art come at last;

'And I myself do now believe
Thy name is Jesus called;
Redeemer of mankind thou art,
Though undeserving all.'

IV, V stas. 20, 21.

VI, VII and IX (Bloomer, Jackson and Guest of Birmingham)

substitute 'undeserving they' in the last line of stanza 20.

VIII and XI simply omit the last two lines. X, the Dudley

chapbook version, remodels stanza 21:

'There's none can any longer doubt
But thou art the true Messias,
And I myself do now believe
Thy name is called Jesus.'

III, Husk's version, also omits the 'undeserving' lines, but contains another two lines not found elsewhere:

The husbandman fell on his knees,
Even before His face;
And made a lowly reverence
To Jesus Christ His grace.

III sta. 20.

Obviously the rhyme scheme of this portion of the ballad became deranged and printers attempted to mend it. None of the emendations are traditional in tone, with the possible exception of the unique two lines in III, in which the reference to Jesus' "grace" echoes the 'lion' stanza (16.2) whilst 'reverence' may be an echo of Latin 'reverentia' in the Pseudo-Matthew account of the adoration of the beasts⁴.

III has other unique variations, all trifling; it also shares variant readings with broadside XI (printed by Prichard of Monmouth). Both XI and III may be derived from an eighteenth century Worcestershire copy. Broadside VIII, printed by Wood of Birmingham, also exhibits some of the features of III and XI,

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which are that in stanza 3.3 the Son is said to come "out of the land of Egypt" (III, VIII, XI: cf. 3a sta. 2.3 and 3b, line 5) in stanza 10.4, the cock crows 'senses', not 'fences' three (VIII, XI: cf. 2 sta. 3.4); stanzas 13 and 18 begin, "Then Jesus, aye, and Joseph" (III, XI) instead of the more awkward 'Jesus ah! and Joseph'; in stanza 14.3, Mary 'grows' weary (III, XI: cf. 3a sta. 6.3). Broad-sides III, VIII, XI and also X, from Dudley, preserve the rhyme better in stanzas 23 and 25 in that they end the stanzas with the word 'sown'. In stanza 8.1 of broad-sides III, X and XI (cf. 1 sta. 3.1), the star rises in the 'East land', not the 'West land' of broad-sides I and IV - IX; in stanza 17.1, both X and XI mention 'righteous' (not 'virtuous') princes.

Broad-sides I, VII and IX are virtually identical: I may, in fact, be based on VII. The distinguishing feature of these texts is that the star stanza has been recast:

There was a star in the west land
Which shed a cheerful ray,
Into King Herod's chamber,
And where King Herod lay.

VII sta. 8.

The two stanzas which usually end the ballad, on the thousands of Innocents slain, and the Virgin's bearing a son, have in these versions become part of Christ's speech to the husbandman, after stanza 22.

The star stanza in traditional text 1 (sta. 3) is corrupt but of the type just quoted, and this traditional text probably originated from a broadside, though not one we have. Like texts 3a and 3b, version 1 features King Pharaoh, not Herod, as the tyrant who pursues the Holy Family, and for whom the cock miracle is performed. The confusion may simply have arisen from the reference to the 'land of Egypt' in stanza 3 of some

broadsides: versions 1, 3a and 3b, being incomplete, lack this stanza. (But see below.)

Traditional text 2, four stanzas only, preserves the unusual 'senses three' and has the unique detail that the star in the first line shines in "David's land", perhaps in reference to Luke II.11. Other variations in this version are merely corruptions.

The examples discussed so far suggest that by 1800 the ballad had a stable form with few significant variations and that later oral variants are probably derived from these West Midland broadsides. However, the gypsy version, King Pharim (3a and 3b) is both musically⁵ and textually distinct. The textual variation partly results from corruption: thus, the cock miracle, because of misplaced stanzas, is made to prove the Virgin Birth⁶. Yet certain expressions suggest that the version was revised at some time in the eighteenth century:

King Pharim sat a-musing,
A-musing all alone.

3a sta. 1.1-2.

'Oh, if you come out of Egypt, man,
 One thing I fain I known ...!

3a sta. 3.1-2.

Stanzas 6 - 9 employ unique lines which probably represent an attempt to replace words which would not have rhymed by the eighteenth century; since, however, the lines might possibly preserve traditional features found in Middle English analogues, they are discussed below. Small details already mentioned indicate that amongst the broadsides, King Pharim is most closely related to III, VIII and XI, apparently representing the oldest broadside tradition.

The broadside version of The Carnal and the Crane opens:

As I passed by a river side,
 And there as I did rein,
 In argument I chanced to hear,
 A carnal and a crane.

III sta. 1.

Hone was probably correct in his suggestion that originally the last word in line 2 was some variant of the verb 'to run'⁷; a sixteenth century religious parody of a secular song opens similarly⁸:

Downe be zone Riuer I ran,
 Downe be zone Riuer I ran,
 Thinkand on Christ so fre
 That brocht me to libertie
 And I ane sinful man.

Riverside openings are found also in secular traditional ballads and folk songs⁹, and in romances¹⁰.

Overhearing the speech of birds is a common device of late medieval poetry¹¹, especially of moral carols:

Under a forest that was so long
 As I me rod with mekyll dred,
 I hard a berd syngyng a song:
 'Assay thi frend or thou hast ned.'
 Greene no. 389 sta. 1.

Talking birds feature in ballad plots¹², but the function of the carnal and the crane is merely to convey the details of the Nativity story. The 'carnal' is generally presumed to be a crow, from French 'corneille', but the word is not found elsewhere¹³. The crane became extinct in England at the end of the seventeenth century¹⁴. Appropriately enough, it is a water bird: perhaps, like the heron¹⁵, its great power of flight was supposed to give it secret knowledge.

Christmas dialogues, some involving birds and beasts, were clearly popular in the late middle ages: both the surviving (true) Coventry mystery plays, revised by Robert Croo in 1534 but including older material, contain dialogues on the same theme as that in the ballad, the meaning and details of the Nativity

story¹⁶. In The Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant, the second prophet asks, like the crane, whence Christ the King should come, whilst the first prophet explains that God the Son was born of a Virgin, and later tells the story of the star and the shepherds' visit. The second prophet asks in what castle the shepherds saw Jesus. His fellow replies, like the crane, that Christ was born in poverty¹⁷:

Nothur in hallis nor yett in bowris
 Born wold he not be,
 Nother in castellis nor yet in towris
 That semly were to se

But att hys Fathurs wyll
 The profeci to full-fyll,
Betwixt an ox and an as
 Jesus, this kyng, borne he was
 Heyvin he bryng us tyll.

The details of the ox and the ass are derived from Pseudo-Matthew¹⁸. The line, 'betwixt an ox and an ass' occurs in broadside XI, stanza 3.4, of The Carnal and the Crane: other broadsides have 'between an ox and an ass' at this point. Similar lines are found in medieval carols¹⁹, usually in conjunction with references to the manger. Hence the variant reading in stanza 3.3 of III, VIII and XI, 'Out of the land of Egypt', may be a later emendation based on Matthew II.14-15. This in turn suggests that the mainstream broadsides which keep the phrase 'in a manger' (IV - VII, IX, X) are not directly derived from III or XI, the oldest broadsides.

The purpose of the miracles in The Carnal and the Crane is, as Dr. Moser suggests²⁰, to prove the identity, i.e. the Deity, of Christ. However, the birds' dialogue also emphasises Christ's Deity, and there is evidence of deliberate artistic purpose in the construction of the ballad. The carnal tells the crane:

'Before we had the Father,
 But now we have the Son.'
III sta. 2.3-4.

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At the end of the ballad, the crane refers back to this in a stanza of which the correct form is found only in broadsides III and XI:

'The truth now I have spoken,
And the truth now I have shown;
Thus the blessed Virgin
Brought forth our Lord the Son.'
III sta. 30; cf. XI sta. 30.

Much of the birds' speech explains, like the angel's in The Cherry Tree Carol, that though Christ was God, He chose to be born in poor circumstances: see Child 55 stas. 6, 7.

The character of Christ's mother is also testimony of Christ's Divinity:

'I pray thee,' said the Carnal,
'Tell me before thou goest,
Was not the Mother of Jesus
Conceiv'd by the Holy Ghost?'

'She was the purest Virgin
And the cleanest from all sin;
She was the handmaid of the Lord
And the Mother of our King.'
III stas. 4, 5.

Child erroneously supposed these stanzas to refer to the Immaculate Conception of Mary²¹, whereas in fact they refer to Mary's conception of Jesus, i.e. the Incarnation.

The doctrine of the 'Immaculate Conception' holds that in the very instant that Mary was conceived in the normal way, God allowed her soul by a special privilege to be freed from all stain of original sin: Mary's soul was flooded with the grace of the Holy Spirit, for she was saved in advance by the atoning sacrifice of her Son. This doctrine originated in the Eastern Church, was accepted in England as early as the eleventh century, but encountered fierce opposition in Europe in the thirteenth century. It was formally defined as binding on all Catholics only in 1854 by Pope Pius IX²².

Child was perhaps misled by the verb 'was conceived' being used in an obsolete sense to mean 'became pregnant', a usage found from the first half of the fifteenth century until the mid seventeenth century²³. Hence the ballad lines in fact mean, 'Did not the Mother of Jesus conceive by the agency of the Holy Ghost?'. This meaning is confirmed by stanza 5.3, 'She was the handmaid of the Lord', which clearly refers to Mary's words at the Annunciation, recorded in Luke I.38.

Stanzas 8 - 12 of the ballad, on the miracle of the cock and the slaying of the Innocents, are discussed above, in Chapter Three. Of the miracles of the Flight to Egypt, that of the instantaneous harvest is the most mysterious in origin. Moser considers that the cornfield story as it appears in European balladry may have originated in France, since it appears in a thirteenth century French poem, or that if one judges by the distribution of the ballads on the subject, it may have come from the East²⁴. Ballads are found in French, Provençal and Catalan, Dutch and Flemish, Swedish, Karelian Finnish, Wendish, Serbian, Czech, Polish and Russian²⁵.

Moser judges that the story is ultimately derived from the Acta Petri et Andreae, an apocryphal work of the sixth century in three recensions, Greek, Old Church Slavonic and Ethiopic: the work may go back in part, however, to a second century Acta Andreae²⁶. According to the Acta Petri et Andreae, the Christ Child appears to five apostles, including Peter and Andrew, and sends them to do missionary work in the city of the barbarians. On the way, Andrew fears they will suffer new hardships there so Peter, seeing a farmer working in the fields, decides to try an omen: if he will give them bread, they will suffer no hardships in the city. Although the farmer is hungry himself

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and has only rented his ploughing oxen, he offers to go to the town and fetch bread for them if they will mind the field. Peter takes the plough and Andrew sows the seed. The corn immediately springs up, the farmer returns and is converted. As instructed by Peter, he takes back the oxen to their owner with a sheaf of corn. Dr. Moser adduces other saints' legends to show that the corn here symbolises the word of God but erroneously supposes that the idea is not biblical and hence would have been forgotten after the middle ages²⁷.

This story certainly contains several features of later ballads: the husbandman is willing to help, returns to find the corn ripened and testifies to God's power by being converted. Yet it differs from later stories in that it concerns no pursuit and the apostles plough and sow to bring about the miracle. Pace Dr. Moser, I judge it to be an early, important analogue, rather than the source of the cornfield miracle on the flight to Egypt²⁸. Dr. Moser gives insufficient weight to the earlier connection of Christ Himself with wheat miracles: apocryphal Acts of the Apostles often show their hero performing miracles originally worked by Christ²⁹. No miracle appearing in a sixth century work can be presumed to derive from the second century without firm evidence³⁰.

The ultimate source of all apocryphal wheat miracles is probably the parable of the sower, in which Christ Himself explains that the corn signifies the word of God³¹. Other influences may be Christ's comparison of the kingdom of God to a harvest, at which the apostles are labourers³², the parable of the wheat and the tares³³, the multiplication of loaves to feed large crowds³⁴, the story of the disciples gleaning wheat on the Sabbath³⁵ and Christ's pronouncement that:

Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.

John XII.24.

This pronouncement certainly inspired an apocryphal miracle found in a fragment of an Egyptian papyrus dated before 150 A.D., in which the adult Christ illustrates the saying to His apostles by sowing and raising an instantaneous harvest from a grain of wheat on the banks of the Jordan³⁶.

Stories of the Infant Christ raising enormous harvests from a few grains of wheat appear in the oldest apocryphal Infancy Gospels³⁷. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas perhaps originated in the second century³⁸. Tischendorf prints two Greek versions and one Latin, none of the manuscripts pre-dating the thirteenth century³⁹. However, there is also a shorter Syriac recension in a sixth century manuscript and other old versions in Old Georgian, Old Slavonic and Ethiopic⁴⁰. The purpose of the gospel is to anticipate Christ's later miracles and portray Jesus as an Infant Prodigy. The numerous translations of the work and use of its stories in later apocryphal writings attest its widespread popularity throughout the medieval period⁴¹.

In the oldest extant version, the Syriac, the Child Jesus is playing: He sows a bushel of wheat and reaps a hundred quarters, giving them to the people of the village⁴². In Greek version A, Jesus, aged eight, goes out in the time of sowing with Joseph and sows one corn of wheat. He then reaps and threshes it, bringing in a hundred measures. Then he calls the poor to the threshing-floor and gives them the wheat, Joseph taking the residue⁴³. This miracle is found also in the Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas: Jesus sows a handful of corn in seed-time and in harvest calls the poor, the widows and the fatherless;

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He gives them the hundred measures of corn, except for a little which Joseph takes into his house for a blessing⁴⁴.

The wheat miracle in Pseudo-Matthew XXXIV is clearly from the same source: Jesus, aged eight, sows a little wheat which He has taken from His mother's barn. It springs up, grows and multiplies. Jesus reaps it, gathers three quarters of corn, and gives it to many⁴⁵.

In the Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas, I, another corn miracle occurs on the flight to Egypt, when Jesus is two years old: Jesus walks through a sown field, takes some of the ears, grinds them, puts them on the fire, and eats. The field year by year yields as many measures as the number of grains Jesus has taken⁴⁶.

Another story was known in about 570 A.D., when Antonius of Placentia, whilst on pilgrimage, was shown in front of the church at Jericho⁴⁷:

... the sacred field of land, in which our Lord sowed corn with his own hand - sowing as much as three bushels of corn, which also is gathered twice a year; first, in the month of February, that it may be used at the communion at Easter; where it has been gathered it is ploughed, and gathered again with the rest of the harvest. Then it is ploughed.

It seems a reasonable hypothesis, on this evidence, that a miracle story concerning the sowing of wheat was told of the adult Christ as early as the second century; probably also at an early date, it was taken over into the Infancy Gospels and was later connected with the flight to Egypt, as in the Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Once the legend of Herod's pursuit was elaborated, the wheat miracle was adapted, in some work lost to us, to provide concealment for the Holy Family. The date at which this adaptation took place remains unclear, since the earlier wheat miracles of the Christ Child continued to be known and used.

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A brief comparison suggests that The Carnal and the Crane is not directly derived from the present European ballads of the miraculous harvest since, though it shares many details with them, it differs significantly. On the Continent, it is the Virgin, not Jesus, who performs the miracle⁴⁸, which often follows the angel's warning to flee⁴⁹. In some analogues, Mary greets the sower politely⁵⁰. Sometimes she asks him to hide her⁵¹ and in these versions, Mary and Jesus do not pass on. After the sower replies, Mary tells him to go home for his sickle and fetch in the harvest⁵². Sometimes she tells the sower what he must say to her pursuers⁵³. When Herod's soldiers arrive, they question the sower in detail about Mary and the Christ Child; he replies that Mary and Jesus passed as he was sowing his corn⁵⁴. One guard then turns to another⁵⁵ and urges return: it must be some time (usually specified) since Mary and Jesus passed⁵⁶. In Catalan, as in English, the guard grumbles, 'We have achieved nothing'⁵⁷. In some ballads, the massacre of the Innocents follows the guards' return⁵⁸. Some European cornfield ballads, like Child 55, include other Christmas legends⁵⁹.

In The Carnal and the Crane, the angel is not mentioned and it is Jesus, not Mary, who greets the sower politely, tells him to return for his ox and wain (Child 55 sta. 19) and then instructs him as to what he must say (sta. 23). Herod's inquiry (sta. 24) is not given in direct speech. As in the European analogues, it is a guard (here, the Captain) who urges return: in the oldest broadside (XI sta. 27.1) he makes his request "to the guard".

The source of the other miracles on the flight to Egypt in The Carnal and the Crane is Pseudo-Matthew: chapters XVIII and XIX tell how the Holy Family, travelling to Egypt, wishes

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to rest in a cave, from which many dragons emerge, frightening the whole party. Jesus gets down from His mother's lap, the dragons adore Him and then leave. Jesus walks before them, commanding them to hurt no-one. He comments that as He is Perfect Man, all the wild beasts of the wood will grow tame before Him. Lions and leopards also adore Him with great reverence and accompany the party through the desert, wagging their tails. Mary is frightened, but Jesus tells her not to fear, since they come to do them both service: Mary is comforted. The lions direct the way and do not harm the oxen and asses, thus fulfilling Isaiah's prophecies⁶⁰.

A similar miracle occurs in Pseudo-Matthew XXXV, when Jesus is eight: near the banks of the Jordan, a lioness and her whelps live in a cavern, and will let no-one pass. Jesus goes into the cavern and the whelps run to play with Him, whilst the older lions stand at a distance with lowered heads, adoring Him. People watching think Jesus must have sinned grievously to have exposed Himself to danger, but Jesus, emerging from the cave with the lions, tells the spectators (among them His parents)⁶¹:

How much better than you are the beasts, which recognize and glorify their Lord; and ye men, who are made in the image and likeness of God, know him not. Beasts acknowledge me, and grow gentle; men see me, and know me not.

Jesus crosses the Jordan with the lions, the waters dividing to right and left, then dismisses the beasts, telling them to hurt no man.

In the ballad, Mary wishes to rest, as in Pseudo-Matthew, and Jesus' reassurance resembles His remarks in the apocryphal beast legends:

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'Come sit thee down,' says Jesus,
 'Come sit thee down by me,
 And thou shalt see how these wild beasts
 Do come and worship me.'

V sta. 15.

In the ballad, the lion is the only beast specified and lions play a prominent part in both beast episodes in Pseudo-Matthew. The moral drawn in the ballad, that because the lion appears first, he is made king of the beasts, may well be original:

First came the lovely lion
 Which Jesus's grace did bring,
 And of the wild beasts in the field,
 The lion shall be king.

III sta. 16.

'Bring' ends the second line of stanza 16 only in III and XI; all other complete broadsides contain the senseless corruption 'spring'. Stanza 17 in the broadsides is badly expressed, and may reflect later revision or even addition, since 'choosing' princes was not a generally acceptable idea before the mid seventeenth century:

We'll choose our virtuous princes,
 Of birth and high degree,
 In every sundry nation,
 Where'er we come and see.

IV sta. 17.

The beast miracle in Pseudo-Matthew XIX is followed by the episode of the bowing tree (see above, Chapter Four). After this, Jesus considerably shortens the journey and the Holy Family arrive at an Egyptian city called Sotinen in Hermopolis, taking shelter in a temple containing 365 idols, each honoured on its own day in the year⁶². As the Holy Family enter, these idols fall prostrate and break, thus fulfilling Isaiah XIX.1. The ruler of the city, Affrodosius, arrives at the temple with an army, but then worships Jesus, warning his men that the idols would not have fallen were He not God, and that all must worship Him or suffer the fate of Pharaoh and his army, drowned in the Red Sea. Shortly afterwards, an angel instructs Joseph to return to the land of Judah⁶³.

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In the rewritten version of The Carnal and the Crane, lines 53 - 56, we are told simply that when Jesus reached Egypt, the idols fell in silence because they could not withstand His power. The incident occurs after the slaughter of the Innocents, but before the miracles of the beasts and the corn-field, which should happen on the Flight, before the Holy Family reaches Egypt. This, then, was not the position of the idols episode in the ur-ballad, yet if the episode originally contained a reference to Pharaoh, as in Pseudo-Matthew, its wrong positioning might explain the tradition in versions 1 and 3 whereby Pharaoh, not Herod, pursues the Holy Family. Pharaoh's pursuit of Moses⁶⁴ is, of course, a similar story, perhaps indeed the original inspiration of the legend of Herod's pursuit.

Although no extant Middle English poem containing Christmas miracles is the direct source of Child 55, the poems are sufficiently similar in language to suggest that The Carnal and the Crane drew on traditional ways of telling the stories and may have been adapted from an earlier poem or poems now lost to us.

The earliest surviving poem on the Childhood of Jesus, in Laud MS. 108, begins, like The Carnal and the Crane, with a reference to Christ's saving mission contrasted with His poor upbringing⁶⁵:

Ywane ihu crist was i bore,
To saui this world that was for lore,
In one crachche he was i leid
Bi fore Oxe and Asse; sothth it is seid.

As in Pseudo-Matthew, an angel bids Joseph go into "egypte londe"⁶⁶ and they have not travelled long when wild beasts, dragons and lions come to greet Jesus, bowing to Him in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy. The account of the falling idols shows the same kind of confusion as in our ballad: the

"temple of giwes" contains three hundred idols filled by demons "ywuche heroudes the king honourede with the giwes"; the false idols fall when Jesus enters and "heroudes the king of egypte lond" becomes frightened, remembering the fate of Pharaoh, drowned and doomed to hell for his disbelief. However, Jesus forgives Herod, as He forgives all who are sorry⁶⁷.

This Childhood poem also contains the corn miracle from Pseudo-Matthew and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas with one important difference: when Jesus casts a few oats into a field where nothing grows but wild grass, the field is filled with a harvest of oats "a nonright"; the people, bewildered, shear the corn and take it home to their houses⁶⁸.

The early Childhood poem uses a method of describing characters with short phrases in apposition: for example, Joseph is "that olde man" and Jesus, "that child, that was so ying"⁶⁹. This resembles the ballad's "Mary, that was so pure" (Child 55 sta. 13.2), but the same style is found also in romance⁷⁰.

Miracles of the Flight to Egypt occur also in Cursor Mundi: both the adoration of the beasts⁷¹ and the story of the falling idols⁷² (in which Pharaoh is mentioned) resemble Pseudo-Matthew closely. In the cornfield miracle from Pseudo-Matthew, however, the harvest from the measure of wheat which Jesus has taken from his mother's barn again springs up immediately and in great abundance⁷³:

a-pon the felde he hit sew
and that ilke day hit grew
sa thik that wonder was to se
hit multiplid to gret plente.

When cut, the corn yields one hundred measures, which Jesus gives gladly to all who live near.

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The later Childhood poem in three fifteenth century redactions is much closer in language and content to the ballad. The legend of the instantaneous harvest on the Flight to Egypt is mentioned so concisely at the beginning of each version⁷⁴ as to suggest that it was well-known in England by the early fifteenth century: Herod has sworn that he will kill Jesus and hence Mary flees; she tells a man that he must say that she passed by as they were sowing; when the Jews arrive, they find ripe corn being reaped.

Mary's instruction as to exactly what the man should say is paralleled by Jesus' speech in The Carnal and the Crane (stanza 23), but not in the European analogues. In addition, a slight verbal resemblance to the ballad occurs in line 22, before the cornfield miracle: in MS. Harl. 2399 (consistently closer to the ballad than the other two redactions), we are told of Mary that "(sche wen)d yn to Eryp(t) ther sche was not knowy(n)e." The ballad stanza preceding the corn miracle contains a similar phrase⁷⁵:

Then Jesus, aye and Joseph,
And Mary that was unknown,
They passed by a husbandman,
As he his seed had sown.
III sta. 18.

The corn miracle is followed in this Childhood poem by the adoration of the beasts⁷⁶: the Holy Family travel into a wilderness, where they see lions, leopards and other wild beasts; Mary is afraid, but Jesus blesses the beasts and they bow to Him, for which Mary thanks her Son; she then hears birds sing - a feature of two French cornfield ballads⁷⁷.

The introduction to this episode is of a similar style to the ballad. We are told of Mary⁷⁸:

(Fyrd)ermore sche gan gone
(In) yldernys, that was fayr of hew

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Compare the ballad stanza preceding the adoration of the beasts:

Then Jesus, and Joseph,
And Mary that was so pure
They travell'd into AEgypt land,
As you shall find most sure.
XI sta. 13.

Since the next episode in the Childhood poem, Mary's meeting with Dismas (the good thief) is introduced by a similar phrase, "Fyrdyrmore sche went anone"⁷⁹, it seems probable that 'journeying' stanzas introduced by the word 'further' were part of The Carnal and the Crane at an early stage. Such an expression is found in the rewritten version (line 65), whilst the gypsy version, King Pharim, contains the following stanzas:

Joseph and Jesus and Mary
Were travelling for the West,
When Mary grew a-tired
She might sit down and rest.

They travelled further and further on
The weather being so warm,
Till they came unto some husbandman
A-sowing of his corn.

3a stas. 6, 7.

The second lines of these stanzas are unique. Stanza 6.2 is most probably an emendation of the usual rhymes in stanza 14 of the broadsides, 'beasts : rest' (but see note 80). Stanza 7.2 is paralleled by tag phrases in Middle English poetry, for example, the prelude to the palm tree miracle in the Life of St. Anne⁸⁰:

Mary sayd than hyr burd rest efte
For febyll hyr strength was hyr ner refte
The weder was than so hatte.

However, it is extremely unlikely that a poet would have deliberately rhymed 'warm' with 'corn' before the middle of the seventeenth century⁸¹.

The later Childhood poem also contains the story of the falling idols⁸²: Froudeus is lord of Egypt and many pilgrims

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come to see his thirty-three golden gods. When, on Jesus' arrival, the gods fall to nothing, Froudeus goes mad, but then remembers 'the prophecies': Pharaoh is not mentioned. Jesus forgives Froudeus and all who approach: those who do not are put to death!

MS. Harl. 2399 and MS. Addit. 31042 contain another corn miracle, differing from that in Pseudo-Matthew: the Holy Family is in Egypt during a famine; Mary asks Jesus to take pity on the hungry and Jesus takes a barley corn and sows it in the middle of the field; He then bids the pindar blow his horn; the people shear the corn and bind great sheaves, thanking Jesus in their hearts⁸³.

The latter miracle appears in the early fifteenth century Life of St. Anne with the difference that Jesus sows three wheat corns and three barley corns and bids the hayward summon the people with his horn:

To do that hervest fast thai rane
& many a cart & wayne thane
 Full of corn ham thai dyght.

Again, the people are thankful⁸⁴.

Some features of this story recur in the ballad:

'God speed thee, man!' says Jesus,
'Go fetch thy ox and wain;
 And carry home thy corn again,
 Which thou this day hast sown.'

XI sta. 19.

Jesus' greeting is paralleled in secular balladry and is probably not consciously ironic⁸⁵. Jesus' concern for the people's needs, implicit in most apocryphal corn legends but overt in the last corn miracle considered, is found in a unique stanza of King Pharim which seems too good to be merely a gypsy begging stanza. Jesus says that He works the miracle for the sower:

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'For to keep your wife and family
From sorrow, grief and pain,
And keep Christ in your remembrance,
Till the time comes round again.'

3a sta. 9.

The other miracles in the Life of St. Anne⁸⁶ are as in Pseudo-Matthew (an acknowledged source of this poem), but use apparently traditional phrasing: for example, the Holy Family travels through a desert, "that no man suld tham knawe" and when they enter the temple of Egypt, the false gods "Ffell down & myght noght stand"⁸⁷. A line similar to the last quoted may have formed part of the ur-ballad, judging by line 56 of the rewritten version of The Carnal and the Crane. A second corn miracle in the Life of St. Anne may have been adapted from the Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas⁸⁸.

By the fifteenth century, then, several versions of the corn miracle were known and perhaps influenced the language used in The Carnal and the Crane. The ballad differs from the later Childhood poem in that the Infant Jesus performs the miracle. Nothing in the ballad prohibits the view that this change was made as a result of the Reformation, and we have seen that the ballad is deliberately constructed to illustrate the power of God the Son. However, the analogy of The Cherry Tree Carol indicates that even before the Reformation English ballad makers sometimes preferred to stress the power of Jesus, rather than His mother. The traditional subject-matter and language of the ballad suggest that it was composed (or compiled) at some time between the late fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries and within this period, the first half of the sixteenth century seems most probable, since it was hardly safe or fashionable to compose songs using Catholic legends in the late sixteenth century.

Supporting this date to some extent is the fact that Child 55 contains a number of words which, though not unusual or 'aureate', are longer and more 'polite' than those normally encountered in traditional ballads. These words are: 'argument' (sta. 1.3), 'conceiv'd' (sta. 4.4), 'provender' (sta. 7.3), 'princely' (sta. 9.3), 'travell'd' (sta. 18.3), 'virtuous' or 'righteous' (sta. 17.1), 'sundry' (sta. 17.3), 'husbandman' (sta. 18.3), 'redeemer of mankind' and 'undeserving'⁸⁹ (sta. 21.3, 4), 'precious blood' (sta. 22.3), 'furiously' and 'enquiring' (sta. 24.2, 3), 'captain' (sta. 27.1), 'proceeded' (sta. 28.3) and 'lowly reverence' (III sta. 20.3). In aggregate, these words suggest, perhaps, that a traditional ballad (or ballads) has been worked over by a fashionable 'minstrel' or London poet, an impression confirmed by other stylistic features, for example, the irregularity of metre. Some of the stanzas are written in 'ballad measure'⁹⁰; others consist mainly of lines of three stresses⁹¹; stanza 24 apparently uses trochaic tetrameters.

In addition, Child 55 relies on a number of tags, most of them virtually meaningless: 'and there as I did reign' (sta. 1.2) 'if all the world should turn'⁹² (sta. 2.2); 'as you shall find it sure' (sta. 13.4); 'and enquire for me alone' (sta. 23.2); 'nor do not them deny' (sta. 29.4).

The ballad's author or reviser was also careless in his use of rhyme. Out of the thirty stanzas in Child 55, eleven have rhymes which would always have been perfect⁹³, three have rhymes which would always have been nearly perfect⁹⁴, four stanzas depend for their rhyme on words which are identical⁹⁵, four use rhymes which would always have been bad⁹⁶, five use rhymes which would once have been good⁹⁷ and two use rhymes

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which would once have been only slightly imperfect⁹⁸.

Conclusions based on end-rhymes which would once have been perfect are at best tentative: some of these end-rhymes might remain acceptable in dialect or by poetic convention⁹⁹. In addition, we know that the ballad maker or reviser was a poor rhymers and suspect that the ballad's lines and stanzas do not all originate from the same period. Firm orthoepistical evidence moreover, is often available only in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the evidence of the end-rhymes generally supports the conclusion already suggested by the ballad's style and theme, namely that the broadside version of Child 55 dates mainly from the sixteenth century. Since King Pharim (version 3a) has emended several rhymes which would have become archaic only in the early eighteenth century, it would seem to be an eighteenth century redaction.

The rhyming of 'place' with 'ass' (Child 55 sta. 3) would be possible in late Middle English and persist until about 1700, since 'place' seems to have had a Middle English variant in $\tilde{a}$ ¹⁰⁰.

'Appear' and 'were' (sta. 8) both had variants in Middle English $\bar{e}$, and would probably have rhymed at any time from the late fifteenth century to the late seventeenth century¹⁰¹. The poet Cowley uses this rhyme¹⁰².

'High' and 'destroy' (sta. 9) would probably have rhymed on [ai] from the late fifteenth century until the early eighteenth century (perhaps, at this date, by poetic convention). This pronunciation of 'high' (with [ai] and without the spirant) is recorded, particularly by London orthoepists, from 1542 onwards. 'Destroy', sometimes spelt 'destrye' in Middle English, had variants based on both Middle English 'oi' and

and Middle English 'ui'. The latter variant would have become [æi] in some dialects perhaps as early as the fifteenth century. Rhymes of this type are recorded in Standard English in the late sixteenth century (Marlowe and Spenser), though they are commoner in the seventeenth century¹⁰³: Vaughan rhymes 'buy' with 'destroy'¹⁰⁴.

'Beasts' and 'rest' (sta. 14) would have rhymed in Middle English and ceased to rhyme perhaps in the late seventeenth century. 'Beast', a word of French origin, had a variant in Middle English *ĕ*. The 't' was often lost from such endings in the seventeenth century and probably earlier¹⁰⁵.

'Sure' and 'more' (sta. 22) might simply be a bad rhyme, but there is some evidence that a lowering of Middle English *ō* to *o* before 'r' in words such as 'more' took place between the early sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries in London speech¹⁰⁶.

'By' and 'furiously' (sta. 24) would have rhymed on [æi] at least since the early sixteenth century. This pronunciation for words ending in '-ly' was particularly common in poetry of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries according to the orthoepists¹⁰⁷. However, this rhyme cannot provide firm evidence of date, since a similar pronunciation is allowed today in popular songs¹⁰⁸.

Stanza 23.2 may well be corrupt as 'enquire for me alone' does not make good sense. The rhyme of '-one' with '-own' was just possible in the late sixteenth century, but was not favoured by poets until the seventeenth century¹⁰⁹.

The use of dramatic dialogue and parallel stanzas¹¹⁰ indicates that The Carnal and the Crane is indeed a ballad, even if untypical. It contains, for example, at least three ballad

commonplaces: on Herod's speeches in stanzas 10 and 12, see above, Chapter Three, notes 77 and 78. With Jesus' reassurance to His mother in stanza 15, compare Child 252.B, stanza 4:

'Come sit ye down by me, Willie,
Come sit ye down by me;
There's nae a lord in a' the north
That I can love but thee.'

The length of The Carnal and the Crane, with its relative stability of text in the broadsides but easy fragmentation in oral tradition, suggests that it has survived mainly through print or through a manuscript tradition. Despite its inept rhyme and slightly artificial diction, the ballad is attractive in its innocent piety, exemplified in the naïve questions of the carnal. The character of the Christ Child is cheerful and generous, the miracle stories are interesting and ingenious and the ballad exhibits a vital sense of humour at stanzas 11 and 27, where the cock springs suddenly to life and the Captain of the Guard forms his erroneous conclusions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. W. Boase, The Folklore of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (Batsford 'Folklore of the British Isles' Series), London, 1976, p.129.
2. Birmingham Public Library no. 60338 (LF 10 09), 'Christmas Carols', at p.85; the poem is printed on pp.5-8 of the chapbook; on the printer Susanna Martin, see the Alphabetical Index of Broadside Printers, below, Appendix K.
3. Compare these lines respectively with Child 55 sta. 9.1; sta. 11.1; sta. 12.3-4; sta. 14.3-4; sta. 14.2, 4 (rhyme scheme 'beasts' and 'rest'); sta. 18.3-4; sta. 30.3-4. Line 51 suggests that the rewritten version may be derived from a broadside such as XI or III (cf. III sta. 3.3).
4. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.86, note 1: MSS. A, E, Pseudo-Matthew XIX.1.
5. Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, p.15: the tunes to versions 1 and 2 are variants of a tune in the 'Goddesses' family to which many other West Midlands carols are sung. See also Bronson, Ballad as Song, pp.107-111.
6. 3a sta. 3.3-4: "Whether a blessed Virgin Mary
Sprung from an Holy Ghost".

These lines are heretical only by accident and derive from the usual reading of Child 55, sta. 4.3-4. See also below, notes 22 and 23.
7. Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, p.93.
8. A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis' (reprinted from the edition of 1567), ed. A.F. Mitchell (S.T.S., 1st Series, 39), Edinburgh, 1897, p.168 and see note, p.278.
9. Cf. Child 59 A sta. 28.1; 231 D sta. 3.1; 232 A sta. 2.1; cf. also the opening of the folk song 'The Bold Fisherman', perhaps in origin a religious allegory: Broadwood, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), pp.132-133.
10. Cf. 'King Edward and the Shepherd' (written in a fifteenth century MS.), lines 13-15 in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, p.951; also Lybeaus Desconus, ed. M. Mills, (E.E.T.S., O.S. 261), London, New York and Toronto, 1969, p.153, lines 1281 - 1282 (Lambeth Palace MS. 306). 'Lybeaus Desconus' was composed, probably by Thomas Chestre, in the second half of the fourteenth century: see Bliss's summary on pp.13-15 of Chestre, Sir Launfal; Severs and Hartung, Manual, I, 13, date the romance slightly earlier.
11. Cf. The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. J. Kinsley, Oxford, 1979, pp.60-63, 'The Merle and the Nychtingall': the conversation according to line 9, takes place by a riverside; cf. also Greene nos. 370 and 378, sta. 1; Child, 111, sta. 1.
12. e.g. Child 4, 26, 68, 82, 96, 270.
13. O.E.D., II, p.123, 'carnal', sb.

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14. See Anne G. Gilchrist's note, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.25.
15. Cf. the Scottish version of the 'Corpus Christi Carol', Green, no. 322 D, lines 1 - 4.
16. Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, I, pp.12-16, lines 332 - 474 and II, pp.33-39, lines 1 - 176; see also above, Chapter 3, notes 41 and 42.
17. Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, I, p.16, lines 455 - 463.
18. Pseudo-Matthew XIV (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.80 and Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.53-54): the ox and the ass adore Jesus in fulfilment of Isaiah I.3 and Habakkuk III.2 (Greek version).
19. Greene, nos.45 sta. 2.3; 59.1 sta. 3.2; 60 sta. 1.2; 151 A sta. 4.3; see also Cursor Mundi, II, pp.646-647, lines 11269 - 11272.
20. Von Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, 'Die Saat im Acker der Gerechten Zur Vorgeschichte und Sinndeutung der Kornfeldlegende' in Osterreichische Zeitschrift Für Volkskunde, LXXVII, New Series 28 (1974), pp.131-142, on p.140.
21. E.S.P.B., II, p.7.
22. N.C.E., VII, pp.378-381, 'Immaculate Conception'; see also H.F. Davis, 'The Origins of Devotion to Our Lady's Immaculate Conception' in The Dublin Review, CCXXVIII, no.465 (1954), pp.375-392 and S.J. Dijk, 'The Origins of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception', ibid., pp.251-267 and (no.466) pp.428-442.
23. O.E.D., II, p.757, 'conceive', sense I.3; M.E.D., II, p.481, 'conceiven', sense 1 (b).
24. Moser, Osterreichische Zeitschrift, LXXVII, p.133 and footnote 15.
25. Ibid., p.133, footnotes 16 and 17; E.S.P.B., II, pp.7-8.
26. Moser, Osterreichische Zeitschrift, LXXVII, pp.136-138 and footnotes 25 - 27; see also Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., II, pp.397, 576.
27. Moser, Osterreichische Zeitschrift, LXXVII, pp.140-141.
28. Ibid., p.142.
29. e.g. in the Vercelli Acts of Peter XIII (found in a seventh century MS.), Peter restores a dried fish to life: Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., II, p.295; the Christ Child performs this miracle in the Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas (on the history of which, see below, notes 38 - 41): Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.93, note 1; James, Apoc. N.T., p.300.
30. Ibid., pp.337, 474, 475 (on the fantastic and luxurious use of miracle in the later Acts of the Apostles).
31. Matt. XIII, 3-23; Mk. IV.3-20; Lk. VIII.4-15.
32. Mk. IV.26-29; Lk. X.2; Jn. IV.34-38. Christ's saying in Jn. IV.37, 'And herein is that saying true, One soweth and another reapeth', may have inspired the detail of the apostles' labours in the Acta Petri et Andreae.

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33. Matt. XIII.24-30, 36-43, especially verse 37: 'He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man.'
34. Matt. XIV.13-21, XV.32-38; Mk. VI.33-34, VIII.1-9; Lk. IX.10-17; Jn. VI.1-13.
35. Matt. XII.1-8; Mk. II.23-28; Lk. VI.1-5.
36. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., I, pp.95, 97 (British Museum Papyrus Egerton 2).
37. See also E.S.P.B., II, p.7.
38. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc. I, p.391.
39. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.140-180; English translations in James, Apoc. N.T., pp.49-70.
40. W. Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, Collected and Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1865, document II, p.6f; see also Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., I, p.389.
41. Ibid., pp.391-2.
42. Wright, Contributions, pp.9-10, chapter XII.
43. Greek Infancy Gospel of Thomas A, chapter XII: Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.151-152; James, Apoc. N.T., p.52.
44. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.175; James, Apoc. N.T., p.63. (Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas, chapter X).
45. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.104; Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.75-76.
46. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.164; James, Apoc. N.T., p.58. The detail of the field's yielding as many measures as Jesus has taken grains occurs in Tischendorf's 'Codex B', Evangelia Apocrypha, p.164, note 2.
47. Quotation and translation of Antoninus' account from Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.164.
48. Continental ballads of the cornfield will be referred to by language: Catalan: Arbaud, Chants Populaires, II, pp.242-244 (25 long lines, with French translation); Provençal A and B, ibid., I, pp.33-36 (23 stas.) and II, pp.235-240 (46 stas.), respectively; French A - E in Millien, Litterature Orale, I, pp.4-8, (9, 7, 7, 8, 1 stas. respectively); French F in J. Daynard, Vieux Chants Populaires recueillis en Quercy, Cahors, 1889, p.333 (5 stas.); Swedish in D.g.F., III, pp.882-883 (11 stas., summarised above, Chapter Three, p.52); Serbian in Moser, Oesterreichische Zeitschrift, LXXVII, pp.134-135 (15 stas. in German translation); Karelian Finnish, ibid., p.140 (German translation of 9 opening lines).
49. Provençal B, sta. 1; French D, E, F, sta.1; Swedish stas. 5 and 6.
50. French A, B, C, sta.2.1; Karelian Finnish, line 6.

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51. Catalan lines 7 - 10; Provençal A, sta.10.2, B, sta.8; French A and B, sta.2.2.
52. Catalan line 12; Provençal B, sta.10; French A, B, C, sta.3; Serbian, sta.4; cf. Swedish, sta.8: Virgin tells sower to fetch people.
53. Swedish, sta.6: 'Say you saw no-one'; Serbian, sta.7: 'Do not keep silence about me, do not betray me.'; only in Child 55, sta.23 is the sower given exact instructions.
54. Catalan lines 18 - 21; Provençal A, stas. 21, 22 and B, stas. 18, 19; French A, B, D, stas. 5 and 6, C, sta.5; Serbian, stas. 10, 11.
55. Catalan line 22; Provençal B, sta.20; French B, sta.6.3.
56. A year: Provençal A, sta.23, B, sta.20; French A, sta.7, B, sta.6.4, C, sta.6. Twelve weeks: Serbian, sta.12.
57. Catalan, lines 24 - 25; Child 55, sta.27.2.
58. French D, sta.8, F, sta.5; Serbian, stas. 14, 15.
59. Provençal B, stas. 21 - 46: miracle of bowing tree, meeting with good thief; French F, sta.5: Herod's own son is slain among the Innocents; Swedish, stas. 1 - 4: miracle of the cock.
60. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.85-87; Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.57-58; Isaiah XI.6-9, LXV.25.
61. Pseudo-Matthew XXXV-XXXVI: Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.104-105; Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.76-77 (quotation, p.77).
62. Pseudo-Matthew XXII: Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.89-90; Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.61-62.
63. Ibid., pp.63-64; Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.91-93 (Pseudo-Matthew XXIII-XXV).
64. Exodus XIV.
65. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.3, lines 11-14; for information regarding this poem, see above, Chapter Four, notes 18 and 19.
66. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.4, line 46; the adoration of the beasts occurs on pp.4-5, lines 55-88.
67. Ibid., pp.9-12, lines 209-300; the first two quotations come from the prose heading before line 209 (p.9), the third from the prose heading before line 259 (p.11).
68. Ibid., p.34, lines 985-995; the quoted word comes from the preceding prose heading.
69. Ibid., p.7, lines 145 and 153.
70. Cf. the fourteenth century 'Emaré' in M. Mills ed., Six Middle English Romances, N.J., 1973, lines 305-306, 478 and 892, pp.54, 59, 70.
71. Cursor Mundi, II, pp.666-669, lines 11601-11656.

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72. Ibid., pp.674-7, lines 11744-11796.
73. Ibid., pp.706-709, lines 12323-12332; quotation from Fairfax MS., lines 12325-12328.
74. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 31042), p.327, lines 17 - 28; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, 1878, p.111, lines 17 - 26 (Brit. Mus., MS. Harl. 2399 has some lacunae at this point) and ibid., p.101, lines 17 - 28 (MS. Harl. 3954), see also above, Chapter Four, note 32.
75. Cf. C.T.C. 14 sta. 7.1, "Now Mary went to Bethlehem, to a place she was not known."
76. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.327, lines 29 - 40; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, 1878, pp.111-112, lines 27-40 and p.101, lines 29 - 40.
77. French D, F, sta.3 (a nightingale); small birds are mentioned also in Catalan, line 3. For the sources of these texts, see above, note 48. (The incident may be derived from an apocryphal work such as Vögtlin, Vita Rhythmica, p.82, lines 2282-2291.)
78. Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, 1878, p.111, lines 27-28 (MS. Harl. 2399).
79. Ibid., p.112, line 41.
80. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.39, lines 1492 - 1494; (see above, Chapter Four, note 39); cf. Sir Launfal, p.59, in which the hero, riding "toward the west" (line 219) rests under a tree because "the wether was hot, the vndern-tyde" (line 220).
81. See H.C. Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes from Surrey to Pope, London, 1923, pp.13, 67-70. Rounding of the vowel in 'warm' is first recorded in 1640: see E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700, 2 vols., 2nd ed. Oxford, 1968, II, para.49, p.525. Conversely, lowering of M.E. ō to ǫ in 'corn' occurred earlier in the dialect of the West Midlands but did not penetrate standard and London speech till the seventeenth century: see T. Söderholm, The End-Rhymes of Marvell, Cowley, Crashaw, Lovelace and Vaughan (Acta Academia Aboensis, Series A, XXXIX, no.2), Åbo, 1970, pp.44, 136, 166 and Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.71-72.
82. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.329, lines 125-147; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, 1878, p.113, lines 125-148 and p.103, lines 121 - 128.
83. Ibid., p.118, lines 497 - 508; Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.335, lines 572 - 584.
84. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), pp.68-69, lines 2614 - 2652; quotation from p.69, lines 2647 - 2649.
85. Cf. Child 29 sta.4.1; William Tyndale, The New Testament, Worms, 1526, facsimile reproduction, London, 1976, translates Matt. XXVIII.9 as "Iesus mett them sayinge, 'God spede you'," where the A.V. has "All hail".

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86. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS), p.38, lines 1441 - 1488 (adoration of the beasts) and pp.44-45, lines 1668 - 1722 (falling idols).
87. Ibid., p.37, line 1419 and p.44, line 1683.
88. Ibid., pp.49-50, lines 1885 - 1908.
89. 'Undeserving' is the only word in the ballad apparently not so used before the sixteenth century: see O.E.D., X, Pt.I, p.156, 'undeserving', sense 1, where the first recorded usage in this sense is in Coverdale's translation of Erasmus' Paraphrases (Jas. ii. 30b) in 1549.
90. See Child 55 stas. 1, 2, 10-12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27; perhaps also 9, 21.
91. See Child 55 stas.4 - 8, 13, 16 - 18, 25, 26, 28 - 30; perhaps also 3.
92. III sta.2.2, "Sure all the world will turn"; the line might be emended to "Sure all the world was done", (i.e. 'finished' or 'destroyed' until God the Son came to save us). For this meaning of 'done', see O.E.D. III, p.562, 'Do', vb., sense A8; M.E.D., II, p.1226, 'Don', sense 2b. 'Done' is rhymed with 'son' by Marvell, Cowley, Crashaw and Vaughan: Söderholm, End-Rhymes, p.107; possibly this was a good rhyme in many dialects in the sixteenth century: Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500 - 1700, I, p.23.
93. Sta. 1, rei(g)n: crane ('ran': 'cran'); sta. 10, me: three; sta. 11, hand: stand; sta. 13, pure: sure; sta. 16, bring: king; sta. 17, degree: see; stas. 18 and 25, (un)known: sown; sta. 26, wain: again; sta. 28, hand: land; sta. 29, die: deny. On sta. 23, alone: sow(n), see below (note 109).
94. Sta. 3, goest: Ghost; sta. 5, sin: king; sta. 21, called: all. Carelessness about word endings is a feature of this poet's style, but sta. 5 exhibits a habit of speech widespread from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries: Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.23, 30, 112-113.
95. Stas. 6 and 7, in: in; sta. 12, be: be; sta. 15, me: me.
96. Sta. 2, turn: Son (but see note 92); sta. 19, wain: sown (this stanza might originally have rhymed wain: again, as sta. 26); sta. 27, vain: sown; sta. 30, shown: Son.
97. Sta. 3, place: ass; sta. 8, appear: were; sta. 9, high: destroy; sta. 22, sure: more; sta. 27, furiously: by.
98. Sta. 14, beasts: rest; sta. 20, face: last (but cf. III sta. 20, face: grace).
99. Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.11, 28 - 30.
100. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500 - 1700, II, para. 6, p.467; place: ass occurs as a rhyme in the York Plays, XXV, lines 25 and 27, p.202; see also Söderholm, End-Rhymes, p.123.
101. Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500 - 1700, II, para.126, p.643 and see note 4, p.645, and para.4, p.461.

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102. Söderholm, End-Rhymes, pp.69, 97; Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.66-67.
103. Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500 - 1700, II, para. 142, p.670; para.255, pp.813 - 815 (and notes 1 and 3); para.262, p.825 (and notes 2 and 3).
104. Söderholm, End-Rhymes, pp.73 - 74; Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.22, 30, 73 - 75.
105. Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500 - 1700, I, pp.112, 354; II, para. 8, pp.473-474; para. 398, p.961; para. 406, p.968; see also Söderholm, End-Rhymes, p.99 (Cowley) and Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, pp.59, 98.
106. Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500 - 1700, II, para. 149, p.675; para. 207, note 2, para. 208, p.738; para. 188, pp.711-712.
107. Ibid., II, para. 275, pp.842-844; para. 137, p.659; para. 4, p.451. On the medieval tradition of Herod's "fury", see above, Chapter Three, note 43.
108. As a child, I was taught to sing the refrain of the shanty, "What shall we do with the drunken sailor, early in the morning" and to pronounce 'early' to rhyme with 'try'.
109. Wyld, Studies in English Rhymes, p.127 (Cowley, Dryden); Söderholm, End-Rhymes, pp.68, 96, 129 (Cowley, Marvell); Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500 - 1700, I, p.108 and II, para. 250, pp.807-8, shows that Laneham (1575) and Bulloker (1580 - 1586) used M.E. ē in words such as 'known', 'sown' and also 'alone'.
110. Cf. Child 55 stas. 10, 22, 25 and 30; stas. 11 and 29; stas. 13 and 18.

CHAPTER SIX

'THE BITTER WITHY' AND 'THE HOLY WELL'

The Bitter Withy was first printed in full in 1905¹, after Child's death, and was at once accepted as an authentic traditional ballad by scholars of note². The Holy Well, published by several nineteenth century editors (see Appendix C, texts I - IV), was apparently rejected or overlooked by Child, but undoubtedly deserves to be considered a traditional ballad.

The two ballads are similar in theme: both begin with the Child Jesus asking His mother for permission to play, and being told that Mary wishes to hear no complaints against Him when He returns in the evening. Jesus goes out and meets some children. He asks them to play, but they reply that they are lords' and ladies' sons, whilst He is but a poor maid's child. From this point the ballads diverge. In The Bitter Withy, Jesus builds a bridge of sunbeams over water, crosses it and is followed by the children, who are drowned. The children's mothers complain to Mary, who fetches Jesus home and thrashes Him three times with withy³ (i.e. willow) twigs. Jesus then curses the withy: thereafter it will be the first of trees to decay at the heart.

In The Holy Well, Jesus is moved to tears by the children's rebuff. He returns home and recounts to Mary exactly what has happened. Mary remarks that He is the King of Heaven, and suggests that He 'dips' the children 'deep in hell'. Jesus refuses: there are too many sinful souls requiring His help. The angel Gabriel then appears and announces that Jesus is indeed the King of Heaven.

Textual evidence adduced below supports Gerould's hypothesis⁴ that both ballads descend from a common original on the theme of the sunbeam legend. The plot of The Bitter Withy

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is coherent and obviously derived from medieval legend.

The Holy Well is sentimental and anti-climactic but preserves archaic features of which slight traces survive in The Bitter Withy. Where the latter ballad differs from The Holy Well in the shared opening stanzas, it exhibits corrupt words, motifs and rhyme-scheme, all clearly borrowed from Sir Hugh (Child 155). In my opinion the ur-ballad behind The Bitter Withy and The Holy Well, hereafter designated 'the sunbeam ballad', probably originated before the Reformation and survived not much modified into the eighteenth century, when it was contaminated by Sir Hugh to form The Bitter Withy. The Holy Well is a broadside revision of 'the sunbeam ballad', made perhaps as early as the seventeenth century.

Analysis of the numerous variants of both the present ballads, listed in Appendix C, is made difficult by the fact that each has influenced the other and there are even some composite texts. Nevertheless, the traditional features of each ballad are readily distinguishable. Variants of The Bitter Withy (texts 17 - 40) are extremely close, most differences being insignificant. The stability of The Bitter Withy is the result of most texts having been recovered from a confined area (Herefordshire) in the early twentieth century.

Texts of The Holy Well are not radically different from each other, but it is possible to distinguish at least four groups: the standard broadside text (I - XI, XIV and 12), the oldest members of which (I and II) date from the eighteenth century; the Manchester broadside text (XII, XIII, 1 and 2), which has been contaminated by The Seven Virgins (see below, Chapter Seven and Appendix D); Cornish texts 6, 8 and 9, notable particularly for a different 'journey' stanza;

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and the gypsy texts 4, 5, 13 and 14, in many ways corrupt. Differences between the texts will emerge during discussion.

Barry shows that saints' legends concerning sunbeams were known early in the West, the earliest extant being a seventh century Latin Life of St. Bridget; however, all but one of the legends he cites concern the hanging of the saint's garment upon the sunbeam; the exception is a Latin Acts of St. Nicholas the Pilgrim of the early twelfth century, in which the saint is lifted up on a sunbeam⁵.

None of the sources for the legends of the Christ Child and the sunbeam cited by Gerould pre-date the thirteenth century. A story in which Jesus sits on a sunbeam occurs as an interpolation in the fourteenth century Laurentian Codex⁶ of Pseudo-Matthew, XXXVII:

Et cum Iesus cum aliis infantulis super radios sol(is) ubique plures ascenderet et sederet, multique simili modo facere coeperunt, praecipitabantur, et eorum crura frangebantur et bracchia. Sed dominus Iesus sanabat omnes.

This story differs from The Bitter Withy in that Jesus heals His playmates, but the important element of the playmates' rivalry is already present.

The same story occurs in the De Infantia Salvatoris, a late Latin apocryphal compilation found in several manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here, however, the incident takes place in Winter outside Joseph's house. Gerould compares the detail that Jesus sits upon a sunbeam shining in at a window "quasi super trabem firmissimum" to the bridge in The Bitter Withy⁷.

Another legend relates that the Christ Child hung His water pitcher from a sunbeam. In the Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beate Mariae Virginis, extant in a late thirteenth

or early fourteenth century manuscript, Jesus, carrying home water from the well for His mother, drags the ray of sunlight on which His pitcher is suspended behind Him 'like a rope'. This legend is found also in the Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica⁸, an influential Latin poem dating from the thirteenth century. The ultimate source of the legend may be a lost text of the De Infantia Salvatoris⁹.

Gerould notes the presence of sunbeam legends in Provençal and French poems of the thirteenth century¹⁰. However, both legends cited appear early in English, and the Middle English poems appear to be the most important influence on 'the sunbeam ballad'. They relate the episode of the sunbeam and the pitcher somewhat differently: Jesus is pushed by another child while collecting water and His pitcher is broken. Mending it miraculously, He hangs it upon a sunbeam, but when the other children follow suit, their pitchers fall and break. In the end, Jesus mends their pitchers when they humbly ask Him to do so. The story is found both in the early Childhood poem in MS. Laud 108¹¹ and in the later Childhood poem extant in three fifteenth century redactions¹². In the latter poem, Jesus performs the sunbeam miracle explicitly to punish 'Archa', the boy who pushed Him, and He mends the children's pitchers at the request of His best friend 'Osepe', who recognizes that Jesus is "kyng of alle pouste"¹³.

The story of the Christ Child sitting upon a sunbeam is also found in both Childhood poems¹⁴, whilst two such incidents occur in the Life of St. Anne¹⁵, unedited at the time of Gerould's study. These stories are close enough to The Bitter Withy and The Holy Well to suggest that the 'sunbeam ballad' drew on the Middle English tradition, though it does not appear

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to be derived directly from any extant poem. All the poems contain the same features: Jesus wishes to play with other children and sits on a sunbeam; the children imitate Him, fall off, break their bones and kill themselves; a passer-by spreads the news and the Jews complain angrily, threatening the Holy Family; Jesus eventually raises the dead children at Mary's request.

The story of the pitcher which hung on the sunbeam was remembered in England in the early seventeenth century, for it is found, applied to Tom Thumb, in a prose chapbook written by Richard Johnson and printed in 1620 and 1621, The History of Tom Thumbe the Little¹⁶ and in a poetic version, Tom Thumbe, His Life and Death, printed in 1630. A schoolfellow had imprisoned Tom for a short time in a pin-box¹⁷:

Of whom to be reveng'd, he tooke,
 (in mirth and pleasant game)
 Black pots and glasses, which he hung
 upon a bright sunne-beame:
 The other Boyes to doe the like,
 in pieces broke them quite,
 For which they were most soundly whipt,
 Whereat he laught outright.

And so Tom Thumbe restrained was
 From these his sports and play
 And by his mother after this
 Compel'd at home to stay...

Newman considers that the prose chapbook is an expansion of the poem, which itself represents a lost broadside ballad registered in 1623 but probably surviving from an earlier date¹⁸. However, the prose account includes the additional details that the sunbeam was shining into the schoolroom, that the beam was like a 'cord' and that both Tom Thumb and his playmates used their mothers' pots and glasses. These details are likely to derive from an existing legend and suggest that the poem has been adapted from the prose chapbook or its source. Three

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elements of the story of Tom Thumb - his revenge, the whipping and his mother's displeasure - recur in altered form in The Bitter Withy.

The setting of both The Bitter Withy and The Holy Well is a holy day. The latter ballad typically begins:

As it fell out one May morning
And upon a bright holiday,
Sweet Jesus asked of His dear Mother
If He might go to play.

H.W. II sta. 1.

Three variants have, however, been influenced by The Seven Virgins in their opening:

Honour the leaves and the leaves of life
Upon this blest holiday.

H.W. 2 and XIIa, b, sta. 1.1-2.

Under the leaves, the leaves of life
And upon a holy day

H.W. XIII sta. 1.1-2.

Broadside XIII has borrowed a complete stanza from The Seven Virgins:

Under the rose, the gentle rose,
The rose that grows so green,
God gives us grace in every place
To pray for the King and Queen.

H.W. XIII sta. 14.

Broadside XIIb stanza 7.2 contains another borrowed phrase, 'as fast as foot could fall'. The openings of the gypsy versions of The Holy Well (4, 5, 13, 14) also differ slightly and may have been contaminated by The Bitter Withy:

As it fell out on a high holiday
A high holiday so high

H.W. 4 sta. 1.1-2.

The opening stanza of The Holy Well is probably close in form to the 'original' opening of the 'sunbeam ballad', since episodes in the childhood of Christ in Middle English poetry begin similarly:

Iesus went him for to plai¹⁹
Wit childir on an halidai

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So it befel vpon a day²⁰
 A lytyl beforh the none:
 Chyldryn of the cete madyn a play
 As he were wone to done.

Several traditional ballads mention a holy day in their opening stanza, for example a seventeenth century version of Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard²¹:

As it fell one holy-day
Hay downe
 As many be in the yeare,
 When young men and maids together did goe,
 Their mattins and masse to heare.

Even if conventional, this is a suitable setting for this ballad, since Musgrave and Lady Barnard aggravate their sin by meeting in church; similarly, the setting is appropriate to The Holy Well, for children would be free to play upon a holy day. References to a 'May morning' (frequent in ballad, folk song and romance²²), to the holy day's being 'bright' and to 'Sweet Jesus' (a common appellation in Middle English²³) are the marks of a Holy Well text. In The Bitter Withy Jesus is generally termed 'Our Saviour'²⁴.

The opening stanza of The Bitter Withy uses the rhyme
fall : ball²⁵:

As it fell out on a high holiday
 When drops of rain did fall,
 Jesus asked of His mother Mary
 If He should go and play at the ball.
B.W. 22 sta. 1.

This opening has probably been adapted from a variant of Sir Hugh (Child 155) in the 'School Group'²⁶, since surviving variants from this group open similarly:

'Twas on a dark and holiday
 When the dew drops they did fall
 And all the scholars of the school
 Went out to playing ball ...
Bronson 155 no. 16 sta. 1.

It is improbable that it was the sunbeam ballad which influenced Sir Hugh, since no text of The Bitter Withy has been discovered.

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outside Central and Southern England, whereas Sir Hugh is widely disseminated throughout Britain and America, and the home of the 'School Group' seems to have been Scotland or Ireland. Moreover, most variants of The Bitter Withy contain corrupt and irrelevant references to Lincoln, for example:

And it's upling corns and downling corns...
H.W./B.W. 15 sta. 13.1.

Then it's up the lane call and it's down the lane call...
B.W. 26 sta. 6.1.

So up Lincull and down Lincull...
B.W. 31 sta. 3.1

The original form of the line, 'Up Lincoln and down Lincoln' actually occurs in a Northamptonshire composite version of Sir Hugh²⁷ and since the murder on which Child 155 is based took place in Lincoln, the phrase was clearly not original to the sunbeam ballad.

Anne Gilchrist, the first scholar to notice that The Bitter Withy and Sir Hugh had features in common²⁸, was struck by the concluding stanza of the latter ballad as collected by Motherwell:

O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom,
 The broom that makes full sore.
 A woman's mercy is very little
 But a man's mercy is more.
Child 155 E sta. 22.

Gilchrist argued that the Virgin in The Bitter Withy shows little mercy in chastising Jesus, whilst the stanza itself resembles the curse in The Bitter Withy:

O withy, O withy, O bitter withy,
 Thou hast caused me to smart;
 And the withy shall be the very first tree
 That shall perish at the heart.
B.W. 31 sta. 10.

However, choruses of this type appear to be an early commonplace in balladry, appearing, for example, in a Pepys broadside²⁹:

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The bonny broom, the well favour'd broome
 The broome blooms faire on hill
 What ail'd my love to lightly mee
 And I working her will?

The particular theme of Motherwell's stanza was doubtless suggested by a distinctive feature of the 'School Group' texts of Sir Hugh, that Hugh's mother searches for her son with a stick, intending to punish him for staying out late: this is a development either of the 'baculus' with which the mother searches in some medieval analogues, or the pike-staff used by other ballad heroines³⁰. That the Christ Child is beaten in The Bitter Withy may, therefore, have been suggested by Sir Hugh: in Child 155 N stanza 12.2, Hugh's mother carries "a little sally rod", i.e. a willow wand³¹, whilst in The Bitter Withy, text 21 stanza 7.3, Mary is urged to beat Jesus with 'a withy stick', though in most variants she beats Him with a bundle of withy twigs.

In an Irish 'School Group' variant of Sir Hugh, the dead boy in the well makes his excuses to his mother:

'Yes, mother dear, I am here,
 I know I have staid very long:
 But a little penknife was stuck in my heart
 Till the stream ran down full strong.'
Child 155 F sta. 11.

In one variant of The Bitter Withy, the Christ Child likewise excuses Himself:

'Oh mother, dear mother, don't scold on your son,
 For 'twas over the bridge went he, went he,
 And the dons they went a-following after he,
 And they got drowned all three.'
B.W. 18 sta. 6.

Ball-playing is too common in the ballads³² to be supposed original either to The Bitter Withy or Sir Hugh, though in the Middle English story of Jesus and the dyer, the Christ Child plays at ball³³:

He bade no lenger in that stede.
 The childer of the strete out did he call
 & played ther with tham at the bawll.

However, the corrupt nature of most stanzas using the rhyme 'ball' in The Bitter Withy suggests that the motif was borrowed from Sir Hugh. The 'fall' of rain was likewise borrowed from Sir Hugh, into which it had probably been introduced for the sake of the rhyme with 'ball'³⁴. There is no evidence to support Gilchrist's theory³⁵ that the rainfall was borrowed from the apocryphal legend of Jesus and the spoilt pools, discussed below.

Contamination of the sunbeam ballad by Sir Hugh probably took place before the late eighteenth century, the date to which the oldest Bitter Withy text, B.W. 30, can be traced. As shown in Chapter Eleven, below, the 'School Group' of Sir Hugh texts certainly pre-dates 1763.

The stanza in which Mary grants Jesus permission to play is almost the same in both The Bitter Withy and The Holy Well:

'To play, to play, sweet Jesus shall go,
And to play pray get you gone;
And let me hear of no complaint
At night when you come home.'

H.W. III sta. 2.

The word 'complaint'³⁶ is probably original to the sunbeam ballad since the related word 'playnt' is common in the Middle English analogues. In the second sunbeam episode in the Life of St. Anne, the father of the child Judas Iscariot, who has been killed with the other children trying to imitate Jesus, complains at Joseph's house³⁷:

He & odyr gudmen of that ton
To Iosep hous son mad tham bon
At mak plant of ihesu

In the later Childhood of Jesus, the young Judas breaks up some pools which Jesus had made and is struck dead³⁸:

Thane alle the childire faste to the towne thai ranne,
ffor ferdnesse of thaire felawe sake,
Vn-to Sir Keuxe, thaire aldire-manne,
And playnte of Jhesu gane thay make.

In Cursor Mundi, the Jewish lords object to Jesus' striking dead a child who pushed Him³⁹:

& playnt on him made hudousli
bath to Ioseph & to Mary.

Mary's warning in The Holy Well suggests that originally there were complaints of Jesus, and thus that this ballad is indeed a revision of a ballad like The Bitter Withy. Several Bitter Withy texts substitute the term 'ill-doings' for 'complaint'⁴⁰ and such a version of The Bitter Withy seems to have been known to the early nineteenth century author of Bloomer's 'new' version of The Holy Well, since he comments (nonsensically) on Jesus' reaction to the children's rebuff:

No ill entreats though power was great,
Upon this young shall fall,
Though they cried when they denied,
He was born in an oxen's stall.

H.W. VI sta. 7.

Mary's warning suggests that she is exasperated by Jesus' use of His power, a rare trait. In apocryphal legend, Joseph is frequently angry with Jesus, to no avail: in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas V he wrings Jesus' ear⁴¹ and in Pseudo-Matthew XXXVIII confides to Mary that he is sad even unto death on account of Jesus. Mary, however, reassures him that God will keep His son from evil⁴². After the episode in the early Childhood poem in which Jesus sits on the sunbeam, Joseph tells Him to leave home⁴³ and in the Life of St. Anne, he warns Jesus not to do other such tricks and annoy His mother⁴⁴. Mary, however, rarely loses patience with her Son. In the later Childhood poem, she rebukes Jesus only when a large crowd, angered by their children's deaths by falling from the sunbeam, threatens to stone the Christ Child⁴⁵:

Mary lykede it fulle ille,
And sayde: "dere sone, this foly late thou cesse!
I pray the, if it be thi wille,
Thou late vs somewhere lyf in peese.

Thou sees thies Jewes wille vs spille:
 Swete sone, nowe for my prayere
 Late thayme ryse, if it be thi wille!"

In the Life of St. Anne, after a child has pushed Him and fallen dead, Jesus strikes His accusers blind, but Mary says brusquely, "ihesus, son, lat swilke be"⁴⁶.

In most Bitter Withy texts⁴⁷, the first two lines of the second stanza take this form:

'To play at ball, my own dear Son,
 It's time you were going, or gone ...'
B.W. 17 sta. 2.1-2.

Although these lines probably post-date the sunbeam ballad, Mary often addresses Jesus as her 'dear Son' in Middle English poetry⁴⁸.

Stanza 3, in which Jesus goes out to play and meets some children, differs in each ballad. In The Holy Well, the 'journey' stanza is normally:

Sweet Jesus went down to yonder town,
 As far as the Holy Well,
 And there did see as fine children
 As any tongue can tell.
H.W. II sta. 3.

The last line is a tag phrase in Middle English literature⁴⁹. The first line of the stanza probably caused the contamination (in H.W. XII, XIII and 2) by The Seven Virgins, since in stanza 3.1 of the latter ballad (see Appendix D, S.V. II), Thomas advises the Virgin, "Go down, go down into yonder town."

Two Cornish versions of The Holy Well have a slightly different 'journey' stanza:

Down the street sweet Jesus went
 And made no stop nor stay
 Until He got to the Lord's Holy Well
 Where He saw some children play.
H.W. 6 sta. 3; cf. 8 stas. 3, 6.

Both these 'journey' stanzas are traditional in tone and one may have formed part of the sunbeam ballad.

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In The Bitter Withy it is specified that there are three children, except in the garbled text 29, where there are two. In The Holy Well only texts XII, XIII, 1 and 2 specify, in stanza 3.3, that there are three children, but this may have been inspired by the tag phrase 'by one, by two, by three' used in XIII (sta. 4.2) and 1 (sta. 3.4).

The 'journey stanza' in The Bitter Withy is often incoherent:

It was upling score and downling score
Oh there he met three jolly jardins
Oh there he asked the three jolly jardins
If they would play at ball.

B.W. 17 sta. 3; cf. 30 sta. 3.

In some variants, the rhyme with 'ball' has been achieved by means of a phrase found in the old nursery rhyme Girls and Boys Come Out to Play⁵⁰, 'whoop and call':

So it's up ling call and down ling call
Our Saviour he did whoop and call,
Until he met with three jolly jordans,
And he asked them to play at ball.

B.W. 27 sta. 3.

The same stanza is adapted for the mothers' complaint after the drowning of their children:

So it's up ling call and down ling call,
Their mothers they did whoop and call,
Saying, 'Mary mild, call home your child,
For ours are drowned all.'

B.W. 27 sta. 7.

The latter stanza occurs also in B.W. 17 (sta. 6), 30 (sta. 7) and 37 (sta. 8), whilst in B.W. 33 (sta 8.2) the boys' mothers "hoot and hollow", a phrase paralleled in a broadside of 1663, Robin Hood's Chase (Child 146 sta. 12.3). Since the ball-game was probably adopted from Sir Hugh, we can assume that 'whoop and call' was not part of the sunbeam ballad.

In some Bitter Withy texts, the second lines of the stanzas of Jesus' journey or the mothers' complaint end with the word 'run'⁵¹:

It was up the hall, it was down the hall,
 Our Saviour he did run, did run,
 As Our Saviour he was a-running for to play at the ball,
 He met three jolly, jolly dons.

B.W. 18 sta. 3.

Then it's up the lane call and it's down the lane call
 The mothers they did run,
 Saying, 'Mary mild, correct your child,
 For he has drowned all.'

B.W. 26 sta. 6.

Corrupt as these stanzas are, such a second line may at some stage have formed part of the sunbeam ballad, since a similar line occurs in the Manchester version of The Holy Well:

Sweet Jesus He ran to His mother dear,
 As fast as He could run:
 'O mother, I saw three as fine children,
 As ever were eyes set on.'

H.W. 2 sta. 7; cf. XIIa sta. 7.2.

Only a few Bitter Withy texts mention water in the 'journey' stanza (sta. 3.3): 37 has "well of fortune", 20a a corruption of this, "willow fortunes", text 34 has "at the Holy Well hard by the willow tree" and 21 (sta. 2.1), "broad water's edge". Usually water is mentioned in The Bitter Withy only in conjunction with the bridge of sunbeams, and here is called 'the Jordan', 'the water' or (a development of the latter) 'the sea'⁵².

Comparison with stanza 3 of The Holy Well, in which the well setting is redundant, suggests, however, that water was mentioned in the 'journey stanza' of the sunbeam ballad. Perhaps a phrase such as 'well of Jordan' (cf. 'well of fortune') was used, 'well' meaning 'pool' or 'stream'⁵³: this would explain the well in The Holy Well, and the river Jordan in two composite texts. Titland⁵⁴, however, argues that references to the river Jordan are mere rationalisation of the term commonly used for the three children in The Bitter Withy, 'jolly jordans'; he suggests that 'jordans' in this phrase was a medieval term of abuse meaning 'silly fellow' and there is some slight evidence for this⁵⁵. Gilchrist conjectured that 'jordans' meant 'pots' or

'vessels' and that the ballad dealt originally with the episode in which Jesus hung His pitcher on a sunbeam⁵⁶, or alternatively, that 'jolly jordans' is a corruption of a phrase such as 'Jewen children', a suggestion supported by Janet Graves⁵⁷. Since in The Holy Well, stanza 3.3, the children are described as 'fine children', it seems most probable to me that 'jolly jordans' is simply an alliterative reconstruction (influenced by the name of the river) after the phrase 'jolly children' had been misheard and corrupted. 'Jolly' is a common epithet in traditional ballads⁵⁸ and once bore appropriate connotations such as 'overweeningly self-confident' or 'finely or "bravely" dressed'⁵⁹: these usages are last recorded in 1666 and 1593 respectively.

The setting of the sunbeam ballad indicated by The Holy Well may indeed have been borrowed from the episode of the pitcher hung on a sunbeam, since in the early Childhood poem, Jesus, at the start of the episode, goes⁶⁰:

To one welle fair and cler,
That was neighh a riuier

In the later Childhood of Jesus, the children are sent "with-owttene the townne vn-to a welle"⁶¹ and in MS. Harl. 3954 they afterwards play "be the lake"⁶². Yet the setting of the ballad by a well or stretch of water is not in itself sufficient evidence that the sunbeam ballad originally included the episode of the pitcher hung on a ray of the sun.

In The Holy Well, Jesus courteously greets the children
He meets:

And he said, 'God bless you every one,
And your bodies Christ save and see;
Little children, shall I play with you?
And you shall play with me.'

H.W. II sta. 4.

The greeting is preserved also in stanza 9 of the broadsides, when Jesus tells Mary what has happened. 'Your bodies Christ

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save and see', probably the original form of the second line, is found in stanza 4 of broadsides II, III, V, VIII, IX and XIV and in stanza 9 of texts I, VII, X and XI. 'Your bodies' is simply a circumlocution for 'yourselves' common in Middle English and preserved in later balladry⁶³. The greeting was evidently not perfectly understood, since it appears altered in several Holy Well texts⁶⁴, for example as 'May Christ your portion be', or 'And Christ their bodies hear and see'.

Most texts of The Bitter Withy, and several Holy Well variants, contain no greeting at all⁶⁵, but since some texts of the former ballad retain the greeting in a garbled form⁶⁶, it is probable that misunderstanding of the stanza led to its corruption and finally to its omission from many texts. Two examples of the garbled greetings in The Bitter Withy are:

'You are safe, you are safe, you are safe,' said he,
'You are safe, you are safe, I plainly do see.'
B.W. 33 sta. 6.1-2.

'Well met, well met, three jolly jordans,
Your bodies are all safe I see.'
B.W. 37 sta. 4.1-2.

Christ's religious greeting, like 'God speed you' in The Carnal and the Crane, is not deliberately ironic, but a commonplace of early secular ballads; it occurs, for example, in the Gest of Robyn Hode, printed in the early sixteenth century and derived from earlier ballads:

'God the saue, my derë mayster,
And Criste the saue and se!'
And thanne sayde Robyn to Litell Johnn,
Welcome myght thou be.
Child 117 sta. 177.

The greeting 'Christ thee save and see' is preserved in a number of ballad texts from the seventeenth century or earlier⁶⁷, but only rarely survives unchanged in texts of later date⁶⁸. Many later ballad texts contain a religious greeting, but not usually

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in this form: 'often the use of God's name is avoided'⁶⁹. The preservation of the greeting 'Your bodies Christ save and see' thus suggests a date of not later than the seventeenth century for The Holy Well.

Jesus' request to the children to play is found in the Middle English poems but not in the apocryphal gospels. However, a legend in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, XL, relates that Jesus' playmates refused to play with Him, ran away, and were hidden by their mothers in an oven. When Jesus asked what was in the oven, He was told 'young goats' and in punishment transformed the children into kids. Afterwards, at the mothers' contrite request, He restored their shape⁷⁰. In the Middle English poems, the children are turned into pigs as an explanation of why Jews abstain from pork⁷¹. In the early Childhood of Jesus, Christ explains to the Jews guarding the oven that He only wishes to play with the children⁷².

In later poems, Jesus often suggests to His playmates the games they should play, for example, that they should leap from hill to hill⁷³:

Sythen vpon an other day
Jhesu wt chylde gan to mete
He seyde: 'wyl we go to play
Vpon the hylles for to lepe?'

The children imitate Him, with fatal consequences. In the Life of St. Anne, Jesus challenges His playmates to leap upon the sunbeam⁷⁴. In the story of the sunbeam in the later Childhood of Jesus there is a hint that sometimes children refuse to play with Jesus⁷⁵:

Thane appone ane other daye
Jhesu with thaire childire mett,
And some walde leppe & some said naye.

Such a hint might have been developed to form the plot of the sunbeam ballad, although there is no parallel in Middle English

to the children's refusal to play with Jesus because of His lowly birth.

The stanza containing this refusal is best preserved, albeit in a corrupt form, in The Bitter Withy:

'Oh, we are lords' and ladies' sons,
Born in bower or in hall,
And you are but some poor maid's child
Born'd in an ox's stall.'

B.W. 30 sta. 4.

'Born in an ox's stall' and 'bower and hall' are both medieval tag phrases⁷⁶, though the latter is garbled in most Bitter Withy texts⁷⁷, for example as 'a vore of hall', 'a bowery hall' and 'power all in all'. The phrase was nevertheless probably part of the sunbeam ballad, judging by the disordered state of the stanza in The Holy Well:

But they made answer to him, No:
They were lords' and ladies' sons;
And he, the meanest of them all,
Was but a maiden's child, born in an ox's stall.

H.W. IIIa sta. 5.

The word 'meanest' usually occurs in this stanza in The Holy Well. The disorder probably arose from the children's words being put into indirect speech. A group of Holy Well broadsides further confuses this stanza with Jesus' later account of the incident to His mother⁷⁸:

They answered no,
We're lords' and ladies' sons,
The meanest among them all,
And I a poor silly fair maid's son,
Born in an ox's stall.

H.W. XIII sta. 5.

The word 'silly' used here and in texts XII and 2 may perhaps be an indication of age⁷⁹. Gypsy texts of The Holy Well and one Bitter Withy variant use the phrase 'mild Mary's child' at this point⁸⁰. That the children make their refusal without returning Christ's greeting can certainly be interpreted as a sign of their gross discourtesy.

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At this point the ballads diverge. In The Bitter Withy, Jesus announces His identity⁸¹ and His intention of revenge⁸², motifs common in the apocryphal gospels and the Middle English poems:

'If you are lords' and ladies' sons
Born'd in bower or in hall,
Then at the very last I'll make it appear
That I am above you all.'

B.W. 30 sta. 5.

This stanza was probably part of the sunbeam ballad, judging by its balladlike use of repetition, and by Mary's remark to Jesus in The Holy Well:

'Though you are but a maiden's child,
Born in an ox's stall,
Thou art the Christ, the King of Heaven,
And the Saviour of them all.'

H.W. II sta. 11.

Moreover, a Cornish text of The Holy Well contains the latter stanza, revised so that it forms Jesus' own assertion of identity:

'Well, if I am but Mild Mary's child
Born in an oxen stall,
I am the God, the King over you,
I can reign above you all.'

H.W. 6 sta. 6.

This stanza might be the result of contamination by The Bitter Withy: if so, it suggests that the latter ballad was known in Cornwall, though no variant has been recovered from the region.

At the conclusion of The Holy Well, the assertion of Christ's identity is repeated by an angel:

O then spoke the Angel Gabriel,
Upon one good Saint Stephen,
'Altho' you're but a maiden's child,
You are the King of Heaven.'

H.W. III sta. 14.

The obscure present form of the second line is probably responsible for this stanza's omission from many versions of The Holy Well⁸³. The line is probably corrupted from 'one good set steven',

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'steven' meaning 'voice', since the rhyme steven (voice): heaven is commonplace in descriptions of angelic announcements in Middle English literature⁸⁴. Husk's conjecture that 'steven' here means 'appointed time' is less likely⁸⁵. Although 'steven' meaning 'voice' survived in Northern dialect in the nineteenth century⁸⁶, its corruption to 'Saint Stephen' in these West Midland texts suggests that it was misunderstood and consequently that the stanza is old and probably formed part of the sunbeam ballad.

If this is so, the sunbeam ballad certainly could not have ended, like The Bitter Withy, with Christ's discomfiture: more probably it concluded with Jesus' raising the dead boys at Mary's request, as He does in the Middle English sunbeam legends. A curious version of The Wife of Usher's Well (Child 79 C), collected from a Shropshire fisherman, who learned it from his grandmother who apparently knew The Bitter Withy⁸⁷, relates that 'sweet Jesus' raised a woman's three sons at her request:

- (4) 'It's you go rise up my three sons,
 Their names, Joe, Peter, and John,
 And put breath in their breast,
 And clothing on their backs,
 And immediately send them to far Scotland,
 That their mother may take some rest.'
- (5) Then he went and rose up her three sons,
 Their names, Joe, Peter and John,
 And did immediately send them to far Scotland,
 That their mother may take some rest.

It is just possible that these stanzas represent, in a corrupt form, the lost ending of the sunbeam ballad, in which Jesus raised three dead boys at His mother's request.

Jesus' original announcement in The Bitter Withy seems to have been, 'At your latter end I shall make it appear, that I am above you all'⁸⁸. The confusion in several variants whereby Jesus announces that He is an 'angel' above them all⁸⁹ supports

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my thesis that the 'angel Gabriel' stanza formed part of the sunbeam ballad. As Graves points out, Christ's motive for punishing his playfellows is similar in the ballad and in the sunbeam episode in the later Childhood of Jesus, in which He explains to His best friend⁹⁰:

Why wenys thou, Osepe, thay felle so sare?
ffor thay wende alle to be my pere.

Jesus' revenge in The Bitter Withy is to build a bridge of sunbeams:

So Our Saviour built a bridge with the beams of the sun
And over the sea went he, went he,
And these three jolly jordans followed after him
And they were drowned all three.

B.W. 37 sta. 7.

In the Middle English analogues, several lines, apparently traditional, describe how the children who fall from the sunbeam break their bones⁹¹. The drowning in The Bitter Withy is thus an innovation, but Mary's advice to Jesus in The Holy Well (broadsides, sta. 12.4) that He 'dip' the children in hell suggests that the drowning formed part of the sunbeam ballad.

In The Holy Well, Jesus' reaction to the children's rebuff is very different:

Sweet Jesus turned him away
And bitterly did cry,
And the tears came trickling from his eyes
Like water from the sky.

H.W. 9 sta. 6.

The perfect rhyme here suggests that this was the original form of the stanza (cf. also VI sta. 6). In most versions the first two lines are:

Sweet Jesus turned him around
And he neither laughed nor smiled.

H.W. I sta. 6.1-2.

A Manchester variant is slightly different:

Sweet Jesus He turned Himself about,
Neither laughed, nor smiled, nor spoke,
But the tears trickled down His pretty little eyes
Like waters from the rock.

H.W. 2 sta. 6.

Manchester broadside XII adds two lines to stanza 10 so that Jesus cries again as He recounts the children's unkindness:

Then the tears trickled down from his innocent eyes,
As fast as they could fall.

H.W. XII sta. 10.5-6.

The motif of Jesus' silence may be derived from the account of His silence at the Passion⁹². Whilst the Christ Child's tears were probably not part of the sunbeam ballad, the stanza may be original to the first version of The Holy Well, since it is an adaptation of a traditional ballad commonplace⁹³:

She's turned her right and round about,
The tear blinded her ee.

'Trickling' tears are not rare in traditional ballads either⁹⁴.

In the seventh stanza of The Holy Well, Jesus returns home and tells His mother what has happened:

Sweet Jesus turned Him about,
To his Mother's dear home went he,
And said, I have been in yonder town,
As after you may see.

H.W. III sta. 7.

The meaningless tag in the fourth line may originally have been 'as far as you can see', found in stanza 7 of texts I, VII and 12. Cornish texts 6 and 8 use another form of their separate 'journey' stanza⁹⁵:

Up the street sweet Jesus went
And made no stop nor stay
Until he came to his own mother's gate
And called for his mild Mary.

H.W. 8 sta. 6.

Jesus' return home may have been part of the sunbeam ballad since it is paralleled by lines in Cursor Mundi, after a schoolmaster has struck Christ and fallen dead⁹⁶:

ihesus that had tholed shame,
til his moder went he hame.

In the later Childhood poem in MS. Harl. 3954, after all but Josep have imitated Christ's leap from hill to hill and fallen dead, Jesus explains⁹⁷:

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... 'hens wel I wende
And to my moder wyl I gon
And letyn hem lygyn in the ende,
For now thei arn dede Ichon.'

Yet there are indications in some texts that Mary seeks her Son. In most Bitter Withy versions we are told that Mary 'called home' her Child (e.g. 30 sta. 8.1), probably the idea behind Mary's remark in Bloomer's revised version of The Holy Well

'For why, for why,' his mother cried,
'You have been out of call,
Tell me,' she said, 'where thou hast been
As thou hast not played at all.'
H.W. VI sta. 9.

Similarly, in a Cornish variant of The Holy Well, Mary asks Jesus:

'Where hast thou been, my only Son,
Where has thou been so long?'
H.W. 6 sta. 8.

We have seen, however, that both these Holy Well versions betray knowledge of The Bitter Withy; the mother's search and concern with her son being away so long may consequently be borrowed from the 'School Group' texts of Sir Hugh, though it is true that in some episodes in the Middle English poems Mary seeks out Jesus to demand an explanation after His playfellow have been killed⁹⁸. Graves argues from this feature of the Middle English poems that the Christ Child's repetition of events in The Holy Well was likewise part of a medieval ballad⁹⁹. Whilst it is likely that Jesus explained His actions to His mother in the sunbeam ballad, as He does in B.W. 18 stanza 6, the unnecessary length and exactness of Jesus' recapitulation are probably the contribution of the author of The Holy Well.

Even if a stanza describing Jesus' return home was part of the sunbeam ballad, it would have been preceded by the mother's complaint to Mary, which survives in The Bitter Withy.

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The third line of this stanza, 'Mary mild, call home your child', was probably traditional¹⁰⁰, and is an example of the sporadic use of internal rhyme in this ballad and in The Holy Well¹⁰¹. In stanza 7 of Bitter Withy texts 21 and 28 (and cf. B.W. 26 sta. 6.3), the boys' mothers suggest to Mary that she chastise Jesus:

'Mary mild, call back your child
For mine are drowned all three,
And with a handful of withy twigs
Give it lashes three.'

B.W. 28 sta. 7.

I consider that it was a stanza such as this which changed the plot of the sunbeam ballad so that in The Bitter Withy Mary actually does beat Jesus. Though Jesus is often beaten or molested in the apocryphal gospels, by schoolmasters and even by St. Joseph¹⁰², Mary's part is meekly to beseech Jesus to raise the dead, which He then immediately does (see below). One motive of these stories was to encourage the cult of the Virgin by showing the power of her intercession.

There is likewise little evidence to suggest that Mary ever physically chastised Jesus in medieval legend. A wall-fresco in a church at Lucca was said to portray such a scene but has never been identified¹⁰³. Gerould cites medieval French plays in which devils suggest that the Christ Child dare not act for fear of His mother's beatings¹⁰⁴, but this may be mere diabolical blasphemy.

There are parallels in Middle English, however, to the mothers' suggestion that Jesus be whipped. In the Life of St. Anne, the father of the dead child Judas Iscariot goes with other men to Joseph's house¹⁰⁵:

Thai sayd, yowr son the cheldyr ha shent;
Chasty hym & better als ye hym tent
Or sare yt sall yow rew.

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Joseph refers them to Mary. In an earlier episode in the same poem, bystanders rejoice to see Joseph take Jesus by the ears, for they wish to see Him corrected, but Mary tells them that Jesus' upbringing is none of their affair¹⁰⁶:

Gode wote wele that I hym bar;
Als oures we sall hym drysse.

Gilchrist argues for the authenticity of the curse in The Bitter Withy, and therefore indirectly for the beating, by suggesting that it may be derived from the ancient legend of the spoilt pools, first found in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas¹⁰⁷: Jesus is playing by a river when the son of Annas, the high priest who later condemns Jesus, breaks the pools that He has made with a willow branch. In revenge, Jesus curses him¹⁰⁸:

Lo, thou shalt become like a dry tree which hath
neither roots nor leaf nor fruit. And straightway
he was dried up and fell to the earth and died.

Later, however, the boy is raised. The story is found also in Pseudo-Matthew XXVI, though without the elaborate curse: here, the parents of the unnamed dead boy complain to Mary and Joseph, and Jesus raises him at Mary's request¹⁰⁹. Adaptations of this story, some including the curse, are found in the Middle English poems¹¹⁰.

Jesus curses a fig tree in Mark's gospel (XI.12-23), whilst cursing of inanimate objects is a feature of secular traditional ballads¹¹¹. Yet the curse in The Bitter Withy is not necessarily a medieval feature: folk improvisation of apocryphal stories of Jesus to explain natural phenomena or justify old customs is well attested throughout the British Isles¹¹², whilst ritual cursing appears to have played a special part in the life of the Welsh borders¹¹³. My theory that the sunbeam ballad ended originally with the angel Gabriel's announcement leads me to agree with Gerould that the curse is a piece of "folk aetiology"¹¹⁴.

In The Holy Well, it is Mary who suggests revenge, a clear sign of post-medieval revision¹¹⁵:

'Sweet Jesus, go down to yonder town,
As far as the Holy Well,
And take away those sinful souls,
And dip them deep in Hell.'
H.W. III sta. 12.

Jesus, however, rejects her suggestion:

'O no, O no,' sweet Jesus said,
'O no, that never can be;
For there are many of those infant souls
Crying out for help of me.'
H.W. XIIa sta. 12.

It is just possible that this stanza is adapted from one in the sunbeam ballad in which Mary objected to Jesus' drowning of the children. The first line of stanza 13 in most versions is, ' "Nay, nay," sweet Jesus mildly said' and the third line usually mentions 'too many sinful souls'¹¹⁶. The stanza has been adapted from a traditional ballad commonplace¹¹⁷:

'O no! O no!' cried Henry Martyn,
'O no! that never can be,
Since I have turnd robber all on the salt seas,
To maintain my two brothers and me.'
Child 250 B sta. 5.

In view of the use of internal rhyme at places in The Holy Well, the first line of the stanza was probably, ' "O nay, O nay," sweet Jesus did say'.

After the Christ Child's announcement that His mission is to save sinful souls, the angel's proclamation that He is indeed 'King of Heaven' comes as triumphant vindication of His mercy. Yet a sense of dissatisfaction remains that after so promising an opening to The Holy Well, so very little happens; for, whatever the merits of 'the sunbeam ballad' may have been, both The Bitter Withy and The Holy Well have grave shortcomings, whether as poems or as traditional ballads. The Bitter Withy is hopelessly corrupt and testifies to the degeneration of the English ballad tradition in the nineteenth century. The Holy Well

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repetitious and somewhat 'precious' in tone, illustrates the debilitating effects of the broadside press upon the traditional ballad.

Nevertheless, The Bitter Withy is lively and dramatic, and its story remains fascinating. The hearer sympathises with the Christ Child's vulnerability and with the human qualities of Mary, a mother who does not shirk the duties of correcting her child. The fate of the 'jolly jordans' is not felt as tragic: their pride has been justly punished.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. By Frank Sidgwick, Notes and Queries, 10th Series, IV (1905), p.84 (see below, Appendix C, B.W. 30); the first and last stanzas, with a prose summary of the plot, had, however, been printed by "C.F.S." in Notes and Queries, 4th Series, I (1868), p.53 (see B.W. 23).
2. Gummere, Popular Ballad, pp.227-229; Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, pp.141-168.
3. 'Withy' meaning 'willow' or 'a flexible branch of willow' is in general dialect use throughout Britain: see O.E.D., X Pt.II, p.228 and E.D.D., VI, p.525.
4. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.164.
5. Phillips Barry, 'The Bridge of Sunbeams' in J.A.F., XXVII (1914), pp.79-89, p.82, citing the Vita Sanctae Brigidae, Pt.II.iii.12, dated 652-7 A.D., and the Acta Sancti Nicolai Peregrini, i, 5, both from the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, i. Feb., 161 and i. Iun., 238.
6. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.106 note 1, and see p.xxvi for the dates of the MSS. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.151, implies that the interpolation was written soon after the Vatican Codex, a fourteenth century MS. which he misdates as eleventh century.
7. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, pp.151-152 and p.151 note 3. Two fourteenth century MSS. containing this work, MS. Harl. 3185 and MS. Harl. 3199, are in the British Museum.
8. Schade, Narrationes, p.21, lines 5-6, chapter XLIII; Vögtlin, Vita Rhythmica, p.98, lines 2780-2783. See also above, Chapter Four, note 27.
9. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, pp.153-154 and see also James, Apoc. N. T., p.82.
10. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, pp.155-156.
11. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, pp.22-24, lines 613-678; see also above, Chapter Four, note 18.
12. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, pp.331-332, lines 327-363; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.116, lines 325-360 and p.106, lines 345-380; see also above, Chapter Four, note 32.
13. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.332, line 356.
14. Ibid., pp.333-334, lines 472-520; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.118, lines 453-496 (the incident does not occur in MS. Harl. 3954); Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, pp.36-38, lines 1051-1129 (MS. Laud. 108).
15. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.61, lines 2336-2367 and pp.62-64, lines 2395-2454; see also above, Chapter Four, note 39.
16. S.A. Newman, 'The Story of Tom Thumb from Folktale to Fielding' (Birmingham Univ. M.A. thesis, 1973), pp.9-10; the sunbeam story occurs ibid., p.129 in the facsimile of the prose chapbook. On the romance writer Richard Johnson (1573-1659?), see D.N.B., XXX, pp.24-25.

17. Newman, Story of Tom Thumb, p.153; quoted also by Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.160, from W.C. Hazlitt, Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, 4 vols., London, 1864-1866, II, p.180.
18. Newman, Story of Tom Thumb, pp.19-20, 32-34.
19. Cursor Mundi, II, p.704, lines 12275-12276 (Cotton MS.): the lines form the prelude to another story, of the Christ Child and Zeno.
20. Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden (MS. Harl. 3954), p.103, lines 129-132 (the story of Jesus and the spoilt pools).
21. Child 81 A sta. 1; for other examples, see below, Appendix H, narrative feature (2)(d).
22. e.g. Child 261 sta.1.1; 293 A sta. 1.1; Greene no.323, burden; Penguin Book of Folk Songs, p.30, 'Death and the Lady', sta. 1.1; 'Eger and Grime', line 919, 'King Edward and the Shepherd', line 15, in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.700, 951.
23. e.g. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875 (MS. Laud. 108) line 412, p.16; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden (MS. Harl. 3954), line 422, p.106.
24. 'Sweet Jesus' is, however, used in B.W. 23 sta. 1.3 and 'Our Saviour' in H.W. 1 sta. 1.1.
25. In B.W. 23 sta. 1.2, snow is falling and in B.W. 31 sta. 1.2, hail: these details are probably the invention of individual singers, since rainfall is much more common.
26. For a description of this group of Sir Hugh texts, see below, Appendix G, list of features to groups II.i and II.ii.
27. Child 155 J sta. 10.1; see also below, Appendix G, S.H. 10.
28. A.G. Gilchrist and L.E. Broadwood, 'Notes on the "Bitter Withy" Texts' in J.F.S.S. IV no.14 (1910), pp.37-47, on p.43; D.C. Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, Durham, N.C., 1968, pp.268-270 discusses the relationship cursorily and concludes that B.W. has influenced S.H. through its melody.
29. R.B. VIII, Pt.III, p.586, printed c.1609; 'brume brume on hil' is mentioned as a song in The Complaynt of Scotland, p.51, line 15; cf. Child 217 G and L sta. 1 and the burden of M; Child 281 A sta. 17.
30. See below, Appendix H, narrative feature (21), (b), (c), (d).
31. E.D.D., V, p.207, 'sally', sb.2: recorded in Ireland and throughout England.
32. See below, Appendix H, narrative feature (8), (c), (d). The child St. Cuthbert also played ball, according to S.E.L., I, pp.118-119, lines 1-24.
33. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS), pp.70-71, lines 2718-2720. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.162, noted the presence of this motif in the later Childhood poem, in which, apparently, the children call Jesus: Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.336, lines 666-667, 672-673 and Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.120, lines 593-594, 599-600.

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34. For a plan of the development of Sir Hugh, see below, Appendix J.
35. Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., IV, pp.42-43.
36. See sta. 2.3 of H.W. I-XIV, 1-9, 12-15 and of B.W. 17, 22, 27 and 37.
37. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.63, lines 2416-2418.
38. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.329, lines 161-164.
39. Cursor Mundi, II, p.692, lines 12065-12066 (Fairfax MS). The source of this incident is the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, Greek A and B IV, Latin V: see James, Apoc. N.T., pp.50, 55, 60. The episode is recounted also in Pseudo-Matthew XXIX, Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.96-97. Only in Greek Thomas B is the child left unraised.
40. See sta. 2.3 of B.W. 18; 20a, b; 26, 28, 32, and 33. 31 sta. 2.3 has simply "doings".
41. Greek A and B, and the Latin version: James, Apoc. N.T., pp.50, 57 and 60. This incident does not occur in Pseudo-Matthew but is found in the Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.48, line 1856.
42. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.107; Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, p.79; see also Cursor Mundi, II, pp.714-715, lines 12433-12448.
43. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.39, lines 1133-1155.
44. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.62, lines 2380-2385 (first sunbeam incident).
45. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.334, lines 505-511.
46. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.49, line 1879.
47. See sta. 2.1-2 of H.W./B.W. 15 and B.W. 17, 18, 20a and b, 22, 27, 30, 33, 37.
48. e.g. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.33, line 956 and Archiv, LXXIV, p.330, line 258; Greene nos. 152 A sta. 4.1; 153 sta. 2.1; 154 sta. 2.3; cf. Appendix D, S.V. II sta. 8.3.
49. Towneley Plays, XXIII, line 320, p.268.
50. See The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, ed. I. and P. Opie, rev. ed. Oxford, 1952, pp.99-100 (line 5): the rhyme is first attested in the early eighteenth century, but may go back to the mid seventeenth century.
51. See sta. 3 of B.W. 18, 20a and b, 31, 33, 37 and also 26 sta. 6 and 31 sta. 8.
52. "Jordan" in H.W./B.W. 15 sta. 12.2; 16a sta. 8.2; "water" in B.W. 29 (prose summary) and 31 sta. 72.; "sea" in B.W. 20a sta. 6.2; 22 sta. 5.2; 27 sta. 6.2; 37 sta. 7.2; 40 line 9.
53. O.E.D., X, Pt.II, p.278, 'well', sb., sense 1(a); the usual medieval phrase, however, is "flum Jordan": see M.E.D., III, p.662, 'flum', sense 1(b).

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54. W. Titland, ' "The Bitter Withy" and its relationship to "The Holy Well" ', in J.A.F., LXXX (1967), pp.49-70, on pp.54-55.
55. See O.E.D., V, p.603, 'jordan' sense 3, which quotes Piers Plowman: the B Version, XIII, line 84, p.489, "I shal Iangle to this Iurdan with his Iust wombe [and appose hym] what penance is"; M.E.D., V, p.411, 'jordan', sense (c), however, interprets this reference as a "punning allusion to William Jordan, a Dominican Friar".
56. O.E.D., V, p.603, 'jordan', sense 1; Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., IV, pp.39-42.
57. Ibid., p.45; J.M. Graves, ' "The Holy Well": a Medieval Religious Ballad' in Western Folklore XXVI (1967), pp.13-26, on p.17.
58. e.g. Child 47 B sta. 26.1; 96 C sta. 1.1; 146 sta. 13.1.
59. O.E.D., V, p.601, 'jolly', senses II.6 and IV.9.
60. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.22, lines 613-614.
61. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.331, line 330 and cf. Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.116, line 327.
62. Ibid., p.106, line 359.
63. See M.E.D., I, pp.1007-1008, 'bodi', sb., sense 7a; O.E.D., I, p.964, 'body' senses 12, 13; cf. Child 110 A sta. 14.2, 140 B sta. 7.3.
64. 'And Christ their bodies see': IV, 3a sta. 9. 'May Christ your portion be': I, IV, VII, X, XI sta. 4 and cf. sta. 4 of 8, 9, 12. 'And sweet may your sleep be': 2 stas. 4, 8; 'And your bodies to silent sleep': XIIa and b, stas. 4, 9. 'Christ save their souls from sin': VI stas. 4, 11. 'And Christ their bodies hear and see': 12 sta. 9. 'Your bodies and souls pray keep': 15 stas. 4, 9. All quotations occur in the second line of the stanzas cited.
65. Texts 4-7, 10, 11, 14, 17, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30.
66. See sta. 4.1-2 of B.W. 18, 31, 34 and 37 and also B.W. 21 sta. 3.1; 28 sta. 3.4; 32 sta. 3.1-2; 33 sta. 6.1-2.
67. e.g. Child 59 A sta. 15.2; 63 A sta. 2.2; 109 B sta. 42.2; 110 A sta. 11.2; 119 sta. 54.4.
68. See Child 110 I sta. 4.2
69. e.g. see the first and second lines of Child 88 B sta. 15; 91 A sta. 17; 112 stas. 2, 3; 140 B sta. 19; 157 A sta. 3.
70. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.202-203; Hennecke and Schneemelcher, N.T. Apoc., I, p.409; see also above, Chapter Four, note 93.
71. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, pp.34-36, lines 997-1050; Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.332, lines 364-399 and Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, pp.116-117, lines 361-396 and pp.107-108, lines 487-530.
72. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.35, lines 1019-1022.

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73. Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.106, lines 381-384 (MS. Harl. 3954). Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.152, traces the origin of this story to the De Infantia Salvatoris.
74. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.62, line 2404 (second sunbeam episode).
75. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.333, lines 472-474.
76. 'Born in an ox's stall': see above, Chapter Four, note 129. 'Bower and hall': Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.107, line 471 and p.108, line 519; Wright, Songs and Carols, no.XLI, sta. 10.2, p.57; see also Child 66 D sta. 3.2 and 91 C sta. 9.3.
77. B.W. 20a sta. 4.4: "vore of hall"; B.W. 21 sta. 4.2: "ivory hall"; 22 sta. 3.2: "bowers all"; 26 sta. 3.4: "bowery hall"; 27 sta. 4.2, 33 sta. 5.2: "power all in all"; 32 sta. 4.2: "born in all in all", 37 sta. 5.2: "a bower all in all".
78. See H.W. V, VIII, IX and XIII, sta. 5.
79. H.W. XII, XIII and 2 sta. 5.3. See O.E.D., IX, Pt.I, p.51, 'silly', sense 3b, 'of humble rank or state', obsolete, last recorded use 1647, or possibly sense 3a, 'unlearned, unsophisticated, simple, rustic, ignorant', obsolete or archaic, last recorded use 1795.
80. H.W. 4 sta. 4.3; 5 sta. 4.3, sta. 5.3; 6 sta. 5.3, sta. 6.1; 13 (corrupt, no line numbers); 14 sta. 6.3, sta. 7.1; B.W. 26 sta. 3.5, sta. 4.1. Cf. York Plays, XII, p.98, line 153 and XXV, p.217, line 523.
81. e.g. Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas VI.2, James, Apoc. N.T., p.61. According to the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, XLI (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, p.203) and Vögtlin, Vita Rhythmica, p.91, lines 2564-6, Jesus' playmates crown Him as their king. In the Middle English poems it is Osepe, Jesus' best friend, who confesses His identity: see above, note 13.
82. e.g. Pseudo-Matthew XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.65, 67, 68; Cursor Mundi, II, pp.684-685, lines 11945-11948 and pp.690-691, lines 12035-12037; Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.329, lines 157-158, p.331, lines 336-340.
83. The stanza occurs only in H.W. I-III, V, VII-X, 3a and b sta. 14 and 12 sta. 13.
84. e.g. The Lay of Havelok the Dane, p.46, lines 1275-6; Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1881, no.23, p.118, lines 479-480 and p.49, fragment from MS. Auchinleck, fol.37b.; Towneley Plays, XII, p.113, lines 409-410.
85. Husk, Nativity, p.94, note 1; O.E.D. IX, Pt.I, p.934, 'steven', sb.2, sense 2.
86. O.E.D. IX, Pt.I, p.934, 'steven', sb.1, sense 1: "in modern dialect use chiefly".
87. E.S.P.B., III, pp.513-514, taken down by Hubert Smith, 24 March 1883, from an elderly fisherman at Bridgnorth who learned it forty years previously from his grandmother in Corve Dale and first printed in

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87. cont'd
Burne, Shropshire Folklore, Pt.II, p.541. Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX, p.192, refers to a variant of B.W. collected by Hubert Smith from a fisherman who learned it from his grandmother of Corve Dale, Shropshire, who "probably learned the carol in Herefordshire".
88. "Latter end" occurs in B.W. 20 and 27, sta. 5.3; 22 and 26, sta. 4.3; 31, 33 and 37, sta. 6.3. "Appear" occurs in B.W. 17 and 26, sta. 4.3, and 30, sta. 5.3. "I am above you all" occurs in B.W. 17 and 22, sta. 4.4; 27 and 30, sta. 5.4; 33 and 37, sta. 6.4.
89. See B.W. 20b, sta. 5.2; 21, 28 and 32, sta. 5.4; 31, sta. 6.4 and cf. 29 (prose summary).
90. Graves, Western Folklore, XXVI, p.20; Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.331, lines 288-289.
91. Ibid., p.333, lines 480-483; Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.118, lines 461-464; Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.61, lines 2347-2349 and p.63, lines 2407-2412.
92. Matt. XXVII. 12, 14; Mk. XIV.61; Lk. XXIII.9; Jn. XIX.9.
93. e.g. Child 100 G sta. 10.1-2; cf. Child 59 B sta. 17; 182 A sta. 13; 243 F sta.3.
94. e.g. Child 75 D sta.7.4; 109 A sta. 20.2, 26.4 (Percy MS.); 222 C sta. 5.4.
95. Cf. H.W. 6 sta. 7; a similar line to line 4 of the Cornish stanzas occurs in the anonymous broadside XIII (probably from Manchester), sta. 7.2.
96. Cursor Mundi, II, p.714, lines 12431-12432 (Fairfax MS.); cf. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.55, lines 2099-2100.
97. Horstmann, Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden, p.106, lines 401-404.
98. Ibid., p.103, lines 157-160, p.107, lines 453-454 and p.114, lines 177-180; Cursor Mundi, II, pp.686-687, lines 11965-11970.
99. Graves, Western Folklore, XXVI, p.20.
100. Cf. Child 173 M sta. 1.3; Greene no.170 sta.3.1.
101. e.g. ' "To play, to play, dear child," she did say' in H.W. 15 and 14, sta. 2.1; 'cursed shall be the withy withy tree' in B.W. 23, last stanza, line 1.
102. On the wringing of the Christ Child's ear by St. Joseph, see above, note 41. Schoolmasters strike Jesus and usually fall dead (but are later revived) in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, Greek A XIV.2 and Latin XII.2 (James, Apoc. N.T., pp.53, 64) and in Pseudo-Matthew XXXI and XXXVIII (Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.100, 107).
103. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.165.
104. Ibid., pp.165-166.

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105. Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), p.63, lines 2419-2421.
106. Ibid., p.49, lines 1868-1869 (and see p.48, lines 1856-1860).
Mary is urged to chastise Jesus also in Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.16, lines 429-432.
107. Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., IV, pp.42-43. There are slight differences in accounts of the episode in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas: in Greek A III, Jesus plays with a brook and in Greek B II and Latin IV, with water running after a shower of rain - see James, Apoc. N.T., pp.50, 55, 59-60.
108. Ibid., p.60. (Latin Infancy Gospel of Thomas IV.3).
109. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.93-95 (Jesus plays by the banks of the Jordan).
110. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, pp.12-14, lines 301-364; Cursor Mundi, II, pp.684-687, lines 11929-11982 and pp.686-693, lines 12015-12078 (the latter account includes the curse); Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.329, lines 149-192; Life of St. Anne (Minnesota MS.), lines 1729-1752, 1777-1836, pp.45-48 (with curse).
111. e.g. Child 118 sta. 16 (Percy MS.); 119 sta. 28 (MS. of c.1450).
112. Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., IV, p.43; Simpson, Folklore of the Welsh Border, pp.104, 143; D. Gray, 'Notes on Some Middle English Charms' in Rowland ed., Chaucer and M.E. Studies, pp.56-71.
113. K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, London, 1971, pp.507-510.
114. Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII, p.166.
115. A late Newcastle version, H.W. XIV sta. 12.3-4 'emends Mary's suggestion to "there chastise those sinful souls lest they fall into Hell". Graves, Western Folklore, XXVI, pp.18-19 argues unconvincingly that Mary's vengefulness in The Holy Well is a development of her dismay in the Childhood of Jesus (e.g. Horstmann, Archiv, LXXIV, p.329, lines 185-192) that Christ at her bidding has raised children who will help to crucify Him.
116. See sta. 13 of H.W. I, II, IV, X, XI and cf. 7 sta. 5 and 12 sta. 12; H.W. III, V-IX, XIV omit "mildly" in sta. 13.1 (cf. also H.W. 8 sta. 8, 9 sta. 11.) H.W. XIII sta. 12.2 has the unique line "Forgive and silent be".
117. Cf. Child 177 sta. 79 and 271 A sta. 59 (Percy MS.); also Child 123 sta. 23 and 145 B sta. 42 (broadsides of c.1663); 163 A stas. 8, 13, 14. The stanza may begin either "Oh no" or "O nay".

CHAPTER SEVEN

'THE SEVEN VIRGINS' OR 'UNDER THE LEAVES OF LIFE'

The theme of this beautiful ballad is the Compassion of Mary: St. Thomas meets Christ's mother, who is one of seven virgins, and directs her to the cross, where she holds a dialogue with her Son. The ballad concludes, after Christ's death, with two stanzas exhorting the hearers of the song to prayer.

All texts of this ballad listed in Appendix D have been recovered from the West Midlands or the North West of England. No version, apparently, pre-dates the early nineteenth century. Broad-sides I - V, printed at Manchester, Birmingham and Dudley, are very close in language and structure, but none is quite complete: I and II preserve two complete stanzas where III - V have one stanza of six lines; however, the latter group contains one stanza not present in broad-sides I and II. Several gypsy singers from Shropshire and Herefordshire, most of them related by blood¹, preserve a slightly different version which, though both fragmentary and corrupt, may retain some features of the ur-ballad. Another version, also corrupt and incomplete but containing important variant readings, was found in a manuscript 'carval' (i.e. 'carol') book of about 1830 from the Isle of Man. This text probably represents a contemporary mainland version, since the native Manx tradition, which survived till about 1870, involved the singing of long Manx-language 'carvals' in the parish church after the ordinary Christmas Eve church service².

The Seven Virgins was certainly composed before the

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Reformation, since it contains ideas and even phrases drawn from English religious lyrics dating from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. The tone of the piece is consequently untypically lyrical for a ballad³: dialogue and reflection account for ten out of a possible twelve stanzas. Like the medieval religious lyric, the ballad was composed for a devotional purpose but in addition, it imitates the style of traditional 'greenwood' ballads which were most popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁴. Since deliberate parody of secular songs for a religious purpose was common in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries⁵, it seems most probable that The Seven Virgins was composed at about this date by a cleric who used earlier lyrics.

However, the ballad's theme, the Virgin Mary's search for her lost Son which ends at the foot of the cross, is well-known in European balladry⁶. The source of the story was probably the finding of the boy Jesus in the temple in Luke II.42-51. By the fifteenth century, the latter story had also undergone elaboration in England, for in Nicholas Love's translation of the Meditationes Vitae Christi attributed to St. Bonaventura, the Virgin inquires weeping from house to house, "Saw ye ought of my Son?"⁷. A second biblical source for Mary's quest was the search of the Shulamite maiden (a type of the Virgin) in the Song of Solomon⁸.

In the European ballads⁹, Mary wanders through the countryside searching for Jesus¹⁰, who has sometimes gone missing while she slept¹¹. She meets an apostle, usually John or Peter¹², and asks him if he has seen her Son¹³. He replies that he has indeed seen Jesus and describes him variously as wearing a crown of thorns¹⁴, scourged¹⁵, with a pierced body¹⁶

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or as hanging upon the cross¹⁷. Mary goes to the foot of the cross and laments¹⁸, sometimes failing to recognize her Son¹⁹. The ballads end in several different ways. Whilst The Seven Virgins is clearly in the same tradition as the continental ballads, it does not appear to be directly related to any of them and any one of its features could have been independently derived from Middle English lyrics or from the bible and the New Testament apocrypha.

After John XIX.25-30, the most important ultimate source of the English ballad is chapter X of Recension B of the Greek Acta Pilati²⁰. The tradition embodied in this chapter clearly influenced the York crucifixion plays, and through these, the Towneley²¹, despite the absence of this material from the Middle English metrical Gospel of Nicodemus²² (the combined Acta Pilati and Descensus Christi ad Inferos), on which the York plays are partly based²³.

According to Recension B of the Acta Pilati, St. John runs to tell the Virgin that Jesus is being led to Calvary²⁴:

When his mother heard this, she cried with a loud voice, saying, My son, my son, what evil hast thou done, that they lead thee away to crucify thee? She arose, as one benighted, and went weeping along the road. The women also followed her, Martha, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and the other virgins. And John also was with her. When therefore they overtook the multitude, the mother of God said to John, Where is my son? John saith, Seest thou him who beareth the crown of thorns, and hath his hands bound? When the mother of God heard this, and saw him, she fainted and fell backwards to the earth, and lay a considerable time. And the women who followed her stood around her and wept.

Later, as Jesus hangs upon the cross, He sees His mother and entrusts her to John's care, as in the gospel. Mary, however, continues to lament²⁵:

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Without thee, my son, what will become of me? How shall I live without thee? What life shall I lead? Where are thy disciples who boasted they would die with thee? ... And looking at the cross, she said, Bow down, O cross, that I may embrace my son, and kiss my son, whom at the breast strangely I nourished as one who knew not man.

The Seven Virgins contains several features from this account, probably through the medium of the Middle English Planctus Mariae²⁶, an influential genre: an apostle (in the extant versions, Thomas) takes the news to Mary, who travels along the road, weeping, to find her Son, accompanied by several other women; after Jesus has entrusted her to John's care, she asks rhetorically how she can bear her grief and recalls nursing her Son²⁷. When, in the Acta Pilati, the Virgin refers to disciples who boasted they would die with Jesus, she must mean either Thomas²⁸ or Peter²⁹. The former appears in the English ballad, the latter in some continental analogues.

In the Acta Pilati and in Irish and Provençal ballads, Mary asks what Christ has done to deserve such a death³⁰. The question appears in one gypsy text of The Seven Virgins:

'O my dear son, what hast thou done?'
 S.V. 1 sta. 3.1

The use of internal rhyme here, as elsewhere in The Seven Virgins, suggests that the line may be part of a lost stanza of the ur-ballad.

As both the canonical gospels³¹ and the Acta Pilati make clear, the Virgin was accompanied by a number of women at the Crucifixion. In the Irish ballad, stanza 15, she appears to be accompanied by her two sisters, also named Mary according to medieval tradition³². In the apocryphal infancy gospels

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Our Lady is attended on her marriage to St. Joseph by seven, or five, of the temple virgins³³. This detail may be derived from Esther II.9, in which King Ahasuerus gives his bride seven maidens to attend her. Esther was a medieval type of the Virgin³⁴.

Although the seven virgins of the English ballad would have suggested to most hearers the women of the Crucifixion narrative, the detail occurs also in traditional secular balladry. That The Seven Virgins parodies popular balladry has been obscured by the corruption to 'leaves of life' in all but one of its variants of a recurrent phrase which originally, as Gilchrist suggested³⁵, must have been 'leaves of lyne': the Manx version, however, has "leaves of lime"³⁶. 'Leaves of life' is an attractive emendation probably inspired by the mention of Adam and Eve later in the ballad³⁷: there is no evidence in the poem of any allegory concerning the tree of life. 'Lyne', on the other hand, would restore the rhyme in the second and third stanzas. Broad sides III - V have an awkward second stanza of six lines:

'O what are you seeking; you seven pretty maids,
All under the leaves of life;
We're seeking for no leaves, Thomas,
But for a friend of thine,
We're seeking for sweet Jesus Christ
To be our heavenly guide.'

Broad sides I and II employ identical rhymes in stanzas 2 and 3:

'O what are you seeking, you seven fair maids,
All under the leaves of life,
Come tell, come tell, what seek you,
All under the leaves of life?'

'We're seeking for no leaves, Thomas,
But for a friend of thine,
We're seeking for sweet Jesus Christ
To be our guide and thine.'

Gypsy versions 4, 7 and 9a have a second stanza which rhymes

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'life' with 'guide'. It seems likely, therefore, that the ur-ballad had two stanzas of incremental repetition at this point:

'O what are you seeking you seven pretty maids,
All under the leaves of lyne?'
'We're seeking for no leaves, (Thomas),
But for a friend of thine.'

'O whom are you seeking, you seven pretty maids,
All under the leaves of lyne?'
'We are seeking for sweet Jesus Christ
To be our guide and thine.'

Tag phrases such as 'under the greenwood lynde' occur in early greenwood ballads³⁸ and in medieval romance³⁹. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, a ballad from the Percy manuscript⁴⁰, uses the very phrase which occurs in The Seven Virgins, in the same manner:

How these two yeomen together they mett,
Vnder the leaues of lyne,
To see what marchandise they made
Euen at that same time

.

'Tell me thy name, good ffellow,' quoth Guy,
'Vnder the leaues of lyne:'
'Nay, by my faith,' quoth good Robin,
'Till thou haue told me thine.'

Child 118 stas. 22, 33.

The use of the phrase in the opening stanza of The Seven Virgins imitates popular outlaw ballads of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which begin by referring to 'leaves'⁴¹. Parallels to our ballad are also provided by two fifteenth century religious lyrics which appear to parody the greenwood convention; they open with the narrator overhearing the Virgin Mary:

Vnder a tre
In sportyng me,
Alone by a wod syd,
I hard a mayd
That swetly sayd,
'I am wyth chyld this tyd.'
Green no. 261 sta. 1.

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As I walkyd vndir the grene wode bowe
 I sawe a maide fayre I-now;
 a child she happid, she song, she lough -
 that child wepid alone.

Lyrics XV no.2, sta. 2.

By the sixteenth century, however, the 'greenwood' had become a metaphor for a wanton life in popular songs⁴² and probably also in traditional ballads dealing with seduction or marriage. The Seven Virgins apparently parodies ballads of this type: examples are drawn from Scottish traditional ballads employing this early convention, though the ballads themselves may not always be of late medieval origin.

Several ballads begin, like The Seven Virgins, by referring to seven maidens⁴³; several relate that the heroine goes to the wood with other maidens as a prelude to elopement or even rape⁴⁴. According to Motherwell, the ballad of Gil Brenton (Child 5) was sometimes called 'The Seven Sisters, or the Leaves of Lind', perhaps because the misunderstood phrase "leas o Lyne" occurs in the version he collected⁴⁵. In this ballad, the heroine explains to her mother-in-law how she lost her virginity:

'O we were sisters, sisters seven,
 We was the fairest under heaven.'

Child 5 A sta. 43.

This is reminiscent of the opening stanza of The Seven Virgins:

'All under the leaves, and the leaves of life,
 I met with Virgins seven,
 And one of them was Mary mild,
 Our Lord's mother in heaven.'

S.V. I sta. 1.

In Gil Brenton the heroine goes on to relate that it was her fate to go to the greenwood "to pu the nut but an the slae"⁴⁶. As in other traditional ballads, the picking of nuts or plants by the heroine is a prelude to her seduction⁴⁷. One version of

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Babylon, indeed, contains a stanza on this theme which resembles an idea in The Seven Virgins:

There were three sisters, they lived in a bower,
The youngest o them was the fairest flower:

The oldest of them she's to the wood gane,
To seek a brow leaf and to bring it hame.

Child 14 D stas. 1 and 2.

In the light of the oldest sister's task here, the Virgin's answer to Thomas in our ballad, 'We are seeking for no leaves', appears to be delicate irony dependent on the hearers' recognition of the conventional opening of the 'greenwood seduction' ballad: Our Lady and her maidens have come to the greenwood not to lead a wanton life, but to seek sweet Jesus Christ. By analogy with the stanzas quoted from Gil Brenton and Babylon, the third line in the opening stanza of The Seven Virgins was probably originally 'The fairest of them was Mary mild', since according to medieval tradition, the Virgin Mary was "flower and fairest of alle women that euyr God wrowt in erth"⁴⁸.

The Seven Virgins differs from its continental analogues in that Mary does not ask where her Son is. Thomas' question, 'What are you seeking', may be a reminiscence of drama derived from the trope based on the angels' words to the women at the Resurrection⁴⁹, which was originally prefixed to the introit of the Easter Mass⁵⁰:

Interrogatio: Quem queritis in sepulchro, Christicolae?

Responsio: Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae ...

The messenger of the Crucifixion was traditionally John, as in the Acta Pilati and the York and Towneley plays⁵¹. That this was probably so in the ur-ballad is indicated by the Virgin's description of Jesus (S.V. I sta. 3.2) as a 'friend' of the apostle: 'Amicus Christi' was a popular title for

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St. John the Evangelist, based on the gospel description of him as the disciple "whom Jesus loved"⁵². The change to the apostle Thomas may have been prompted by gospel stories of his desire to accompany Jesus even to death and of his doubts of the Resurrection⁵³. If this change was made early, it may also have been influenced by the traditional interview of Thomas with the Virgin at her Assumption, which occurs in the York plays⁵⁴.

In the later versions of a popular English lyric⁵⁵ beginning,

Mary moder cum and se:
Thy Sone is nayled on a tre,

St. John brings news of the Crucifixion to Mary. (In the earliest version, found in the preaching book of the Franciscan John of Grimestone of c.1372, the opening words are wrongly attributed to Jesus⁵⁶.) In addition to John's similar direction to the Virgin, this lyric resembles the ballad in other ways: Christ is said to die "for Adam"⁵⁷; there is a narrative stanza in which Mary travels to Calvary⁵⁸:

Whan Johan this tale began to tell,
Mary wolde no lenger dwell,
But went amonge the Jewes fell,
Where she myght her Sone se.

Mary recalls carrying Jesus in the womb⁵⁹; finally, two versions end with the commonplace found also in our ballad, "Amen, amen for charyte"⁶⁰. Version A, printed by Richard Kele in about 1550, also indicates that traditional carols on the Passion and Compassion remained popular after the Reformation. Medieval Passion carols were sung at Christmas⁶¹ and the practice evidently continued, since The Seven Virgins was printed as a Christmas carol. It is possible, however, that later unfamiliarity with the custom accounts for the scarcity of ballad variants.

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Variations in the ballad stanza in which Thomas directs Mary to the cross are mostly the result of corruption.

Broadsides I and II (sta. 4) have:

'Go down, go down, to yonder town,
And sit in the gallery
And there you'll see sweet Jesus Christ
Nailed to a big yew tree.'

The belief that yew was the wood of the cross can be traced back to Old English tradition⁶²; the tree is also emblematic of grief⁶³ and is the wood of which bows are made in the outlaw ballads⁶⁴. Broadsides III - V (sta. 3.4) omit the word 'big' before 'yew'. Pickering, the singer of the fragment S.V. 6, insisted that the second line of this stanza should be "and seek sweet Galilee". The Manx text, though confused, also mentions 'Galilee' at this point:

And down came forth one Sethomas (St. Thomas)
And thus he did reply
'Go you and seek those virgins seven
Beneath the leaves of lime.

'If you would find sweet Jesus Christ
As you and I should do
We must return to yonder town
That stand in gallilee.'

S.V. 3 stas. 2 and 3.

Gypsy text 2 (sta. 1) is even more confused:

'Then it's I'll go down, it's I'll go down
To the town of Galilee,
There you shall see a sweet Virgin
With Jesus on her knee.'

The other gypsy texts have been contaminated by The Holy Well at this point, since they include phrases from that ballad such as "as far as the holy well"⁶⁵ and "as far as you can see"⁶⁶.

'Galilee' is probably an emendation, based on Mark XVI.8, of 'gallery', which itself has been corrupted from 'Calvary'. The original directions may have been⁶⁷:

'Go down, go down, beyond the town,
To the mount of Calvary.'

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The seven virgins obey Thomas' directions:

So down they went to yonder town
As fast as foot could fall,
And many a grievous bitter tear
From the Virgins' eyes did fall.
S.V. I and II, sta. 5.

Versions III - V (sta. 4.4) have "ladies' eyes": in the ur-ballad, the line may have been 'from Our Lady's eyes did fall'. The Manx version contains two stanzas on the Virgin's journey: the first is either later embroidery of the stanza just quoted or else a stanza from the ur-ballad functioning as 'incremental repetition'; the second stanza (which should come first) may likewise have formed part of the ur-ballad, since it is traditional in tone⁶⁸:

Now there we did sweet Jesus behold
With his body on the tree
And every eye that saw the same
Did weep most bitterly.

The Virgin Marry she got up
As fast as she could hie
But manny a briny tear there did
Fall from the virgin's eye.
S.V. 3 stas. 4 and 5.

Other traditional versions omit the 'journey' stanzas.

That the Virgin wept at the Crucifixion is not mentioned in the gospels, but according to a later medieval legend, she wept tears of blood⁶⁹. An earlier tradition, that Mary was modest and restrained in her grief, also persisted until the late middle ages⁷⁰.

In the ballad, Jesus begs His mother not to weep:

'O peace, mother, O peace, mother,
Your weeping doth me grieve,
I must suffer this,' he said,
'For Adam and for Eve.'
S.V. II sta. 6.

Gypsy versions of this stanza are incomplete and corrupt.

Christ says⁷¹:

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'Dear mother, dear mother, do not weep for me,
Your weeping does me harm'

S.V. 4 sta. 3.1-2.

Christ's admonition is probably derived from His words in
Luke's gospel:

Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for
yourselves, and for your children ... For if they do these
things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

Lk. XXIII. 28, 31.

The famous reference to the 'green tree' may have inspired the
greenwood setting of the ballad. In the York and Towneley plays,
the 'daughters of Jerusalem' are the women who accompany the
Virgin, i.e. her sisters (Mary Iacobe and Mary Salome) and
St. Mary Magdalene⁷².

Christ tells His mother not to weep in some European
ballads⁷³ and in Middle English lyrics and plays. A thirteenth
century lyric dialogue between Christ and Mary, 'Stond wel,
moder, ounder rode'⁷⁴, contains several ideas referred to in
The Seven Virgins, for example, that the Virgin's tears injure
her Son⁷⁵:

'Moder, do wei thine teres
Thou wip away the blodi teres,
Hy doth me worse thene mi deth.'
'Sone, hou mightte ich teres werne?
I se thine blodi woundes herne
From thin herte to thi fot.'

The Virgin protests also, "Sone, hou may ich blithe stonde?"
and "Hit nis no wonder they me be wo"⁷⁶. Christ, however,
reminds her that His sacrifice is for Adam⁷⁷.

In The Seven Virgins, Mary protests:

'O how can I my weeping leave,
Or my sorrows undergo,
Whilst I do see my own son die
When sons I have no more.'

S.V. III - V, sta. 6.

The Manx version (S.V. 3 sta. 7.1) has "O how should I my
mourning cease". Exigencies of the rhyme show that the last

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word was originally 'mo', a form obsolete in England after the seventeenth century, though it survives in some later Scottish ballads⁷⁸. The last two lines of the stanza are a commonplace utterance of the Virgin in medieval lyric. A carol extant both in manuscript and in print of the sixteenth century has the burden:

'O my harte is woo,' Mary, she sayd so,
'For to se my dere Son dye, and sonnes haue I no mo.'
Greene no. 163.a.

Variants of the last line quoted, omitting the word 'sons', are found in two lyrics in John of Grimestone's preaching book⁷⁹.

In a lullaby carol preserved in fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscripts the Virgin protests, after Christ's prophecy of the Crucifixion:

'Pesse, dere Sone, tell me not soo.
Thou art my child, I haue no moo;
Shuld I se men myn own Son sloo?
Alas, my dere Son, what menys this?'
Greene 152 A.a. sta. 4.

A version of this carol, preserving the commonplace phrase, survives in Davies Gilbert's 'Carol Book A', written in Cornwall in 1767⁸⁰. Similar phrases used in secular contexts are found in traditional ballad texts up to the nineteenth century⁸¹.

In response to the Virgin's grief, Jesus commends John to her:

'O mother, take you John Evangelist,
All for to be your son,
And he will comfort you sometimes,
Mother, as I have done.'
S.V. I and II sta. 7.

In a stanza adapted from an early ballad commonplace⁸², the Virgin shows that she is not completely satisfied:

'O come, thou John Evangelist,
Thou'rt welcome unto me,
But more welcome my own dear Son,
Whom I nursed on my knee.'
S.V. I and II sta. 8.

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Gypsy variants are corrupt at this point but may preserve some lines from the ur-ballad, perhaps from a stanza of incremental repetition⁸³:

'Dear mother, dear mother, you must love John
For John is an angel so bright,
That he may be a comfort to you,
When I am dead and gone.'

'Oh no, dear Son, that never can be
That I should love John
As well as my own son Jesus
That I bore from my own body.'

S.V. 9a stas. 5 and 6.

The second stanza here is a degenerate form of a typical 'ballad protest' whilst "from my own body" is also a traditional ballad phrase⁸⁴. Burne has emended the stanza collected from a Shropshire gypsy, perhaps from a lost chapbook⁸⁵:

'O my dear son, what hast thou done,
[That thou'rt nailed to a tree?]
'Dear mother, dear mother, take young John
[And love him instead of me.']

S.V. 1 sta. 3.

'Instead of me' is a natural phrase to use in the context, but may be traditional, as it occurs in the same context in Middle English poetry⁸⁶.

The Virgin recalls nursing the Christ Child in the Irish 'Lament of the Three Maries' and in the French and Provençal ballads is dissatisfied with changing her Son, Jesus, for her nephew, John⁸⁷. Both motifs appear in Middle English works⁸⁸.

The poignant account of Christ's death in The Seven Virgins appears to be based upon John XIX.30 and on the attitude of Christ's body upon the crucifix⁸⁹:

Then he laid his head on his right shoulder,
Seeing death it struck Him nigh, -
'The Holy Ghost be with your soul,
I die, mother, I die.'

S.V. III - V, sta. 9.

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An account (c.1436) by Margery Kempe of one of her visions, perhaps drawn from dramatic sources, illustrates the traditional nature of the stanzas describing Christ's death and His commendation of John; Jesus tells the Virgin⁹⁰:

'I schal leuyn her wyth yow Iohn, my cosyn, to
comfort yow in stede of me; I xal send myn holy
awngelys to comfort yow in erth; & I xal comfortyn
yow in yowr sowle myn owyn self, for, Modir, ye
wote wel I haue behyte yow the blys of Heuyn & that
ye ar sekыр therof.'

The ur-ballad probably concluded with a lyrical comparison of the Virgin to a rose and an exhortation to the hearer to prepare by prayer for the day of his death; however, these two stanzas have been spoilt by changes which must have been made after the Reformation. The first of these stanzas shows most variation:

O the rose, the gentle rose,
And the fennel that grows so green,
God give us grace, in every place,
To pray for our king and queen.
S.V. II sta. 10.

An old Manchester broadside must pre-date Christmas in 1830, the year in which George IV died:

O the rose, the gentle rose,
And the fennel that grows in spring,
And God give us grace in every place
To pray for George our King.
S.V. V sta. 10.

Chapbook versions III and IV print the last line as "To pray for Victoria our Queen", though the second line of the stanza ends in 'Spring'.

The last stanza in the broadsides adds a prayer for 'enemies':

Furthermore for our enemies all,
Our prayers they should be strong.
Amen, good Lord; your charity
Is the ending of my song.
S.V. I sta. 10; II sta. 11.

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Versions III - V (sta. 11.4) have 'Our prayers they are so strong'.

Gypsy singers conflate the two stanzas but the prayer is for one's 'ending days', a phrase probably original to the ballad:

Oh the rose, the rose, the gentle rose,
The fern that grows so green,
May the lord give us grace in every place
To pray till our ending day.

S.V. 9a sta. 7.

May Bradley, a member of the Whatton family who sang the above variant, has apparently emended this conflated stanza in the direction of the ur-ballad:

There's a rose, and a rose and a genteel rose,
The charm that grows so green,
God will give us grace in every mortal place,
For to pray to our heavenlie Queen.

S.V. 4 sta. 5.

Since The Seven Virgins is concerned with Mary's sorrow and refers to Mary's status as 'Our Lord's mother in heaven' in the first stanza, a prayer to the Virgin as Queen of Heaven would certainly have been appropriate at this point. The rose, a symbol of Christ's passion⁹¹, may here be a name for the Virgin Mary, as it is in several Middle English carols⁹². The burden of Greene no.175 C, in a fifteenth century manuscript, in fact resembles the first line of the ballad 'rose' stanza:

Of a rose, a louely rose,
Of a rose is al myn song.

However, the fennel is used in Middle English verse as a herald of Summer⁹³:

Hytt be-fell in June, Y wene,
Whan ffenell hangeth al grene
Abowte in semely saale.

Hence it is possible that the first two lines of the 'rose' stanza in The Seven Virgins are taken from a lyrical refrain

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in a secular song; this would not, of course, preclude a spiritual meaning for the rose in the context of the ballad.

The penultimate line of the ballad, 'Amen, good Lord, your charity', is a corruption of a medieval commonplace whereby a narrator concluded his prayer for mercy after death with an appeal to the audience to 'say amen, for charity'. Thus, the early Childhood of Jesus ends⁹⁴:

And that we mouwen at ore endeday
In to heuene comen an heighh
And with him thare euere beo
AmeN seggez par charite!
The fader that sit in trinite
Hit us graunti that it so beo!

Some Middle English romances also conclude with the words 'amen, for charity'⁹⁵.

The ingenious emendation in one Manchester broadside shows that the phrase was no longer understood in the ballad:

Amen, good lord, your Christmas gift
Is the ending of my song.
S.V. Vb sta. 11.3-4.

Prayerful endings, common in all medieval works, are a feature of early ballads probably composed by minstrels⁹⁶:

Thus endys the talkyng of the munke
And Robyn Hode i-wysse
God, that is euer a crowned kyng,
Bryng vs all to his blisse!!
Child 119 sta. 90.

The change from prayer to the King or Queen of Heaven to prayers for the King of England is a fashion of sixteenth and seventeenth century ballads⁹⁷. Thus Durham Field, from the Percy manuscript, concludes:

But God that made the grasse to growe
And leaves on greenwoode tree,
Now save and keepe our noble king,
And maintaine good yeomanry.
Child 159 sta. 66.

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A black letter carol broadside printed in the second half of the seventeenth century, 'Joseph an aged man truly', closes⁹⁸:

Thou king of peace in Bethlehem born,
That wore for our sakes a crown of thorn
Preserve King Charles evening and morn
Whom England loves so dear, so dear.

Post-Reformation emendation of the prayer stanzas has added an earnest naïveté to a ballad which is not naïve, though it is simple and lyrical, qualities enhanced by the recurrent use of internal rhyme and repetition⁹⁹:

Go down, go down, to yonder town ...

O peace, mother, O peace, mother ...

O the rose, the gentle rose ...

God give us grace, in every place ...

Parody of the greenwood convention adds interest and irony to the ballad story. The meeting of St. Thomas with the seven virgins immediately involves the hearer in the scene. A climax of mysterious questions leads up to Thomas' blunt and shocking revelation that the Virgin's Son is 'nailed to a yew tree'.

Mary and Jesus are human, even homely figures: Jesus bids His mother be quiet, the Virgin remonstrates with Him and later is not completely satisfied with St. John the Evangelist. The dialogue is poignant, but too spare to be sentimental. Jesus dies beneficently, blessing His mother, 'the gentle rose'.

The Seven Virgins achieves its success by combining the devotion and pathos of the religious lyric with the narrative and dramatic strength of the traditional ballad.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. S.V. texts 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 and 9. See also below, Appendix L.
2. S.V. 3; see Killip, Folklore of the Isle of Man, pp.181-184.
3. But cf. Child 26, 27, 78, 181 and 201.
4. See above, Chapter Three, notes 21 and 22.
5. See R. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1968, p.193 (discussion of 'The Nutbrowne Maid' and 'Come over the borne, Besse'). Greene nos. 170 and 171, of the early sixteenth century, appear to be parodies of popular secular songs.
6. Pointed out by E.C. Batho, 'The Life of Christ in the Ballads' in Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, IX (1924), pp.70-97, on p.91.
7. Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life, Part II, chapter XII, p.71.
8. Batho, Essays and Studies, IX, p.90; e.g. Song of Solomon III.1-3.
9. European ballads consulted in the making of this chapter will be referred to by language, as follows: Asturian (in English translation) in Batho, Essays and Studies, IX, pp.90-91 (8 stas.); Danish A and B in D.g.F., II, p.528f, nos.97A (13 stas.) and 97B (12 stas.), translated by Prior, Anc. Danish Ballads, II, pp.18-21; French A in Daynard, Vieux Chants, p.343 (22 lines); French B in Millien, Littérature Orale, I, pp.3-4 (10 stas.); German, printed with translation as Oxford Carols no.93 (7 stas.); Hungarian, translated by N.A.M. Leader, Hungarian Classical Ballads and their Folklore, Cambridge, 1967, p.328 (11 stas.); Irish (i.e. Erse), printed with translation by Hyde, Relig. Songs of Connacht, I, pp.131-137 (16 stas.); Provençal in Arbaud, Chants Populaires, I, pp.40-43 (24 stas.) and p.44 (variant readings). Some of the above references I owe to the kindness of Angela Partridge of University College, Dublin, who has made the Irish ballad, 'The Lament of the Three Maries' the subject of her Ph.D. thesis.
10. Asturian, stas. 1 and 6 (the sea, mountains); Danish A sta. 5 (Israel); Danish B sta. 2 (Jerusalem); French B sta. 3.2 (fields); German sta. 1.2 (all lands); Hungarian sta. 5 (Bethlehem); Irish sta. 1 (mountains); Provençal sta. 2.1 (fields).
11. Danish A sta. 3, B sta. 4; French B sta. 1.
12. John in Asturian sta. 3; French A line 3; French B sta. 4.1; Provençal sta. 2.2; Peter in French B sta. 6.1; German sta. 2.2; Irish sta. 2. The Virgin meets a Jewish maid and a man of Bethlehem in Hungarian stas. 2 and 6, her spouse St. Joseph in Danish A sta. 6, "Hallelujah" in Danish B, sta. 7 and the executioner in French B sta. 8.1.
13. Danish A sta. 7, B sta. 8; French B sta. 4.2; Hungarian stas. 4 and 7; Irish sta. 1.

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14. Danish B sta. 10; German sta. 5.2; Hungarian sta. 10.1.
15. Danish B sta. 11; Provençal sta. 6.
16. French B sta. 9; Hungarian sta. 11.
17. French A line 16.
18. Asturian sta. 6; French A lines 13-22; in Irish sta. 15, the 'three Maries' lament.
19. Irish sta. 12; Provençal stas. 7 and 8.
20. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, pp.302-309; in this thesis, the translation by Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.281-285 is used. Recension B of the Acta Pilati must post-date the Council of Ephesus, (A.D. 431), since it refers to the Virgin as 'Theotokos', but otherwise its date of origin is uncertain, since no MS. containing it pre-dates the fifteenth century: see above, Chapter Three, note 54.
21. York Plays XXXIV and XXXVI (Christ led up to Calvary; Mortificacio Christi); Towneley Plays XXII and XXIII (Scourging; Crucifixion).
22. The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. W. H. Hulme (E.E.T.S., E.S. 100), London, 1907; see Severs and Hartung, Manual, II, pp.448-449.
23. See W.A. Craigie, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays' in An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall, pp.52-61.
24. Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.282-283.
25. Ibid., p.284.
26. See G.C. Taylor, 'The English "Planctus Mariae" ' in Modern Philology, IV (1906-1907), pp.605-637 for a list of lyrical and dramatic examples of the genre (I - XXV) in English and a classification (1 - 33) of recurrent motifs.
27. For the distribution of these stanzas in the extant S.V. texts, see below, Appendix D, description of texts.
28. Jn. XI.16.
29. Matt. XXVI.35; Mk. XIV.31; Lk. XXII.33; Jn. XIII.37.
30. Provençal, variant reading 2; Irish stas. 3 and 4: see above, note 9. Christ's innocence is motif 6 of Taylor, 'English "Planctus Mariae" ', Modern Philology, IV.
31. Matt. XXVIII.55-56; Mk. XVI.40-41; Lk. XXIII.49; Jn. XIX.25.
32. The identification of the 'three Maries' in the Irish ballad was made by Angela Partridge in a letter to me dated 2 August 1978. For an account of St. Anne's three daughters all named Mary, the result of three marriages, see S.E.L., I, Life of St. James the Less, pp.165-166, lines 35 - 39.

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33. Protevangelium X (seven virgins) in James, Apoc. N.T., p.43;
Pseudo-Matthew VIII (five virgins, named) in Cowper, Apoc. Gospels,
p.43.
34. See James Ryman's carols, Greene nos. 203; 209 sta. 2; 217 sta. 4.
35. A.G. Gilchrist, 'The Manx Version of "The Leaves of Life" ' in
J.F.S.S. VII no.30 (1926), pp.283-5.
36. S.V. 3 stas. 1.2 and 2.4.
37. S.V. I, II and 3, sta. 6.4; S.V. III - V, sta. 5.4.
38. Child 116 sta. 101.2; 119 stas. 10.4, 23.2 and 78.3.
39. Athelston, ed. A. McI. Trounce (E.E.T.S., O.S. 224), London, 1951,
line 17, p.67; 'Gamelyn', line 676b in French and Hale,
M.E. Metrical Romances, p.229. The 'lynde' is usually referred to, in
both ballad and romance, as a meeting place as in S.V. sta. 1.
40. Written c.1650, probably in Lancashire: see below, Chapter Ten,
note 4.
41. See sta. 1.2 of Child 116, 118 and 119; also Child 121 sta. 1.1.
42. J. Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, London, 1961,
pp.222-223, 249-250; see ibid., pp.33 and 408 for disguised erotic
songs apparently about the forester's life; see also Greene nos.462,
464, 466 and 466.1.
43. See sta. 1 of Child 91 A - D, 229 A, and 232 E.
44. Child 8 A stas. 2, 8, 9; 97 B stas. 13 - 15; 110 G sta. 1.
45. E.S.P.B., I, p.63; Child 5 F stas. 9.1, 17.2, 38.1.
46. Child 5 A sta. 49.2.
47. E.g. Child 39 A stas. 5, 6; 41 A stas. 3, 4; 52 A stas. 1-4.
48. The Book of Margery Kempe, ed. S.B. Leech and H.E. Allen (E.E.T.S.,
O.S. 212), London, 1940, p.252, lines 28 - 29.
49. Matt. XXVIII.5-10; Mk. XVI.5-8; Lk. XXIV.4-6; cf. Jn. XX.15.
50. K. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols., Oxford, 1933, I,
p.201 (from a tenth century MS. from the monastery of St. Gall); for
a discussion of this trope and other plays based on it, see ibid., I,
chapter VII, pp.201-222 and II, chapter XVII, pp.3-28.
51. York Plays XXXIV, p.341, lines 127-142; Towneley Plays XXII, pp.252-
253, lines 260-315.
52. Jn. XIII.23; see Greene nos.103 and 104, the burdens of which
employ the words "Amice Christi Johannes".
53. Jn. XI.14-16, XIV.5 and XX.24-29.

54. York Plays, XLVI, pp.480-490. The source of the legend is a late apocryphal work, 'The Assumption Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea': see James, Apoc. N.T., pp.217-218.
55. Greene no.157 A (printed c.1550), and B and C, from fifteenth century MSS.
56. Greene no.157 D and John of Grimestone, Descriptive Index, ed. Wilson no.185; see also Woolf, English Relig. Lyrics, p.251.
57. Greene no.157 A sta. 2.1.
58. Greene no. 157 A sta. 5 and cf. B sta. 3.
59. Greene no. 157 C sta. 5.1 and D line 11.
60. Greene no. 157 A sta. 12.4 and B sta. 8.4
61. Greene, Early English Carols, p.389, note to no. 152 A.b.
62. The Dream of the Rood, ed. M. Swanton, Manchester, 1970, p.46 (introduction).
63. Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, II.iv.50-65 (Feste's song).
64. Child 118 sta. 15.1; 141 sta. 7.4; 153 sta. 9.1.
65. S.V. 1 sta. 2.2 and S.V. 7 and 9b sta. 3.2; cf. Appendix C, H.W. I sta. 3.2.
66. S.V. 4 and 9a, sta. 3.2; cf. H.W. I sta. 7.4.
67. Cf. 'mownt of Caluary' in Greene no.163 sta. 4.1.
68. 'As fast as he cold hie' occurs in Child 30 sta. 60.2, from the Percy MS.
69. See Greene nos.159 sta. 4.3; 160 sta. 4.1; 162 sta. 2.3; also Lyrics XIII no.49, lines 13-14.
70. Woolf, English Relig. Lyrics, pp.240-241; Book of Margery Kempe, p.69, lines 29-30 and p.164, line 12.
71. Cf. S.V. 7 stas. 4.1-2 and 5.1-2; 9a, b sta. 4.1-2.
72. York Plays, XXXIV lines 161-163, p.342; Towneley Plays, XXII, p.255, line 338.
73. Asturian sta. 7; Provençal, variant reading 3 (see above, note 9).
74. Lyrics XIII no.49, pp.87-8 (from MS. Digby 86) and pp.203-204, (from St. John's College, Cambridge MS.111).
75. Lyrics XIII no.49 (p.88), lines 13-18.
76. Ibid., lines 4 and 24.
77. Ibid., lines 31-33; in the York Plays, XXXVI, lines 144-152, pp.363-364, Jesus bids Mary stop weeping since He dies for mankind, but Mary protests that her weeping is only natural.

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78. O.E.D. VI, Pt.I, p.557, 'mo' and VI, Pt.II, p.187, 'no mo';
cf. Child 99 G sta. 20.3 and 185 sta. 35.4.
79. John of Grimestone, Descriptive Index, ed. Wilson, no.183, lines 1-2 (p.38) and no.187 (not quoted); for the latter lyric, see Robbins, Modern Language Notes, LIII, p.244 (sta.1.4).
80. See Greene 152 B sta. 3.2; for a description of the Gilbert carol books, see below, Appendix A, note on C.T.C. 1a.
81. Child 87 C sta. 6.4; 128 sta. 23.4; 167 B.h. sta. 46.2.
82. Cf. Child 107 A sta. 13 and 109 A sta. 42 (Percy MS.); Child 188 A sta. 24.
83. "John is an angel" is probably a mere corruption of 'John Evangelist'.
Cf. also S.V. 1 stas. 3.3 and 4 and S.V. 4 sta. 4.3-4.
84. On the ballad protest, see above, Chapter Six, note 117; Fair Annie speaks of the sons she has borne 'out of my fair bodie' in Child 62 I sta. 7.3-4.
85. Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.567 assigns her first emendation within square brackets, 'To pray for our youthful Queen' (S.V. 1 sta. 1.4) to a 'chap-book copy', presumably from the early Victorian period; the source of the two subsequent emendations is not specified, but may be the same.
86. York Plays, XXXVI, p.364, line 153; Robbins, Modern Language Notes, LIII, p.244, second line of burden (see above, note 79).
87. Irish sta. 14; French A lines 34-35; Provençal sta. 14; (see above, note 9).
88. Mary is dissatisfied with John in Robbins, Modern Language Notes, LIII, p.244, sta. 1; she recalls carrying Jesus in her womb in York Plays, XXXVI, p.363, lines 133-134.
89. Representation of the dead Christ on the cross with His head leaning to the (right hand) side appears to have become fashionable in about the tenth century: see Dream of the Rood, p.54 (introduction) and G. Schiller, The Iconography of Christian Art, transd. J. Seligman, 2 vols., London, 1971, II, plates 340, 341, 360 and 388. This style of representation has remained popular to the present day.
90. Book of Margery Kempe, p.188, lines 14-19 and see note on p.333.
91. Schiller, Iconography, II, p.135.
92. See Greene nos. 173 - 176.
93. Lybeaus Desconus (Lambeth MS.), lines 1275-1277, p.151; cf. Lyrics XIII no.81, 'Lenten Is Come with Love to Town', line 18 (p.145).
94. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1875, p.61, lines 1849-1854.
95. E.g. 'The Erle of Tolous', line 1224 and 'The Squyr of Lowe Degre', line 1131 in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.419 and 755.

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96. See Child 161 A sta. 70; 162 A sta. 68; 179 sta. 37.
97. See Child 149 stas. 54, 55; 162 B stas. 1, 64; 166 sta. 32.
98. R.B. VII, Pt. II, p.782, sta. 18 and see above, Chapter One, note 41.
99. S.V. I stas. 4.1 and 6.1; S.V. II sta. 10.1, 3.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DIVES AND LAZARUS (CHILD 56)

Dives and Lazarus, a ballad concerning the parable in Luke XVI.19-31, appears to have been composed in the mid sixteenth century or earlier and continually reprinted since that date. Evidence for its continual reprinting will be presented after the survey of surviving texts and will be followed by a detailed analysis of the ballad's style and narrative content, which clearly derive from pre-Reformation religious traditions. The ballad has no close Continental analogues.

More than half the versions of Dives and Lazarus listed in Appendix E are broadsides and analysis both of these and of the traditional texts suggests that all versions derive from a common original which perhaps was printed in London from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and disseminated to country districts during the same period. By the end of the eighteenth century regional variants had evolved, but most textual variations suggest minor emendation by printers rather than wholesale recreation in oral tradition. Nevertheless, the variations make it possible to decide which texts are related to each other: they occur mostly in the stanzas on the summoning of Lazarus and Dives to heaven and hell and will be quoted in detail later in the chapter.

The oldest broadside, II, from Worcester, dates from the eighteenth century and is closely related to broadside XV, from Monmouth; the latter may also represent a Worcestershire version, since the Monmouth printer, Charles Heath, grew up near Kidderminster in that county¹.

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The London broadsides (XI, XII and XIII) form another textual group. They have all been shortened by the omission of the stanzas in which Lazarus pleads and Dives answers at Dives' wall, and in which Dives later speaks in hell. Some modernisation of language has occurred in all London copies, though less so in XIIa, a Catnach broadside. It is likely that the broadside entitled 'Dives and Lazarus' was printed in London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when printing outside London, Oxford and Cambridge was not allowed². Since extant provincial texts are more complete than the surviving London copies, it seems probable that London printers of the early nineteenth century have shortened and emended an earlier complete London text, as they adapted The Cherry Tree Carol³, to fit it on to a sheet containing several other carols. In addition, traditional Christmas carols had become less popular in the capital at that date, since the market was flooded with more fashionable carols written by and for the evangelical tract societies⁴. As Shepard suggests, London printers of the early nineteenth century may have had access to much older stock⁵: Catnach, for example, purchased wood cuts of the sixteenth century⁶.

In the nineteenth century Dives and Lazarus was printed on broadsides or in chapbooks at Birmingham, Dudley and Manchester and, according to Rimbault⁷, in Halifax and Warwick. A chapbook printed by S. Martin of Birmingham⁸, in which 'A new Carol, for St. John's day' is directed to be sung to the tune 'Divas (sic) and Lazarus', indicates that the ballad was well-known in Birmingham before 1800.

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Broadsides IV, VII, VIII, IX and X, from Birmingham and Dudley, are a closely related group, though X has been 'improved' slightly, like other carols in the Dudley chapbook A Good Christmas Box. III and V differ only slightly from this group, in similar ways. Broadside VI, printed by Thomas Wood of Birmingham, preserves older features missing from the main Birmingham group and, since it shares some phrases with London broadsides XI, XII and XIII, it may be closer to the posited older London version.

Broadside XIV and the incomplete variant 10, both from Manchester, resemble each other and also Wood's broadside, VI.

Since all traditional texts of Dives and Lazarus are incomplete, their precise relationship to the different broadside groups cannot be determined. Traditional texts 1 and 2 most closely resemble the Wood broadside, VI, whilst traditional text 13, the source of which is unknown, has much in common with the London broadsides. Since, however, text 13 preserves a fragment of the 'wall' stanzas missing from the nineteenth century London texts, it is perhaps a Southern English text from oral tradition derived from the older London broadside version.

Traditional texts 4 and 11, printed only in part, show that Dives and Lazarus changed slightly in West Midland oral tradition by the acquisition of additional stanzas, mostly carol commonplaces. 'Oral' texts 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13 and 14 change the name 'Dives', found in the broadsides, to 'Diverus' or 'Div'rus', but in other respects differ little from the broadsides. It seems probable that traditional variants were continually subject to 'correction' by fresh broadside and chapbook copies.

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Child 56 has been collected in America only twice⁹ and both of these texts may have been learned from books printed in the twentieth century. Since one of these American texts has been adapted, it is, however, included among the traditional texts. Frequently collected in America, however, has been a 'secondary ballad',¹⁰ written in a later, more artificial style, which tells the story of Lazarus and the rich man ('Dives' is not used), but follows the bible narrative much more closely than Child 56. Traditional ballads were often rewritten in a more fashionable style for the broadside press¹¹, but there is no textual evidence to prove that the American 'secondary ballad' is a rewritten version of Child 56 and it has therefore been excluded from this study.

A ballad 'Of the Rychē Man and Poore Lazarus' was licensed to John Wally and Mrs. Toy between 19 July 1557 and 9 July 1558¹². Between 22 July 1570 and 22 July 1571, a ballad entitled 'Dyves and Lazerus' was licensed to William Peking¹³. The title of the Peking ballad suggests that it may have been a forerunner of Child 56, and the Toy and Peking ballads were probably the same, since Peking prints several ballads from Mrs. Toy's stock¹⁴. The parable inspired other ballads: 'The ryche Gluttoun and pure Lazarus' appears among the Scottish 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis', perhaps translated from the German¹⁵. A ballad called 'Devill and Dives' was licensed in December 1624 to Thomas Pavier, John Wright, Cuthbert Wright, John Grismond, Henry Gosson and Edward Wright¹⁶ and 'A godly newe ballad taken out of ye .16. chapter of Saincte Lukes gospell of ye Riche man yat Demanded a Reckoning of his Steward. and also of ye Riche Dives and

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poore Lazarus' was licensed to Henry Carr¹⁷ on 3 September 1580. The popularity of the theme with the poor is illustrated by the licensing of 'A message of Newes sent from the highe courte of heaven sent latelie by Lazalus (sic) prince of povertie vnto all his loving freindes the poore distressed people here on earth &c' to Richard Jones¹⁸ on 9 August 1583. The subject also inspired a tract, probably in prose, entitled 'The life and Deathe of the riche man and LAZARUS by way of medit(at)ion, with the riche mans funerall sermon'¹⁹, licensed to Edward White on 22 January 1600.

The sixteenth century ballad of Dives and Lazarus, like the one we have, must have been religiously neutral to have been licensed in the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. Information on its printing does not establish whether the ballad is Catholic or Protestant in origin, but this question is largely irrelevant (except as regards dating): the social message of Dives and Lazarus would have been popular with the poor of both faiths.

Mrs. Toy was the widow of Robert Toy, who died in February 1555-1556. Toy printed a number of Protestant works in the reign of Edward VI, but played safe in Mary Tudor's reign by reprinting works by Skelton and Chaucer. Mrs. Toy's son, Humphrey, also printed Protestant works and in 1594 was fined for keeping his shop open on St. Luke's day²⁰. Mrs. Toy herself, however, was apparently trusted by the Catholic government for in 1558 she received a sole licence to print the Latin catechism²¹.

'John Walley' is mentioned as a member of the Stationers' Company²² in the Charter of 1557-1558, granted by Philip and

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Mary at the request of the Stationers but in the express hope that it would prevent the publication of "certain seditious and heretical books, rhymes and treatises"²³. None of the thirty-one ballads he printed with Mrs. Toy in the first year of the charter²⁴ could, then, have been overtly Protestant: most of them appear to be popular songs of the day, with two which may be traditional ballads, 'A ballett of Thomalyn' and 'A ballett of Wakefylde and a grene'²⁵. Religious songs such as 'A ballett of admonyssion to leave swerying' were probably of a neutral cast²⁶.

Pekering was probably the 'William Pykering' mentioned as a member of the Stationers' Company in the Charter of Philip and Mary²⁷. He was active as a ballad printer throughout the 1560's and 1570's. In 1570-71 he printed an anti-Catholic ballad, 'The begynnyng and endyng of all popery'²⁸. His unpolemical religious ballads were, like many others in Elizabeth's reign, on biblical subjects, often from the Old Testament²⁹. They are likely to have been Protestant in origin or in tone, since they were printed during a time of careful Privy Council activity³⁰. In any case, only Elizabethan printers of Protestant sympathies could have made money by printing religious ballads in London, a city of pronounced Puritan enthusiasm. Both Henry Carr and Richard Jones were prolific printers of ballads who included anti-Catholic ballads in their stock³¹.

The title 'Dives and Lazarus' appears in a catalogue of "small books, Ballads and Histories" printed by William Thackeray of "the Angel in Duck-Lane, London; where any Chapmen may be furnished with them"³², dated by scholars as 1685 or 1689³³. 'Dives and Lazarus' appears in a list of

'double books' with the title of a much longer traditional ballad, 'Adam Bell' (Child 116). The 'double book' of 'Dives and Lazarus' may have contained other songs, or have been a padded version or prose redaction of our ballad. A 'Dream of Devil and Dives', recalling the title of the 1624 ballad mentioned above, appears in the list of 'Histories' in the same catalogue.

Other evidence supports the idea that Dives and Lazarus (i.e. Child 56) continued to be well-known in London in the seventeenth century. In Act III, scene iii of John Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas, written in 1619 and printed in 1639³⁴, a fiddler announces his repertoire³⁵:

Under your mastership's correction, I can sing
The Duke of Norfolk, or The Merry Ballad
of Diverus and Lazarus, the Rose of England,
In Creet when Dedimus first began,
Jonas his crying out against Coventry.

Thomas ironically announces these to be "excellent, rare matters all". The pair sing a scurrilous duet and the rest of the scene contains snatches of contemporary songs or parodies of them³⁶. 'The Merry Ballad of Diverus and Lazarus' is mentioned with other ballads of the previous century³⁷ and the context makes it clear that by 1619 these ballads were considered as antiquated and ridiculous.

In Nice Valour, written by Fletcher probably with Thomas Middleton and printed in 1647, the 'First gentleman' is trying to collect a party of cowardly retainers³⁸:

So if I fail of my full number now,
I shall be sure to find 'em at church corners,
Where 'Dives' and the suff'ring Ballads hang.

This appears to mean that Dives and Lazarus and other ballads designed to appeal to human compassion were sung or sold at church corners by vagrants and ne'er-do-wells.

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Fletcher may well have known a version of Child 56, for its laborious parallelism, reliance on miracle, and use of serpent-messengers might indeed have seemed ludicrous by the early seventeenth century; moreover, the form 'Diverus' is found in several traditional variants of our ballad.

Two religious broadsides of the later seventeenth century may also indicate familiarity with a ballad like Child 56. A poem called 'St. Bernard's Vision', printed in 1656 and 1675³⁹, is "a briefe discourse ... betweene the soule and the Body of a damned man newly deceased ... with a speech of the Divel's in Hell"⁴⁰. The soul's accusations preserve the tradition of the middle ages⁴¹:

Gone is thy traine, thy mirth to mourning turn'd
Thou in a coffin in thy shrine art urn'd;
For thy rich clothes, thou hast a winding-sheet,
Thy high-built rooffe now with thy nose doth meete.

In the Second Part of the poem, the soul admonishes⁴²:

Fond flesh! remember Dives was denay'd,
When for one drop of water so he pray'd.

In 'A Letter for a Christian Family', printed in 1675 and possibly written by John Vicars (d.1652)⁴³, the following stanzas occur⁴⁴:

Also we read of Dives' pomp and state,
And of poor Lazarus that lay at his gate;
In Abraham's bosome, he was nourished,
And with sweet comforts he was daily fed.

While Dives for one drop did call and cry,
To cool his tongue, he did in torments lye,
But any comfort could he not receive,
Because poor Lazarus he would not relieve.

Although in Child 56 Dives calls for 'one drop of water'⁴⁵, in Luke's gospel (XVI.24) he begs Abraham that Lazarus may dip his finger in water and cool his tongue. The writers of the lines quoted, therefore, appear to have followed the ballad tradition in this detail, and in the use of 'Dives' as the

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rich man's name. As in the parable, Dives' request is refused; it is possible that Lazarus' refusal of Dives was part of the ballad at this stage.

A handbill of Queen Anne's reign advertises a "little Opera, call'd The Old Creation of the World, Newly Reviv'd", which includes the following scenes⁴⁶:

10. Rich Dives invites his Friends, and orders his Porter to keep the Beggars from his Gate.
11. Poor Lazarus comes a begging at Rich Dives's Gate, the Dogs lick his Sores.
12. The good Angel and Death contend for Lazarus's Life.
13. Rich Dives is taken sick and dieth, he is buried in great solemnity.
14. Rich Dives in Hell, and Lazarus in Abraham's Bosom ...

The performance, given by Matthew Heatly at Crawly's Booth near the Crown Tavern in Smithfield during the time of Bartholomew Fair, may have been a puppet show⁴⁷. Some scenes (e.g. number 12) appear to draw on medieval plays, but the phrases "rich Dives", "invites his friends" and "poor Lazarus" occur in the first stanza of Child 56 and the details of the porter keeping beggars away, Lazarus actively "a-begging" at Dives' gate and Dives' being taken "sick" might have been suggested by the ballad, since they do not occur in the gospel. The handbill seems to show, therefore, that Dives and Lazarus (Child 56) was known in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The ballad story, as the use of "Dives" ('a rich man') as a proper name suggests, appears to be derived mainly from the Vulgate and from popular representations of the parable⁴⁸. This need not mean that the ballad pre-dates the Reformation,

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since such traditions remained familiar throughout the sixteenth century. The Edwardian and Elizabethan Homilists relied on the Vulgate⁴⁹, and the Shakespearean character Falstaff twice apparently refers to paintings of the parable. He tells Bardolph⁵⁰:

I never see thy face but I think upon hell-fire, and
Dives that lived in purple; for there he is in his
robes, burning, burning.

Later he describes his poor company of recruits⁵¹:

... slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth,
where the Glutton's dogs licked his sores.

The first stanza of Dives and Lazarus varies little:

As it fell out upon a day,
Rich Dives made a feast,
And he invited all his friends
And gentry of the best.

D.L. III sta. 1.

'Feast' rhymes on short 'ě' with 'best', a pronunciation which was possible until the early seventeenth century⁵². Traditional versions 1, 4, 6 and 7 have 'upon one day'. Text 2, influenced by The Bitter Withy, begins, "As it fell out on a light dully day" (i.e. a 'light holiday'). Broad sides II and XV substitute "guests" for 'friends'. The London broad sides (XI - XIII) omit 'rich' before 'Dives' both here and throughout the ballad, as do traditional texts 2, 9 and 13 and broad side XV. The London broad sides, however, also omit 'poor' before 'Lazarus' in stanza 8.2. The description of Dives as 'rich' is traditional judging by Carr's entry in the Stationers' Register, but its omission is the sort of correction that any semi-educated printer could make at any time.

The opening line, "As it fell out upon a day", also begins the stanzas of the deaths of Lazarus and Dives (broad sides, stas. 10.1, 12.1). Similar lines are used for transitions

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in medieval romance⁵³ and throughout the traditional ballads⁵⁴. The line reflects the casual tone of the gospel narrative at these very points. The Vulgate has⁵⁵:

Homo quidem erat dives ... Factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus ... mortuus est autem et dives ...

Sixteenth century bible translations use phrases such as "... it fortun'd"⁵⁶ and "... it came to pass"⁵⁷.

The opening stanza omits the gospel detail that the rich man dressed in purple and seems rather to have been inspired by another saying of Jesus in Luke's gospel (XIV.12-14):

Dicebat autem et ei, qui se invitaverat: Cum facis prandium, aut coenam, noli vocare amicos tuos, neque fratres tuos, neque cognatos, neque vicinos divites: ne forte te et ipsi reinvitent, et fiat tibi retributio. Sed cum facis convivium, voca pauperes, debiles, claudos, et caecos:

Et beatus eris, quia non habent retribuere tibi: retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum.

Vulgate.

Then sayde he also to him that bade him to diner: When thou makest a diner, or a supper: call not thy frendes, nor thy brethren, nether thy kinsmen nor yet riche neighbours: lest they bidde the agayne and make the recompence. Butt when thou makest a feast, call the poore, the maymed, the lame and the blinde, and thou shalt be happy: for they cannot recompence the. Butt thou shalt be recompensed at the resurreccion of the iuste men.

Tyndale, N. T., 1526.

Despite Tyndale's use of the ballad phrase 'made a feast'⁵⁸, it is not clear that the opening stanza of Child 56 relies on a Protestant bible translation since its third line uses 'invite', found only in the Vulgate and in the Catholic 'Douay-Rheims' translation of this passage.

Version 2 alone of the ballad texts contains a second stanza which merely introduces Lazarus:

And it fell out upon one day,
Poor Lazarus he was so poor,
He came and laid him down and down,
Evn down at Diverus' door.

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This redundant stanza has probably been created in oral tradition under the influence of the pervasive parallelism of the ballad's structure.

In most texts, the second stanza relates that Lazarus pleads for food at Dives' door⁵⁹:

Then Lazarus laid him down and down
And down at Dives's door,
'Some meat, some drink, brother Dives
Bestow upon the poor.'

D.L. II sta. 2.

Some versions omit this stanza. Text 6 (sta. 3) has conflated Lazarus' lying at Dives' door with Dives' answer. Text 13 (stas. 2 and 4) conflates the stanza with Lazarus' similar requests at Dives' wall and gate.

The correct (because climactic) order of the begging stanzas is that Lazarus begs first at Dives' door, then at his wall, and lastly at his gate:

Then Lazarus laid him down and down,
And down at Dives's wall,
'Some meat, some drink, brother Dives,
Or with hunger starve I shall.'

.

Then Lazarus laid him down and down,
And down at Dives' gate,
'Some meat, some drink, brother Dives,
For Jesus Christ His sake.'

D. L. II stas. 4, 6.

'Wall' would have rhymed with the strong form of 'shall' from 1400 until at least 1700⁶⁰. The London broadsides omit the 'wall' stanza and its reply, as do some traditional versions. 'Jesus Christ His sake' in the last line of the 'gate' stanza has been modernised to 'Jesus Christ's sake' in broadsides VII, XI, XIII and XIV. A feature of the Birmingham, Dudley and Manchester broadsides (IV, VI, VII - X and XIV) and of text 1

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is that the word 'e'en' is substituted for 'and' in the second line of the begging stanzas.

A climactic series of demands, promises or requests is common in the traditional ballads⁶¹. Dives' reply to Lazarus each time uses almost the same words as the beggar's demand, again, a frequent pattern in balladry⁶². Dives always begins by denying that Lazarus is his brother:

'Thou art none of my brother, Lazarus,
That lies begging at my wall,
No meat nor drink will I give thee,
But with hunger starve you shall.'
D.L. II sta. 5.

There is slightly more variation in these stanzas. 'None of my brother' was evidently not always felt to be correct and is emended variously to "Thou art none of mine, brother Lazarus"⁶³, "Thou wert none of my brethren as I tell thee"⁶⁴ and "Thou art no brother of mine, Lazarus"⁶⁵. The original phrase is paralleled in a traditional text of Lamkin:

'She's none of my comrades,
She's none of my kin ...'
Child 93 D sta. 24.1-2.

The most common form of the third line of the reply stanzas is 'No meat nor drink will I give thee', but "no meat, no drink" is a feature of the London version⁶⁶ and "neither meat nor drink" of some Birmingham texts⁶⁷.

Lazarus' requests and Dives' replies appear to be derived from the Vulgate or bible versions derived from it:

Et erat quidem mendicus, nomine Lazarus, qui iacebat
ad ianuam eius, ulceribus plenus, Cupiens saturari
de micis, quae cadebant de mensa divitis, et nemo,
illi dabat.

Vulgate, Lk. XVI.20, 21.

The underlined clause appears in the Great Bible as "and no manne gave unto him" but is omitted from other sixteenth century Protestant translations and from the Authorised Version. In

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the Vulgate version, then, Dives seems actively harsh, rather than merely indifferent, and this may have suggested the ballad dialogue.

The ballad amplifies the gospel narrative so that Lazarus lies at Dives' door and wall as well as his gate. The appeal "for Jesus Christ His sake", which is then denied, emphasises Dives' cruelty and is perhaps deliberately reminiscent of other gospel passages⁶⁸.

Dives' cruelty is not confined to words:

Then Dives sent out his merry men
To whip poor Lazarus away
But they had no power to strike a stroke
And flung their whips away.

D.L. II sta. 8.

The London broadsides have "merry men all", whilst in the Manchester broadside, XIV, Dives sends out his "servants"; in version X, he sends out "savage men". 'Merry men' is likely to be original, since it is a conventional term for a man's retainers in traditional ballads⁶⁹.

There are no men with whips in the gospel parable and the detail may have been suggested by the savage treatment meted out to beggars and vagrants in the sixteenth century: Henry VIII's poor law of 1531 ordered beggars able to work to be whipped and further harsh acts were passed in subsequent reigns⁷⁰. It is just possible that Dives and Lazarus was composed partly in protest against these laws.

In Luke's gospel (XVI.21), the dogs come out and lick Lazarus' sores, a graphic detail which emphasises the beggar's plight. In the ballad, the dogs act charitably after they, like the men with whips, have been miraculously deprived of the power to harm:

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Then Dives sent out his hungry dogs
 To bite him as he lay,
 But they had no power to bite at all
 So licked his sores away.

D.L. II sta. 9.

Variations in this stanza help to establish the relationship between the texts. "To worry poor Lazarus away" is found, instead of the second line quoted, in versions XI - XIII (from London), XV (Monmouth), and 2 (Herefordshire); similar terms are found in Worcestershire text 1 and in American 14⁷¹. The third line of the stanza sometimes parallels that of the previous stanza: "they had not power to bite one bite" is found in texts VI, XV, 1, 2, 7 and 13 and "bite one bit" in the London broadsides⁷². "Worry poor Lazarus away" and "bite one bite" were probably, therefore, in the posited 'older London version'.

'Abraham's bosom' (Luke XVI.22) does not appear in the ballad. According to Catholic opinion, 'Abraham's bosom' was either the limbo for those who died before Christ, or an intermediate state for blessed souls between death and judgment⁷³. By the sixteenth century, however, the term was often used as a synonym for 'heaven', perhaps because of the popularity of paintings of the story as an illustration of rewards and punishments in the after-life⁷⁴. In the ballad, Lazarus is taken to heaven by angels:

As it fell out upon a day,
 Poor Lazarus sickened and died,
 There came two angels out of heaven,
 His soul therein to guide.

D.L. III sta. 10.

Texts II, XI and 14 have only one angel, but this is probably a later correction based on the angels' speech in the next stanza, 'Come along with me': in Luke's gospel, Lazarus' soul is borne by more than one angel, and two angels are

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frequently depicted bearing the souls of the dead in early and late medieval art⁷⁵.

The ballad diverges from the gospel in providing other-world messengers for Dives as well:

As it fell out upon a day,
Rich Dives sickened and died,
There came two serpents out of hell
His soul therein to guide.

D.L. III sta. 12.

Broadside II has only one serpent. Manchester broadside XIVb erroneously replaces 'serpents' with 'servants'.

Medieval exempla often describe devils carrying off the souls of sinners⁷⁶. The serpent, following the story of Adam's fall⁷⁷, has long been regarded as a symbol of the devil⁷⁸ and in addition is associated with the corruption of the grave⁷⁹. The tradition of the hell-messenger is preserved in another traditional ballad, Sweet William's Ghost:

'What three things are these, sweet William,' she says,
'That stands here at your feet?'
'It is three hell-hounds, Marjorie,' he says,
'That's waiting my soul to keep.'

Child 77 C sta. 13.

This particular ballad preserves other medieval traditions about death. Motherwell remembered a stanza he had heard sung concerning the narrowness of the grave⁸⁰:

'My meikle tae is my gavel-post,
My nose is my roof-tree,
My ribs are kebars to my house,
And there is nae room for thee.'

These stanzas suggest that Wimberly's famous study of the ballad revenant takes insufficient account of the strength of medieval Christian ideas on death⁸¹.

Hailing Lazarus as their brother, the angels tell him:

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'Rise up, rise up, brother Lazarus,
And come along with me,
For there's a place in heaven provided
To sit on an Angel's knee.'

D.L. II sta. 11.

This stanza is one form of a ballad commonplace⁸². The serpents make Dives a different promise:

'Rise up, rise up, brother Dives,
And come along with me,
For there's a place in hell provided
To sit on a serpent's knee.'

D.L. II sta. 13.

The 'serpent's knee' is preserved, often with the word 'provided' in the oldest broadsides⁸³. It seems probable that the final lines of the 'summoning' stanzas were originally 'To sit at Our Saviour's knee' and 'To sit at Satan's knee', since these were common Middle English idioms. Margery Kempe is assured by the Virgin Mary in one of her visions⁸⁴:

'A, dowter, blyssid may thow be, thi sete is mad
in Heuyn be-for my Sonys kne ...'

In Sweet William's Ghost, Margaret is told that women suicides go to hell, "Just by the devil's knee", whilst unbaptised children go to heaven, "Just by Our Saviour's knee"⁸⁵.

Variations in the 'summoning' stanzas of Dives and Lazarus have been prompted by the ludicrous nature of the angel's or serpent's knee and by the discrepancy of two messengers saying, 'Come along with me'. The oldest Birmingham and London broadsides substitute 'we' for 'me'⁸⁶. The Manchester versions substitute entire new second lines: "For in heaven thou soon shalt be", "Thine heavenly guides are we" and "Thy evil guides are we"⁸⁷.

For the "angel's knee"⁸⁸, several Birmingham broadsides substitute the line, "in angels' company"⁸⁹, whilst the London versions have, "For poor men such as thee"⁹⁰.

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The summons to hell has been rewritten in some Birmingham texts⁹¹:

'Rise up, rise up, brother Dives,
And go with us to see,
A dismal place prepared in hell,
From which thou canst not flee.'
D.L. III sta. 13.

In the London broadsides (XI - XIII), the summons to hell is the final stanza and has been emended:

'Rise up, rise up, brother Dives,
And come along with us,
There is a place prepar'd in hell,
To thy eternal curse.'
D.L. XI sta. 11.

Traditional text 2 adds to a stanza which contains the 'serpent's knee' these two lines from a remodelled stanza:

There is a place provided in Hell
For wicked men like thee.
D.L. 2 sta. 11.1-2.

Version 13 (sta. 8.3-4) contains similar lines.

From his place in hell, Dives requests water:

Then Dives looked up with his eyes,
And saw poor Lazarus blest,
'Give me one drop of water, brother Lazarus,
To quench my flaming thirst.'
D.L. III sta. 14.

The rhyme would be improved if 'thirst' was pronounced with metathesis of 'r' as it often was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁹². In some texts Dives' eyes are described as "streaming", "burning" or "heavy"⁹³. The ballad has deliberately adapted the gospel story so that Dives pleads for 'one drop' of water. Dives' new-found humility is terrible, for it emphasises his pain. It also reminds us that Lazarus earlier asked in vain for 'meat and drink' and that Dives has of his own free will forgone the reward offered by Christ to those who give his followers even so much as a cup of cold water⁹⁴.

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The ballad maker drives home the message of the ballad by a skilful use of the word 'brother'. Earlier, Lazarus had called Dives 'brother', but Dives had cruelly disowned him. Now Dives claims Lazarus as his brother in vain: it is not Lazarus, but the serpents, who call Dives their brother, just as the angels claim Lazarus as their brother. This pattern, with the lack of a satisfactory ending to the present ballad, suggests that the ur-ballad of Dives and Lazarus may have contained a stanza in which Lazarus refused Dives' request with the words, 'Thou are none of my brother, Dives.'

The parable in Luke's gospel ends with a conversation between the rich man and Abraham concerning the salvation of the damned man's five brothers and the gulf separating the righteous from the unrighteous. In the sixteenth century, Protestants saw in this dialogue a denial of the doctrines of purgatory and prayers for the dead⁹⁵, whilst Catholics argued that, if a damned man still cared for his brothers, much more would the saints intercede for the living faithful⁹⁶. Dives and Lazarus, departing from the gospel account, ends uncontroversially with Dives' reflections on the eternity of punishment he has earned by his hardness of heart:

'Oh had I as many years to abide
As there are blades of grass,
Then there would be an ending day
But in hell I must ever last.'

D.L. II sta. 15.

In the modernised Birmingham broadsides the last two lines of the stanza are⁹⁷:

'Then there would be an end, but now
Hell's pains will ne'er be past.'

Versions VII and 3 emend the last line to obtain a perfect rhyme: "Hell's pains will never pass"; XIVa has "But now

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I forever am fast" and XIVb, "But here I forever am cast"⁹⁸.
 Traditional text 11 has a stanza of incremental repetition,
 possibly quite old:

'If I had as many years to abide
 As there are stars in the skies
 Then I should have unending day (an ending day)
 But in hell for ever must lie.'
D.L. 11 sta. 2.

Text 2, corrupt at this point, has a moral:

'Who had they as many years to live
 As there is blades of grass,
 I would be good unto the poor
 As long as life would last.'
D.L. 2 sta. 12.

The precise moral of the present ballad is uncertain:
 Dives wishes himself alive for half an hour so that by his
 actions, he may avoid hell. The stanza was probably inspired
 by the gospel account, in which the rich man tells Abraham
 that if someone returned from the dead, his five brothers
 would repent. The meaning of this verse (Luke XVI.30) differs
 in Catholic and Protestant sources. The Vulgate has:

At ille dixit, Non, pater Abraham; sed si quis
 ex mortuis ierit ad eos, poenitentiam agent.

The Catholic 'Douay-Rheims' version likewise has "they will
 doe penance"; Protestant translations have "they will repent"⁹⁹
 or "they will amend their lives"¹⁰⁰.

In the last stanza of the oldest broadsides, II and XV,
 a practical solution is proposed¹⁰¹:

'Oh! was I now but alive again,
 For the space of one half hour,
 I would make my will and then secure
 That the devil should have no power.'
D.L. II sta. 16.

Contrary to Husk's opinion, however, it has never been Christian
 doctrine that "the devotion of worldly goods to pious or
 charitable uses sufficed to avert future punishment"¹⁰², though

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medieval testators did thus bequeath money and goods in the hope of shortening the pains of purgatory¹⁰³. To escape hell, however, a man must repent while in life. Lazarus of Bethany in the Towneley Plays, warns¹⁰⁴:

... if all the goode that euer thou gate
were delt for the after thi day,
In heuen it wolde not mende thi state,
fforthi amende the whils thou may.

The original meaning of the last two lines of the ballad may be preserved in Wood's broadside¹⁰⁵:

'I'd make my peace and so secure
That the devil shou'd have no pow'r.'
D.L. VI sta. 16.3-4.

Some slight emendation may have been made here since 'secure' is not recorded as a verb before the early seventeenth century¹⁰⁶. However, 'make one's peace' is used in a fourteenth century poem on penance by William of Shoreham¹⁰⁷:

The bydde ich, brother, be naught loth
To do penaunce here
For yet ther hys here som releas ...

... Make thy pes wyth alle thre
Sorwe, schryfte, and edbote.

It would certainly be possible for Dives to reconcile himself with God in half an hour through contrition, confession and penance. If this was indeed the original ending of the ballad then it was composed either by a Catholic (perhaps before the Reformation) or by someone imbued with the old ways of thought. This theory of composition is consistent with the ballad's use of miracle.

Dives' last thought was not understood by the nineteenth century and the modernised broadsides turn Dives' proposal into an expression of regret, such as, "Oh! that I'd made my peace secure"¹⁰⁸. The vagueness of the last two lines, even in Wood's version is somewhat anti-climatic. This quality

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has prompted two oral versions of Dives and Lazarus to borrow commonplace stanzas from other carols. The relevance of one of these stanzas is obvious:

'Oh hell is dark, oh hell is deep,
 Oh hell is full of mice,
 It is a pity that any poor sinful soul
 Should depart from Our Saviour Christ.'
D.L. 4 sta. 3.

The correct form of this stanza is not known. It is found in several carols from oral tradition, including a gypsy version of The Holy Well¹⁰⁹.

The other attached commonplace stanzas indicate the use of Dives and Lazarus as a Christmas carol¹¹⁰:

And now my carol's ended
 No longer can I stay;
 God bless you all both great and small,
 And God send you a happy New Year.
D.L. 4 sta. 4.

This commonplace, with the addition of the word 'here' to the second line, is found in a gypsy version of The Bitter Withy, whilst a May carol from oral tradition includes the same stanza with the last line: "I wish you a joyful May"¹¹¹.

Despite the "ludicrous effect"¹¹² of the serpent's knee, the heavy parallelism of the ballad's structure adds a fitting air of solemnity to Dives and Lazarus, whilst the use of scriptural allusion and irony, and the lyric horror of Dives' reflections on hell emphasise successfully the stark message of the ballad: the eternal punishment which awaits the uncharitable soul.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. D.N.B., XXV, p.340.
2. P. Morgan, Warwicks. Printers' Notices, p.xi.
3. See below, Appendix A, C.T.C. XI, XII and XV.
4. Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, p.97. J. Evans and Co., prolific printers of carols, were appointed official printers for the 'Cheap Repository Tract' project from November 1797 till September 1798: see L. Shepard, John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765-1844, London, 1969, p.32.
5. Ibid., p.44.
6. D.N.B., IX, p.321.
7. See E. F. Rimbault's note in Notes and Queries, 4th series, III (1869), p.157.
8. Birmingham Library 60338 at p.85, entitled 'Three New Carols for Christmas' and bearing the imprint 'S. Martin, Printer, Ann-street, Birmingham'; the carol for St. John's day is printed on pp.4-5 of the chapbook. For further details, see above, Chapter Five, note 2 and below, Appendix K and Bibliography, Section I.
9. A version sung by Bud Bush of New Hampshire at a West Virginia folk festival is printed by M.E.J. Bush, Folk Songs of Central West Virginia, 2 vols., Ravenswood, W.Va., 1969 and 1970, I, pp.41-44 and has been excluded from Appendix E, since it almost certainly was not learned from folk tradition; D.L. 14, sung by Aunt Mary Wilson of Gilmer County, W.Va., has been included in Appendix E because of the slight chance that the version has survived in American folk tradition.
10. See Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, no.56, Appendix, (variants 9 - 13); texts of this 'secondary ballad' are listed by Coffin and Renwick, British Trad. Ballad in North America, pp.61-62, 228.
11. E.g. see the rewritten version of The Carnal and the Crane, above, Chapter 5, pp.101-103 and the rewritten version of Child 81, 'A Lamentable Ballad of the Little Musgrove and the Lady Barnet' (c.1675) in R.B., VI, Pt. III, pp.633-4 (Rollins, Index in S.P., XXI, no.1508).
12. Rollins, Index, (S.P., XXI) no.2293; Arber, Transcript, I, p.76.
13. Rollins, Index, no.614; Arber, Transcript, I, p.436.
14. Compare Peking's ballads listed by Rollins, Index, nos.739, 1204 and 1215 with ballads by John Wally and Mrs. Toy, listed by Rollins, Index, nos.738, 1203 and 1214; Peking's ballad in Rollins, Index, no.2612 is a moralisation of Mrs. Toy's ballad, Rollins, Index, no.2611. See also Arber, Transcript, I, pp.75-76, 78 and 262.
15. A Compendious Book, pp.40-42 and a note on p.248: this song follows the bible narrative closely and does not use the name 'Dives'.

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16. Rollins, Index, no.565; Arber, Transcript, IV, p.132.
17. Rollins, Index, no.2589; Arber, Transcript, II, p.376; if this was indeed but one ballad, the second part may have included stanzas from Child 56.
18. Rollins, Index, no.1757; Arber, Transcript, II, p.427.
19. Arber, Transcript, III, p.155; listed as a ballad by Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, Appendix V, p.250.
20. D.N.B., LVII, p.136, 'Humphrey Toy'.
21. C.H. Timperley, A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, London, 1839, p.324.
22. Arber, Transcript, I, p.xxix.
23. Ibid., p.xxviii.
24. Ibid., pp.75-76.
25. 'A ballett of Thomalyn', Rollins, Index, no.2665, may be the same as the dance mentioned in The Complaynt of Scotland, p.52; 'Wakefylde and a grene', Rollins, Index, no.2829, may be a fore-runner of Child 124 (see Rollins, Index, no.1308).
26. Rollins, Index, no.24.
27. Arber, Transcript, I, p.xxix.
28. Ibid., p.441; Rollins, Index, no.177.
29. Some of Pekering's religious ballads are listed in Rollins, Index, nos. 12, 679, 1379, 2525, 2585 and 2586. For a full list of religious ballads in the Stationers' Register, see Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, Appendix V, pp.248-251.
30. See W.W. Greg, A Companion to Arber, Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber's Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, Oxford, 1967, pp.8-13, nos.31-51.
31. For Carr, see Rollins, Index, nos.62 and 2478 and for Jones, ibid., nos.1229, 1259, 1260, 1326 (Arber, Transcript, II, pp.397, 385, 429, 462, 436 and 456.)
32. A facsimile of Thackeray's catalogue is given between pp.20 and 21 in Shepard, Pitts, Ballad Printer; the contents of the catalogue are listed in The Bagford Ballads, ed. J.W. Ebsworth, Hertford, 1878, first division, pp.liv-lxxvi.
33. Ebsworth, Ibid., p.liii; Chappell, R.B., I, p.xxvii (1689).
34. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature, Oxford, 1939, p.181.
35. The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 vols., Cambridge, 1905-1912, IV (ed. Waller, 1906), p.136. Lines are not numbered in this edition, but lines quoted occur at lines 24-28, 29-30 on the page.

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36. Ibid., p.138, line 10: Thomas mentions 'The Duke of Northumberland', perhaps the ballad licensed to Edward White, 1 August 1586, entitled 'the fall of therle of Northumberland yat killed him self in ye Tower', Rollins, Index, no.850.
37. The Rose of England (Child 166) may date from the early sixteenth century: see E.S.P.B., III, p.332. A ballad concerning the Fourth Duke of Norfolk was licensed to Alexander Lacy in 1565-66: Rollins, Index, no.1242.
38. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, X (ed. Waller, 1912), Act IV, scene i, p.181, lines 21-23.
39. Rollins, Index, nos. 2360 and 2361.
40. R.B., II, p.491 (title); printed for J. Wright.
41. Ibid., p.492, First Part, sta. 5; cf. Lyrics XIII, no.29, lines 29 - 30 and Lyrics XV, no.156, line 34. Woolf, English Relig. Lyrics, p.84 calls the concept of the grave as a narrow house a "favourite commonplace" of medieval tradition.
42. R.B., II, p.494, Second Part, sta. 9.1-2.
43. Rollins, Index, no.1492; on John Vicars, see D.N.B., LVIII, pp.298-299.
44. R.B., VII, Pt.II, p.812, stas. 8 and 9; printed for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passenger.
45. E.g. D.L. VI sta. 14.3.
46. Printed by W. Sandys, Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern, London, 1833, pp.xx-xxi from Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5931 (a collection of handbills).
47. Sandys, Christmas Carols, p.xx, note and see Chambers, Med. Stage, II, p.159 for an account of other performances of 'The Creation of the World'.
48. See T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, London, 1972, pp.28-32 for a discussion of representations of the parable in churches and illuminated MSS. from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.
49. The Two Books of Homilies appointed to be read in Churches, ed. J. Griffiths, Oxford, 1859, p.xlvii.
50. Henry IV, Pt. I, III.iii.29-32.
51. Henry IV, Pt. I. IV.ii.24-26.
52. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700, II, para.8, pp.473-474. Ben Jonson rhymes 'feast' with 'dressed' in 'Song from "The Silent Woman"', lines 1-2 and Richard Barnfield (1574-1627) rhymes 'feast' with 'guest' in 'A Comparison of the Life of Man', lines 1 and 3: see The Penguin Book of Elizabethan Verse, ed. E. Lucie-Smith, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp.169 and 45.
53. E.g. 'The Erle of Tolous', lines 22, 181 and 'Eger and Grime', line 467 in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.384, 389, 939.

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54. E.g. Child 61 sta. 4.1 (Percy MS.); 39 A stas. 22.3, 23.1; 53 C sta. 14.1; 103 A sta. 17.1.
55. Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V et Clementis VIII, (ed. C. Vercellone), Rome, 1861, Lk. XVI.16, 22.
56. The New Testament, transd. William Tyndale, Worms, 1526, facsimile reproduction, London, 1976; The Bible in Englyshe of the Largest and Greatest Volume, London, 1541 (Fourth "Great Bible", third with Cranmer's Preface). (Lk. XVI.22).
57. The New Testament of Jesus Christ, faithfully translated into English ... by the English College, then resident at Rheims, set forth the second time by the same college, now returned to Doway, Antwerp, 1600; The Holy Bible, Authorised King James Version (1611), London, n.d. (Lk. XVI.22).
58. 'Makest a feast', found in all other sixteenth century bible translations consulted, and in the Authorised Version, is, after all, an idiomatic translation of the Vulgate 'facis convivium'; 'made a feste' might in any case be a tag phrase, since it occurs in Lybeaus Desconus (Lambeth MS.), line 1020, p.137.
59. For the distribution and position of particular stanzas in the D.L. texts, see below, Appendix E, description of texts. Only significant variations are noted in Chapter Eight.
60. On M.E. au and later [b]: see Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500 - 1700, II, para.4, p.456 and para.60, p.553.
61. E.g. Child 32 stas. 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17; 35 stas. 3, 5, 6; 93 A stas. 2, 3.
62. E.g. Child 72 A stas. 7, 8; 77 A stas. 2, 3; 100 A stas. 2, 3.
63. D.L. 1 stas. 4.1, 6.1, 8.1.
64. D.L. 2 sta. 3.1.
65. D.L. XIa. sta. 5.1; XIb, c and d stas. 3.1 and 5.1.
66. See sta. 3.3 of London texts XI, XII, XIII and also of Manchester broadside XIV and of text 13 (source unknown).
67. See sta. 5.3 of D.L.IV and VI - X and also of Manchester broadside XIV.
68. E.g. Matt. XXV.31-46 (parable of the sheep and the goats); Matt. X.40.
69. E.g. Child 58 A sta. 6.1; 100 A sta. 8.1; 102 A sta. 11.1; 110 B sta. 18.1.
70. See P.J. Helm, England under the Yorkists and Tudors, 1471-1603 (Bell Modern Histories), London, 1968, pp.307-310.
71. See D.L. XI - XIII sta. 7.2, XV sta. 9.2, 2 sta. 6.2; D.L. 1 sta. 10.2 has 'bite' and D.L. 14 sta. 4.2 'drive poor Lazarus away'.

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72. See D.L. VI and XV sta. 9.3; 1 sta. 10.3; 2 sta. 4.3; 7 sta. 7.3; 13 sta. 6.3; and D.L. XI - XIII sta. 7.3.
73. See note at Lk. XVI.22-23 in the Douay-Rheims N.T. (written 1582) and also Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, p.28.
74. Ibid., pp.39-42, 53; cf. Shakespeare, Richard II, IV.iv.103-104. and Richard III, IV.iii.38.
75. See Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, illustrations no.30 and 31 (twelfth and fifteenth centuries); N.C.E., VI, p.1004, (tenth century MS. illumination, under 'hell').
76. E.g. F.C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales (Folklore Fellows Communications, LXXXVI no.204), Helsinki, 1969, nos.4536 and 4548; An Alphabet of Tales, ed. M. Macleod Banks, (E.E.T.S., O.S. 126 and 127), London, 1904-1905, pp.183-184, no.264.
77. Genesis III.1-5, 13-15; cf. Revelation XII.7-9.
78. G. Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, New York, 1966, pp.16-17; the devil appears as a serpent in Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 1143 and 1557.
79. Ibid., nos. 4252 and 4260; see also illustration 90 of Boase, Death in the Middle Ages.
80. E.S.P.B., II, p.226; see above, note 41.
81. L.C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads, New York, 1928, reprinted with new bibliography 1959, on pp.228-229 derives ballad ideas on death from a primitive culture and (p.236) dismisses references to hell in Child 77 as "nothing more ... than the intrusion of Christian thought into an otherwise pagan story".
82. See Child 173 B stas. 4, 6, 8 and cf. Child 7 B stas. 1, 2 and 107 A sta. 11.
83. See sta. 13.3-4 of D.L. II, VI, XIV, XV; also I sta. 2. 3-4; 1 sta. 14.4; 2 sta. 10.3-4; 10 sta. 4.3-4.
84. Book of Margery Kempe, p.20, lines 20-21; with very little emendation, this could be made into a ballad stanza.
85. Child 77 D stas. 6.2 and 8.2.
86. D.L. VI stas. 11.2, 13.2; XIIa sta. 9.2; also D.L. 2 stas. 8.2, 10.2; cf. Child 158 B sta. 15.4.
87. D.L. XIV sta. 11.2; D.L. 10 sta. 2.2; D.L. XIV sta. 13.2 and cf. 10 sta. 4.2.
88. Found in sta. 11.4 of D.L. II, III, VI, XIV, XV and 3; also D.L. 1 sta. 12.4; 2 sta. 8.4; 6 sta. 7.4; 7 sta. 10.4; 10 sta. 2.4.
89. D.L. IV, V, VII and IX sta. 11.4 and X sta. 10.4.
90. D.L. XI - XIII sta. 9.4.

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91. See D.L. III - V and VII - IX sta. 13 and X sta. 12.
92. See Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500-1700, I, p.45; the spelling 'threste' occurs in the fifteenth century Alphabet of Tales, p.200, line 26.
93. D.L. X sta. 13.1; 3 sta. 14.1; 7 sta. 13.1.
94. Matt. X.42; cf. Mk. IX.41.
95. Homilies, p.336, 'The Third Part of the sermon concerning Prayer' (1560).
96. See note at Lk. XVI.27-31 of Douay-Rheims N.T.
97. Sta. 15.3-4 of texts III - V, VIII and IX; X sta. 14.3-4.
98. D.L. VII sta. 13.4; sta. 15.4 of 3 and XIVa, b.
99. Fourth Great Bible; Authorised Version; cf. Tyndale, N.T., 1526.
100. The Geneva Bible (a facsimile of the 1560 edition), Madison, U.S.A., 1969.
101. D.L. II, XV sta. 16.3-4; cf. 4 sta. 3.3-4.
102. Husk, Nativity, p.94 (introduction to D.L.)
103. R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp.290-291.
104. Towneley Plays, XXXI, p.392, lines 186-189.
105. See also sta. 16.3-4 of D.L. XIV and 3; cf. the corrupt D.L. 7 sta. 15.3.
106. O.E.D., VIII, Pt. II, p.368, 'secure', vb.
107. The Poems of William of Shoreham, AB. 1320 Vicar of Chart-Sutton, ed. M. Konrath (E.E.T.S., E.S. 86), London, 1902, 'The Seven Sacraments' I.4: 'Penance', pp.38-39, lines 1065-1067, 1077-1078.
108. See sta. 16.3 of D.L. III - V, VIII, IX; also VII sta. 14.3 and X sta. 15.3.
109. H.W. 4 sta. 8; Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.565, 'Christ made a trance', sta. 7; Brice, Folk Carol, p.127, 'There is six good days all in a week', sta. 5.
110. See also the note by the contributor of D.L. 1, on carol singing in Worcs., in Notes and Queries, 4th Series, III (1869), p.75.
111. B.W. 20 sta. 10; Oxford Carols no.47 sta. 5.
112. Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, p.95.

CHAPTER NINE

BROWN ROBYN'S CONFESSION (CHILD 57)

Brown Robyn's Confession is a ballad exemplum which illustrates both the efficacy for salvation of a good confession and the power and clemency of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The unique text was printed by the Peterhead collector Peter Buchan in 1828¹ and occurs also in the manuscripts of Buchan's friend², the collector William Motherwell. Buchan's manuscripts are now in the Houghton Library at Harvard University; examination of the ballad in manuscript³ reveals that only one minor alteration was made for print: the form 'meen' was changed to the standard 'moon' in stanza 1.3 and confirms that the ballad was indeed from the North East of Scotland⁴.

The ballad relates that a sinner's ship is plunged into darkness. Lots are cast and the captain of the ship found guilty. He confesses terrible sins of incest and at his own suggestion is cast overboard. After three hours, the Blessed Virgin appears with the Christ Child in her arms and, for his good confession, Brown Robyn is received into heaven.

More clearly than any other traditional religious ballad, this is the work of a skilled ballad maker: its use of rhyme and rhythm is masterly. Almost every line can be paralleled in other traditional ballads, yet the piece is fresh and vigorous in effect. Using the characteristic terse understatement of the Scots vernacular, the poem achieves wry humour and subtle portraiture, combined with delicate and completely orthodox Catholic religious feeling, all in nine stanzas. Some scholars⁵ have distrusted humour in ballads as a late, untraditional trait,

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but in doing so have underestimated the range and complexity of effects possible in the old ballad tradition⁶. Consciously humorous lines are found not only in eighteenth century border ballads⁷ but also in early English outlaw ballads⁸ whilst, as we have seen, irony is a feature of the earliest religious ballads.

Buchan does not usually specify the sources of his songs, and of those published in 1828 merely remarks⁹:

... the greater part of them was taken down by myself during the last ten or twelve years, from the singing and recitation of old men and women in various parts of Scotland, but chiefly in Aberdeenshire; others were sent me by ladies and gentlemen of the highest respectability ... but as it would be too tedious to name them all ... I shall only particularise Hugh Irvine, Esq., Drum; Malvina, a young lady in Aberdeen; and Mr. James Nichol, Strichen. I must also mention that I was much indebted to the recitation of James Rankin, an old man, blind from his birth, with a most retentive memory, and who is at this moment gathering for me what can be gleaned within the circle of a large and extensive acquaintance.

Child distrusted Buchan's texts after he discovered that Buchan had been deceived into thinking a fraudulent imitation, 'Chil Ether', genuine¹⁰ and he considered, wrongly, that either Buchan or James Rankin habitually composed or added to the texts¹¹, which certainly contain ludicrous and untraditional details¹². However, whilst Buchan's historical notes are fanciful and inaccurate¹³, and he is unable to distinguish traditional ballads from recent broadsides¹⁴, he was plainly no ballad composer. This was recognized by Sir Walter Scott, as the following remark from one of his letters to C.K. Sharpe indicates¹⁵:

His collection is very curious, and, two or three pieces excepted, in general genuine. Indeed, the man does not seem capable of supplying their want of genius.

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James Rankin must likewise be beneath suspicion. According to Greig's contributor, Bell Robertson¹⁶, he was of "low intelligence", memorised ballads easily, but often jumbled them, for "he neither knew it was wrong, nor could he have made it better." In any case, Rankin probably contributed very little to Buchan's collection of 1828¹⁷.

The authenticity of Buchan's work has been vindicated by several reputable scholars. Gavin Greig, collecting in the same area eighty years later, discovered many texts corroborating versions hitherto found only in Buchan's collection, with other unique texts proving that the North East of Scotland was an especially rich field for traditional ballads¹⁸. His editor, Keith, shows that others besides Buchan were imposed upon by 'Chil Ether'¹⁹. More recently Dr. David Buchan demonstrates that texts with an artificial flavour in Buchan's collection authentically reflect folk tradition in North East Scotland in the early nineteenth century, since the area had been affected by large-scale dissemination of broadsides and chapbooks between 1775 and 1825²⁰. Peter Buchan was both a broadside printer himself and collected stall copies assiduously²¹.

Brown Robyn's Confession resembles one of Mrs. Brown's texts²² in its combination of traditional content and expression with high polish. One may conjecture that it was communicated to Buchan by one of his educated contributors. That it is no forgery, a comparison with Motherwell's melodramatic imitation 'The Master of Weemyss'²³ readily suggests.

The preservation of an overtly Catholic ballad cheek by jowl with ballads suspicious of 'Popery'²⁴ is remarkable, but not inexplicable: the North East Lowlands of Scotland accepted

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the Reformation late and became Episcopalian only in the first half of the seventeenth century. After the Jacobite rebellions, the region adopted a moderate Presbyterianism²⁵ but pockets of Catholics remained in the inland valleys²⁶. Texts of The Cherry Tree Carol and The Maid and the Palmer have been recovered from the North East²⁷ and Catholic commonplaces occur frequently in the ballads of Peter Buchan²⁸ and Mrs. Brown²⁹, with most of the few miracles preserved in the ballads³⁰.

Another characteristic of North Eastern balladry supporting the authenticity of Buchan's work³¹ is its distinct affinity with the Scandinavian ballads³². The root cause of this was probably the flourishing trade between Eastern Scotland and Western Norway which is well-attested from the sixteenth century and earlier³³.

Brown Robyn's Confession, Sir Patrick Spens (Child 58) and Young Allan (Child 245) are all related to two Scandinavian ballads concerning a man's shrift and death at sea. The Danish ballad 'Jon Remorson's Death at Sea'³⁴ is most like Sir Patrick Spens: the hero (a historical personage, of the thirteenth century³⁵) sets out at the king's behest despite his own forebodings, or the warnings of his ship's captain³⁶, and the ship founders in a storm. The earliest texts of this ballad are found in a manuscript written in about 1590³⁷.

'Jon Remorson's Death at Sea', especially in its later variants, has incorporated the casting of lots and the confession of the hero from another ballad, 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea'³⁸, which was extremely popular in Denmark³⁹ and throughout Scandinavia. The earliest version of 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea' also dates from about 1590⁴⁰ and a Danish play of about 1600 testifies that it was already well-known at that date⁴¹. In this ballad,

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Sir Peter is warned by his foster-mother that he will die at sea; once at sea, his ship refuses to move; dice are cast and indicate Sir Peter's guilt; he confesses that he has seduced widows and maidens and burned churches; he instructs his men what to tell his mother and his betrothed and then jumps overboard; most versions end here, but in the oldest he is allowed to reach land because of his faith⁴². The warning of Sir Peter's foster-mother, however, suggests that in the ur-ballad he must have drowned.

The exact relationship of Brown Robyn's Confession to its Scandinavian analogues is not clear: the confession of incest, the intervention of the Virgin, the hero's salvation and the specifically religious moral are unique to the Scottish ballad; the casting of lots to find the guilty man is similarly expressed in both Brown Robyn's Confession and its Scandinavian analogues, but is paralleled also in British broadside ballads. A plausible hypothesis is that a version of one of the Scandinavian ballads, possibly one in which the hero was saved, was known in Scotland before the Reformation and was adapted, probably by a cleric, to make explicit the religious moral, which is obscured somewhat in the Scandinavian ballads⁴³.

As it stands, Brown Robyn's Confession is reminiscent of those medieval exempla which recount the Virgin's saving power at sea⁴⁴, but its moral is the value of a good confession rather than the importance of Marian devotions. Exempla in which the Virgin encourages her devotees to go to confession are, however, found in manuscripts of the fifteenth century⁴⁵ and the late middle ages saw a recrudescence of manuals for confessors and penitents⁴⁶, such as the treatise 'Of Penance

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and Confession' written by John Ireland in the reign of James V of Scotland (1513-1542)⁴⁷. The precise date of composition or adaptation of Brown Robyn's Confession cannot, however, be ascertained on present evidence.

The ballad story is derived ultimately from the Old Testament narrative of Jonah's attempt to escape God's command, perhaps with some details of the account of St. Paul's shipwreck in Acts⁴⁸. A similar story was known in England as early as the twelfth century, for Henry of Huntingdon writes of a ship immobilised and a captain of foot cast adrift, with his wife and ill-gotten gains, after lots cast three times had found him guilty⁴⁹.

A cluster of British broadside ballads have the same theme. The earliest, The Downfall of William Grismond⁵⁰, was composed soon after an actual murder committed in Herefordshire in 1650. According to the ballad, Grismond murdered his pregnant sweetheart and attempted to escape to Ireland by sea. Stanzas 13 and 14 briefly recount that the ship was troubled and that the seamen realized that a wicked man was preventing her progress. The brevity of the description at this point suggests that the theme at least, and quite possibly a ballad on the subject, was familiar in the seventeenth century. Aubrey records a similar superstition, that sailors of the day would throw overboard a whore, or a dead body, in a storm, "as it were a sacrifice to Neptune"⁵¹.

Scottish traditional descendants of the broadside of Grismond's downfall, 'William Guiseman'⁵² and 'Willie Grahame'⁵³, are even closer to Brown Robyn's Confession. They introduce 'cavils' (small pieces of wood used in the casting of lots⁵⁴) thrown three times⁵⁵ to ascertain the guilty man:

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O we cuist cavel's us amang,
 The cavel fell on me:
And it's for mine offence I must die.
Bronson 57 no.1 sta. 8.5-7.

In later broadsides probably inspired by The Downfall of William Grismond⁵⁶ - 'Captain Glen',⁵⁷ 'William Gower',⁵⁸ and 'The New York Trader',⁵⁹ - a captain who has committed murder from jealousy is tormented by the ghost of his victim or of the man wrongfully hanged for his crime; he confides in the boatswain, who then denounces the captain when the ship is imperilled by a storm; the enraged crew pitch their captain overboard and the storm abates. These broadsides contain an element of confession, but are modern in phrasing and omit any reference to lots. The oldest copy of 'Captain Glen' is dated about 1770⁶⁰.

Other broadside relatives of the Grismond ballad, 'The Gosport Tragedy',⁶¹ and 'The Sailor's Tragedy',⁶², were known and probably made in the eighteenth century. In these ballads a young man murders his pregnant sweetheart and puts to sea, like Grismond, but is pursued to his death by the woman's ghost. The introduction of revenge by the ghost is, paradoxically, a later 'rationalisation', for it shows that the older belief in God's direct retribution has been forgotten.

Bonnie Annie (Child 24) is more traditional in tone and content than these broadsides, but may have been influenced by the Grismond ballad⁶³: the pregnant heroine steals her parent's money and tries to escape to Ireland with her lover, a wealthy squire⁶⁴ or a sea-captain⁶⁵; however, the ship refuses to sail and Annie, with her newborn baby, is put overboard to drown at her own request. In some versions⁶⁶ Annie is found guilty by the casting of bullets used as lots.

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None of the British ballads discussed can definitely be connected with Brown Robyn's Confession or its Scandinavian analogues. It is certain that The Downfall of William Grismond was very influential, and its Scottish descendants, and perhaps also Bonnie Annie, may have drawn on a traditional ballad like Brown Robyn's Confession (or its Scandinavian analogues) which included the casting of cavils. However, the latter motif is found in several Scottish traditional ballads, including a version of another sea ballad, Henry Martyn⁶⁷. The lines describing the casting of cavils in these ballads are similar to those quoted from 'William Guiseman' and to Brown Robyn's Confession.

Child 57 begins:

It fell upon a Wodensday,
Brown Robyn's men went to sea,
But they saw neither moon nor sun,
Nor starlight wi their ee.

The opening line is found in A Gest of Robyn Hode⁶⁸, printed in the sixteenth century. Buchan's version of The Lass of Roch Royal (Child 76 G) opens similarly. Reference to the day of the week is a common feature of sea ballads⁶⁹ and is probably an old ballad characteristic⁷⁰.

Wednesday may have been considered unlucky⁷¹ as the day on which Judas betrayed Christ; for this reason, it was a day of penitence and in the reign of Elizabeth I was established as a compulsory fast day⁷². Both Sir John Remorson and Sir Patrick Spens are urged not to set out on a particular day⁷³ and in Young Allan the violent contest is caused by men drinking and arguing in an 'unhappy' or 'unseally' (i.e. unlucky)⁷⁴ time. Consequently, Brown Robyn's setting out on a Wednesday may be significant despite its being a ballad commonplace.

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The detail of the darkness unpierced by moon, sun or star may be derived from the story of St. Paul's shipwreck in Acts XXVII.20. It is found also in a version of Sir Patrick Spens (stanza 16) in the Glenbuchat manuscript⁷⁵ where a sailor tells the skipper:

'For I see neither moon nor star
Nor token o' the day
But thro' an thro' your bonny ship
I see the green salt sea.'

In other versions of Sir Patrick Spens and Young Allan darkness⁷⁶ and difficult visibility⁷⁷ are mentioned without this detail; its presence in a remote analogue of Brown Robyn's Confession which also comes from Aberdeenshire in the early nineteenth century may indicate that the detail was in the ballad from which Child 57 has been adapted. On the other hand, the detail occurs in an unrelated ballad, Mrs. Brown's North-Eastern version of Thomas Rymer⁷⁸, simply as a stock way of describing darkness:

For forty days and forty nights
He wade thro red blude to the knee,
And he saw neither sun nor moon,
But heard the roaring of the sea.
Child 37 A sta. 7.

In Sir Patrick Spens and Young Allan the darkness accompanies a storm; a storm occurs also in 'Jon Remorson's Death at Sea' and the 'Captain Glen' family⁷⁹. In Bonnie Annie, the Grismond ballads and 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea'⁸⁰ the problem is the ship's immobility. It is not clear whether, in Brown Robyn's Confession, the problem itself is a supernatural darkness, or whether, as seems more probable, this was the prelude to a stanza describing a storm, which has dropped out.

In the Scandinavian ballads, the hero is one of the king's retainers who is higher in rank than the skipper of the vessel.

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Brown Robyn, however, is himself the 'master man' (i.e. skipper) of the ship: the term was known in and probably before the sixteenth century and survives in modern Scottish and Northern English dialects⁸¹. The name 'Brown Robyn' (i.e. brown-skinned Robyn⁸²) is found in other traditional ballads⁸³, each time connected with a love affair in the greenwood; the name 'Brown Adam', again with connotations of wantonness, occurs in another North Eastern Scottish ballad, Child 98. Brown Robyn's name, therefore, and his social position, accord with the fact that the Scottish ballad is not tragic in tone, like its analogues: rather, it is a Christian comedy.

Brown Robyn's Confession continues:

'We'll cast kevels us amang,
See wha the unhappy man may be;
The kevel fell on Brown Robyn,
The master-man was he.

'Unhappy' (i.e. unlucky) has been used as a euphemism for 'wicked', a less pejorative term than the 'fey folk' of Bonnie Annie⁸⁴ or the 'sinful men' of 'William Guiseman'⁸⁵. The use of 'unhappy' at this point in our ballad may have been suggested by the Scots proverb, "happie man, happie cavil", known in the sixteenth century⁸⁶.

The suggestion to cast cavils is probably another seaman's, for Brown Robyn is introduced properly only in the last line of stanza 2. Moreover, in the analogues it is never the main character who announces the presence of the guilty man, but usually the skipper or another seaman⁸⁷, though in the oldest version of 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea' a sea-troll makes this observation⁸⁸.

In some versions of 'Jon Remorson's Death at Sea' it is the hero who then suggests that lots be cast⁸⁹, but again, it

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is usually the skipper⁹⁰. The skipper's words in some versions of 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea' slightly resemble those in our ballad⁹¹:

'Come, let us cast a golden die here on board
To see who has committed the worst sin.'

The seamen suggest casting lots also in Jonah I.7.

In Bonnie Annie and the Scottish Grismond ballads, the casting of lots is not suggested by anyone, but is narrated in a separate stanza:

They've casten black bullets twice six and forty,
And ae the black bullet fell on bonnie Annie.
Child 24 A sta. 7.

'Three times she kest her cable, and three times it fell on me;
Three times she kest her cable, but my tongue it would not lee;
Three times she kest her cable, and third time fell on me;
So it's for my own offence now I must die.
Greig B sta. 6.

Though the feature of lots cast thrice is found only in 'Willie Grahame' and some versions of 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea'⁹², it is somewhat unsafe to use this detail to prove textual relationship, since triads are so common in folk tradition.

In the Scandinavian ballads as well, the casting of lots is narrated in a stanza or stanzas separate from that in which the skipper declares that there is a guilty man on board. In stanza 2 of Brown Robyn's Confession, therefore, the ballad maker or subsequent singers have probably conflated two or more stanzas. A more important difference is that Brown Robyn acts more spontaneously than Sir Peter or John Remorson: he alone, like Jonah (I.12), freely suggests to his men that they throw him overboard. (In some Danish ballads it is recognized simultaneously that there is a guilty man on the ship and that he must go overboard⁹³.) Brown Robyn's greater freedom of action is part of the moral message of the ballad, that sincere

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repentance accompanied by confession have power to win salvation.

Catholic doctrine concerning the Sacrament of Penance is based ultimately on scriptural texts⁹⁴. Private annual confession to one's own priest was made obligatory by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215⁹⁵ and a Catholic was (and is) also obliged to confess when in danger of death, for example, from the sea⁹⁶.

Normally the Sacrament of Penance comprises the three acts of the penitent, which are contrition, confession and satisfaction (the 'proximate matter'), and the absolution of the priest (the 'form')⁹⁷. In theory, however, the true contrition of the penitent is sufficient to secure God's forgiveness even outside the confessional⁹⁸ and some medieval theorists held that confession to a layman was mandatory if the penitent was in danger of death and a priest were not available⁹⁹. True contrition might also obviate the temporal punishment in purgatory due for the guilt of mortal sin even after absolution¹⁰⁰. Forgiveness of the grossest sins is assured by the merits of Christ's Passion¹⁰¹, but the willingness of the penitent to use the confessional is usually considered a part of true contrition¹⁰².

In Brown Robyn's Confession one must assume that Brown Robyn's contrition is such that, without a priest or the apparatus of the confessional, he has obtained both forgiveness and the remission of punishment in purgatory despite the magnitude of his sin. In the Scandinavian analogues, the absence of a priest is made explicit¹⁰³ and some such stanza may have dropped out of the Scottish ballad at this point.

Brown Robyn's brief confession is a masterpiece of ballad technique:

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'It is nae wonder,' said Brown Robyn,
'Altho I dinna thrive;
For wi my mither I had twa bairns,
And wi my sister five.'

B.R.C. sta. 3.

The ironic understatement "It is nae wonder" is typical both of medieval romance and of secular ballad¹⁰⁴ and wryly emphasises the enormity of Brown Robyn's sin, as does the heavy stress falling on "five" in the last line. Yet, outrageous as it is, the confession implicitly manifests the three aspects of genuine contrition, which the Scottish priest John Ireland describes as¹⁰⁵:

... a wilfull displesans of ye syn That a man has
committit causit of grace and cherite ... luf of god
... purposs to make confession and satisfioun
efter ye ordinans of haly kirk ...

Brown Robyn recognizes his conduct as displeasing to God in the spontaneity of his confession (a feature also of the Scandinavian ballads); his love of God is implicit in his acknowledgment of God's justice in stanza 3.1-2; his willingness to make satisfaction is shown by his full confession in a public place, since public shame as late as the fifteenth century was considered "a great part of penance"¹⁰⁶. He also complies briefly with the obligation to confess the number and kind of mortal sins¹⁰⁷ in his specifying the number of his incestuous offspring. (It was acknowledged as necessary to disclose the identity of accomplices in sin in cases of incest, though normally this was forbidden¹⁰⁸.)

Mother-son incest is found nowhere else in British balladry and the grossness of this sin underlines the point of the ballad: that God will forgive even the most heinous crimes if the sinner is repentant¹⁰⁹.

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Brown Robyn shows his willingness to make satisfaction also in his prescription of his own penance:

'But tie me to a plank o' wude
And throw me in the sea;
And if I sink, ye may bid me sink,
But if I swim, just lat me bee.
B.R.C. sta. 4.

A common metaphor for confession, initiated by St. Jerome¹¹⁰, is that of 'a second plank after shipwreck' ('secunda tabula post naufragium'): this is twice quoted in John Ireland's treatise on confession¹¹¹ and means that penance is the second remedy, after baptism, for man's sin. Since the detail of the plank of wood is not found in any of the analogues of Brown Robyn's Confession, it appears to have been deliberately adopted to make the ballad not just an edifying exemplum on confession, but also a quasi-allegory¹¹².

'Sink or swim' is the language of the witch ordeal¹¹³, appropriate because Brown Robyn is indeed putting himself on trial before Divine Justice. The last two lines of stanza 4 are, however, paralleled in The White Fisher, another of Buchan's ballads which since Child's death has been twice recovered by Greig¹¹⁴:

'Gin he sink, ye'll let him sink,
Gin he swim, ye'll let him swim ...'
Child 264 sta. 10.1-2.

The lines may be a ballad commonplace since they occur also, in slightly altered form, in Mary Hamilton¹¹⁵. "Lat me bee", or variations of the phrase, is also common in the traditional ballads¹¹⁶.

In stanza 5, Brown Robyn's men obey to the letter their master's instructions, a type of repetition often found in the ballads¹¹⁷. The Scottish ballad here characteristically

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employs brief narrative where the Scandinavian analogues dwell sentimentally on the hero's fate¹¹⁸.

The last lines of stanzas 4 and 5 have an extra foot, but occasional metrical variation of this kind is found in the earliest ballads¹¹⁹ and is an effective mode of emphasis. Hypermetrical lines occur also in stanza 9:

'It's for nae honour ye did to me, Brown Robyn,
It's for nae guid ye did to me
But a' is for your fair confession
You've made upon the sea.'

This is more awkward, but the omission of the name 'Brown Robyn' would regularise the stanza to the stress pattern 4.4.4.3., the last short line forming an emphatic conclusion to the preceding longer lines. Agreement in matters of prosody is notoriously difficult of achievement, but only stanza 3 in the ballad is indisputably in 'ballad measure', i.e. of stress pattern 4.3.4.3. Three second lines and five fourth lines¹²⁰ could perhaps be read as having four stresses instead of the more usual three, but the extra foot would disappear in song. Although the ballad as it stands appears to be in 'ballad measure' with several striking and effective variations, it is possible that an older ballad of Brown Robyn was in long metre, with four stresses to each line.

The sixth stanza of Brown Robyn's Confession transforms a commonplace of sea ballads¹²¹ in an original way:

He hadna been into the sea
An hour but barely three,
Till by it came Our Blessed Lady,
Her dear young son her wi.

'Wi' used as a line-ending is common, particularly in North Eastern Scottish ballads¹²².

Mary's title here, 'Our Blessed Lady', may indicate that the ballad has been preserved in Catholic circles. She carries

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the source of her power, the Christ Child, and the tenderness of the relationship between mother and son is evoked by the heavy stresses on the words "dear young son" and the repetition of "dear son" in the last lines of stanzas 7 and 8. The Virgin's appearance here accords with her traditional roles as the 'refuge of sinners'¹²³ and 'star of the sea',¹²⁴. Her carrying of the Christ Child may be a reference to the Marian prayer, the 'Salve Regina', particularly associated with medieval miracle stories of shipwreck¹²⁵, which concludes, "And after this our exile, show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus"¹²⁶. Medieval exempla tell of the Virgin's appearance to sinners at the hour of death¹²⁷ and of her power to save even those already in the power of the devil¹²⁸.

The Scottish ballad does not sentimentalise the Virgin's intervention. She gives Brown Robyn a straightforward choice:

'Will ye gang to your men again,
Or will ye gang wi me?
Will ye gang to the high heavens,
Wi my dear son and me?'

B.R.C. sta. 7.

The triple question is characteristic of the ballads and usually it gets a reply in kind¹²⁹, as here:

'I winna gang to my men again,
For they would be feared at mee;
But I woud gang to the high heavens,
Wi thy dear son and thee.'

This eighth stanza has the function, in this brief ballad, of showing that Brown Robyn, despite his sins, is attractive in his concern for his men; it emphasises his contrition and his worthiness of being saved, for he has finished with the things of earth.

The ending of Brown Robyn's Confession with a moral (that the hero is saved for his good confession) is typical of religious balladry, but reflective or explanatory endings are

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not lacking in secular balladry¹³⁰. The particular structure of the ninth stanza of the ballad, quoted above, is found in other traditional ballads, often at their ending¹³¹. A point is emphasised by first being negated:

It wasna in the ha, the ha,
Nor in the painted bower,
But it was in the gude green wood,
Amang the lily-flower.

Child 102 A sta. 18.

In Brown Robyn's Confession we see the art of traditional balladry at its best: stock expressions and commonplace stanzas are transmuted and the result is, in its own way, original.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. P. Buchan, Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland, 2 vols., Aberdeen, 1828, reprinted Edinburgh, 1875, I, p.108.
2. See Buchan's remarks in Anc. Ballads, I, pp.294, 314, II, p.331. Other Buchan ballads found in Motherwell's MSS. are Child 47 B.a., 64 F., 197, 216 C., 249, 270 and 300.
3. 'Ancient Unpublished National Ballads of Scotland, 1827', one volume. I have been able to see a photocopy of Brown Robyn's Confession in this MS. (pp.179-180), through the kindness of Miss J.S. Owaroff of the Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University.
4. Buchan habitually changed Northern Scottish to Southern Scottish forms: see W. Walker, Peter Buchan and Other Papers, Aberdeen, 1915, p.57.
5. Gummere, Popular Ballad, pp.341-342; G. Greig, Folk Song in Buchan and Folk Song of the North East, first printed separately in Buchan, 1906-1914, reprinted Hatboro, Pa., 1963, p.21; Bronson, Trad. Tunes, I, pp.x-xi.
6. See also R.G.Kendall, 'The English and Scottish Border Ballads: A Critical Study' (Durham Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1973), pp.72-74.
7. Child 37 C stas. 18, 19; 187 B sta. 25 (and cf. A sta. 35, from the Percy MS.); Child 185, Dick o the Cow, is a burlesque reiver ballad which appears to have been popular before the end of the sixteenth century: E.S.P.B., III, p.461.
8. E.g. Child 117 stas. 73, 182, 197; 119 sta. 45; 123 A sta. 7 and sta. 13.3-4.
9. Buchan, Anc. Ballads, pp.xvi-xvii.
10. See Child's letters to S. Grundtvig, 1 July 1873 and 8 May 1874, printed in Appendix A of S.B. Hustvedt, Ballad Books and Ballad Men, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp.257 and 264.
11. See the introductions to Child 69, 71, 263, and 270 in E.S.P.B., II, pp.156, 170; IV, p.434; V, p.39.
12. E.g. Child 263 sta. 1; 303 sta. 10.3-4; 255 sta. 14.3-4.
13. E.g. Buchan's note on B.R.C., Anc. Ballads, I, p.294: "This ballad has probably been written by one of the Benedictine monks, who settled in England in the year 596, in the dark ages of Roman Catholic superstition, to enforce upon his silly-minded hearers the real, or pretended advantages arising from auricular confession." See also ibid., I, pp.308, 311-312 and II, p.297.
14. E.g. Buchan's notes, ibid., I, p.300 and II, pp.293, 308, 321, 329, 332 and 333.
15. Dated 23 August 1927; quoted by Walker, Peter Buchan, p.49.

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16. Bell Robertson (1841-1922) learned most of her songs (though she herself could not sing) from her mother, Jean Gall of Strichen, who knew James Rankin: see G. Greig (coll'd.) and A. Keith (ed.), Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs, Aberdeen, 1925, Appendix A, p.280 (on Rankin) and Appendix B, p.289 (on Bell).
17. Walker, Peter Buchan, pp.58-61.
18. Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, p.xxxi.
19. Ibid., p.xxi (both David Laing and C.K. Sharpe were deceived).
20. D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk, London and Boston, 1972, pp.214-222; see also Crawford, Studies in Scottish Literature, I, pp.49-63.
21. D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk, p.308, note 36; see also E.S.P.B., IV, p.126. Bell Robertson said that her mother had a number of Peter Buchan's chapbooks: Walker, Peter Buchan, p.60.
22. E.g. Child 6 A, 37 A, 42 A, 53 A, 63 B etc.; see also above, Chapter One, note 28.
23. W. Motherwell, Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern, Glasgow, 1827, reprinted Paisley 1873, pp.27-29 (27 stas.): this piece, a pastiche of B.R.C. and Sir Patrick Spens, was ignored by Child. Motherwell disingenuously says merely that it is "never before published".
24. E.g. ballad versions collected by Peter Buchan, Child 264 (sta. 4); 303; 156 C.
25. D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk, pp.15-16; G.D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland, Cambridge, 1937, pp.43-44, 236, 238.
26. J.R. Allan, The North-East Lowlands of Scotland, 2nd edn., London, 1974, p.28.
27. Appendix A, C.T.C. 24 and 25; Appendix F, M.P. C.
28. Child 39 G sta. 25.4; 110 E sta. 22.5; 245 C sta. 26.3; 257 B sta. 22.3-4; 302 sta. 6.2-4.
29. Child 11 A sta. 27.4; 34 B sta. 18.4; 53 A sta. 18.2; 89 A stas. 17.3, 32.2; 97 A sta. 14.2; 113 sta. 13.6.
30. Child 15 A stas. 44-47; 155 A sta. 17; 301 stas. 15, 18.
31. The affinity of Buchan's ballads with Scandinavian texts convinced Grundtvig that his work was genuine: see Hustvedt, Ballad Books and Ballad Men, Appendix A, p.244, letter to Child dated 17 February 1872.
32. E.S.P.B., II, p.170 (note); Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, pp.xxiii-xxv; D. Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk, pp.7 and 209.
33. K. Liestøl, 'Scottish and Norwegian Ballads' in Studia Norvegica, I, Pt.1 (Oslo, 1946), pp.1-16, especially p.7.
34. D.g.F. no.375, 'Jon Remorsøns Død paa Havet', VI, pp.373-387 and X, pp.811-813; a translation of 375 F is given by Prior, Anc. Danish Ballads, II, pp.228-233.

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35. See the note in D.g.F., VI, p.385, 375 F.
36. In D.g.F. 375 A stas. 2-5, Sir Jon is unwilling to sail and is admonished by Niels Morssing; in 375 F stas. 3-9, Sir Jon wishes to sail that day, but his skipper, Hogen, after surveying the sky (sta. 7.2) urges his master in vain to wait until the following day.
37. Variants A, C, D and E from Svaning's MS.; variant F, an eclectic text, from Vedel's collection.
38. D.g.F. no.376, 'Hr. Peders Skriftemaal paa Havet' (VI, pp.388-409, X, pp.813-409); see ibid., VI, p.388 for the view that 'Jon Remorson's Death at Sea' has borrowed details from 'Sir Peter's Shrift at Sea'. A translation of a Swedish version of D.g.F. no.376 is given by W. and M. Howitt, The Literature and Romance of Northern Europe, 2 vols., London, 1852, I, pp.276-278.
39. E.g. D.g.F. 376 C is composed of sixty-three Danish variants and was printed as a broadside in the second half of the eighteenth century: see D.g.F., VI, p.389.
40. D.g.F. 376 A, from Anna Munk's MS.
41. D.g.F., VI, pp.388-389.
42. See D.g.F. 376 A stas. 18 - 20.
43. But see the stanza in which the hero thanks God that he has not died unshriven, D.g.F. 375 F sta. 27.
44. E.g. the early medieval tale of the establishment of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in England, given by Van Dijk, Dublin Review no.465, pp.257-260; Caxton's Golden Legend, II, pp.126-128; see also Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 4334 and 4649.
45. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 851, 1188 b. 1, 5106; Alphabet of Tales, no.331.
46. T.N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation, Princeton, 1977, pp.42, 48-9.
47. The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse written by John Asloan in the reign of James the Fifth, ed. W.A. Craigie, vol.I (S.T.S., new series, 14), Edinburgh and London, 1923, pp.1-80.
48. Jonah I; Acts XXVII. 18-20, 43 and 44.
49. E.S.P.B., IV, p.463; Henry of Huntingdon, The History of the English (Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum), ed. T. Arnold ('Rolls Series' no.74), London, 1879, p.278; the last edition of Henry's work was produced not long after 1154 (see p.xvi) and the incident is related under the year 1144.
50. R.B., VIII, Pt.I, pp.70-71.
51. John Aubrey, Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme, 1686-1687, ed. J. Britten (Folklore Society Publications), London, 1881, p.67.
52. Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, Appendix to Child 57, nos. 1 and 2; no.1 was collected by George Kinloch prior to 1827.

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53. I have been able to obtain xerox copies of the four variants of 'Willie Graham' in the Greig MSS. through the kindness of Dr. E.B. Lyle of the School of Scottish Studies. They comprise:
A, 'I led my love', 6 stas., with tune, from Miss Annie Robb and Alexander Robb (Greig, Words, LIX, 13 and Tunes, II, 109c);
B, 'Willie Grahame', 10 stas., from James Ewen (Words, LXII, 29);
C, 'Wullie Gray', 4 stas., from Mrs. Duncan (Words, XXXVII, 44);
D, 2 stas., from F.R. Brown (Words, LXIII, 76).
54. D.O.S.T., I, p.467, 'cavill, cavell'.
55. In Bronson 57 no.1 sta. 8, the lines, "O we cuist cavels us amang, The cavel fell on me", are repeated three times; Greig versions A sta. 5.3, B sta. 6 and D sta. 2.1-2 are explicit that the cavils were cast three times.
56. For a useful discussion of the later broadsides, with examples, see W. Roy MacKenzie, Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, reprinted Hatboro, Pa., 1963, pp.238-244.
57. Ibid., pp.238-240; R.B., VIII, Pt. I, pp.141-143; Bronson 57 nos. 3 - 7.
58. Bronson 57 nos.8 and 9.
59. Bronson 57 no.10; MacKenzie, Ballads and Sea Songs, pp.241-2.
60. See Ebsworth's remarks in R.B., VIII, Pt.I, p.143.
61. R.B., VIII, Pt. I, pp.143-4, dated by Ebsworth (p.174) as c.1750.
62. MacKenzie, Ballads and Sea Songs, pp.243-244: the poet George Crabbe may have known this broadside in boyhood.
63. Bronson, Trad. Tunes, I, p.298, does not think the ballad old; he bases this conclusion on the insufficient grounds that versions recovered since E.S.P.B. exhibit the broadside style.
64. Child 24 B sta. 2.1.
65. Most versions: e.g. Child 24 A sta. 2.2 and the opening lines of Bronson 24 nos. 1, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14 and 15.
66. Child 24 A sta. 7 (Scottish); Bronson 24 no.7 sta. 5.1-2 (English).
67. Child 250 C sta. 1.3 (learned by the singer from his Irish mother); see also Child 5 A stas. 46.1, 48.1; 89 C sta. 1.3.
68. Child 117 sta. 155.1.
69. E.g. Child 58 E sta. 6.3; 245 C sta. 10.1-3; 158 C sta. 3.1-2; 253 stas. 8-10 (first lines); 289 B sta. 1.1.
70. See sta. 1.1 of the medieval precursor of Child 38 in E.S.P.B., I, p.333; also Child 162 A stas. 4.1, 7.2, 66.2; 163 A sta. 23.1-3; 198 B sta. 1.2.
71. See Child 161 A sta. 18.4 (but the Battle of Otterburn actually did take place on a Wednesday: E.S.P.B., III, p.292); also Child 215 E sta. 7.1.

72. G.R. Elton, England Under the Tudors, London, 1955, reprinted with new bibliography, 1962, p.289; see also above, Chapter Two, note 61.
73. D.g.F., 375 C sta. 6, F sta. 7; Child 58 A stas. 6, 7.
74. Child 245 A, B, C sta. 1.4; see also O.E.D., X, Pt. I, p.332, 'unseely'.
75. Aberdeen University Library MS. 2181/3 no.10, p.24, quoted by permission of Colin A. McLaren, Archivist and Keeper of MSS.; on the history of this MS., see below, Appendix F, note on M.P. text C.
76. Child 58 H sta. 14.3; 245 C sta. 11.1.
77. Child 58 J sta. 15.4, M sta. 2; 245 B sta. 9.1-2, C sta. 17.1-2; cf. D.g.F., 375 F sta. 11.3-4.
78. Cf. Scott's composite version, Child 37 C sta. 15.3-4; in the romance 'Thomas off Ersseldoune' from which the ballad is probably derived, 'sun and moon' and darkness are mentioned separately, at stas. 27.1 and 30.3: see E.S.P.B., I, p.327.
79. E.g. D.g.F., 375 A stas. 7-10, F stas. 11 - 14; Bronson 57 nos. 3 sta. 6, 5 sta. 4.5-8; 9 sta. 8; 10 sta. 11; a storm occurs also in Jonah I.4.
80. E.g. Child 24 A sta. 6; Bronson 24 no.7 sta. 4.3-4; Bronson 57 no.1 sta. 6.5-6; Greig B sta. 4.2; C sta. 4.2 (see above, note 53); D.g.F., 376 A sta. 6 and cf. 375 B stas. 4 and 5.
81. D.O.S.T., IV, p.33, 'maister, master-man', sense 1.
82. Cf. Child 98 C sta. 41.1-2.
83. Child 90 B sta. 9.3, C sta. 7.3; 97 A sta. 2.3; 103 sta. 16.4.
84. Child 24 A sta. 6.1-2; D.O.S.T., II, p.465, 'fey', adj., sense 2, 'Presaging, involving, or bringing death or evil fortune'.
85. Bronson 57 no.1 sta. 7.3.
86. D.O.S.T., III, p.47, 'happy', sense 1, quoting David Ferguson, Scottish Proverbs, 8b (c.1598, printed 1641). The meaning of the proverb seems to be: 'A fortunate man will always have good fortune.'
87. Bonnie Annie, Child 24 A sta. 6: the words are unassigned but it is probably the captain speaking. Downfall of William Grismond (R.B., VIII, Pt.I, p.71) sta. 14: the shipmen. 'William Guiseman', Bronson 57 no.1 sta. 7: the skipper boy. 'Willie Grahame', Greig A sta. 4, B sta. 5, D sta. 1: the captain. D.g.F., 375 B sta. 5.3-4, C sta. 11.3-4: the captain. The announcement that a guilty man is on board is usually missing from D.g.F. no.376.
88. D.g.F., 376 A sta. 7.3-4.
89. Ibid., 375 C sta. 12, F sta. 18.
90. Ibid., 375 D sta. 4.

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91. Ibid., 376 D.b. sta. 5.3-4:
 'Kom lad os kaste en Guldaerning her om Bord,
 for at se, hvem den største Synd har gjort.'
92. E.g. D.g.F., 376 D stas. 6-8, and see above, note 55.
93. E.g. ibid., 375 B sta. 7, C sta. 11, D sta. 4; 376 A sta. 7.
94. Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp.57-58: the principal texts used in the middle ages were Matt. XVI.19, Jn. XX.22-23, Lk. XVII.14, James V.16 and Jn. XI.44.
95. On the history of confession see N.C.E., IV, pp.131-132, 'Confession, Auricular', and XI, pp.73-83, 'Penance, Sacrament of'; also Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp.1-16.
96. Asloan MS., 'Of Penance and Confession', p.19.
97. N.C.E., XI, p.73.
98. Ibid., p.80; Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp.18-19, 26, 257 and 267; S.E.L., I, pp.131-132, lines 90-100.
99. Tentler, Sin and Confession, p.66; William of Shoreham, Poems, 'The Seven Sacraments', I.4.ii, lines 916 - 917, p.33.
100. Caxton's Golden Legend, VI, p.109; Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life, Pt.III, chapter 22, p.120.
101. Asloan MS., 'Of Penance and Confession', p.8.
102. N.C.E., XI, p.79; Tentler, Sin and Confession, p.66.
103. D.g.F., 375 B sta. 10, F sta. 21; 376 A sta. 9.
104. The Lay of Havelok the Dane, p.5, line 124; Sir Launfal, p.58, line 204; 'Eger and Grime', line 805, in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, p.697; Child 100 A sta. 10.1-2, B sta. 9.1-2 etc.; 15 B sta. 8.1.
105. Asloan MS., 'Of Penance and Confession', p.11.
106. Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life, Pt.III, chapter 22, p.119; see also Tentler, Sin and Confession, p.20.
107. Asloan MS., 'Of Penance and Confession', p.18; N.C.E., XI, p.80.
108. Tentler, Sin and Confession, p.94.
109. In two medieval exempla, the Virgin saves a woman who has committed incest with her son or son-in-law because the woman is fully contrite: see Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 2735 and 2737 (Alphabet of Tales, no.466).
110. Epistle 84(d), P.L., XXII, column 748, para. 528; see also Tentler, Sin and Confession, p.65, note 16.
111. Asloan MS., 'Of Penance and Confession', pp.3 and 32.
112. Cf. also Acts XXVII.44.

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113. O.E.D., IX, Pt.II, p.329, 'swim', vb., sense 2d, " 'sink or swim' ... used specially in reference to the ordeal of suspected witches".
114. Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, pp.207-210.
115. Child 173 A sta. 3.3, B sta. 7.3.
116. E.g. Child 73 B sta. 27.2; 110 A sta. 22.2; 114 A sta. 17.6; 158 C sta. 2.5; 185 sta. 8.4.
117. E.g. Child 15 B stas. 4-7; 17 G stas. 17-24; 24 A stas. 13, 14 (Bonnie Annie).
118. E.g. Jon Remorson's tears, D.g.F., 375 A sta. 9.3-4; Sir Peter's instructions on what to tell his betrothed, D.g.F., 376 A stas. 13 and 14.
119. E.g. Child 116 sta. 16.2; 119 sta. 13.4; also Child 156 F stas. 15.4, 17.4.
120. See the second lines of B.R.C. stas. 1, 2 and 9 and the fourth lines of stas. 4 - 8.
121. E.g. Child 58 B stas. 8, 9; 167 A sta. 18; 243 D sta. 5; 245 A sta. 8; 250 A sta. 3.
122. E.g. Mrs. Brown's ballads, Child 5 A sta. 2.1, 65 A sta. 17.4; Buchan's ballads, Child 102 B sta. 21.4, 103 B sta. 11.4; also Child 90 B sta. 17.4, 110 C sta. 25.6.
123. The title occurs in the 'Litany of Loreto', of the sixteenth century: G.M. Roschini, Who is Mary? An Advanced Catechism of the Blessed Virgin, Youngstown and New York, 1950, p.54, no.203; for discussion of the cult of Mary as the friend of sinners from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries see Woolf, English Relig. Lyrics, pp.118-124.
124. An old title for the Blessed Virgin, used in the thirteenth century lyric, 'Of on that is so fayr and bright', Greene no. 191 B sta. 1.2.
125. Carleton Brown, A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady told by Chaucer's Prioress (Chaucer Society Publications, Second Series, no.45), London, 1910, p.71 and note 3.
126. "Et Iesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exsilium ostende": according to Roschini, Who is Mary?, p.53, no.198, the 'Salve Regina' was composed by Hermann Contractus, a Benedictine monk of Reichenau, in the eleventh century.
127. E.g. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, no.3461a; Mary is invoked to pray for sinners at the hour of death in the second part of the 'Ave Maria', added in the fourteenth century: see Roschini, Who is Mary?, p.52, no.195.
128. E.g. the story of 'St. Theophilus', S.E.L., I, pp.221-226.
129. E.g. Child 65 A stas. 23, 24; 93 J stas. 16, 17; 100 A stas. 2, 3.
130. E.g. Child 32 sta. 20; 182 B sta. 17; 187 A sta. 41; 200 B sta. 18.
131. E.g. Child 67 B sta. 29; 69 B sta. 20; 99 A sta. 34; 118 sta. 58.

CHAPTER TEN

'THE MAID AND THE PALMER' (CHILD 21)

The Maid and the Palmer is the most fascinating example in ballad history of the power of survival of medieval songs. The ballad combines the story of how Jesus converts the woman at the well of Samaria by His prophecy¹ with the legend of the penitence of St. Mary Magdalene, who was identified in the West from the sixth century² with Mary of Bethany and "the woman ... which was a sinner"³ who washed Jesus' feet and anointed Him.

The oldest extant version of the British Magdalen ballad, 'Lillumwham' (A, described in Appendix F) is found in Bishop Percy's folio manuscript which, in Wheatley's judgement⁴, was written not earlier than 1643, and probably about 1650, in the dialect of Lancashire. 'Lillumwham' may, however, date from about 1600 or earlier (see below). It has a unique refrain:

The maid shee went to the well to washe⁵,
Lillumwham, lillumwham!
 The mayd shee went to the well to washe
Whatt then? what then?
 The maid shee went to the well to washe,
 Dew ffell of her lily white fleshe.
Grandam boy, grandam boy, heye!
Leg a derry, leg a merry, mett, mer, whoope, whir!
Driuance, larumben, grandam boy, heye!

A sta. 1.

This song pattern⁶ was known in the sixteenth century⁷. Similar patterns with nonsense refrains of the same type are associated mainly with comic ballads⁸ such as Dick o the Cow and The Friar in the Well⁹, both known in the sixteenth century, or The Wife Wrapped in Wether's Skin and The Farmer's Curst Wife¹⁰. The pattern occurs also in modern chorus songs such as 'Mademoiselle from Armentières'¹¹. The phrases, "What then?",

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"grandam, boy, heye" and "whoop" in 'Lillumwham' suggest that the Magdalen ballad had been recast as a rollicking chorus song, having been wrongly interpreted as comic and slightly obscene. The ease with which such an interpretation could be made is illustrated by the side-notes of F.J. Furnivall¹², who considered the song a burlesque recipe for the recovering of lost virginity:

A maid went to the well to wash, and as she washed
her clothes, a palmer asked her for a cup to drink
out of. She said she hadn't one.

'If your lover came, you'd soon find some.'

'I never had a lover.'

'That's a story! You've had nine children,
and murdered them all!'

'Well, I hope you're Christ, and will set me penance.'

'I will: be seven years a stepping stone, seven a
clapper in a bell, for seven lead an ape in hell.
And when your penance is done, you'll come home
a maid.'

The compiler of the Percy folio placed 'Lillumwham' amongst several erotic songs:

p.459: 'Lovers hea(r)ke alarum'¹³

p.459: 'A ffreinde of mine'¹⁴

p.460: 'O nay: O nay: not: yett'¹⁵

p.460: 'I cannott bee contented'¹⁶

p.461: 'Lillumwham'

p.462: 'The Sea Crabb'.

The last-named, a fabliau-type song on the activities of a crab in a chamber-pot since recovered by Cecil Sharp¹⁷, has a nonsense refrain similar in tone to version A of the Magdalen ballad:

with a ging, boyes, ginge! ginge, boyes, ginge!
tarradidle, ffaradidle, ging, boyes, ging!

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Version B of our ballad, a fragment presumably from the Scottish borders, was recollected by Sir Walter Scott and sent to his friend, C.K. Sharpe. Scott, too, misunderstood the theme of the song, commenting that, "said maiden is, I think, courted by the devil in human shape."¹⁸

Another Scottish version of the early nineteenth century, C, was recovered from the Aberdeenshire village of Glenbuchat before 1818 by the minister, the Rev. Robert Scott, or his daughter¹⁹. Both Scottish versions are related to A, and this suggests that the ballad had survived in folk tradition in the North of Britain from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries.

B and C are also related to each other, as their refrains show. The Glenbuchat ballad has an interlaced refrain at the second and fourth lines:

The primrose o' the wood wants a name ...

I am the fair maid of Coldingham ...

The first half of Scott's internal refrain has been forgotten, but the second, And I the fair maiden of Gowden-gane, is plainly a corruption of the Glenbuchat final refrain²⁰. (Coldingham is a town on the East coast of Scotland between Dunbar and Berwick.) The second refrain of both B and C changes its personal pronoun in accordance with the speaker in each stanza. This style of refrain is found also in the old ballad, The Fair Flower of Northumberland, first printed before 1633 by Thomas Deloney²¹:

'Why shouldst thou come heere for love of me,'
Follow, my love, come over the strand,
 'Having wife and children in thy countrie?'
And I the faire flower of Northumberland.

Child 9 A sta. 9.

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Recently another version²² of the Magdalen ballad, known as The Well below the Valley, has been recovered from the singing of Irish itinerants. These variants (D - G), whilst related to the Glenbuchat version, C, are more closely related in words and refrain to those versions of The Cruel Mother (Child 20) which end with seven-year penances. Textual study makes it plain that the Irish songs are variants of the same ballad version; moreover, the tunes of variants E - G are very similar. The singer of D, John Reilly, employed a rare style of singing described thus by Tom Munnelly²³:

... the basic melody line is improvised from stanza to stanza so that in some cases an almost entirely different melody line can be observed by comparing different stanzas.

In the Irish version incest, as well as infanticide, is the Magdalen's sin; because of this, The Well below the Valley is a secret song which Irish travellers are reluctant to reveal to outsiders²⁴. Nevertheless, the singer of D, John Reilly, knew that the heroine of the song was St. Mary Magdalene²⁵, although her identity is not revealed in any extant British version. Hence it is possible that the woman's identity is a medieval tradition handed down with the Irish ballad, although, since Irish travellers are predominantly Catholic, it may be a case of later re-identification.

Incest is found also in the Scandinavian ballads of St. Mary Magdalene²⁶, which, as will be shown below, are extremely close to the British ballads. Transmission from Britain to Scandinavia, or vice versa, had clearly taken place by the late middle ages, though fresh contact at a later date between the two regions must not be ruled out. Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Farøese versions have been recovered,

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the oldest a Danish broadside of about 1700²⁷; a Swedish broadside of 1798 is also known²⁸. An Icelandic version of the ballad, probably copied in the first half of the seventeenth century, was appended with other ballads to a manuscript of Catholic poetry completed in 1549. The scholar-collector Arni Magnússon had the ballads copied, and then destroyed the originals; unfortunately, the copies were lost in the great fire of Copenhagen (1728), but the first line, 'Do not swear, do not swear, vile woman'²⁹ is known from Magnússon's description of the ballad. This line, Christ's reply to the Magdalen's perjury, usually occurs in stanza 4 or 5 of the extant Scandinavian versions, suggesting that, unless the line is part of an opening refrain, the Icelandic version was fragmentary and therefore may already have been old in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The British and Scandinavian ballads seem also to be indirectly related to Slavic and Moravian ballads³⁰ which, however, omit any reference to the Magdalen or to penance: Almighty God, disguised as an old man, is refused a drink by a maid at a well and comments that she is unclean; as proof, He bids her go to church in her maiden wreath; when she does so, she is destroyed, by the direct vengeance of the children she has murdered, by sinking through the church floor or by being changed into a pillar of salt.

Southern European ballads³¹, like the Northern ballads, tell of the Magdalen's confession and penance in the woods and of the Lord's receiving her in heaven when her penance is completed, but they also include biblical traditions concerning Mary of Bethany and the woman who washed Jesus' feet.

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It may be possible in the future (though it would be a Herculean task) for scholars to analyse the relationship between the European Magdalen ballads.

The ending of the British Magdalen ballad, in which the Lord Jesus assigns seven-year penances to the repentant infanticide, has become transferred to another traditional ballad, The Cruel Mother (Child 20). This song describes how an unmarried mother murders her twin sons at birth for fear of shame, then seven years later sees naked children playing at ball; she offers to clothe them and treat them kindly, but they reply that she did not do so when she had the chance; the children recount how they were murdered and prophesy their mother's eternal punishment in hell. A broadside version of The Cruel Mother entitled 'The Duke's Daughter's Cruelty' was printed in about 1686³². Similar stories are found in European ballads³³ which, however, do not appear to be closely related to the British ballad and may be independent.

In Appendix F are listed thirty-two versions of The Cruel Mother which incorporate seven-year penances as preliminary punishments to the mother's damnation. This ending, hardly consistent with Christian doctrine, must have been borrowed from the Magdalen ballad, of which penance is an integral theme. I do not agree, however, with Professor Child and Dr. David Buchan³⁴ that the Magdalen ballad has borrowed the detail of the infanticides from The Cruel Mother or its European analogues: infanticide is implicit in the oldest Danish Magdalen ballad³⁵ and several medieval exempla tell of the efficacious confession and penance of women who have incestuous relationships, usually with their fathers, and then kill their

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illicit offspring³⁶. Indeed, a secondary moral of these tales might be that illicit and incestuous relationships lead to murder, as in the Middle English play fragment 'Dux Moraud'³⁷ in which an incestuous daughter kills her mother, her child and her father for fear of discovery. The woman who washed Jesus' feet was forgiven much because she loved much³⁸: infanticide was probably added to incest in the Magdalen ballad to make it plain that Christ forgives the most grievous sins if the sinner is truly contrite.

The oldest and most coherent of the Cruel Mother versions which include seven-year penances (C.M. 1-5 and 8) are Scottish, from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Three versions from Nova Scotia (C.M. 27, 29 and 30) may also have originated in Scotland. There are no English versions of this type. It seems likely, then, that the contamination originated in Scotland and was complete by 1800, implying that a Magdalen ballad which, in its ending at least, resembled the modern Irish version (D - G) was known in Scotland in the eighteenth century. It is probable, therefore, that the Irish version, recovered from the counties of Roscommon, Monaghan and Sligo, crossed from Scotland by way of Ulster. John Reilly's family travelled extensively in Ulster in his childhood³⁹.

Contamination of The Cruel Mother by the Magdalen ballad may have been prompted by several stimuli: both ballads tell of a woman infanticide who hopes to be thought a maiden⁴⁰, but whose murder is revealed, and who is assigned punishment in hell. The cruel mother's inquiry about her fate (see below) may have been brought over from the Magdalen ballad, but more probably arose independently in some Cruel Mother versions, and

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hence helped to prompt the borrowed ending: the inquiry is commonly found only in versions of The Cruel Mother which incorporate seven-year penances⁴¹.

Similarity of refrain, and doubtless, therefore, of tune, have also played a part. The Irish variants E - G have an interlaced refrain at the second and fourth lines of each stanza⁴²:

Green grows the lily-0 ...
In the well below the valley-0.
 (E)

Irish variant D has a similar end-refrain:

At the well below the valley 0.
Green grows the lily 0,
Right among the bushes 0.

Most versions of The Cruel Mother, regardless of ending, have similar refrains:

Hey wi the rose and the lindie, 0 ...⁴³
Alone by the green burn sidie, 0.

Hey and a lo and a lilly 0 ...⁴⁴
Down by the greenwood sidy 0.

All alone and aloney-0 ...⁴⁵
Down by the greenwood sidey-0.

Similar internal refrains, mentioning the lily and the rose (or the primrose, as in 'The Maid of Coldingham') are, however, found also in the ballad of The Cruel Brother⁴⁶. Beyond suggesting that similar tunes were used for each ballad, these refrains may have little significance. The lily, an emblem of chastity⁴⁷, has a certain irony, probably unconscious, as the refrain of the Irish Magdalen ballad.

The British and Scandinavian ballads begin with the heroine at a well⁴⁸, a setting borrowed from the story of the Samaritan woman. In the British ballads, the woman is washing:

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White⁴⁹ shee washte and white shee ronge,
White shee hangd o the hazle wand.

A sta. 2.

The may's to the well to wash and wring,
The primrose o' the wood wants a name,
An' ay so sweetly did she sing,
I am the fair maid of Coldingham.

C sta. 1.

In Irish variants D - F, this opening had dropped out; it survives in G, stanza 1:

There's been a maid by a washing well,
Green grows the lilies O;
There's been a maid by a washing stone,
In the well below the valleys O.

The phrase 'wash and wring'⁵⁰, present in versions A and C, survives, misplaced, as one of the penances in a Cruel Mother variant from Pennsylvania:

'Seven years to wash and wring,
Seven more to card and spin.'
C.M. 17 sta. 14.

In the Glenbuchat version, the Magdalen vaunts that she is the fair maid of Coldingham, and in A (sta. 1.2), we are told "dew ffell of her lilly white fleshe". The beauty of the Magdalen was a traditional part of her medieval legend⁵¹, for to stress her physical beauty was, of course, to point an ironic contrast with the ugliness of her soul. In some Danish ballads, Christ addresses the Magdalen as 'fair and fine'⁵², whilst the Magdalen's lament for the lost beauty of her hands in the French and Catalan ballads is a proof that she has not yet totally mortified her pride⁵³.

In no British version is Christ identified. Irish versions call him a 'gentleman'⁵⁴:

A gentleman he was passing by
He axed a drink as he got dry.
D.b. sta. 1.

The oldest version, A, has Christ disguised as a palmer, a feature of medieval legends⁵⁵:

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There came an old palmer by the way,
Sais, 'God speed thee well, thou faire maid!'
A sta. 3.

'May' for "maid" would amend the rhyme here⁵⁶. Christ's ironic greeting is found elsewhere in religious balladry⁵⁷.

The Scott fragment, B, probably featured Christ disguised as a palmer, for among the penances is:

'Seven years ye shall be a stone,
.
For many a poor palmer to rest him upon.'
And you the fair maiden of Gowden-gane.
B sta. 1.

In the Glenbuchat version, Christ is not a palmer, but his old age, a feature of A, is remembered:

O by there cam' an eldren man ...
'O gie me a drink o' your cauld stream.'
C sta. 2.

The rhyme here would be improved by the substitution of 'strand'⁵⁸ for "stream". In stanzas 4 and 5 of C, the old man reiterates His plea and the Magdalen her refusal. In some Scandinavian versions also, Jesus is described as an old man⁵⁹; in others, it is God the Father who meets the Magdalen⁶⁰, which may be the case in 'lillumwham' since the Magdalen describes the palmer in stanza 11 as "the good old man that all the world beleeeues vpon". In view of the ballad's ultimate derivation from gospel stories, however, this change would seem to be a later rationalisation. Two motives for portraying Christ as an old man here would be to heighten the pathos of His plea for a drink⁶¹ and to remove any hint of impropriety from His meeting with a beautiful woman washing⁶².

Christ's direct request to the woman to give Him drink stems from the gospel account of the Samaritan woman⁶³. In the Scandinavian ballads, the Magdalen's excuse for her refusal is

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that she has no silver cup⁶⁴. The same excuse probably featured in the late medieval British Magdalen ballad, for reference to a cup, sometimes garbled, occurs in five out of the seven extant versions:

Sayes, 'I have neither cupp nor cann,
To giue an old palmer drinke therein.'
A sta. 5.

'My golden cup is down the strand,
Of my cold water ye sall drink nane.'
C sta. 3.

'My cup it is an overflow
And if I do stoop I may fall in.'
D.b. sta. 2 and cf. F sta. 2.

'For if my cup was flow an' flow,
I would give him a drink if he was dry.'
E sta. 2.

The conditional form of the last quoted stanza has been misunderstood in G, where the woman replies (sta. 4.1),
"Come in, Sir, and drink your fill."

The detail of the cup may have been suggested by other gospel passages. Christ promises⁶⁵:

... whosoever shall give you a cup of water to
drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ,
verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his
reward.

Mk.IX.41.

The Magdalen's concern with externals is a sign of her hypocrisy and inner uncleanness, since Christ warns⁶⁶:

Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the
cup and the platter; but your inward part is full
of ravening and wickedness.

Lk.XI.39.

In the ballad, Christ's reply, perhaps derived from His answer to the Samaritan woman⁶⁷, is that if the Magdalen's lover had returned from a pilgrimage and asked for a drink, she would have given him one⁶⁸:

'But an thy lemman came from Roome
Cupps and canns thou wold ffind soone.'
A sta. 6.

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Curiously, the reference to Rome (pronounced as spelled above in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁶⁹) survives misplaced and garbled in C, stanza 5:

O she sware by the sun and the moon
That all his cups were flown to Rome.

The rhyme moon : Rome here perhaps indicates that the Glenbuchat version originated further South and up to a century earlier, since in Aberdeenshire 'moon' is normally pronounced 'meen'⁷⁰.

The Magdalen's answer to Christ's observation is to swear that she has no lover⁷¹:

Shee sware by God and good St. John,
Lemman had shee neuer none.

A sta. 7.

The Magdalen's perjury is more sinful in that she blasphemously (and ironically) swears by God, as she does in a Swedish version⁷². Vehement religious oaths used with ironic point are an early feature of ballad style⁷³ and the particular form of the oath in A was a commonplace of late medieval popular poetry. For example, in the seventeenth century play of Robin Hood and the Potter, the Potter remarks⁷⁴:

Thou callest me cuckolde by my name,
And I swere by God and Saynt John
Wyfe had I never none.

Christ's reply to the Magdalen's false oath, as to the Samaritan woman⁷⁵, is devastating in its accurate revelation of number:

Saies, 'Peace, ffaire mayd! you are fforsworne!
Nine children you haue borne.'

A sta. 8.

The British versions characteristically make the Magdalen's pretence of being a maid more outrageous in that she has borne a large number of children: in A, nine, in C, seven, in D, five, and in F (a confused version), a number varying from

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five to nine. Scandinavian versions usually have only three children⁷⁶.

The irony of Christ's calling such an unchaste woman 'fair maid' is found also in the Scottish and Irish versions⁷⁷. The rhyme forsworn : borne in A may have influenced the form of this stanza in the later variants:

'O seven bairns hae ye born ...
An' as many lives hae ye forlorn.'
C sta. 6.

She swore by grass and swore by corn
That her true love was never born.
'I say, fair maiden, you've sworn in wrong.'
D.b. sta. 4.

Versions C and D have substituted common ballad oaths by the moon⁷⁸ and by grass and corn⁷⁹ for the religious oath.

Although version D alone contains Christ's revelation of the Magdalen's incestuous unions, the older versions, like Irish variants E - G, may have suppressed the incest stanzas. A slight verbal link between version D (b., sta. 2.1), "My cup it is an overflow" and the older version C (sta. 5.4), "all his cups were flown to Rome" makes it less probable that the Irish version has been re-influenced at a later date by a Scandinavian ballad.

In the Irish variants, the Magdalen asks Christ to prove His identity by revealing the paternity of the children⁸⁰:

'If you're a man of noble fame,
You'll tell me who's the father of them.'
D.a. sta. 6.

'Man of fame' is a stock phrase of romance and ballad⁸¹.

The incest section in D has degenerated into three single-line stanzas (not including the end-refrain):

(7) There was two of them by your Uncle Dan ...

(8) Another two by your brother John ...

(9) Another by your father dear ...
(D.a.)

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The 'Uncle Dan' and 'brother John' stanzas were probably originally one. 'Brother John' as a line-ending is found in The Cruel Brother⁸². The less serious sin of incest with an uncle may well have been substituted for the spiritual incest with the parish priest of the Scandinavian ballads⁸³. Since Protestant clergy are not required to be celibate, the motif is a mark of pre-Reformation origins and is likely enough to have been in the medieval British version: St. Mary of Egypt, the harlot who after conversion became a penitent in the desert, was said to have sinned with priests⁸⁴, and her legend influenced the medieval story of St. Mary Magdalene⁸⁵. The stanza would readily be suppressed in Ireland for, since the Reformation, Catholic priests have been held in great respect there and, unlike priests of the middle ages, noted for their strictness of life⁸⁶.

The murder of the children is revealed obliquely but shockingly in the British Magdalen ballad by reference to the different places where their graves are hidden. Revelation of several burial places is a feature of a German Cruel Mother analogue⁸⁷ but not of the British Cruel Mother ballad or (generally) of the European Magdalen ballads⁸⁸. The revelation is preceded in the Irish version by the Magdalen's demand that Christ reveal His knowledge of their fate⁸⁹, perhaps a later amplification.

A list of burial places shows that the British texts are indeed versions of the same ballad: the Percy version (A stas. 9-10) has three children buried under the bed head, three under a brewing lead or cauldron⁹⁰ and three on a play green; in the Glenbuchat version (C stas. 7 - 9), three

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children are buried beneath the bower floor, one in a 'well stripe' or small stream⁹¹, two in a garden dyke or wall⁹² and one at the bed's foot (cf. A); John Reilly's version (D.a. stas. 11 - 13) has two buried by the stable door, two beneath the kitchen floor⁹³ (cf. C) and one by a well (cf. C). The burial places in Martin Reilly's version (F sta. 8) are by the kitchen door and the stable door: this has led to the confusion in F, stanza 6; whereby the fathers of the children are the kitchen boy and the stable boy.

In the Glenbuchat version, Christ penetrates the murderess' state of mind:

'There's three o' them in your bower floor,
It gars ye fear when ye wouldna fear.'
C sta. 7 and cf. sta. 9.

This is probably a North-Eastern Scottish contribution to the ballad, since 'floor' would be pronounced 'fleur' in that region and so rhyme perfectly with 'fear'. Curiously, a Scottish Cruel Mother version of the same date has the same psychological insight. The two babes accuse their mother:

'Ye happit the hole wi mossy stanes,
And there ye left our wee bit banes.

'But ye ken weel, O mither dear,
Ye never cam that gate for fear.'
C.M. 4 stas. 8 and 9.

From the medieval legend of the Magdalen⁹⁴ the ballad borrows only the sudden repentance and the penance in the wilderness. The Magdalen was the patroness of penitent sinners⁹⁵, the seven devils driven out of her in Luke VIII.2 being widely interpreted as the seven deadly sins⁹⁶. The Carthusian Nicholas Love in the early fifteenth century strove to explain how Christ's pardon of the woman who anointed his feet approximated to sacramental confession: the Magdalen did

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not confess her sins aloud because God was Himself present in Christ and knew her thoughts, just as He read the mind of Simon the Pharisee (in Luke VII.39-40); He at once forgave her, and did not assign penance, because her contrition was so great⁹⁷.

The ballad is not merely an entertaining saint's legend but an exemplum on the efficacy of true repentance: as such, it is perhaps not likely to pre-date the late thirteenth century, when the people were first officially allowed to confess to wandering clergy, the friars, rather than their own parish priests⁹⁸. As in the gospel story of the woman who was a sinner, the Magdalen does not actually confess her sins - indeed, she tries to hide them - but Christ knows all. The Magdalen's penitence is shown in her acknowledgement of Christ's Divinity and her request that He assign her penance:

'But I hope⁹⁹ you are the good old man
That all the world beleeues vpon.

'Old palmer, I pray thee,
Pennaunce that thou wilt giue to me.'
A stas. 11 and 12.

In the Scandinavian ballads, the Magdalen falls to her knees with the same acknowledgement and request¹⁰⁰. This section of the ballad is omitted from Scottish versions B and C: in Irish version E, which is, however, a confused version reluctantly given, Christ Himself discloses His true identity:

'Oh, for I am the Lord that rules on high;
Green grows the lily-0;
'Oh, I am the Lord that rules on high;
In the well below the valley-0.
E sta. 5.

In the other Irish variants, the Magdalen does not actually acknowledge Christ's identity, but this is probably implicit in her description of Him as a 'man of fame'; instead of

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asking for penance, she asks what punishment she will receive:

'Well, if you're a man of the noble fame,
You'll tell to me what will happen mysel'.'
D.b. sta. 13.

'What happens to me when I am gone?'
'You'll be seven years a porter in hell.'
F sta. 9.

The same re-interpretation of the penances as punishments in hell and the same request to know the punishment is made in

The Cruel Mother:

'O bonny babies, can ye tell me,
What sort of death for you I must die?'

'Yes, cruel mother, we'll tell to thee,
What sort of death for us you must die.'
C.M. 1 stas. 12 and 13.

It is clear, however, that in the British ur-ballad of the Magdalen, penances were allotted, after which, as in the Scandinavian versions¹⁰¹ and the medieval legend of the Magdalen¹⁰², Jesus received her into heaven:

'When thou hast thy penance done'¹⁰³,
Then thoust come a mayden home.'
A sta. 15.

'Seven years ye'll be porter of hell,
And then I'll take you to mysell.'
B sta. 2.

In A it is suggested that the Magdalen's penance will restore her lost virginity; the concept that God restores the penitent soul's maidenhead is found also in the early thirteenth century work, the Ancrene Riwe¹⁰⁴:

ne beo neauer his leof forhored with se monie deadliche
sunnes . sone se ho cumes aghain to him . he ma-kes hire
neowe maiden . for as Seint Austin seis . Swa muchel is
bitwe-ne godes neohleachinge & mon-nes to wummon . that
monnes nehlea-chinge makes of meiden wif. & Godd makes of
wif meiden. Restituit inquit Iob genus integrum.

The penances assigned to the Magdalen in the British ballads are without exact parallel. In the Scandinavian versions, based on the penitential life of SS. Mary Magdalene.

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and Mary of Egypt in the desert¹⁰⁵ or, as Child believed, of St. Martha in the wood¹⁰⁶, the Magdalene is condemned to fast for seven years or more¹⁰⁷, eating nothing but poor food, such as grass, dry apple, earth or leaves¹⁰⁸, and drinking nothing but dew¹⁰⁹. In most British versions of the Magdalen ballad and The Cruel Mother, penances are allotted for seven years each, the normal period assigned each mortal sin in the early church: as late as the fourteenth century this tradition, of seven years fasting and abstinence for crimes such as adultery, perjury, fornication or homicide, was the official one, though it was not widely practised¹¹⁰.

The British penances alone involve metamorphosis: the oldest and most widespread penances¹¹¹ are that the Magdalen must be a stone, then a clapper in a bell, and finally serve seven years in hell:

'Penance I can giue thee none,
But 7 yeere to be a stepping-stone.

'Other seaven a clapper in a bell,
Other 7 to lead an ape in hell.'
A stas. 13 and 14.

Often these penances are described slightly differently: the Magdalen is to be a "stone for many a poor palmer to rest him upon"¹¹², "a stane in a cairn"¹¹³ or "a stone in the street"¹¹⁴, or she is "to roll a stone"¹¹⁵; she is "to be a church bell"¹¹⁶, or "a tongue to the bell"¹¹⁷, "a tinglin bell"¹¹⁸, "a sairan bell"¹¹⁹ or "a warnin bell"¹²⁰. However, the bell metamorphosis is usually misunderstood and changed to 'ringing a bell' for seven years even in the Irish Magdalen ballad¹²¹. The change was complete by the early nineteenth century in some Scottish versions of The Cruel Mother¹²² and yet the metamorphosis is retained in other more recent versions of this ballad, and of

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course the rationalisation to ringing a bell might occur independently at any time.

Version A of the Magdalen ballad is the only one to have 'leading apes in hell'; in the Glenbuchat version (C sta. 12.3), the penalty is to be "cook in hell", but more usually the penance is to be 'porter in hell' for seven years¹²³. This medieval tradition, discussed below, is best preserved in early nineteenth century Scottish variants of The Cruel Mother and in the Irish Magdalen ballad, again suggesting that the latter is derived from a version known in Scotland by about 1800. In other variants of The Cruel Mother the penance has been changed, to spending seven years in hell¹²⁴, spending the rest of one's life there¹²⁵, suffering hell's pains¹²⁶ or burning in hell¹²⁷.

By about 1800, because the significance of the stone and bell transformations was not understood, extra punishments were added of metamorphoses into a bird, fish or animal. This is found in the Glenbuchat Magdalen ballad:

'Ye'll be seven year a cocky to crow
An' seven year a catty to maiw.

'Ye'll be seven lang years a stane in a cairn
An' seven years ye'll go wi' bairn.'
C stas. 10 and 11.

These folk punishments appear to have little penitential significance, though the protracted pregnancy¹²⁸ is a suitably ironic penalty for an infanticide.

In the Cruel Mother variants, the usual punishments of this kind are to be a fowl in the woods¹²⁹ or a bird in the tree¹³⁰ (once an owl and once a hawk¹³¹) and to be a fish in the flood¹³² or in the sea¹³³ (once a whale¹³⁴). Other penances, some mere corruptions of the above, are to be an eel in the pool¹³⁵, to be "digging a ditch"¹³⁶, to be old horse-bones¹³⁷, to "walk unwell" or "walk alone"¹³⁸ and to be "covered with blood"¹³⁹.

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There is some evidence that English country people had a superstitious belief that the souls of the dead could take the form of animals¹⁴⁰. Nevertheless, Wimberly's view¹⁴¹ that the original inspiration of the penances in Child 20 and 21 was a primitive belief in reincarnation or the transmigration of souls seems somewhat simplistic. Transformation in the ballads is usually linked rather with superstitions concerning witchcraft and magic¹⁴². It seems most probable that the metamorphosis punishments in the British ballads are the result of misunderstanding and folk embroidery of more ordinary penances in the ur-ballad, such as standing in cold water¹⁴³ or in the church paths for all to see¹⁴⁴, living in the wilderness among rocks¹⁴⁵, eating or moving stones¹⁴⁶. Misunderstanding of the penances would be easier once they had been reinterpreted as purgatorial punishments taking place after death.

An alternative hypothesis is that a symbolic assertion of humility by the Magdalen has been misunderstood as literal metamorphosis: for example, the Finnish 'Mataleena' expresses to Christ her willingness to undergo any penance, whether as a bridge over the sea, a brand in the fire or a coal in the furnace¹⁴⁷. Similarly, the essential punishment of seven-year sentences to be a stone or the clapper in a bell lies in being reduced to a lowly position and having one's pride mortified.

Punishment by transformation is found in Catholic legend but, whether or not a remnant of pagan thought, does not imply any coherent belief in the transmigration of souls. A biblical precedent is the punishment of Lot's wife, whom God turned

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into a pillar of salt: this is found in a Moravian analogue of the Magdalen ballad¹⁴⁸. Petrification is a feature of some saints' legends¹⁴⁹. A curious English folk tale alluded to in Hamlet¹⁵⁰ relates that Christ, disguised as a beggar, turned a baker's daughter into an owl as a punishment for her niggardliness. The Christian soul is often visualised as a bird in Catholic legend and in folklore¹⁵¹. Medieval conceptions of the punishments of purgatory were often fanciful: St. Thebaud released by a trental of Masses a soul trapped in a lump of ice¹⁵²; according to a recently recovered Irish folk tale, an inhospitable woman underwent punishment after death in the shape of an eel¹⁵³.

Textual evidence suggests that the function of the penances in the British Magdalen ballad had been misunderstood and hence treated only half-seriously by about 1600. The precise meaning of the phrase 'lead an ape in hell' is still in doubt¹⁵⁴. It is first recorded in a popular fortune-teller's manual of about 1560, as a punishment suffered after death by women who spurn their lovers¹⁵⁵:

A mickle truth it is I tell
Hereafter thou'st lead Apes in Hell:
For she that will not when she may,
When she will, she shall have nay.

The phrase is then used, but never clearly explained, by a host of fashionable writers from the 1570s to about 1610¹⁵⁶. Quite possibly the saying was not understood, except as a proverbial punishment for old maids. By 1602, Samuel Rowlands calls the proverb "old"¹⁵⁷:

There's an old grave Proverbe tell's vs that
Such as die Maydes, doe lead Apes in hell.

Janson shows that a woodcut illustration of Venus or Folly leading an ape was well-known in England in the sixteenth century,

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and that the ape was thought of as an embodiment of male sexual rapacity at that date; he quite plausibly suggests that the use of the phrase in the ballad implies that a woman who had been conspicuously unchaste on earth has been aptly condemned to expiate her sins "by continuing her career of venery in hell with a most unpleasant partner"¹⁵⁸. Buchan's suggestion that a punishment normally reserved for old maids is "a penitential irony of Dantean appositeness"¹⁵⁹ also seems possible.

If the phrase is, as Child thought, "a burlesque variation"¹⁶⁰ of the portership in hell, this suggests a date of about 1600 or before for the Percy version of the Magdalen ballad, when the phrase seems to have been most fashionable. Certainly the comic rôle of porter in hell, the infernal counterpart of St. Peter, was popular much earlier. A 'janitor' of hell takes part in the Middle English Harrowing of Hell¹⁶¹, whilst in the Towneley play on the subject, the cheeky porter who bandies words with Christ is a minor devil named Ribald¹⁶². Shakespeare's allusions to the hell porter in Macbeth and Othello¹⁶³ show that the character retained its associations with low, ribald comedy throughout the sixteenth century.

The seven-year portership of hell in The Maid and the Palmer seems, therefore, to have been a comic addition to the original penances when the serious religious purpose of the ballad was no longer understood, probably in the sixteenth century. This presupposes that an older version of the ballad was known in English before the Reformation, when the legend of St. Mary Magdalene would not have been treated flippantly. The extant Scandinavian versions are serious in tone.

However, once the memory of medieval drama had faded, the portership of hell was understood not as comic, or as a

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fitting penance for a wanton, but as terrible punishment after death. By about 1800 the Magdalen ballad, which had originally ended with Christ's promise of ultimate redemption, acquired an extra stanza in which the heroine accepted all her punishments except the sojourn in hell:

'Weel may I be a' the other three,
But porter of hell I never will be.'
B sta. 3.

This is to be interpreted not as an ungracious rejection of penance by the Magdalen, but rather as emphasis of the dreadful nature of hell. The stanza, widespread also in The Cruel Mother, even acquired an unconsciously ironic religious oath¹⁶⁴:

'Welcome, welcome, warnin bell,
But the God o Heaven keep me out o hell.'
C.M. 9 sta. 17.

The Irish Magdalen ballad has lost the stanza in which Christ promises forgiveness and instead ends with an exclamation which seems to imply that the Magdalen does not know to whom she is speaking¹⁶⁵:

'I'll be seven long years a-ringin' the bell
But the Lord above might save my soul
From portin in Hell.'
D.b. sta. 16.

However, the identity of the maid and the palmer was known in Ireland and thus one version attempts to make sense of the stanza as a plea of the Magdalen before she is given penance:

'Oh for if you're the Lord that rules on high ...
Oh the Lord may save my soul from Hell.'
E sta. 6.

Though all extant versions of the British Magdalen ballad are corrupt, the song is very effective. The irony of the Magdalen's religious oath and futile attempt to deceive the palmer would be fully appreciated only if the ballad audience already knew the legend of the Magdalen, or the gospel story of the Samaritan

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woman. The enormity of the Magdalen's crime, the relentless revelation of the burial-places she had supposed secret, and the horrified exclamation on the pains of hell remain mysterious but powerful even when the medieval legend has been forgotten. The original British Magdalen ballad, like its Scandinavian counterpart, tempered justice with mercy in the Sacrament of Penance, and the medieval audience was thus both entertained and instructed.

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1. Jn. IV.3-30.
2. Pope Gregory the Great was influential in establishing the triple identification: see H.M. Garth, Saint Mary Magdalene in Medieval Literature, Baltimore, 1950, p.19.
3. Lk. VII.37(-50); in Matt. XXVI.6-13 and Mk. XIV.3-9, the incident takes place at Bethany, in the house of Simon the Leper; in Jn. XII.1-8, it is Mary of Bethany who anoints Christ's feet.
4. Thomas Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, ed. H.B. Wheatley, 3 vols., New York, 1966 (first printed 1886), I, p.lxxxv: the folio contains one song referring to the capture of Banbury in 1642 and another, 'The King inioyes his rights againe', which includes a statement that Charles I and his father have reigned for forty years.
5. The rhyme wash : flesh probably depends on 'wash' having a variant in M.E. 'ǣ', originally a feature of West Midlands and Kentish dialects, but later widespread: see Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700, II, para. 59, note 2, p.550; the pronunciation 'wesh' survives in Northern England and the West Midlands according to E.D.D., VI, p.391, 'wash'.
6. $A^1 - r$ (refrain) - $A^1 - r - A^1 A^2 - r$; a similar pattern which would fit the same tune is $A^1 - r - A^2 - r B^1 B^2 - r$.
7. Bronson, Ballad as Song, p.46: 'There was a mayde cam out of Kent' a song fragment in William Wager's play, The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art (1568) has this pattern.
8. Bronson, Ballad as Song, pp.46-48, however, associates the pattern with dance-tunes. The pattern is occasionally found in variants of tragic ballads, e.g. Child 10 B, 20 F, 65 I and 286 A. Child 26 A, The Three Ravens, a tragic song of the early seventeenth century, has the 'Lillumwham' pattern, but later variants which retain the pattern have acquired a comic tone, e.g. Bronson 26 nos. 6, 15 and 18.
9. Child 185 and 276 A.
10. Bronson 277 nos. 37, 46, 49 and 55; cf. Bronson 278 nos. 43 and 44, though the pattern in these variants is $A^1 - r - A^1 A^2 - r$.
11. Bronson, Ballad as Song, p.46.
12. Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Loose and Humorous Songs, ed. F.J. Furnivall, London, 1868, reprinted by ? Jenkins, 196-, pp.96-98.
13. Ibid., pp.87-88: a bold song urging young men to assail their girls and heed no denial.
14. Ibid., pp.89-91: an obscene song about two lovers sporting in a wood.
15. Ibid., pp.92-93: a young man offers forty crowns to enjoy a maid.

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16. Ibid., pp.94-95: love-song of a young man whose lady's mill has plenty of water.
17. Ibid., pp.99-100; Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folk Songs, ed. M. Karpeles, 2 vols., London, New York and Toronto, 1974, II, no.316, 'The Crabfish'.
18. C.K. Sharpe, A Ballad Book, ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh and London, 1880, p.157.
19. See below, Appendix F, M.P. version C, note on source.
20. See D. Buchan, 'The Maid, The Palmer and The Cruel Mother' in the Malahat Review, no.3 (1967), pp.98-107, on p.101.
21. Cf. also the refrains of Child 18 A and C, and 217 J stas. 2.3-4 and 3.1-2
22. A fragment containing elements of Child 21 A and B in Niles, Ballad Book, p.89 has been discounted as spurious: see above, Chapter Two, pp.18-19.
23. T. Munnelly, 'The Man and his Music ... John Reilly' in Ceol: A Journal of Irish Music, IV, no.1 (1972), pp.2-8, on p.3; I am indebted to Mr. Munnelly for his kindness in sending me tapes of M.P. versions E and F, with details of collection of D.
24. A letter to me from Tom Munnelly dated 4 May 1978.
25. A letter to me from Tom Munnelly dated 12 April 1978.
26. See D.g.F., 98 A and B in vol.II, pp.530-536; C - F in vol.X, pp.204-208. (Other Scandinavian versions discussed in D.g.F., III, pp.889-892, have not been included in this study).
27. D.g.F., 98 A; translated by Prior, Anc. Danish Ballads, II, pp.27-28.
28. D.g.F., II, p.533, 'Swedish A'; 'Swedish C', from the early nineteenth century, is translated and bowdlerised by W. and M. Howitt, Literature and Romance, I, pp.282-284.
29. "Sver ei, sver ei, sialig vif": see J. Helgason, Ízlensk Fornkvæði IV (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, Series B., vol.13), Copenhagen, 1963, p.15 and introduction, pp.xiii-xv; I am indebted to my supervisor, Mr. J.S. McKinnell, for this reference.
30. See E.S.P.B., I, pp.230-231.
31. Ibid., pp.231-232.
32. E.S.P.B., II, pp.500-501; Fowler, Literary History, p.44 and note 46.
33. E.S.P.B., I, pp.218-220.
34. Ibid., p.230; D. Buchan, Malahat Review no.3, p.103.
35. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 5.
36. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 2729, 2735, 2739, 4667 and 2730 (Alphabet of Tales no.320).

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37. N. Davis, ed., Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, (E.E.T.S., S.S. 1), London, 1970, no.VIII, pp.c-cxi, 106-113: the play fragment was written down in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. For a close analogue also of the fifteenth century, see Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 1881, pp.334-338; cf. also Tubach, Index Exemplorum, no.2731 (Alphabet of Tales, no.209 and see also no.206).
38. Lk. VII.37.
39. For details of the tragic life of John Reilly see Munnelly, Ceol, IV, pp.2-3 and below, Appendix F, note on source of M.P. text D.
40. E.g. the refrain, 'I am the fair maid of Coldingham' in M.P. text C and Child 20 A sta. 3.3, "She's counted the leelest maid o' them a'." Cf. also Child 20 C sta. 5, occurring also at C.M. 1 sta. 6; 9 sta. 7; 17 sta. 7. Note that to avoid confusion in this chapter line numbers of M.P. and C.M. are given as they occur in a stanza which includes the internal refrain, except in the case of M.P. text A, where the line numbers are cited as they appear in E.S.P.B., I, p.232.
41. C.M. 1 sta. 12; 5 sta. 7; 14 sta. 10 etc. But see also Child 20 H sta. 15.
42. F occasionally has the second line refrain, "Faithfully true and only-0": see stas. 4 - 6 and 12.
43. C.M. 1 and cf. C.M. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10; Bronson 20 no.12 (fragment). The C.M. version in the Glenbuchat MS., which lacks a penance ending, has the refrain "Hey a Rose Malindey ... Down by the green wide side 0": see Buchan, Malahat Review, no.3, pp.106-107. As Bronson notes in Trad.Tunes, I, p.276, this refrain is specifically Scottish.
44. C.M. 3 and cf. Bronson 20 nos. 14, 38, 39 and 43 where the second line refrain includes the word 'lily'.
45. C.M. 14. This pattern, in which the second line refrain uses the words 'alone' or 'lonely', is much the most common, occurring in C.M. 8, 13, 15 - 27, 29, 30 and 32 and in many versions without the 'penance ending', e.g. Child 20 D, E, G, H; Bronson 20 nos. 4, 6, 7, 9 etc.
46. See the refrains to Child 11 A, C, E, F, I, J, K; 11 B and G have as second-line refrain, "Fine flowers in the valley", like some C.M. versions, e.g. Child 20 B, L (i.e. C.M. 4) and C.M. 28.
47. See Greene nos. 190 B sta. 8.1, 199 sta. 11.1 and the burden of no. 196.
48. Cf. Child 157 F sta. 3, G sta. 18, H sta. 8 etc.
49. Child prints 'while' for 'white', since in the MS. the word is not clear: see Percy, Loose and Humorous Songs, ed. Furnivall, p.96, note 1. Either word makes sense but 'white' seems preferable as a continuation from 'white' in sta. 1.2.
50. Cf. Child 62 B sta. 10.1; 277 A sta. 2.1, B sta. 4.1.
51. Garth, St. Mary Magdalene, pp.60-61, quoting 'Hrabanus Maurus', De Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae et Sororis ejus Sanctae Mariae in P.L. CXII columns 1433-1434; see Caxton's Golden Legend, IV, p.74.

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52. "favr og fin": see D.g.F., 98 C and E sta. 2.1.
53. E.S.P.B., I, pp.231-232.
54. Cf. E sta. 1.1; M.P. texts F sta. 1.1 has "young man" (partially prompted by Tom Munnelly); G sta. 2.1 has "man". Cf. also Child 11 B sta. 1.
55. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 987, 1018; Alphabet of Tales no.365. Palmers or pilgrims are common in British traditional balladry, either as bringers of news or as a suitable disguise for the hero: Child 30 sta. 8; 66 E sta. 42; 129 sta. 27; 140 B sta. 8; 141 sta. 10; 114 stas. 10, 11; 266 A sta. 11.
56. O.E.D., VI, Pt.I, p.255, 'may', sb.1, 'a maiden virgin', used by Spenser and Greene in the late sixteenth century; it survives in Scottish and Northern English usage according to E.D.D., IV, p.63, 'may', sb.2.
57. E.g. C.C. III (Child 55.b.) sta. 19.1; cf. H.W. 1 sta. 4.1-2.
58. O.E.D., IX, Pt. I, 'strand', sb. 2, 'stream, brook, or rivulet': chiefly Scottish and Northern English. The word occurs later in M.P. text C (sta. 3.1).
59. E.g. D.g.F., 98 E sta. 1.3.
60. E.g. D.g.F., II, p.533, 'Swedish D', sta. 1.
61. Cf. those exempla in which Christ appears in the form of a leper: Alphabet of Tales, nos. 416, 439 and 440.
62. In Child 42 A stas. 4 - 6, Clerk Colvill's meeting with a maid washing a sark at a well is a prelude to seduction; cf. 2 Samuel XI.2 where, however, Bathsheba is washing herself, not her clothes.
63. Jn., IV.7.
64. E.g. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 3.2; 98 D sta. 2.1.
65. Cf. Matt. X.42. Reference to having no vessel (a bucket) occurs also in the story of the Samaritan woman, Jn., IV.11.
66. Cf. Mk. VII.8.
67. Jn. IV.10.
68. The phrase 'cups and cans' (A sta. 6.2) occurs in other traditional ballads: see Child 53 B sta. 18.2, 91 B sta. 20.3. In the Irish Magdalen ballad (D, E, F sta. 3), Christ replies merely that the woman would give her lover a drink if he were dry; the stanza has dropped out of B, C and G.
69. Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500-1700, II, para.154, pp.679-680. The pronunciation was probably acceptable, even if not normal, in the eighteenth century or later: see Child 153 sta. 21.3, internal rhyme of Rome : doom; 110 E sta. 12, rhyme of moon : Rome (Aberdeenshire).
70. Cf. Child 35 sta. 8.3, "An she sware by the meen and the stars abeen."

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71. Cf. Jn. IV.17.
72. D.g.F., II, p.534, 'Swedish C', stanzas 5 - 7; cf. the false oath of the Scots prisoner in Child 9 A sta. 10, C sta. 4.
73. E.g. Child 116 stas. 59, 60, 102, 155; Child 117, stas. 64, 66, 91 etc.
74. E.S.P.B., III, p.115, lines 168-170; cf. 'The King and the Barker', sta. 47, E.S.P.B., V, p.80; 'The Erle of Tolous', lines 599-600, 793-794 and 'Eger and Grime', lines 1263-1264, in French and Hale, M.E. Metrical Romances, pp.401, 407 and 711.
75. Jn. IV.17-18: "Jesus said unto her, Thou hast well said, I have no husband: For thou hast had five husbands; and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband."
76. E.g. D.g.F., 98 A and D, sta. 5; B, C sta. 4.
77. M.P. texts B, C, refrain at fourth line; D.b. sta. 4.3.
78. Cf. Child 35 sta. 8.3-4; 68 A sta. 17; 110 E stas. 12, 13; 200 B sta. 9.
79. Cf. Child 68 D sta. 21, G sta. 7, J sta. 25.
80. Cf. D.b. sta. 5, d sta. 4; F sta. 5.
81. S.E.L. I, p.180, line 22b, p.248, line 47b; Child 100 A sta. 6.2; Shields, Folk Life, X, 'John Barbour', stas. 4.2, 5.2.
82. Child 11 B, F, G sta. 6: the rhyme is sister Anne : brother John.
83. D.g.F., 98 A and D sta. 7; B, C sta. 6; the sin with the parish priest is always described as the worst sin of all.
84. S.E.L., I, p.136, lines 9 - 10; the worst sin of which Guinevere (falsely) accuses Craddock's lady in Child 29 sta. 34.1 is having "Preists, clarkes, and wedded men" in her bed.
85. Garth, St. Mary Magdalene, pp.24-25.
86. On the power of the strictly celibate Catholic priest in rural Ireland, see K.H. Connell, Irish Peasant Society : Four Historical Essays, Oxford, 1968, pp.113-161.
87. E.S.P.B., I, p.219.
88. But cf. 'Swedish C', stas. 10 and 11 (D.g.F., II, p.534), in which the Magdalen is accused of sinking one child in the sea and one in a stream.
89. D.a. sta. 10, b. sta. 9; F sta. 7: the stanza is parallel to the earlier one in which the Magdalen asks Christ who the fathers of her children are.
90. O.E.D. VI, Pt.I, p.138, 'lead' sb., sense 5a: perhaps a popular hiding place in the sixteenth century, judging by Diccon's question,

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90. cont'd

'Have you not about your house, behind your furnace or lead,
A hole where a crafty knave may creep in for need'

in Gammer Gurton's Needle (c.1566, printed 1575), IV.iii,
in Anonymous Plays, 1550-1565 (Early English Drama Society, 3rd
series), London (privately printed), 1906, p.135.

91. O.E.D., IX, Pt.I, p.1146, 'stripe', sb. 1, 'Scottish: a small stream or rivulet.'
92. O.E.D., III, p.358, 'dike, dyke', sb., sense 6b.
93. M.P. text D.b. sta. 10.1, however, has "kitchen fire".
94. S.E.L., I, no.53, pp.302-313 and Caxton's Golden Legend, IV, pp.72-89: the Magdalen sails to Marseilles with Martha and Lazarus and converts the king of the country.
95. Garth, St. Mary Magdalene, pp.11, 93.
96. Ibid., pp.31 and 93, citing St. Gregory the Great, XL Homiliarum in Evangelia, Liber II, Homilia XXXIII in P.L., LXXVI, column 1239; see also S.E.L., I, p.304, lines 39-40.
97. Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life, Pt.III, chapter 22, pp.114-120.
98. W.A. Hinnebusch, The Early English Friars Preachers, Rome, 1951, p.323.
99. 'Hope' here means 'believe, infer, or suppose', an obsolete usage recorded first in the fourteenth century and last in the mid-seventeenth century: see M.E.D., IV, p.933, 'hopen', sense 2a and O.E.D., V, p.380, 'hope', vb., sense 4.
100. E.g. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 8, B sta. 7; also 'Swedish C' sta. 13 (D.g.F., II, p.534).
101. E.g. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 15; B stas. 14, 15.
102. Garth, St. Mary Magdalene, p.55, citing 'Hrabanus Mauras', De Vita Beatae Mariae Magdaleneae, P.L., CXII, column 1502; in S.E.L., I, p.351, lines 77-79, St. Martha sees angels bear her sister's soul to heaven.
103. The rhyme done : home was possible on [u:] from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries and, like the other evidence of end-rhymes, generally supports a Northern provenance for version A: see Dobson, English Pronunciation, 1500-1700, II, paras. 4 and 148, pp.452 and 674.
104. The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton MS. Titus D.XVIII by F.M. Mack (E.E.T.S., O.S. 252), London, 1963, p.146, lines 3-9; Job XII.23.
105. S.E.L., I, p.140, lines 105-120 and Caxton's Golden Legend, II, p.108: St. Mary of Egypt was sustained for seventeen years by three loaves which became as hard as stone and thereafter she lived on herbs. S.E.L., I, pp.312-313, lines 279-290: St. Mary Magdalene was daily refreshed by the songs of angels in the desert and hence needed no bodily repast.

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106. E.S.P.B., I, p.229, quoting Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Historiale Vincentii (Venetiis, 1494), IX, p.100, which states that St. Martha lived the first seven years on acorns, roots, herbage and wild apples, and rested on branches and on a stone. This penance is not mentioned in the life of St. Martha in S.E.L., I, pp.348-355 or in Caxton's Golden Legend, IV, pp.135-140.
107. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 9, C sta. 8 (seven years); B sta. 8 (fifteen years); D sta. 9 (eight years).
108. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 10; B sta. 9; C sta. 9; 'Swedish C' sta. 15 (D.g.F., II, p.535).
109. D.g.F., 98 A sta. 11; B and C sta. 10; D sta. 12.
110. Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp.17-18, 322-327; William of Shoreham, Poems, 'The Seven Sacraments', I.4.iii, p.37, lines 1037-1043.
111. On the precise distribution of the penance stanzas in M.P. and C.M. texts, see below, Appendix F, description of texts.
112. M.P. text B sta. 1.3. (allowing for the forgotten refrain at line 2).
113. M.P. text C sta. 11.1.
114. C.M. 32 sta. 7.1.
115. C.M. 28 sta. 7.1 and 30 sta. 12.1.
116. C.M. 1 sta. 15.1.
117. C.M. 10 sta. 13.1.
118. C.M. 5 sta. 9.1.
119. M.P. text C sta. 12.1 (? a 'sair-rung' bell?); Buchan, Malahat Review no.3, p.99, suggests 'sairing or alms bell' or that, as the second 'a' could be a 'd' in the Glenbuchat MS., 'sairdn' might be a mishearing of 'sair-dung' meaning 'much used, much hit'.
120. C.M. 9 sta. 15.1.
121. M.P. texts D.a. sta. 15, b sta. 14, d sta. 8; E sta. 7.1.
122. C.M. 3 sta. 7.1; 4 sta. 9.1. Twentieth century versions which keep the 'bell metamorphosis' are C.M. 9 and 10 (see above, notes 117, 120).
123. M.P. texts B sta. 2.1; D.a. sta. 16, b sta. 15, d sta. 9 ('portin in hell'); F sta. 9.3; C.M. 1 sta. 15.3; 3 sta. 7.3; 7 sta. 5.3; 14 sta. 11.3 (Irish); possibly also C.M. 30 sta. 13.3, "Whether your portion is heaven or hell"; cf. C.M. 15 sta. 3.3, "keeper of hell's gates" and C.M. 26 sta. 13.3, "a keeper in hell".
124. C.M. 2 sta. 10.3; 5 sta. 9.3 (seventeen years); 9 sta. 15.3; 11 sta. 7.3; 17 sta. 15.3; 28 sta. 8.3; 30 sta. 7.3
125. C.M. 10 sta. 13.3; 20 sta. 6.3; 21a sta. 5.3; b sta. 6.3; 24 sta. 5.3; 25 sta. 7.3; 27 sta. 15.
126. C.M. 6 sta. 1.3; 10 sta. 15.3.

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127. C.M. 13 sta. 10.3; 22 sta. 10.1; 31 sta. 8.3; cf. 32 sta. 6.1, "born in hell".
128. See Child's introduction to 'Willie's Lady' (Child 6), E.S.P.B., I, pp.82-85; cf. the story of the maligned clerk whom God vindicated by allowing his accuser, the bishop's daughter to suffer a protracted childbirth, Alphabet of Tales, no.380.
129. C.M. 1 sta. 14.1; also 'bird' in the wood: see C.M. 5 sta. 8.3; 9 sta. 14.3; 10 sta. 12.3; 11 sta. 6.1.
130. C.M. 2 sta. 9.1; 3 sta. 6.3; 14 sta. 10.3; cf. C.M. 13 sta. 9.3, "burning a bush", probably originally "bird in a bush".
131. C.M. 27 sta. 14.1; C.M. 26 sta. 12.1.
132. C.M. 1 sta. 14.3; 5 sta. 8.1; 9 sta. 14.1; 10 sta. 12.1 ("fish in the pond" but rhymes with "wood"); 26 sta. 12.3; 11 sta. 6.3; cf. C.M. 8 sta. 23.1, "fish in the mud". "Fish in the flood" is a traditional phrase: see Lyrics XIII no.8, line 2; Child 67 C sta. 1.3; 97 B sta. 21.1-2; 110 D sta. 2.6.
133. C.M. 2 sta. 9.3; 3 sta. 6.1; 7 sta. 5.1; 29 sta. 16.3.
134. C.M. 27 sta. 14.3
135. C.M. 2 sta. 10.1.
136. C.M. 13 sta. 9.1 (probably originally 'fish in a ditch').
137. C.M. 7 sta. 5.2.
138. C.M. 8 sta. 24.1; C.M. 26 sta. 7.3.
139. C.M. 8 sta. 23.2: a fitting punishment for a murderess.
140. R. Scot, The Discoverie of Witchcraft (1584), introduced by H.R. Williamson, Arundel, 1964, p.139; Deane and Shaw, Folklore of Cornwall, pp.108-109 and 134.
141. Wimberly, Folklore, pp.33-37.
142. See Child 31, 32, 34 - 36, 39, 44 and 270.
143. Caxton's Golden Legend, III, p.96; Alphabet of Tales, no.384; cf. Child 86 A sta. 22 and a Norwegian Magdalen ballad in D.g.F., III, p.889f, 'Norwegian D' (not printed in full: see E.S.P.B., I, p.229).
144. A punishment in Slavic and Moravian analogues summarised in E.S.P.B., I, pp.230-231; according to 'The Parson's Tale' in Chaucer, Works, ed. Robinson, p.229, lines 106-108, infanticide merits the solemn penance of being put out of church during Lent.
145. S.E.L., I, p.312, lines 279-281 (Life of St. Mary Magdalene).
146. Tubach, Index Exemplorum no.4629 and Alphabet of Tales no.569; on 'eating stones', see above, note 105.

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147. E.S.P.B., I, p.230.
148. Genesis XIX.26; E.S.P.B., I, p.231.
149. E.g. a recently recovered folk tale of St. Columba in S. O'Sullivan, The Folklore of Ireland (Batsford "Folklore of the British Isles" Series), London, 1974, p.93.
150. W. Shakespeare, Hamlet (A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare) ed. H.H. Furness, vol.I, London and Philadelphia, 1905, p.332, note on IV.v.40-41; S. Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 vols., revised and enlarged edn., Copenhagen 1955-1958, no. C.A1958.0.1.
151. Wimberly, Folklore, p.51; Alphabet of Tales, no.497; Prior, Anc. Danish Ballads, II, pp.64-65, stas. 28, 32; E.S.P.B., IV, p.521.
152. S.E.L., II, pp.468-469, lines 131-172.
153. Béaloides, XXI, tale no.93, pp.210-211 with English summary p.298!
154. See E. Kuhl, 'Shakespeare's "Lead Apes in Hell" and the Ballad of The Maid and the Palmer' in S.P., XXII (1925), pp.453-466; Kuhl's arguments are ably confuted by H.W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, London, 1952, pp.206-208.
155. Kuhl, S.P., XXII, p.463 ('The Book of Fortune').
156. Ibid., pp.454-455, footnote 8.
157. Ibid., p.457 ('Tis Merrie when Gossips meete, C4).
158. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, p.208 and figure 10, p.205; in Tubach, Index Exemplorum, nos. 1530-1532, the devil assumes the shape of an ape.
159. D. Buchan, Malahat Review, no.3, p.104.
160. E.S.P.B., I, p.230.
161. The M.E. Harrowing of Hell, p.13, lines 141-144 (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 2253).
162. Towneley Plays, XXV, pp.296-300, stas. 21-40; see also Play XXX (Iudicium), p.379, lines 370-376.
163. Macbeth II.iii.1-20; Othello IV.ii.91-93.
164. Cf. also C.M. 1 sta. 17; 2 sta. 12; 10 sta. 15; 11 sta. 9; 26 sta. 15. With the exception of the last, these are Scottish texts.
165. Cf. M.P. texts D.a. sta. 17, d sta. 10; G sta. 7.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE SURVIVAL OF A SAINT'S LEGEND:

'SIR HUGH, OR THE JEW'S DAUGHTER' (CHILD 155)

Sir Hugh will not be considered in as much detail as the other ballads of this study, since in most versions it is not recognizably religious, except insofar as it displays general religious prejudice against Jews. The ballad has obviously been preserved not for its religious message but for the suspense and pathos of its story of child murder¹. The climactic structure and striking dialogue of the earliest Scottish versions compensate somewhat for the ballad's distasteful, indeed horrific², theme, the alleged ritual murder of a Christian boy by Jews. For the last hundred years, however, the ballad's chief use has been as a frightening or sentimental children's song³ and in this truncated and frequently garbled form its artistic value is not high. Some modern American variants are, indeed, merely grotesque⁴:

'O take those finger-rings off my fingers,
Smoke them with your breath.'

The interest of Sir Hugh for this study lies in its illustration of how a popular and unedifying saint's legend has survived for seven centuries, despite religious Reformation and migration to another continent.

The crucifixion of a Christian boy by Jews is first recounted, by the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, as taking place at Inmestar in Syria in the fifth century. The Jews there were in the habit of holding sports among themselves and on one occasion, prompted by drunkenness, they began to deride Christianity⁵:

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They derided the Cross and those who hoped in the Crucified, and they hit upon this plan. They took a Christian child and bound him to a cross and hung him up; and to begin with they mocked and derided him for some time: but after a short space they lost control of themselves, and so ill-treated the child that they killed him. Hereupon ensued a bitter conflict between them and the Christians: this became known to the authorities: orders were sent to the provincial magistrates to seek out the guilty persons and punish them: and so the Jews of that place paid the penalty for the crime they had committed in sport.

This anecdote of Socrates was available in Latin in the middle ages through the Historia Tripartita of Cassiodorus⁶. Nevertheless, it seems to have had no repercussions until 1144, when a boy named William was found dead in Thorpe Wood near Norwich and it was alleged that the Jews of Norwich had crucified him in Holy Week in derision of Christ. The boy acquired the reputation of sanctity and was eventually (in 1154) buried in the Martyrs' Chapel in Norwich Cathedral. A monk of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, wrote a Latin life of 'St. William' in 1172 or 1173 which is extant in a manuscript which may predate 1200⁷. In this work Thomas of Monmouth asserts, on the authority of a converted Jew named Theobald, that the Jews' motive in murdering William was a sacrifice to enable them to return to their homeland⁸:

He verily told us that, in the ancient writings of his fathers, it was written that the Jews, without shedding of human blood, could neither obtain their freedom, nor could they ever return to their fatherland. Hence it was laid down by them in ancient times that every year they must sacrifice a Christian in some part of the world to the Most High God in scorn and contempt of Christ, that so they might avenge their sufferings on Him; inasmuch as it was because of Christ's death that they had been shut out from their own country, and were in exile as slaves in a foreign land. Wherefore the chief men and Rabbis of the Jews who dwelt in Spain assemble together at Narbonne ... and they cast lots for all the countries which the Jews inhabit; and whatever country the lot falls upon, its

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metropolis has to carry out the same method with the other towns and cities and the place whose lot is drawn has to fulfil the duty imposed by authority. Now in that year... it happened that the lot fell upon the Norwich Jews, and all the synagogues in England signified, by letter or by message, their consent that the wickedness should be carried out at Norwich.

It is possible that this charge of ritual crucifixion was based on a Gentile misunderstanding of the mockery of Haman, in effigy or through a human representative, at the Jewish festival of Purim, which quite frequently coincides with Easter⁹; alternatively, the charge may reflect a distorted view of Jewish Passover prayers and ceremonies¹⁰. Needless to say, the Jewish religion forbids both human sacrifice and the ritual use of blood¹¹.

The murder of William of Norwich was very influential¹²: within a few years similar charges were brought against Jews both in England and on the continent. The most important murder cases, in which the victims were venerated as saints, were those of Harald of Gloucester in 1168, Richard of Pontoise (at Paris) in 1179, Robert of Bury in 1181, Hugh of Lincoln in 1255, Andreas Oxner of Rinn, near Innsbruck, in 1462 and Simon of Trent in 1475¹³. Only Simon of Trent and Andreas of Rinn were ever officially canonised by the Church¹⁴, in 1588 and 1753 respectively. Although Popes from Innocent IV in 1247 to Paul III in 1540 repeatedly denied allegations that the Jewish religion involved blood sacrifice¹⁵, stories of this type have remained popular almost up to the present day¹⁶.

Roth points out that the case of William of Norwich and subsequent accusations in England did not involve the allegation that the Jews collect the blood of Christian children for ritual or medicinal purposes¹⁷. Nevertheless the origin of the blood

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accusation may have been the converted Jew Theobald's assertion that Jews believed they could not regain their homeland "sine sanguinis humani effusione"¹⁸. The first blood accusation seems to have occurred at Fulda in Germany in 1235: thirty-four Jews of both sexes were put to death after allegations that two Jews had killed the five sons of a miller on Christmas Day and collected the blood, for curative purposes, in bags smeared with wax. The Emperor Frederick II disbelieved this charge and appointed an expert commission of inquiry which concluded that the charge was groundless¹⁹. Henry III of England, at Frederick's request, sent two Jewish converts to testify to the commission, but reported that a case like that of Fulda was unknown in England²⁰. By 1247, however, the blood charge may have been well-known on the continent: Jews arrested after the death of a two-year-old girl at Valréas in France confessed under torture that they used Christian blood as a kind of sacrifice in a yearly communion service held on the Saturday in Passion Week²¹. Another widespread rumour at this time must have been that Jews make their communion at Passover with the heart of a slain child, since Pope Innocent IV refutes this allegation in a letter sent, after the Valréas case, to the Bishops of France and Germany, on 5 July 1247²². Both rumours appear in a bull of Gregory X, dated 7 October 1272, which denies that Jews steal and kill children, sacrifice their hearts or their blood, or eat their flesh and drink their blood²³.

By the mid thirteenth century a legend had grown up on the continent which explained the Jews' supposed habit of blood sacrifice. Thomas Cantimpré, writing between 1256 and 1263,

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alleges on the testimony of a converted Jew that the Jews, ever since their proclamation in Matthew's gospel (XXVII.25) have suffered from haemorrhoids and that a Jewish prophet foretold that the disease could be cured only by the shedding of Christian blood (by which he meant the sacrifice of the Mass); since this prophecy, the Jews have cast lots in each province to establish which community must produce the Christian blood²⁴. This legend is surely derived from Theobald's testimony in the Life of William of Norwich.

Continental traditions of the ritual murder charge, though rare, were known in medieval England: the eating of the heart is found in the Anglo-French ballad of young Hugh of Lincoln and the extraction of a Christian boy's heart by Jews occurs in a fifteenth century miracle story. An early fifteenth century panel at Loddon church in Norfolk depicts the crucified William of Norwich being stabbed by a Jew who holds a basin to collect the blood²⁵.

Nevertheless, the legend surrounding the death of the boy Hugh at Lincoln is based on ritual crucifixion, not the blood charge: Hugh was alleged to have been crucified by Jews in July or August 1255 and his body thrown into a well, where it was found by a woman. Miracles followed and Hugh's body was buried at the Cathedral after a solemn procession and with the full honours of a martyr. Full accounts of the supposed murder, differing only in small details, are given in the chronicles of Matthew Paris and the monastic annals of Burton and Waverley²⁶. A detailed account of these is unnecessary, since an excellent summary is given by Professor Child²⁷. Appendix H, below, a table of narrative features shared by Sir Hugh with its medieval

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analogues, shows that Child 155 undoubtedly derives from traditions surrounding the death of young Hugh of Lincoln. It is therefore most likely that the ur-ballad of St. Hugh in English was composed in the late thirteenth century whilst interest in the martyrdom was still high: by 1420 offerings at the shrine of 'little St. Hugh' had dwindled²⁸. An Anglo-French ballad of St. Hugh, of 92 stanzas, must have been written before 1272, since it twice refers to King Henry III (who investigated the case) as still living. The maker of this ballad obviously had local knowledge of Lincoln and names as murderers real Jewish suspects of the time²⁹.

Appendix H also illustrates that the present ballad of Sir Hugh shares some features with a popular miracle story (used by Chaucer in his 'Prioress' Tale') in which Jews murder a boy who habitually sings a Marian anthem near their quarters. Both this miracle story, which originated before 1200³⁰, and the medieval accounts of Hugh's death seem to have been influenced by the famous case of William of Norwich³¹, which may be the source of details such as the Council of Jews³², the testimony of a converted Jew³³ and the disposal of the corpse in the Jews' privy or 'jakes'³⁴. Brown divides the miracles of the singing boy into three groups. In group A, comprising thirteen members³⁵, the boy generally sings the Marian anthem 'Gaude Maria'; when, after his death he continues to sing, his mother hears him, and with a crowd forces an entrance into the Jews' house; the boy is dug up alive and well, thanks to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary, and in consequence the Jewish murderer is (usually) converted to Christianity. In the continental 'Group B' containing ten texts³⁶, the mother drops out of the story: the

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singing boy is a chorister who sings the anthem in church and it is the Jewish murderer who continues to hear the boy's singing, is driven to confess, and is baptized.

In 'Group C', containing ten texts³⁷ and associated with England³⁸, the boy is often a school boy, the only son of a poor widow, who sings the antiphon 'Alma Redemptoris Mater' while returning from school through a Jewry. After murdering the boy, the Jews throw the corpse into a 'jakes'. When her son does not return at the usual time, the anxious mother, either immediately or the next morning, goes out to search for her son. The corpse is found because of its singing, and is given a solemn funeral. The boy revives briefly only to announce that his requiem Mass should be that of Our Lady, 'Salve Sancta Parens', or to explain his miraculous singing.

Since the 'C-group' texts are the most closely related to Sir Hugh, as well as to the 'Prioress' Tale', they alone are analysed in Appendix H. The 'A-group' tradition, however, may also have influenced Chaucer's tale³⁹ and at some points has a close affinity with our ballad: Brown suggests that in the most primitive version of the miracle, the 'ur-Caesarius' tradition, the boy did not sing after his death but instead answered his mother when she called⁴⁰. Allowances must be made, however, for the possibility of narrative coincidence: in one version of the unrelated 'B-group', the Jewish murderer throws his victim into a well, as in Sir Hugh⁴¹. Other saints' legends contain similar motifs: a fifteenth century English legend of St. Kyneburgh relates that she was murdered by her adoptive stepmother and thrown into a well, from which she answered her adoptive father, who was searching for her⁴².

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In Appendix G, below, approximately one hundred and thirty-five variants of Sir Hugh have been examined and classified according to textual group. Neither this classification, nor deductions based on it regarding the ballad's transmission (see Appendix J), should be regarded as final. Several American versions were unavailable, whilst some texts contain features from more than one group⁴³ and may be either forerunners of these groups, or composite texts based on already existing groups. The largest sub-group (III.iv), the American ballad beginning 'It rained a mist', could certainly be subdivided further on the basis of trivial textual details, but the subdivisions would have neither relevance to this study nor literary interest. The purpose of my classification and description of texts is to provide a simplified reconstruction of how a saint's legend has been changed and secularised over several centuries.

The earliest texts of Sir Hugh are Scottish and date from the second half of the eighteenth century: these also preserve the medieval saint's legend in its most coherent form. I have named this group (no.I), 'Mrs. Brown's Group', after Child's A-text. The most coherent texts from group II, 'The School Group', come from Scotland and Ireland and date from the first half of the nineteenth century. A branch of this group is also established in America, particularly in Kentucky. The 'School Group' is independent of 'Mrs. Brown's Group' since some 'School Group' texts contain apparently archaic details which have dropped out of Group I. 'School Group' texts are closest to the traditions of the miracle of the singing boy: this might be narrative coincidence, the influence of the miracle

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tradition at a later date, or, as I believe, the preservation of motifs which were in the ur-ballad of Sir Hugh.

The most modern group, 'The Jew's Garden' (III), appears to have been derived from a 'School Group' text. 'The Jew's Garden' group is much the largest, containing ninety-seven texts, and is particularly popular in America. The earliest texts in group III can be traced to the early nineteenth century (see below). The split between groups I and II had evidently occurred by 1763, the date of the earliest version of the ballad in Percy's Reliques (S.H. 2), but may have taken place much earlier (though certainly after the Reformation).

It is extremely likely that the ur-ballad of Sir Hugh recounted the boy's crucifixion at the hands of several Jews. Yet not only is there no trace of crucifixion in any extant text, but crucifixion could not in any case be accomplished by the single woman murderess of most versions⁴⁴. Two broad traditions concerning the murder can be discerned in the ballad texts. 'Mrs. Brown's Group' contains unmistakable hints of cannibalism⁴⁵:

She laid him on a dressing-board,
Where she did sometimes dine;
She put a penknife in his heart,
And dressed him like a swine.

Then out and cam the thick, thick blude,
Then out and cam the thin;
Then out and cam the bonny heart's blude
Where a' the life lay in.

S.H. 3 stas. 8 and 9.

A form of the latter stanza is found in the seventeenth century version of Robin Hood's Death⁴⁶, where it has more place, since the ballad relates the fatal bleeding of Robin Hood at the hands of his kinswoman, the Prioress of Kirklees, a tradition known in the late middle ages⁴⁷. An eighteenth century version of

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Robin Hood's Death includes another element of Sir Hugh, the murderess leading her victim to a private room⁴⁸.

The 'School Group' appears to be the source of the more widespread ballad tradition of Hugh's death. Some 'School Group' texts retain the bleeding stanza of 'Mrs. Brown's Group':

She set him in a chair o gold
And she pricked him wi a pin, pin,
And the first that cam out was thick, thick blude
And the next that cam out was thin, thin ...
And the next that cam out was his hert's bluid
And there was nae mair within.

S.H. 13 sta. 3; cf. S.H. 11 sta. 8.

In other versions the boy's blood is collected:

She set him in a goolden chair,
And jagged him with a pin,
And called for a goolden cup
To houl his heart's blood in.

S.H. 9 sta. 5.

This may reflect a knowledge of the continental blood charge, but seems to be a comparatively late feature derived from the ballad of Lamkin (Child 93). Here Lamkin kills the baby slowly so that the infant's screams may bring down the lady of the house:

So he pricked him and pricked
All over with a pin,
And the nurse held a basin
For the blood to run in.

Child 93 F sta. 10.

In Lamkin and Robin Hood's death the bleeding is a necessary part of the story, whilst in Sir Hugh it is unexplained and mysterious. Bleeding may, however, have been a motif of the ur-ballad of Sir Hugh and hence attracted stanzas from other ballads: a stone statuette thought to have been placed on the 'martyr's' tomb depicted a small boy with marks of crucifixion and a wound in his side from which blood flowed⁴⁹.

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Certain sub-groups of 'The Jew's Garden' (III.ii, III.iv and perhaps also III.iii) have been further contaminated by Lamkin. Texts from these groups often contain both a false nurse who scours a basin to catch the blood⁵⁰ and a plea by Hugh that the murderess (who is often the nurse in these texts) save his life:

'Pray spare my life, my own dear nurse,
Pray spare my life or else never,
For if ever I live to be a man
We'll spend our remains together.'
S.H. 59 sta. 5.

The lady's plea in Lamkin is also occasionally addressed to the false nurse:

'Oh spare my life, nursie,
Oh spare my life, spare,
Ye'll have as many gowd guineas
As there's birds in the air.'
Child 93 0 sta. 5.

The stimulus for this further contamination by Lamkin was probably a stanza found in some versions of the earliest sub-group of 'The Jew's Garden' (III.i):

She led him through the parlor,
She led him through the hall,
She led him to the kitchen,
Among the servants all.
S.H. 48 sta. 3.1-4.

When this stanza was only half-remembered, a ludicrous attempt was made to restore the rhyme:

'She took me in the parlour
She took me in the kitchen,
And there I saw my own dear nurse
A picking of a chicken.'
S.H. 53 sta. 6.

Hippensteel's suggestion that these later texts of 'The Jew's Garden' are based on the Anglo-French ballad, in which the Jews' Christian nurse helps to dispose of Hugh's corpse in a well, would therefore seem to be ill-founded⁵¹.

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Nevertheless, the false nurse of the Anglo-French ballad may explain the presence of a sole woman murderess, the Jew's daughter. In my opinion, the ur-ballad of Sir Hugh related that a boy was enticed from his playmates into a Jew's house, crucified and stabbed, his heart then being eaten as in the Anglo-French ballad⁵². Later - surely not before the sixteenth century - the crucifixion was forgotten and dropped out, leaving only the suggestions of cannibalism and ritual bleeding. In the ur-ballad it was probably a woman who threw Hugh's corpse into a well, and influenced by this motif and perhaps by other ballads such as Robin Hood's Death⁵³, the ballad was remodelled with a sole murderess, the Jew's daughter. The well, which according to the Anglo-French ballad stood "derère le chastel del cité" (stanza 46.4), became the personal well of Jews who lived in a castle. The original location of the well in the English ur-ballad is perhaps indicated by the announcement of Hugh's corpse in Group I that he will meet his mother "at the back o merry Lincoln"⁵⁴.

The detail that Hugh kicks the ball through a window (see groups I and II⁵⁵) and the description in stanza 1.2 in many texts of the "fall" of rain or dew (a convenient rhyme with "ball") are most probably later developments, once the boys' game had become a ball game, a ballad commonplace⁵⁶. A rainy day, after all, is hardly suitable for outdoor games.

In the later group, 'The Jew's Garden', the rain is kept, but the ball's flight through a window, and the epilogue in which Hugh's mother finds her son's corpse in a well have dropped out. The place-name Lincoln is preserved in Group I and occasionally in Group II⁵⁷, but the oldest sub-group of

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'The Jew's Garden' (iii.i, from England), commonly begins "It rains, it rains, in merry Scotland" (S.H. 40). This suggests that Sir Hugh may have been reintroduced into England from Scotland⁵⁸, probably during the eighteenth century⁵⁹. There is no evidence that the ballad of Sir Hugh survived in folk tradition in England after the Reformation⁶⁰ despite the probability that the ur-ballad originated in England, perhaps near Lincoln.

The boy's name, 'little Sir Hugh', preserved only in Groups I and II⁶¹, is an indication of the ballad's medieval origins: the boy Hugh of Lincoln was probably called 'young' or 'little' St. Hugh to distinguish him from the earlier St. Hugh (1135? - 1200, canonised 1220) who was Bishop of Lincoln and, ironically, a protector of the Jews⁶². There is no evidence that the 'School Group' variant, S.H. 14, in which the boy is called William is based on the story of William of Norwich as Thompson argues⁶³. Neither the boy's name nor the place-name 'Lincoln' survive in 'The Jew's Garden' (Group III).

Mrs. Brown's version alone preserves the solemn funeral attended by miracles which must have been a feature of the ur-ballad, since, as we have seen, it occurs in all medieval analogues of Sir Hugh:

Now Lady Maisry⁶⁴ is gane hame,
Made him a winding sheet,
And at the back o merry Lincoln
The dead corpse did her meet.

And a' the bells o merry Lincoln
Without men's hands were rung
And a' the books o merry Lincoln
Were read without man's tongue
And neer was such a burial
Sin Adam's days begun.

S.H. 1 stas. 16 and 17.

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Bells rung without hands commonly feature in medieval hagiography⁶⁵. The two miracles imply that Hugh's burial service was conducted by angels. The ballad's religious significance was thus probably remembered in the eighteenth century by some singers. Mrs. Brown also calls the well "Our Lady's draw-well"⁶⁶ and a more recent Irish version (from group II.i) calls it "St. Simon's well"⁶⁷. Two 'School Group' versions, moreover, mention that God directed Hugh's mother to the draw-well, a feature of the miracle of the singing boy⁶⁸.

The solemn funeral is changed in the 'School Group' to the corpse's concern that he be given a proper burial⁶⁹:

'Give my blessing to my schoolfellows all,
And tell them to be at the church,
And make my grave both large and deep,
And my coffin of hazel and green birch.
S.H. 11 sta. 15.

This in turn led to the corpse's request that he be buried with articles such as bow and arrow or prayerbook and bible, a motif perhaps borrowed from Robin Hood's Death but more probably from The Twa Brothers (Child 49)⁷⁰. This feature also originated in the 'School Group' and is well preserved throughout 'The Jew's Garden':

'Oh, lay my Bible under my head
My prayer-book under my feet;
And when my playmates inquire for me,
Just tell them I'm fast asleep.'
S.H. 63 sta. 7.

Underlying Hugh's request here may be the old folk belief that "a bible could be laid on a restless child's head so as to send it to sleep"⁷¹.

The 'School Group' stresses that Hugh was a schoolboy and that his mother missed him when he failed to return from school, features both of the miracle of the singing boy and the annals

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of Burton⁷². 'School Group' texts commonly open with a reference to the time at which the incident took place, either a holy day, or a day in summer. This type of reference is found also in secular balladry but in the 'School Group' might just possibly be derived from the medieval tradition of little St. Hugh⁷³. Some 'School Group' texts preserve the medieval features of the mother's direct inquiry of the Jews, the Jew's taunt (though such taunts are a ballad commonplace) and the suggestion that Hugh had been warned not to associate with Jews⁷⁴.

One detail which may have been in the ur-ballad has been corrupted in the 'School Group': in text 3 (group I), Hugh's mother sets out, like the mother in an early version of the miracle of the singing boy but also like many a ballad heroine, with a staff in her hand⁷⁵. In the 'School Group' texts, Hugh's mother takes up a stick in order to beat her son for staying from home so long:

She put her mantle about her head,
Tuk a little rod in her han,
An she says, 'Sir Hugh, if I fin you here,
I will bate you for stayin so long.'
S.H. 9 sta. 8.

This originally pathetic detail has been developed and exaggerated in many texts until the mother is characterised as a ferocious figure for fear of whose violent anger Hugh dare not enter the Jew's house⁷⁶:

'I cannot go, I will not go,
I cannot go at all,
For if my mamma she knew it,
The red blood she'd make fall.'
S.H. 32 sta. 4.

The ultimate development of this trend is that in some texts the mother herself becomes the murderess⁷⁷.

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However, despite the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 (they were officially readmitted only in 1664), with its consequence that many ballad singers knew no Jews⁷⁸, reference to a Jewish murderess is almost always preserved⁷⁹: sad testimony that prejudice lives longer in popular culture than saints' legends⁸⁰.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. There is no clear evidence for the view of J.R. Woodall, 'Sir Hugh: A Study in Balladry' in Southern Folklore Quarterly, XIX (1955), pp.77-84, on p.83, that "sex and consequent mystery make the ballad ... called Sir Hugh".
2. I endorse fully Professor Child's view, E.S.P.B., III, p.241, that these accusations of child-murder and subsequent pogroms may "with all moderation ... be rubricated as the most disgraceful chapter in the history of the human race".
3. See below, Appendix G, nos. 53, 54, 60 and 135; texts of Sir Hugh used in this chapter are distinguished by their number in Appendix G.
4. S.H. 67 sta. 7.1-2.
5. Translated from the Greek by James in A. Jessopp and M.R. James, The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, Cambridge, 1896, p.lxiii.
6. Ibid., p.lxiv.
7. Ibid., p.liii.
8. Ibid., Bk.II, chapter xi, pp.93-94 (James's translation; my italics).
9. See C. Roth, 'The Feast of Purim and the Origins of the Blood Accusation' in Speculum, VIII (1933) pp.520-526.
10. J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews, New Haven and London, 1943, pp.128-130; see also H.L. Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, translated by H. Blanchamp, London, 1909, pp.279-280.
11. Ibid., pp.123-131; see also J. Jacobs, 'Little St. Hugh of Lincoln: Researches in History, Archaeology and Legend' in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I (1894), pp.89-135, on pp.93-94; an important biblical text in this connection is Leviticus XVII.14.
12. For an account of how the Norwich incident influenced subsequent accusations see James in Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, p.lxxvi.
13. For an account of English accusations of ritual murder, see C. Roth, A History of the Jews in England, Oxford, 1941, pp.9-13, 55-57; for Continental accusations, see Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, pp.178-193.
14. C. Roth, The Ritual Murder Libel and the Jew: the Report by Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli (Pope Clement XIV), London, 1934, pp.83-84; Ganganelli's report came out in 1759.
15. See ibid., pp.20-22 and Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, pp.250-258 for an account of these papal bulls, with quotations.
16. See E.S.P.B., III, pp.242-243 and F.H. Ridley, 'A Tale Told Too Often' in Western Folklore, XXVI (1967), pp.153-156, on p.155.

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17. Roth, History of the Jews in England, p.9, note 1.
18. Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, II.xi, p.93.
19. Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, pp.178-179, 239-241.
20. Ibid., p.264; see also G.I. Langmuir, 'The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln' in Speculum, XLVII (1972), pp.459-482, on pp.479-480.
21. Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, pp.179-180, 277-278.
22. Roth, The Ritual Murder Libel and the Jew, p.97 (Appendix A).
23. Strack, The Jew and Human Sacrifice, pp.255-256.
24. Ibid., pp.174-176, from Thomas Cantimpratanus, Bonum Universale de Apibus, Bk. II, chapter xxix, para. 23, ed. G. Calvarenus (i.e. Colvener), Douay, 1627, p.304f; on the date of this work, written at the Dominican priory on the suburbs in Louvain, see Carleton Brown, A Study of the Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress (Chaucer Society Publications, second series, no.45), London, 1910, p.8.
25. See below, Appendix H, narrative features (13) and (14).
26. Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1872-1883, V, pp.516-519; Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1864-1869, I, pp.340-348, and II, pp.346-348. On the dates of these accounts, see the Key to Appendix H, below.
27. E.S.P.B., III, pp.235-237. It is not relevant to my purpose to discuss what may have happened in reality to young Hugh of Lincoln. A speculative but quite plausible reconstruction of events is given by Jacobs, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I, pp.110-114.
28. J.W.F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, Cambridge, 1948, pp.228-229.
29. The Anglo-French ballad is printed in stanzas by A.Hume, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, or an Examination of a Curious Tradition respecting the Jews, London, 1849, pp.43-54 and in Jacobs, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I, pp.125-130; it is printed without stanza divisions by J.O. Halliwell, Ballads and Poems respecting Hugh of Lincoln, Brixton Hall (privately printed), 1849, pp.1-16. The balladist mentions "le rei Henrie (qui Deu gard et tenge sa vie!)" in stas. 13.1-2 and 17.1-2 and mentions the Dernestal, a district of Lincoln, and Canewic Hill, the place of execution, in stas. 2.2 and 92.1. For the identity of the ballad murderers, 'Peitevin' (sta. 2.3), 'Agim' (sta. 24.3) and 'Jopin' (sta. 19.2 - perhaps 'Copin'), see Jacobs, op.cit., pp.99, 108 and 111.
30. Carleton Brown, 'The Prioress's Tale' in W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, ed., Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Chicago, 1941, pp.447-485, on pp.454-455. The archetype of 'Group A' probably predates 1200, whilst the earliest example of the 'C-group' (C1) may have been composed about 1215.

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31. Brown, ibid., pp.455-457, thinks that the Norwich case affected the 'C-group'; M.H. Statler, 'The Analogues of Chaucer's Prioress' Tale: The Relation of Group C to Group A' in P.M.L.A., LXV (1950), pp.896-910, suggests (p.899, note 8) that the Norwich case may also have influenced the 'A-group'.
32. Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, I,vi, p.23 and II.xi, p.94; Annales Monastici, I, p.341 (Burton): Paris, Chronica Majora, V, p.516; Chaucer, Works, ed. Robinson, 'Prioress' Tale' (group B2), lines *1748-*1756; Brown, Sources and Analogues, ed. Bryan and Dempster, pp.467 (C1), 475 (C8), 481 (C10).
33. Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, II.xi, pp.93-94; Anglo-French Ballad, stas. 64 and 65 in Hume, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, p.49.
34. Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, I.vi, p.24: the Jews discuss but reject a 'jakes' as a hiding place in the Anglo-French ballad, stas. 40, 41 (Hume, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, p.47), Chaucer, Works, ed. Robinson, 'Prioress' Tale', lines *1762-*1763 and Brown, Sources and Analogues, ed. Bryan and Dempster, pp.467 (C1), 469 (C2), 470 (C4 and see C5, line 48), 474 (C7), 476 (C8), 478 (C9) and 482 (C10). Brown, however, ibid., p.457 suggests that burial in a 'jakes' may be narrative coincidence.
35. Listed and summarised by Brown, Sources and Analogues, ed. Bryan and Dempster, pp.447-449.
36. Ibid., p.449.
37. Ibid., p.450 and 467-485; see also the Key to Appendix H, below.
38. Brown, Study of the Miracle of Our Lady, p.86.
39. Statler, P.M.L.A., LXV, pp.896-910.
40. Brown, Study of the Miracle of Our Lady, pp.70, 73; the texts derived from ur-Caesarius are A4 (Caesarius of Heisterbach, Libri VIII Miraculorum), A6 (Thomas Cantimpré, Bonum Universale de Apibus, II.xxix. 13 - see above, note 24) and A8 (from Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1117, printed by Brown, op.cit., pp.5-6, 8 and 9-10 respectively).
41. Brown, Study of the Miracle of Our Lady, p.30, B9 (Jean Mielot, Miracles de Nostre Dame, fifteenth century).
42. The legend is preserved in Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS. 387 of the fifteenth century and summarised in Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1863-1867, I, pp.lxv-lxviii (introduction).
43. E.g. text 5 contains features both of Group I (Mrs. Brown's Group) and Group II.i. (the Scottish and Irish School Group); text 10 contains features of Groups I, II.i. and group III, 'The Jew's Garden', particularly subgroups i and ii. A list of unexamined texts is given at the end of Appendix G, below.
44. In some versions of 'The Jew's Garden', the murderer is a man, e.g. S.H. 49 sta. 2.4, group III.i, and S.H. 54 sta. 2.1, group III.ii. This is almost certainly mere corruption.

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45. Ridley, Western Folklore, XXVI, p.154, somewhat fancifully suggests, following S.H. 5 sta. 9.3-4, that the Jew's daughter "serves him up something in the manner of a roast pig garnished with apples"; in some 'School Group' and 'Jew's Garden' texts the Jew's daughter stabs Hugh as if he were a sheep. This is probably mere adaptation of the swine comparison, but see below, Appendix H, narrative feature (15).
46. Child 120 A sta. 17.
47. See A Gest of Robyn Hode (Child 117) stas. 451-456. A version of the 'Gest' (b) was printed between 1492 and 1534 and the poem may well be a compilation of several fifteenth century ballads: see E.S.P.B., III, p.40.
48. Child 120 B sta. 7; however, the inner room was also part of the medieval legend of little St. Hugh - see below, Appendix H, narrative feature (11).
49. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p.229 and note 4, citing a report by Smart Lethieullier in Archaeologia, I (1770), pp.28-29. Lethieullier was shown this headless statue in 1736 and a drawing of it is reproduced by Sir Charles Anderson, Lincoln Pocket Guide, 3rd ed., Lincoln, 1892, plate iv.
50. Compare Child 93 A stas. 19 and 21 with S.H. 55 sta. 5 and S.H. 57 sta. 7.
51. F. Hippensteel, 'Sir Hugh, the Hoosier Contribution to the Ballad' in Indiana Folklore, II, no.2 (1969), pp.75-140, on p.94.
52. For a diagram of the ballad's narrative development, see below, Appendix J; see also Appendix H, narrative features (7), (10) and (13).
53. Another ballad of a murderess, Young Hunting (Child 68) appears to have been contaminated by Sir Hugh at several points: see Appendix H, narrative features (13), (18) and (19).
54. S.H. 1 sta. 15.3 and cf. texts 2 sta. 13.3, 3 sta. 16.3 ('birks of Mirryland toun') and 5 sta. 21.3.
55. The ball's passage through a window is absent from S.H. 2 (group I) and is not a constant feature of group II.i: for example, S.H. 11 sta. 2 refers to broken windows but in S.H. 9 stas. 1 and 2 the Jew's daughter comes to watch the ball-game and invites Hugh in.
56. See below, Appendix H, narrative feature (8). Ball-playing, however, occurs in an early story of the child St. Cuthbert (S.E.L., I, pp.118-119, lines 1-26) and might possibly have been in the ur-ballad of Sir Hugh.
57. For group I, see above, note 54; in group II.i the name is preserved only in 10 sta. 10.1, 12 sta. 1.1 and 23 sta. 1.1. Lincoln is also a stock locality, probably borrowed from Sir Hugh, which occurs in several ballads, none older than the late eighteenth century: see below, Appendix H, narrative feature (1).
58. But cf. the opening of Henry Martyn (Child 250, A - D).

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59. The earliest texts of the 'Merry Scotland' group (III.i), S.H. 39 and 40, can be traced back to c.1810 or earlier, but at this date the 'Chicken' group (III.ii) had already developed (S.H. 53). Since the 'Chicken' group is later than group III.i - it keeps the 'Scotland' reference but has been contaminated further by Lamkin - it seems likely that the 'Jew's Garden' group had been derived from the 'School Group' well before 1800.
60. S.H. 41, a member of group III.i, mentions 'Lincoln' in sta. 1.1, but the contributor of this version acknowledged to Child that he might have confused his childish recollections with later forms of the ballad which he had read: E.S.P.B., III, p.254, note on L.a.
61. E.g. S.H. 1 sta. 1.3 ('sweet Sir Hugh'); 5 sta. 5.3 and 9 sta. 3.4 ('little Sir Hugh'); 11 sta. 1.3 ('little Harry Hughes'); 29 sta. 1.3 ('little Son Hugh'). The epithet 'little' is a feature of the School Group (II.i and ii).
62. Cf. Chaucer's Prioress' exclamation, 'O yonge Hugh of Lincoln', Works, ed. Robinson, group B2, line *1874 (p.164). For St. Hugh the Bishop, see Penguin Dictionary of Saints, pp.175-176.
63. A.Thompson, 'Little Sir William - a Legend and A Song' in Tamlyn, April 1975, pp.10-11.
64. In S.H. 2 sta. 8.4 and 3 sta. 13.4, Hugh's mother is called 'Lady Helen'. In reality, Hugh's mother was called Beatrice: see Jacobs, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I, p.123, extract from Henry III's summons for trial by jury at Lincoln, 7 January 1256. According to the annals of Burton (Annales Monastici, ed. Luard, I, p.340) Hugh's mother was a poor woman. Her change of social status in the ballad may have occurred at the same time that the Jews moved into the castle.
65. Loomis, White Magic, pp.23, 52 and 169 note 17.
66. S.H. 1 sta. 9.3.
67. S.H. 20 sta. 6.3.
68. See Appendix H, narrative feature (25).
69. The corpse's concern for a proper burial is noted also by Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, p.142.
70. See Appendix H, narrative feature (30); The Twa Brothers is consistently closer to Sir Hugh, since it contains the dying boy's request that he be buried in the churchyard (Child 49 A sta. 5), that he be buried with bow and arrow (D sta. 9) and with prayer-book (B sta. 6) and his concern to sleep soundly (F sta. 10).
71. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p.45.
72. See Appendix H, narrative features (6), (7) and (20).
73. Appendix H, narrative features (2) and (3).
74. Appendix H, narrative features (23), (19) and (9).

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75. Appendix H, narrative feature (21); S.H. 3 sta. 11 actually seems to refer to the Jew's daughter, but is plainly a corruption of the stanza, found in S.H. 1 sta. 11, 2 sta. 9 and 5 sta. 14, in which Hugh's mother dons her mantle to begin her search.
76. This excuse, found in groups II and III, is probably derived from Hugh's mother's warning not to associate with Jews, e.g. S.H. 39 sta. 4.
77. F.C. Stamper and W.H. Jansen, ' "Water Birch": an American Variant of "Hugh of Lincoln" ' in J.A.F., LXXI (1958) pp.16-22. Jansen points out (p.17) that the adaptation may have been prompted by the murderess' use in this text (S.H. 38) and other American variants (of group II.ii) of the term 'little son Hugh'. The mother is the murderess also in S.H. 34 and 56.
78. On the expulsion and later pattern of Jewish settlement see Roth, History of the Jews in England, pp.57-59, 82-90, 92, 132, 139-140, 148, 228 note 1 and 239.
79. Some exceptions are S.H. 11 sta. 3.1 ("duke's daughter"); 66 sta. 3.1 ("jeweller's daughter") and 67 sta. 3.1 ("Gipsy lady").
80. Anti-Semitism was kept alive among those who knew no Jews mainly by gospel references such as Matt. XXVII.25 and Jn. VIII.31-59.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

The accidental survival of the traditional religious ballads, and the small number of examples we have, render hazardous any conclusions as to their prevalence in the middle ages. Judas, however, shows that the religious ballad developed early in England, perhaps at the same time that the secular ballad was becoming popular. Although no other traditional religious ballad can, at present, be traced further back than the fifteenth century, it seems reasonable to suppose that other earlier religious ballads have been lost.

The lost medieval religious ballads probably dealt with themes familiar from the extant ballads, that is, legends of Christ and the saints, and exempla. Old Testament subjects were, apparently, more popular after the Reformation¹. It is likely that some of the lost British religious ballads would have corresponded to extant European religious ballads, but that some, like Sir Hugh, told stories of British saints.

Fewer texts of fewer religious traditional ballads have been recovered from Scotland and Ireland, but their survival indicates that in the middle ages religious ballads were sung throughout the British Isles. Lost Scottish and Irish religious texts may well have corresponded more closely than their English counterparts to Scandinavian religious ballads.

The traditional religious ballad has survived best in rural districts of Britain which were conservative in religious matters at least until the Civil War. Monmouthshire had a higher than average number of recusants until this date whilst in Lancashire, many families have remained Catholic since before

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the Reformation². Herefordshire had a reputation for backwardness in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries³. Cornwall, likewise, appears to have preserved pre-Reformation folk legends very well⁴. Aberdeenshire contained pockets of recusants and was largely Episcopalian until after the Civil War⁵.

Rural societies nurtured the traditional practice of carol-singing, and this was then taken up by the gypsies who helped with agricultural work. Broadside presses in towns in these areas, e.g. Birmingham, Worcester and Manchester, ensured the survival of the 'Christmas ballads' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Evangelical tastes both in London and the Provinces may have stimulated the printing of carols and religious broadsides, and with them the older religious ballads. The Carnal and the Crane, The Holy Well and The Seven Virgins were perhaps printed earlier than the eighteenth century, since they have been altered in conformity with the fashion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dives and Lazarus has probably been reprinted since the sixteenth century: it has always been acceptable to Protestants, whether or not it is Catholic in origin.

The Stationer's Register, however, shows that many religious broadsides popular in London in the sixteenth century were never taken up by rural singers. Sir Hugh indicates that occasionally religious ballads survived because they were not recognized as such: perhaps some other traditional ballads (e.g. Child 53) may likewise have their origins in medieval religious legends.

The relatively small number of traditional religious ballads which survive even on the continent suggests that religious songs were never as popular as secular ballads which told of battles,

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love stories or magic. Indeed, many of the extant religious ballads seem to have survived because they are sensational in theme.

Whilst many pre-Christian ideas and superstitions survive in British secular traditional ballads, it would be mistaken to conclude that balladry, which originated in the Catholic middle ages, is mainly pagan: many superstitious ideas were quite acceptable as part of popular medieval Catholic culture⁶. Moreover, the many references to the Mass⁷, to priests⁸, saints⁹ and miracles¹⁰ in traditional secular ballads have not received sufficient attention. These references, often preserved in tags and commonplaces, show how a traditional oral culture could favour the survival of religious lore which was no longer politically 'safe'.

The study of traditional religious ballads provides new evidence of the influence of medieval lyric and saints' legend on balladry, of the survival of Catholic songs in post-Reformation Britain and of the early importance of the broadside press in the dissemination of traditional ballads.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE

1. See Mackey, Med. Saints' Lives, Appendix V, pp.248-251.
2. See J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850, London, 1975, Map 1, 'Distribution of Catholics 1641-2', pp.404-405.
3. See Rollins, Index (S.P., XXI), no.1473, 'A newe ballad of the late commotion in Herefordshire, occasioned by the Death of Alice Wellington, A Recusant', licensed to Edward White, Jr., 13 September, 1605; Aubrey, Remaines, ed. Britten, pp.15, 22, 37, 39, 96 and 103 gives examples of old superstitions surviving in Herefs. c.1686.
4. Deane and Shaw, Folklore of Cornwall, pp.132-134.
5. See above, Chapter Nine, notes 25 and 26.
6. E.g. Young Benjie (Child 86) illustrates the theory that 'murder will out' by the pagan custom of forcing the corpse to speak by leaving the door open; that this idea was not seen as unchristian is shown by Child 86 A sta. 22.
7. E.g. Child 73 E sta. 20.4; 81 A sta. 2.2; 96 A sta. 17.4; 145 A sta. 31.3.
8. E.g. Child 96 B sta. 14.4; 99 A sta. 33.3; 165 sta. 13; 232 G sta. 15.1-2.
9. E.g. Child 63 A sta. 16.2; 139 sta. 5.2, 6.2; 161 C sta. 14.2.
10. E.g. Child 30 stas. 46, 47; see also above, Chapter Nine, note 30.

A Note on the Arrangement of the Appendices

The lists of ballad variants in Appendices A - G are not exhaustive, since many unpublished texts must be supposed to exist, in manuscript or in uncatalogued broadside collections, whilst some published works were unavailable. Texts judged not to represent authentic broadside or folk tradition have been excluded; some additional texts are listed at the end of Appendices A and G.

Appendices A - G are preceded by a Key to the Description of Texts in which a capital letter normally represents a full stanza of 4 lines, whilst a lower case letter represents some part of such a stanza, usually two lines. The addition of an asterisk to a letter indicates that a stanza has undergone significant change, or that it is an additional stanza on the same theme as an earlier one using the same letter. Small variations and corruptions cannot be described adequately in the appendices: there is no substitute for first hand examination of the texts.

Appendices A - E contain a list of broadside variants represented by Roman numerals. Broadside texts printed by the nineteenth century editors Burne, Cowper, Hone, Husk, Sandys and Sylvester are listed first, followed by unpublished broadsides in alphabetical order first of the place of printing and secondly of the name of the printer. Anonymous broadsides are given either at the end of the supposed place of origin, or at the end of the list of broadsides. Information used in the dating of broadsides may be found in Appendix K. The size of individual broadsheets is not given, since most sheets have been cut down to fit the volume in which they were collected. Limitation of space forbids a description of woodcuts, except as an aid to the identification of particular broadsheets.

Traditional ballad variants are allotted Arabic numerals and are listed according to country of origin, in the order 'England, Scotland, Ireland, United States of America, Canada'; the texts in Appendix G,

however, have been classified according to textual families. Within the primary system of classification, texts are listed first as they appear in E.S.P.B., next as they appear in Bronson's Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, and finally in alphabetical order of collector or editor. Titles in parentheses are those assigned to variants by the collector, not by the singer; dates in parentheses refer to the date at which the printed work appeared, not to the date of singing or of broadside printing. An index of singers in Appendix M has been compiled as an aid to the identification of texts.

Full details of works cited by short title in the Appendices are given in the Bibliography; works cited in full in the Appendices have not been examined at first hand.

APPENDIX AVARIANTS OF 'THE CHERRY TREE CAROL' (CHILD 54)Key to the Description of Texts

- A: Joseph, usually 'an old man', marries Mary in Galilee.
 B: When Joseph has brought Mary home, she proves with child.
 C: Joseph tells Mary that he is going to Jerusalem.
 D: Mary replies that she is going with him.

On their journey, Joseph and Mary see cherry trees:

- E: as they walk through an orchard or garden 'good' (rhymes with 'blood').
 E1: as they walk through a garden 'gay' (rhymes with 'tree' or 'spray').
 E2: as they walk through a garden 'green' (rhymes with 'seen' or 'limb').
 E3: as they were walking one day (they saw apples and cherries so fair to behold).
 E4: Mary alone notices the cherries.
 E5: Other variants.

Mary, meek and mild, requests cherries:

- F: 'for I am with child.'
 F1: 'Gather me cherries, they run so in my mind.'
 F2: 'Pluck me cherries to give to my child.'
 F3: Other variants.

Joseph replies to Mary's request:

- G: 'Let him pluck you cherries who got you with child.'
 G1: 'Let the father of your baby gather cherries for you.'
 G2: 'I will not give thee cherries' (general refusal).
 G3: 'I will not pluck cherries for to give to thy child.'
 G4: Other variants.

Jesus, within His mother's womb:

- H: bids Mary go to the tree 'and it shall bow down'.
 H1: orders the tree to bow to His mother's hand.
 H2: orders the tree to bow down, that His mother may have some.
 H3: orders the tree to bow to His mother's knee; or prophesies that the tree will do so.

H4: announces that Mary will have cherries, and Joseph will have none.

H5: Other variants.

Alternative miracles:

J: Mary orders the cherry tree to bow.

J1: God or Jesus speaks from heaven.

J2: An angel bends the branches.

J3: Jesus bends the branches.

J4: Other variants.

The tree bows:

K: the highest branch (etc.) bows to Mary's knee.

K1: the highest branch (etc.) bows to Mary's hand.

K2: the tree bows to the ground.

K3: Mary says, 'Now you may see, Joseph, these cherries are for me.'

K4: the cherry tree 'bends' and 'bows', and Mary gathers cherries.

K5: Other variants.

Joseph's reaction:

L: 'O eat your cherries, Mary.'

L1: 'I have done Mary wrong.'

L2: The cherry tree bended and broke; Joseph regretted the words he spoke.

L3: Joseph takes Mary on his knee and begs the Lord for mercy.

Mary's actions afterwards:

M: Mary goes home with her heavy load.

M1: Mary and Joseph go to Bethlehem.

M2: Jesus is born in a stable (stanzas vary).

Angels are heard:

N: Joseph hears an angel sing that Christ will be born that night.

N1: Joseph and Mary hear angels.

N2: Mary alone hears angels.

An angel describes Christ's birth:

(of the words placed in parenthesis after a stanza, 'indirect' means that the stanza appears as description of Christ's birth, not as the direct speech of an angel; 'Christ's prophecy' means that the stanza is apparently spoken by the Christ Child.)

Appendix A, Key to the Description of Texts (cont'd)

- P: Jesus will be born in an ox's stall.
- P1: He will not be clothed in purple nor in pall.
- P2: He will not be clothed in silk.
- P3: He will not be cradled in silver nor in gold.
- P4: He will not be christened in white wine nor red.
- P5: He never did require white wine nor red (or 'bread').
- P6: He was not christened in wine, for His name is Divine (etc.).
- P7: He was christened in water sprung from Bethine.

Christ is questioned:

- Q: Mary puts the born Christ Child on her knee and questions Him about the future.
- Q1: Joseph, with Mary on his knee, questions Mary or the unborn Christ Child on when Jesus will be born.
- Q2: Joseph asks when Jesus' death day will be.

The born Christ Child replies (to 'Q'):

- R: 'I will be as dead as the stones in the wall.'
- R1: 'This world will be like the stones in the street.'
- R2: that He will suffer on Wednesday and/or Friday.
- R3: that apocalyptic signs will take place at His death.
- R4: that on His Resurrection, the sun and moon will rise with Him.
- R5: that people will rejoice and birds sing at His Resurrection.
- R6: that righteous men will rise from the tomb.

The unborn Christ Child replies (to 'Q1' or 'Q2'):

- S: that His birthday will be on Old Christmas Day (usually a particular date), when the stars will tremble.
- S1: additional signs and wonders will attend His birth.

Additional stanzas:

- T: 'Then be ye glad, good people ...'
- T1: 'And all in earth and heaven ...'
- T2: 'The good man, long dejected ...'
- T3: 'Be not afraid when hearing ...'
- T4: 'And marshalled on the mountain ...'
- T5: 'The herald hymn obeying'

Appendix A, Key to the Description of Texts (cont'd)

- T6: The stones in Bethlehem cried out in praise of Mary.
- T7: 'Come all ye young ladies ...'
- T8: 'He shall not lay in bed nor in crib ...'
- T9: 'Then answered Lord Jesus, "Dear Joseph, make no moan ..." '

(a) BROADSIDE TEXTS OF 'THE CHERRY TREE CAROL'I. COWPER (Child 54 B.d.)

'The Cherry Tree'

- Source: Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.xxxviii-ix:
"a chap-book printed in or about 1843
at Birmingham ..." (see C.T.C. VI)
- Date: c.1843.
- Description of text: 7 'long' stanzas (i.e. each comprises two
of Child's stanzas, printed in four long
lines), AB - E1, F - f1, G2, k3 - H,
H3 - N, P1 - P5, p3 - Q, R1.

II. HONE (Child 54 B.b.)

'A Christmas Carol'

- Source: Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, pp.90-93:
"from various copies of it printed at
different places ..."
- Date: (1823).
- Description of text: 18 stas., A - B - E1 - F1, f - G - H - H3 -
K3 - L - N - P - P1 - P3 - P4 - Q - R1 -
R2 - R4.

III. HUSK (Child 54 B.a.)

'C.T.C.'

- Source: Husk, Nativity, pp.59-62: Husk states merely
that (pp.58-59), "This carol has long been
a favourite with the people, and is met with
on broadsides printed in all parts of England
... There are many versions of this carol,
some with omissions, others with additions,
but that now given seemed the most preferable."
- Date: (1868). The text may reflect a West Midlands
broadside of the eighteenth century - see
discussion in Chapter Four.
- Description of text: 18 stas., A - B - E1 - F1 - G - H1 - k, k3 - L
- N - P - P1 - P3 - P4 - Q - R - R2 - R4 - R5.

IV. SYLVESTER (Child 54 B.c.)

'C.T.C.'

Source: Sylvester, Garland, pp.45-49: "The version here printed has been made after a careful examination of several copies printed in various parts of England."

Date: (1861).

Description of text: 17 stas., A - E1 - E - F1 - (prose summary) - h, h3 - h, h3* - K1 - L - N - P - P1 - P3 - P4 - Q - R - R2 - R4; from other copies, Sylvester cites 3½ additional stanzas, E1*, k3, L1 and R1.

V. BIRMINGHAM - BLOOMER

'J.W.O.M.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'Shepherds Rejoice/Joseph was an Old Man.' (two carols).

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137, no.26.

Imprint: "T. Bloomer, Printer, Birmingham."

Date: 1817-1827.

Description of text: 7 'long' stanzas, AB - E1, F - f1, G, h - h, H3, k3 - N, P1 - P5, P3 - Q, R1.

VI. BIRMINGHAM - JACKSON (Chapbook)

'J.W.O.M.'

Title of Chapbook: 'A New Carol Book No.3'. (C.T.C. at pp.69-70).

Location of Chapbook: Birmingham Library 63240.

Imprint: (front page) "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by Jackson & Son (late J. Russell), 21 Moor-street."

Date: c.1839 - c.1848.

Description of text: 7 'long' stanzas, as above, C.T.C. text I.

VII. BIRMINGHAM - RUSSELL

'J.W.O.M.'

Location of Broadside: Birmingham Library 60338, p.71.

Imprint: "Printed by J. Russell, 24 Moor-street, Birmingham."

Appendix A, Broadside Texts (cont'd)VII. cont'd

Date: c.1816 - 1820 (?).

Description of text: 7 'long' stanzas, AB - E1, F1 - f, G, h - h, H3, k3 - N, P1 - P5, P3 - Q, R1.

VIII. BIRMINGHAM - WOOD

'J.W.O.M.'

Location of Broadside: Birmingham Library, Religious Broadside no.17.

Imprint: "Wood, Printer, New Meeting-street, Birmingham."

Date: c.1800 - c.1850. (The text probably reflects a West Midlands broadside of the eighteenth century - see discussion in Chapter Four).

Description of Text: 14 stas., A - B - E2 - F - G - H1 - k, k3 - L - Q - P4 (indirect) - p1, p (indirect) - R2 - R4 - R5.

IX. BIRMINGHAM - WRIGHT

'J.W.O.M.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'Joseph was an Old Man/Lift up your Heads.' (two carols).

Location of Broadside: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137 no.3.

Imprint: "Wright, Printer, Moor-street, Birmingham."

Date: c.1820 - 1825, or 1831 - c.1837.

Description of Text: 7 'long' stanzas, AB - E1, F3 - f, G, h - h, H3, k3 - N, P1 - P5, P3 - Q, R1.

X. GRAVESEND - DAVIS

'The Cherry Carol'

Title of Broadsheet: 'Heavenly, Joyful Carols for Christmas.'

Contents of Broadsheet: 'God rest you Merry, Gentlemen'; 'The Cherry Carol'; 'The Child coming to Christ' (three carols).

Location of Broadside: In my possession; a duplicate exists in an uncatalogued collection in Durham University Library.

Imprint: "Davis, Printer, King Street, Gravesend."

Date: c.1846 - 1849.

Description of text: As above, C.T.C. text II.

Appendix A, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XI.a and b. LONDON - BATCHELAR

('When J.W.O.M.')

Title of Broadsheet: 'Divine Mirth'.Contents of Broadsheet: 'Carol 1.' (beg. "God rest you, merry gentlemen"); 'Carol 2' (beg. "The moon shines bright"); 'Carol 3' (beg. "The first good joy our Mary had"); 'Carol 4' (beg. "When Joseph was an old man, an old man was he"). (four carols)Location of Broadside: British Library 1889 b. 10/III p.17 verso (a) and p.18 recto (b).Imprint: a, "Batchelar, Printer, Long Alley";
b, "Printed and sold by T. Batchelar,
14 Hackney Road Crescent, Near Shoreditch
Church."Date: a, 1817 - 1828.
b, 1828 - 1832.Description of text: 4 'long' stanzas AB - N, P1 - P5, P3 - Q,
R1. (a and b are identical).XIIa. LONDON - CATNACH

'When J.W.O.M.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'Divine Mirth'.Contents of Broadsheet: 'God Rest You Merry Gentlemen'; 'A New Christmas Carol' (beg. "It is the day, the Holy day"); 'When Joseph was an Old Man. An Ancient Carol'; 'The Lamb' (four carols).Location of Broadside: Birmingham Library 60338, p.93; also in
British Library 1889 b. 10/III, p.16 recto
and cf. p.16 verso; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. 5.
Delta. 260, nos. 16 and 18.Imprint: "Printed by J. Catnach, 2 Monmouth-court,
7 Dials."Date: 1813 - 1838.Description of text: 4 'long' stas., as above, C.T.C. text XI.XIIb. Printer, title and text as a.Title of Broadsheet: 'The Seraphim. A Choice Collection of
Esteemed Carols.'Contents of Broadsheet: 'Christ in the Manger'; 'Portuguese Hymn';
'When Joseph was an Old Man'; 'God Rest You
Merry Gentlemen'; 'Easter Anthem' (beg.
"Jesus Christ is ris'n today"). (five carols).

Appendix A, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XIIb. cont'd

Location of Broadside: British Library 1889 b. 10/III pp.31 recto and 31 verso (2 copies).

Imprint: "J. Catnach, Printer, 2 Monmouth-court, D."

Date: Probably as a; pencil date 1839 in top right hand corner.

XIIIa. LONDON - EVANS

('When J.W.O.M.')

Title of Broadsheet: 'Divine Mirth'.

Contents of Broadsheet: 'Carol I' (beg. "God rest you merry gentlemen"); 'Carol II' (beg. "The Moon shines bright"); 'Carol III' (beg. "The first good joy our Mary had"); 'Carol IV' (beg. "When Joseph was an old man, and an old man was he"). (four carols).

Location of Broadside: British Library 1879 cc. 10, p.6.

Imprint: "Printed and sold by T. Evans, 79 Long Lane."

Date: 1803 - 1813.

Description of text: Printed in long lines, without stanza divisions. I have divided the text into 13 'short' stas., stas. 4 and 7 having 3 'long' lines (i.e. 6 short lines) each: A - B - E1 - F1, f - G - H - H3, k3 - N - P1 - P5 - P3 - Q - R1 (see C.T.C. VII).

XIIIb. Title, contents of broadsheet and text as a.

Location of Broadside: R.V.W. Lib. Sharp Broadside Colln. 1991, p.41; also in Brit. Lib. 1875 d. 8, no.56; see also Catalogue of the Lauriston Castle Chapbooks, p.63, no.L.C. 2901.

Imprint: "Printed by J. and C. Evans, Long-lane, London."

Date: 1821-1828.

XIVa and b. LONDON - PITTS

('When J.W.O.M.')

Title of Broadsheet: 'Divine Mirth'.

Contents of Broadsheet: As above, XIIIa.

Appendix A, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XIVa and b (cont'd)

Location of Broadside: Brit. Lib. 1875 d. 8, nos. 52 (a) and 55 (b).

Imprints: a, "Printed and Sold by J. Pitts,
6 No. Great St. Andrew Street,
Seven Dials." (sic);
b, "Pitts Printer, and Toy Warehouse,
6 Great St. Andrew Street, 7 dials."

Date: 1820-1844.

Description of texts: a and b are identical, the text being
arranged as XIIIa, above.

XV. LONDON - TAYLOR

'When J.W.O.M.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'The Redeemer'.

Contents of Broadsheet: 'Portuguese Hymn'; 'When Joseph was an
Old Man'; 'The Joys of Mary'; 'Hark what
News the Angels bring'. (four carols)

Location of Broadside: Brit. Lib. 1889 b. 10/III, p.28 recto.

Imprint: "Printed by W. Taylor, 16 Waterloo Road,
near the Victoria theatre. Country
Dealers and Shops supplied at wholesale
prices."

Date: c.1831-1832.

Description of text: As above, C.T.C. XI.

XVIa and b. MANCHESTER - SWINDELLS

'J.W.O.M.'

Location of Broadside: Manchester Public Library BR f. 398.8 B1,
p.90 (a) and p.57 (b).

Imprints: a and b, "Swindells, Printer."

Date: c.1760-1854, but most probably between
1800 and 1830.

Description of texts: b is printed with another carol, 'Christmas
Carol' (beg. "When righteous Joseph wedded
was"), and also in b, C.T.C. is not divided
into stanzas; otherwise texts a and b are
identical: 7 'long' stanzas, i.e. AB - E2,
F2 - G3, H1* - k, k3, L - Q, P4 (indirect) -
p1, p (indirect), R2 - R4, R5 (cf. C.T.C.VIII).

Appendix A, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XVII. PLACE UNKNOWN (probably LONDON)

('When J.W.O.M.')

Title and Contents
of Broadsheet:As above, XIIIa.Location of Broadside:Oxford. Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137, no.56,
also in Bodl. 5 Delta. 260, no.17, and in
Brit. Lib. 1875 d. 8, no.49.No Imprint.Date:

Before 1799 (?).

Description of text:Arranged as above, XIIIa.(b) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE CHERRY TREE CAROL'ENGLANDC.T.C. no.1a. BRONSON 54 no.1

'J.W.O.M.'

Date:

1767

Place:

Burian, Cornwall

Source:

Bronson 54 no.1 from the Davies Gilbert Carol MS., Part I, opposite page 22, in Harvard College Library (MS. HCL 25258 27. 5). On page 1 recto of Part I, Gilbert wrote: "The three Carol-Books bound up in this volume were procured for me by Mr. Paynter of Boskenna from Persons in the Deanery of Burian. I received them from Mr. George John in October 1824 and they were bound together in the course of that year - D.G." R.L. Greene, in E.L.H., VII, pp.234-5, writes: "The care with which the manuscripts are written shows that they were regarded as possessions of some value. The colophons of 'Book B' tell that it was not written by its owner. On page 4 is inscribed: 'JOHN WEBB his Carrol Book 1777,' on p.19, 'JOHN WEBB'S CARROL BOOK October 19th 1777,' and on page 91, 'JOHN WEBB. HIS BOOK Written by JOHN THOMAS JUNR. of St. Just October 31st 1777.' There are naïve illuminations in water colour and a coloured title page with a head of Christ. 'Book A' is less pretentiously decorated with ruling and pen-work and is dated 1767."

Tune:Bronson group A.a.Description of text:11 stas., of 2 'long' lines each, A - E - E2
- F - G - H1 - k1, 11 - M - Q - R - R4.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 1b. CHILD 54 A.a.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: (1833).Place: West of EnglandSource: Child 54 A.a. from Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp.123-125 (text) and Appendix no.10 (tune); the text is included in Sandys' "Part the Second; containing a selection from carols still used in the West of England" (p.61).Tune: As 1a.Description of text: 12 stas., A - E - E2 - F - G - H2 - K1 - L1 - M - Q - R - R4. It seems possible that this variant, 1b, represents 1a with grammatical and metrical corrections by Sandys, and additions, perhaps from another authentic text.2. CHILD 54 A.b.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: (1852).Place: Not given.Source: Child 54 A.b., from Sandys, Christmastide, p.241 (text) and p.326 (tune).Tune: As above, 1a.Description of text: 5 'long' stas. AE - FG - H2, K1 - L1, M1 - M2, M2.3. CHILD 54 C

'C.T.C.'

Date: (1871).Place: Tune from Yorkshire.Source: Child 54 C, from Bramley and Stainer, Christmas Carols, pp.60-61; see also Bronson 54 no.8. Bramley and Stainer in their index (p.182) describe the words as "traditional" and the tune as "traditional (Yorkshire)".Tune: Bronson group A.a.Description of text: 14 stas., A - E1 - F2 - G3 - J - k, k3 - L - N - P - P1 - P3 - P7 - M2 - N2.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 4. CHILD 54 D

('C.T.C.')

Date: c.1843.Place: Berkshire.

Source: Child 54 D, from Notes and Queries, 4th Series, XII, (1873), p.461, signed 'T'. Unknown to Child, the source of this text is a privately printed broadside slip, two copies of which are clipped inside a book privately printed at Pryor's Bank, Fulham, c.1843, entitled T.C. Croker's Residence at Fulham (Oxford Bodl. Lib. Gough Adds. Middlesex 4to 48). The broadside slip is headed "Genuine Christmas Carols, As Taken from the mouth of a wandering Gipsy Girl in Berkshire" and contains a version of the carol, 'Now Christmas is a drawing nigh at hand', followed by the untitled C.T.C., the tune of which is specified as 'My Peggy is a Young Thing'. A pencil note at the bottom of one of the broadside copies says, "Privately printed by and for the noviomagians - about 1843". An unsigned pen note on loose paper at the front of the book states:

These broadsides are of extraordinary rarity. They were issued from the Private Press at Prior's Bank at Rosamunds Bower, Fulham (see Croker's Walk from London to Fulham.)

These copies belonged to John Payne Collier and were sold with his books 9 Augt 1884 at Sotheby lot 1002 to Osborne the bookseller of whom I purchased them.

The front cover of the book bears a book plate with a crest and motto, "SO HO HO DEA NE" and name 'James Cornerford'.

Tune: Indicated, but not given.

Description of text: Stanza divisions not marked, but consists of 9 stas., (2) having only 2 lines, A - b (corrupt) - E (corrupt) - f, g1 - H4 - K - N1 - P3 (indirect) - P4 (indirect).

5a. CHILD 54, ADDENDA

'As Joseph was a-walking'

Date: (1863).Place: Somersetshire.

Source: E.S.P.B., II, pp.5-6, from Rimbault, Colln. of Old Christmas Carols, p.22, described as "traditional (Somersetshire)"; see also Bronson 54 Appendix no.31 (tune only), from Terry,

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 5a (cont'd)

Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols, p.40;
the tune appears also in Oxford Carols no.66
(p.145).

Tune: Bronson 54, Appendix.

Description of text: 6 stas., N - P - P1 - P3 - N* - T.

5b.

'As Joseph was a-walking'

Date: (1846).

Place: Not given.

Source: J.F. Russell, Christmas and Christmas Carols,
p.26, referred to in E.S.P.B., II, p.5, note.

Without tune.

Description of text: As above, 5a, with additional final stanza, T1.

6a. BRONSON 54 no.2.

('C.T.C.')

Date: January 1912.

Place: Camborne, Cornwall.

Source: Bronson 54 no.2, from Sharp MSS., 2744/. ;
sent by Mrs. Tom Miners from Camborne,
Cornwall in 1912.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

6b. BRONSON 54 no.3.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 9 May 1913.

Place: Camborne, Cornwall.

Source: Bronson 54 no. 3, from Sharp MSS., 2821/. ;
also in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V (1914), p.11; and
Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, pp.53-54
(no. 10 B); sung by Mr. James Thomas, aged 65,
at Camborne in 1913.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 6b. (cont'd)

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: 12 stas., A - B - E5 - E2 - F - G - H2 - K - Q
- R1 - P3 (Christ's prophecy) - P1 (Christ's
prophecy).

7. BRONSON 54 no.4.

'C.T.C.'

Date: (1910).

Place: Surrey

Source: Bronson 54 no.4, from Gillington, Old Christmas Carols, p.14, no.9, sung by Surrey gypsies.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: 6 stas., each of two 'long' lines, A - E2 - F3
- G2* - H2* - L2.

8. BRONSON 54 no.5.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: 16 September 1913.

Place: Stourport, Worcs.

Source: Bronson 54 no.5, from Vaughan Williams, J.F.S.S., V no.18 (1914), p.14, tune and first stanza, as sung by Mr. Davies of Stourport; full text and tune in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 4 to E, p.11, attributed to Mr. Davies, Bull's Hopgarden, Aylton, near Ledbury, Herefs.: Davies was evidently a hop-picker from Stourport, and probably a gypsy.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: Written without stanza divisions, but comprises
9 stas., A - E2 - F - G1 - H2 - k, k3 - P4
(indirect) - P2 (indirect) - P3 (indirect).

9. BRONSON 54 no.7.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: 20 September 1910.

Place: Birmingham.

C.T.C. 9. (cont'd)

Source: Bronson 54 no.7 from Sharp MSS., 2545/.; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.55 (no. 10 E), incorrectly assigned; sung by Mrs. Gentie Phillips, a gypsy aged 82, at Birmingham in 1910.

Tune: Bronson Group A.a.

No Text.

10. BRONSON 54 no.8.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 9 September 1922.

Place: Buckingham Union.

Source: Bronson 54 no.8 from Sharp MSS., 4891/.; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.54 (no. 10 C); sung by Robert Hughes, aged 63, in 1922.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

11. BRONSON 54 no.10.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 13 January 1909.

Place: Chipping Campden, Glos.

Source: Bronson 54 no.10 from Sharp MSS., 2069/.; also in Sharp, English Folk Carols, p.7 and in Sharp Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.55 (no. 10 D), incorrectly assigned; sung by Mrs. Mary Anne Clayton, aged 64, in 1909.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

12. BRONSON 54 no.12.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 8 April 1909.

Place: Winchcomb Union, Glos.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C.12 (cont'd)

Source: Bronson 54 no.12 from Sharp MSS. 2151/2018; words only, slightly altered, in Sharp, English Folk Carols, p.8; sung by Mrs. Mary Anne Roberts, aged 81, in 1909.

Tune: Bronson group A.b.

Description of text: 5 stas., E2 (corrupt) - F - G - H2 - k, k3.

13. BRONSON 54 no.13.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: November 1907.

Place: Alresford, Hants.

Source: Bronson 54 no.13, from Vaughan Williams and Gamblin, J.F.S.S., III, no.13 (1909), p.260; sung by Mrs. Davey, aged about 60, in 1907.

Tune: Bronson group A.b.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

14. BRONSON 54 no.24.

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: (1910).

Place: Hants.

Source: Bronson 54 no.24, from Gillington, Old Christmas Carols, p.24, no.16, sung by Hampshire gypsies.

Tune: Bronson group A.e.

Description of text: 10 stas., A - E2 - F3 - G4 - H2* - K - M2 - P (indirect) - P1 (indirect) - P4 (indirect).

15. BRONSON 54 no.25.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 13 April 1911.

Place: Armscote, Warwicks.

Source: Bronson 54 no.25, from Sharp MSS. 2586/.; tune printed in Sharp, English Folk Carols, p.9; text and tune in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.52 (no. 10 A) and in Palmer, Songs of the Midlands, p.14, sung by Mrs. Ellen Plumb, aged 85, in 1911.

C.T.C. 15 (cont'd)Tune: Bronson group A.e.Description of text: 6 stas., A - E - F* - G* - H3 (six lines) - K*.16. BRONSON 54 no.26.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 22 August 1911.Place: Shipton (county not stated).Source: Bronson 54 no.26 from Sharp MSS. 2612/.; sung by Mrs. Beechy in 1911.Tune: Bronson group B.No Text.17a. BRONSON 54 no.27.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 11 June 1924.Place: Cornwall.Source: Bronson 54 no.27 from Miners and Thomas, J.F.S.S., VIII no.33 (1929), p.111, sung by S. Landry in 1924.Tune: Bronson group C.Description of text: 2 stas., E5 - F, with chorus from 'The Holly and the Ivy'.17b. (BRONSON 54 no.27)

('C.T.C.')

Date: January 1916.Place: Cornwall (see below).Source: Bronson 54 no.27 from Miners, J.F.S.S., V no.20 (1916), p.321, from which the following note is quoted: "Mr. Tom Miners of Penponds, Camborne, has noted (Jan. 1916) the following version of the words from a Mr. Landry of Callington who learnt it from a man whom he met at Bodmin some years ago."No Tune Given.Description of text: 9 stas., E5 - F - G - H2 - four stanzas and chorus from 'The Holly and the Ivy' - R*.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 18a. BRONSON 54 no.29.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 17 September 1922.

Place: Upper Wardington, near Banbury, Oxfordshire.

Source: Bronson 54 no.29 from Sharp MSS. 4914/.; sung by Mrs. George Cooknell in 1922.

Tune: Bronson group E.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only, with chorus from 'The Holly and the Ivy'.

18b. BLUNT/Loveday

('C.T.C.')

Date: Sent 1 April 1921.

Place: Wardington, near Banbury, Oxfordshire.

Source: R.V.W. Lib. Blunt MS. (unpublished), p.291, no.5, sent in 1921 by Miss May Loveday who noted it from a village member of Wardington Women's Institute.

No Tune Given.

Description of text: 2 'long' stas. from C.T.C., AB - G2, K5, followed by a stanza and chorus from 'The Holly and the Ivy'.

19. BRONSON 54 No.32 (Appendix)

'The Legend of Joseph and the Angel'

Date: (1860).

Place: Not given.

Source: Bronson 54 no.32 (tune only) from Fyfe, Christmas, p.130; tune also printed in Terry, Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols, p.39 and in Oxford Carols no.66 (p.144) and Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., V no.18 (1914), p.13(2); Fyfe does not give any source for text or tune.

Tune: Bronson 54, Appendix.

Description of
(Fyfe's) text: 12 stas., N - T2 - T3 - P - P1 - P3 - N* - M2 - T4 - T5 - T - T1.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 20. HOWITT

('C.T.C.')

Date: (1838).Place: Not given.Source: Howitt, Rural Life, p.469, "sung by bands of little children at Christmas".Without tune.Description of text: 2 stas., A - K, with prose summary.21. SHARP - Smith

('C.T.C.')

Date: 10 April 1911.Place: Coates, Glos.Source: Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.56 (no. 10 F), sung by Charles Smith, aged 49, in 1911.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: One stanza, H2, only.22. SHARP - Roberts

('C.T.C.')

Date: 8 April 1909.Place: Winchcomb Union, Glos.Source: Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.56 (no. 10 G); sung by Mary Anne Roberts, aged 81, in 1909.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 4 stas., N - P - P1 - N*.23. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Anon. (Loveridge?)

'C.T.C.'

Date: Not given (1908?).Place: Not given (Herefs.?).

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 23. (cont'd)

Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams Scrapbook of Broadsides, Letters, etc. (unpublished), p.72, in the handwriting of R.V.W.; no source is given, but with it are two versions of songs from Mrs. Loveridge, a keeper's daughter from Stoke Edith, near Hereford, who had run away to marry a gypsy (see Leather, Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd series, IV, p.60) recorded by Mrs. E.M. Leather in 1908 (see below, Appendix B, C.C. 4a and Appendix D, S.V. 9b); since neither of these latter texts is identified either, it seems likely that C.T.C. 23 represents a phonograph recording by Mrs. Leather from Loveridge or another Herefs. gypsy in 1908.

No Tune Given.

Description of text: 14 stas., A - E4 - F2* - G3 - J - k, k3 - L - N - P - P3 - P7 - P1 - M2 - N2; cf. C.T.C. 3.

SCOTLANDC.T.C. 24. GREIG - Robertson

'C.T.C.'

Date: c.1910.

Place: New Pitsligo, from Strichen, both in Aberdeenshire.

Source: Greig, Folk Song of the North East, article CLXIV, contributed by Miss Bell Robertson from her own recollection; see above, Chapter Nine, note 16.

Without tune.

Description of text: 5 stas., A - f2 - G3 - J - k3.

25. GREIG - Sim

'C.T.C.'

Date: c.1910.

Place: Hatton of Fintray, Aberdeenshire.

Source: Greig, Folk Song of the North East, article CLX, with some omissions; also in Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, pp.44-45; contributed by Mrs. Sim of Hatton.

Without tune.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 25 (cont'd)

Description of text: 15 stas., A - C - D - E4 - F - G1 - J2 - K4 - N1
- P* (indirect) - P2 (indirect) - P6 (indirect)
- Q - R3 - r2 , r4.

IRELAND26. BRONSON 54 no.6.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 20 November 1929.

Place: Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, from Co. Monaghan, Eire.

Source: Bronson 54 no.6, from Karpeles, J.F.S.S., VIII no.34 (1930), pp.229-230; sung by Mrs. James L. Vrooman aged 85, at Regina in 1929, who learned it from her mother of Co. Monaghan, Ireland (the family originally came from England).

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text: 10 stas., A - E* - F - G2 - H2 - K2 - N1 - P - P2 (indirect) - P6 (indirect).

27. BRONSON 54 no.9.

('C.T.C.')

Date: Abbreviated version, February 1933;
longer version, 26 May 1933.

Place: Springfield, Vt. from Ireland.

Source: Bronson 54 no.9 (tune and 5 stas.) from Flanders, Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the North-East, VI (1933), p.14; a longer version, of 14 stas. with tune, is printed in Flanders, Country Songs of Vermont, p.48 and Flanders, Anc. Ballads, II, pp.72-73; sung by Mrs. E.M. Sullivan of Springfield, Vt., as learned in a convent in Ireland in about 1860.

Tune: Bronson group A.a.

Description of text
(longer version): 14 stas., A - B - E5 - F - G1 - H2* - K4 - P
(indirect) - P2 (indirect) - P4 (indirect) -
Q - R - R2 - R4; (Bronson's stas. underlined).

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 28a. DAVIS - O'Halloran

'C.T.C.'

Date: 22 January 1916.Place: Lynchburg, Va., from Cratloe, Co. Clare, Eire.Source: Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.173, reported by Juliet Fauntleroy and contributed by Miss Agnes O'Halloran of Lynchburg, from the singing of her mother, née Margaret Shannahan, born in 1834 in the Parish of Cratloe, Ireland, who learned the carol c.1841-1846 in Ireland.No Tune Given.Description of text: 6 stas., C - D - E2, f - G1 - H2* - K2.28b. JACKSON - O'HalloranDate: 15 May 1933.Place: As 28a.Source: Jackson, Down East Spirituals, pp.60-61; recorded by Winston Wilkinson in 1933 from the singing of Agnes O'Halloran (see above, 28a).Tune: Not in Bronson.Text: Identical with 28a.UNITED STATES OF AMERICAC.T.C. 29. BRONSON 54 no.14.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 15 November 1916.Place: Culpepper County, Va.Source: Bronson 54 no.14 from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.174(B) and tune on p.565; collected by John Stone in Culpepper County from the singing of a negro woman.Tune: Bronson group A.c.Description of text: One stanza, A, only.30. BRONSON 54 no.15.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 8 May 1917.Place: Barbourville, Knox County, Ky.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 30. (cont'd)

Source: Bronson 54 no.15 from Sharp MSS. 3658/2717; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.94 (E); sung by Mrs. Alice and Mrs. Sudie Sloan in 1917.

Tune: Bronson group A.d.

Description of text: 8 stas, A - E3 - F - G1 - H5 - K4 - Q1 - S.

31. BRONSON 54 no.16.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 21 September 1917.

Place: Hindman, Knott County, Ky.

Source: Bronson 54 no.16 from Sharp MSS. 4081/2918; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, pp.92-93(C); sung by Mr. William Wooton in 1917.

Tune: Bronson group A.d.

Description of text: 9 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - J1 - K2 - L3 - Q1 - S.

32. BRONSON 54 no.20.

('C.T.C.')

Date: (1916).

Place: Knott County, Ky.

Source: Bronson 54 no.20 from McGill, J.A.F., XXIX (1916), pp.293 and 417; also in McGill, Folk Songs of the Ky. Mountains, pp.59-61 and in Pound, American Ballads and Songs, p.47, Smith and Rufty, American Anthology, p.12, Botkin, Treasury, p.758 and Einrich, American Folk Poetry, pp.401-402(1); sung by Will Wooton as learnt from his grandmother in North Carolina, who came from England. It seems probable that the singer of C.T.C. nos. 31 and 32 is the same and that this text has been 'corrected' as regards grammar and metre. Since, however, later American variants resemble the version collected by McGill, it has been deemed advisable to treat 31 and 32 as separate versions.

Tune: Bronson group A.d.

Description of text: 9 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - H2* - K2 - L3 - Q1 - S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 33a. BRONSON 54 no.17.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 24 August 1916.Place: Hot Springs, N.C.Source: Bronson 54 No.17 from Sharp MSS. 3312/2419; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.91 (B); sung by Mrs. Jane Gentry in 1916.Tune: Bronson group A.d.Description of text: 9 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - J1 - K2 - Q1 - S - L3.33b. BRONSON 54 no.18.Date: 1946.Place: As 33a.Source: Bronson 54 no.18 (tune only) from LC/AAFS recording no.66(B); also in Emrich, American Folk Poetry, pp.402-403(2); collected by Artus M. Moser from the singing of Mrs. Maud Long, daughter of Mrs. Gentry, the singer of 33a., in 1946.Tune: Bronson group A.d.Text: Identical with 33a.34. BRONSON 54 no.19.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 12 September 1917.Place: St. Helen's, Lee County, Ky.Source: Bronson 54 no.19 from Sharp MSS. 4024/2899; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.93(D); sung by Mrs. Margaret Dunagan in 1917.Tune: Bronson group A.d.Description of text: 9 stas., A - E3 - F* - G1 - H5 - K2 - L3 - Q1 - S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 35. BRONSON 54 no.21.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 4 May 1917.Place: Pineville, Bell County, Ky.Source: Bronson 54 no.21 from Sharp MSS. 3627/.; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.94 (F); sung by Mrs. Townsley in 1917.Tune: Bronson group A.d.Description of text: One stanza, Q1, only.36. BRONSON 54 no.23.

'Sweet Mary and Sweet Joseph'

Date: 1937?.Place: Newberry, Fla.Source: Bronson 54 no.23 from Morris, Folk Songs of Fla., pp.262-263; also in Morris, S.F.Q., VIII no.2 (1944), pp.145-146; sung by Mrs. G.A. Griffin of Newberry, who was convinced that she had composed the song herself; her father, John R. Hart, from whom she learned most of her ballads, grew up in Georgia.Tune: Bronson group A.d.Description of text: 8 stas., E2 - F - G1 - J3 - Q1 - Q2 - r2, r3 - R6.37. BRONSON 54 no.28.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 17 August 1916.Place: Big Laurel, N.C.Source: Bronson 54 no.28 from Sharp MSS. 3284/2391; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.90(A); sung by Mrs. Tom Rice in 1916.Tune: Bronson group D.Description of text: 8 stas., E2 - F - G1 - H2 - K4 - L3 - Q1 - S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 38. BRONSON 54 no.30.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 14 May 1930.Place: Pineville, Mo.Source: Bronson 54 no.30, from Randolph, Ozark Folk Songs, I, p.88; sung by Mrs. Marie Wilbur in 1930, who learned it from her mother's family who came from Tennessee.Tune: Bronson group F.Description of text: 2 stas., A - H2*.39. BROWN/ Sutton.

('C.T.C.')

Date: Not given.Place: Miller's Gap School, Maddison County, N.C.Source: Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, II, pp.61-62(A); also in Emrich, American Folk Poetry, pp.403-4(3); contributed by Mrs. D.H. Sutton, a schoolteacher, from the singing of a little girl in Miller's Gap School.Without tune.Description of text: 7 stas., E - F1 - G4 - H5 - K1 - L1 - T6.40. BROWN / Lancaster.

('C.T.C.')

Date: Probably 1922.Place: Goldsboro, Wayne County, N.C.Source: Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, II, pp.62-63(B); communicated by Mrs. Nilla Lancaster of Goldsboro, c.1922.Without tune.Description of text: 9 stas., identical with C.T.C. 32.41. CAMPBELL - Fields.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 24 December 1930.Place: Gander, Ky.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 41. (cont'd)

Source: Campbell, J.A.F., LI (1938), p.15 (A); sung by Aunt Lizbeth Fields.

Without tune.

Description of text: 3 stas., A - E1 - N1.

42. CAMPBELL - Eldridge

('C.T.C.')

Date: 24 December 1930.

Place: Gander, Ky.

Source: Campbell, J.A.F., LI, pp.15-16(B); sung by Aunt Mary Eldridge, who learned it from her first sweetheart.

Without tune.

Description of text: 5 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - K2.

43. CAMPBELL - Hampton.

('C.T.C.')

Date: 24 December 1930.

Place: Gander, Ky.

Source: Campbell, J.A.F., LI, p.16(C); sung by Mint and Henry Hampton.

Without tune.

Description of text: 8 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - H2* - K2 - Q1 - S.

44. COMBS - Ellyson

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: (1924).

Place: Cowen, Nicholas County, W. Va.

Source: Listed in Combs, Folk Songs of the Southern United States, ed. Wilgus, p.201 (15 A); text available from the Western Kentucky Folklore Archive; collected by Carey Woofert from the singing of Mae Ellyson in Cowen.

Without tune.

Description of text: 7 stas., A - E1 - F - G4 - H - H3 - K3.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 45. COMBS / Hatfield

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: (1924).Place: Charleston, W. Va.Source: Listed in Combs, Folk Songs of the Southern United States, ed. Wilgus, p.201 (15 B); text available from the Western Kentucky Folklore Archive; collected by Miss Forrest Hatfield from the singing of an old negro woman in Charleston.Without tune.Description of text: 2 stas., A - K.46. COMBS - Fidler

'Joseph and Mary'

Date: (1924).Place: Linn, Gilmer County, W. Va., from Culpepper County, Va.Source: Text printed in Combs, Folk Songs of the Southern United States, ed. Wilgus, pp.202-203 (15 C); collected by Carey Woofert from the singing of Bessie Fidler of Linn who learned it from her mother who was born in Culpepper County, Va.Without tune.Description of text: 10 stas., T7 - B - F - E3* - G4 - J1 - N - T8 - P2* - T7*.47. Combs Archive - Rice

'The Sixth of January'

Date: Summer, 1964.Place: Pleasure Ridge Park, Ky.Source: This text was sent with C.T.C. nos. 44 and 45 from the Western Kentucky Folklore Archive, but may be from the Central Kentucky Archive of Folk Culture; collected by Neal Harding from Mrs. William Rice, aged 56, at Pleasure Ridge Park in 1964; Mrs. Rice learned the "story and song" from her mother and maternal grandmother.Without tune.Description of text: 7 stas., garbled, A - E3*, F - G1 - H2* - K2 - L3, Q1 - S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 48. CUTTING - Cutting

'C.T.C.'

Date: August 1944.Place: Elizabethtown, N.Y., perhaps from England.Source: Cutting, New York Folklore Quarterly, I (1945), p.48; collected by E.E. Cutting from the recitation of Clarence Cutting of Elizabethtown, who learned it from his English mother.Without tune.Description of text: 7 stas., N - P4* - P1 - P3 - three variant stas. of 'T'.49a and b. DAVIS/SCARBOROUGH - negro nurse

('C.T.C.')

Date: 1 November 1915.Place: Spottsylvania County, from Orange County, Va.Source: 'a' in Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.174(C), contributed by Miss Ellen Dana Conway in 1915 from the singing of an old negro nurse in Spottsylvania County, formerly the slave of the Graves family of Orange County;
'b' in Scarborough, On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs, p.61, with the same details as to the singer.Without tune.Description of text: One sta. only, A, differing slightly in 49b.50. GAINER - Gainer

'The Cherry Tree'

Date: Early twentieth century.Place: W. Va.Source: Gainer, Folk Songs from the W. Va. Hills, p.34; also in Boette, Singa Hipsy Doodle, p.154; recollected by P.W. Gainer as sung by his grandfather Francis C. Gainer in the early twentieth century.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 7 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - K2 - Q1 - S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 51. HENRY - Wheeler

'C.T.C.'

Date: 14 January 1931.Place: Paducah, Ky.Source: Henry, J.A.F., XLV (1932), p.13; also in Henry, Folk Songs of the Southern Highlands, p.59 and in Emrich, American Folk Poetry, p.404(4); obtained from Miss Mary Wheeler of Paducah in 1931.Without tune.Description of text: 4 stas., A - E1 - N1 - P (cf. C.T.C. 41).52. MOORE - Hill

'Joseph and Mary'

Date: Not given (see below).Place: Tahlequah, Okla., from Va.Source: Moore and Moore, Ballads and Songs of the South West, pp.44-45(A); sung by Mrs. Lizzie J. Hill of Tahlequah, who was born in Georgia, came to Indian Territory in 1890 and learned her songs from her father, a Methodist minister born in Virginia.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 8 stas., A - E2 - F* - G1 - H2 - K4* - Q1 - S1 (cf. R2).53. MOORE - Brixey

'J.W.O.M.'

Date: Not given.Place: Glenpool, Okla.Source: Moore and Moore, Ballads and Songs of the South West, pp.45-47(B); sung by Mrs. Clyde Brixey of Glenpool.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 9 stas., A - E2 - F1 - G - H2* - K5 - M - Q - R.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 54. RITCHIE - Ritchie

'Carol of the Cherry Tree'

Date: Not given.Place: Elk Branch, Viper, Ky.Source: Jean Ritchie, Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians, pp.42-43, from the singing of her uncle, Jason Ritchie, in Elk Branch.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 10 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - H5 - K2 - L3 - T9 - Q1 - S.55. ROBERTS - Couch

'Joseph and Mary'

Date: November and December, 1955.Place: Harlan County, Ky.Source: Roberts, Sang Branch Settlers, pp.91-92; sung by Jim and Dave Couch in 1955, who learned it from their father, Tom Couch (1860-1956), whose paternal grandfather was from Scott County, Va.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 8 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - J3 - L3 - Q1 - S.56. ROSENBERG - Salyers

('C.T.C.')

Date: 1 November 1939.Place: Indian Creek, Va.Source: Listed by Rosenberg, Folk Songs of Va., p.16, no.183(A); text available from the MSS. Division, Alderman Library, Univ. of Va.; collected in 1939 by Emory L. Hamilton from Mrs. Julia Salyers, who learned it from her grandmother's singing.Without tune.Description of text: 9 stas., E2, F - G1 - H2 - K4 - L3* - Q1 - S - Q2 - r2, r3.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 57. ROSENBERG - Osborne

'The Cherry Tree'

Date: 4 October 1939.Place: Wise, Va.Source: Listed by Rosenberg, Folk Songs of Va., p.16, no.183(B); text available from the Alderman Lib., Univ. of Va.; collected in 1939 by Emory L. Hamilton from Mrs. Lizzie Osborne, who learned it from her mother's singing.Without tune.Description of text: 6 stas., E3* - F - G1 - H2* - K2 - Q1, S.58. ROSENBERG - Beale

('C.T.C.')

Date: 16 November 1940.Place: Haymarket, Va.Source: Listed by Rosenberg, Folk Songs of Va., p.16, no.183(C); text available from the Alderman Lib., Univ. of Va.; collected by Susan R. Morton from the recollections of Aunt Fanny Beale and others.Without tune.Description of text: 5 stas., N - P - P1 - P3 - P4.59. ROSENBERG - Beverly

'Joseph and Mary'

Date: 24 June 1939.Place: Norton, Va.Source: Listed in Rosenberg, Folk Songs of Va., p.16, no.183(D); text available from the Alderman Lib., Univ. of Va.; collected by Emory L. Hamilton from Mrs. Donna Snodgrass Beverly, who learned it from her mother's singing and believed that it had been known in her family "for more than a hundred years".Without tune.Description of text: 5 stas., E3* - F - G1 - H2* - K2; cf. C.T.C. 57.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 60. THOMAS - Isom

('C.T.C.')

Date: (1939).Place: Carter County, Ky.Source: Thomas, Ballad Makin', p.227; sung by Bill Kitchen Isom.Without tune.Description of text: 11 stas., A - E4 - F2 - G3 - J - k, k3 - N - P - M2 - N2 - S*. Cf. C.T.C. nos. 3 and 23.61a. THOMAS - SettersDate: (1939).Place: Lost Hope Hollow, Ky.Source: Thomas, Ballad Makin', pp.223-225; sung by Jilson and Rhuhamie Setters.Tune: See Bronson 54 no.8, group A.a.Description of text: 9 stas., A - E3 - F - G1 - H2* - K2 - L3 - Q1 - S; cf. C.T.C. 32.61b. THOMAS - CreechDate: (1939).Place: Forsaken Creek, Ky.Source: Thomas, Ballad Makin', pp.229-230; sung by John B. and Malinda Creech, "just as Jilson Setters had sung it for me, except that John Buckingham Creech had many more stanzas to his version".Without tune.Description of text: 4 'extra' stas., P - P1 - P3 - P7.62. WHEELER

'C.T.C.'

Date: (1937).Place: Kentucky Mountains.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 62 (cont'd)

Source: Wheeler, Ky. Mountain Folk Songs, pp.3-8;
 "words and melody collected by Mary Wheeler ...
 heard in many parts of the Kentucky mountains".

Tune: See Bronson 54 no.28, (group D.)

Description of text: 11 stas., A - E4 - F2 - G3 - J - k, k3 - N -
 P - P1 - P3 - P7; cf. C.T.C. text 3 and 23.

63. CHASE ET AL - Anon.

'C.T.C.'

Date: (1946).

Place: Clay County, N.C.

Source: Chase, Ritchie, McLain and Marvel, Songs of All Time, p.25; also in Folkways Monthly (State College, Pa.), May, 1962, p.17; no details of collection are given; this text is numbered out of sequence because the work by Chase et al. was not available to me until recently.

Tune: Not in Bronson.

Description of text: 6 stas., A - E3* - F - G3* - H2 - K4.

CANADA64. BRONSON 54 no.11.

('C.T.C.')

Date: (1950).

Place: Halifax, N.S.

Source: Bronson 54 no.11 from Helen Creighton and Doreen H. Senior, Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia, Toronto, 1950, p.35(B); sung by Mrs. Annie C. Wallace of Halifax.

Tune: Bronson group A.b.

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

65. BRONSON 54 no.22.

('C.T.C.')

Date: (1950).

Place: Cherry Brook, N.S.

Appendix A, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.T.C. 65. (cont'd)

Source: Bronson 54 no.22 from Helen Creighton and Doreen H. Senior, Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia, Toronto, 1950, p.35(A); also in Fowke and Johnston, Folk Songs of Canada, pp.128-129; noted by Nina Bartley Finn from the singing of Mr. William Riley, a negro; the version may have originated in the U.S.A. as Mr. Riley's ancestors were slaves.

Tune: Bronson group A.d.

Description of text: 5 stas., Q1 - S* - F3 - G4 - J4.

66. COX - Cooper

'The Cherry Tree'

Date: 29 December 1975.

Place: Dildo, Newfoundland.

Source: Cox, Folk Music Journal, III (1977), pp.245-247; recorded by Gordon Cox as sung by Mrs. C. Cooper of Dildo in 1975.

Tune: Not in Bronson.

Description of text: 11 stas., A - E2 - F - G - H5 - K - K4* - K2* - Q1 - s, r - P (Christ's prophecy).

(c) A LIST OF ADDITIONAL TEXTS examined but not judged to be of traditional origin or of independent standing:

Bullen, Carols and Poems, pp.29-32.

Dunstan, Cornish Song Book, pp.85,87.

Jameson, Sweet Rivers of Song, p.80.

Lomax, Penguin Book of American Folk Songs, p.77.

Nettel, Carols 1400-1950, pp.28-29.

Niles, Ballad Book, pp.126-127.

----- Seven Kentucky Mountain Songs, p.4.

----- Ten Christmas Carols, pp.16-17.

Sidgwick, Popular Carols, pp.5-8.

Silber, Reprints from the People's Songs Bulletin, p.43.

----- and Silverman, Hootenanny Song Book, p.47.

Theatre Arts Monthly, 1932, p.1018.

Appendix A (cont'd)

- (d) UNEXAMINED REFERENCES from Coffin and Renwick, British Trad. Ballad in North America (1977), pp.60 and 227.

Bulletin of the Tennessee Folklore Society, Marysville and

Athens, Tenn., VIII no.3, p.78.

Scott, John Anthony, ed. Living Documents in American History,

vol.I, New York, 1963, pp.64-65.

APPENDIX BVARIANTS OF 'THE CARNAL AND THE CRANE' (CHILD 55)Key to the Description of Texts

A: The narrator overhears a conversation between a carnal and a crane.

Dialogue between the Carnal and the Crane:

B: The carnal says that now they have God the Son.

B1: God the Son was born between an ox and an ass.

B2: The carnal asks if Jesus' mother conceived by the Holy Ghost.

B3: The Virgin was clean from sin, the handmaid of the Lord.

B4: The carnal asks if Christ was rocked in a golden cradle and wrapped in silken sheets.

B5: Christ was rocked in a manger and lay upon asses' provender.

The Miracle of the Cock:

C: A star shone into King Herod's chamber.

C1: Wise men announce the birth of a prince to Herod.

C2: Herod replies that if this is true, a roasted cock will crow three times.

C3: The cock grows feathers and crows three times.

C4: Herod orders his men to kill all children under two years old.

The Adoration of the Beasts:

D: Jesus, Joseph and Mary 'so pure' travel to Egypt.

D1: Mary is obliged to rest, amongst fierce beasts.

D2: Jesus tells Mary that the beasts will worship Him.

D3: The lion is first to worship Jesus.

D4: Princes must be virtuous and of good birth.

The Miracle of the Instantaneous Harvest:

E: Jesus, Joseph and Mary 'unknown' pass a husbandman sowing seed.

E1: Jesus bids the husbandman fetch ox and wain and gather in the ripened corn.

f: The husbandman falls on his knees before Jesus' face (usually two lines).

g: The husbandman says that Christ has long been expected (two lines).

Appendix B, Key to the Description of Texts (cont'd)

- g1: The husbandman confesses Jesus' name (two lines).
- g2: The husbandman says that Jesus is the Redeemer of mankind (two lines).
- g3: No-one can doubt that Jesus is the true Messiah (two lines).
- H: Jesus says that He must shed His blood for thousands.
- J: Jesus bids the husbandman tell inquirers that He passed as the corn was sown.
- K: King Herod and his guards arrive and make inquiries.
- L: The husbandman answers as instructed.
- L1: He points out that the ripened corn is now lying in his wain.
- M: Herod's captain urges return, since their labour is in vain.
- N: Thus Herod was deceived by God's own hand.
- P: Thousands of young children died for Christ's sake.
- Q: The story of how the Virgin brought forth God the Son has now been told.

Additional Stanzas from 'King Pharim':

- R: As Pharim (Pharaoh) sat musing, Our Saviour came to him
"all to him unknown" (cf. stanza E).
- R1: To Pharim's question, Jesus replies that He came from Egypt, between
an ox and ass (cf. stanza B1).
- R2: Pharaoh wishes to know whether the Blessed Virgin Mary "sprung from"
the Holy Ghost (cf. stanza B2).
- R3: The Holy Family travel for the West, and Mary may rest where she
wishes (cf. stanzas D and D1).
- R4: As the weather is warm, the Holy Family travel further and meet a
husbandman sowing corn (cf. stanza E).
- R5: The miracle of the ripened corn will keep the husbandman's family
from grief and keep Christ in their remembrance.

(a) BROADSIDE TEXTS OF 'THE CARNAL AND THE CRANE'

I. COWPER (Child 55.c.)

'C.C.'

Source:

Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.xli-xliv; from a
chapbook printed in or about 1843 at
Birmingham; cf. C.C. VII.

Appendix B, Broadside Texts (cont'd)I. cont'd

Date: c.1843.

Description of text: Cowper (p.xli) states that the piece has 30 stas., but prints only 19, i.e. stas. 8-20 and 25-30, C - C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 - D2 - D3 - D4 - E - E1 - f, g ... J - K - L - L1 - M - N.

II. HONE

('A Warwickshire carol still sung')

Source: Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, p.93; on p.97, Hone includes the first line in the list of 'Christmas carols now annually reprinted' in his own possession.

Date: (1823).

Description of text: One stanza, A, only.

III. HUSK (Child 55.b.)

'C.C.'

Source: Husk, Nativity, pp.98-103; Husk gives no specific source for the carol, but states (pp.97-98) that he has met no copies earlier than the mid eighteenth century and that the oldest broadsides known were printed at Worcester; textual evidence (see above, Chapter Five) supports the idea that C.C. III is an eighteenth century Worcestershire version.

Date: (1868); see above.

Description of text: 30 stas., A - B - B1 - B2 - B3 - B4 - B5 - C - C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 - D2 - D3 - D4 - E - E1 - F (4 lines) - g, g1 - H - J - K - L - L1 - M - N - P - Q.

IVa and b. SANDYS (Child 55.a.)

'C.C.'

Source: 'a' in Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp.152-157, "from a popular broadside carol" (p.186, note);
'b' in Sandys, Christmastide, pp.246-251, for which no source is given; an almost identical text is given without a source in Bullen, Carols and Poems, pp.49-54 (see E.S.P.B., II, p.509).

Appendix B, Broadside Texts (cont'd)IV. cont'dDate: (1833).Description of text: 'a' and 'b' are identical save for two words;
30 stas., A - B - B1 - B2 - B3 - B4 - B5 - C
- C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 - D2 - D3 - D4 -
E - E1 - f, g - g1, g2 - H - J - K - L - L1 -
M - N - P - Q.V. SYLVESTER

'C.C.'

Source: Sylvester, Garland, pp.22-28 (ultimate source
not given).Date: (1861).Description of text: 30 stas., ordered as C.C. IV.VI. BIRMINGHAM - BLOOMER

'C.C.'

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137 no.17.Imprint: "Printed and sold by T. Bloomer,
53, Edgbaston-street, Birmingham."Date: 1821-1827.Description of text: Stanza divisions are not marked but the text
comprises 30 stas., ordered as CC. IV.VII. BIRMINGHAM - JACKSON (Chapbook)

'Carnal and Crane'

Title of Chapbook: 'A New Carol Book No.3' (C.C. at pp.63-66).Location of Chapbook: Birmingham Lib. 63240.Imprint: "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by Jackson & Son
(front page) (late J. Russell,) 21 Moor-street."Date: c.1839 - c.1848.Description of text: 30 stas., A - B - B1 - B2 - B3 - B4 - B5 - C
- C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 - D2 - D3 - D4 -
E - E1 - f, g - g1, g2 - H - P - Q - J - K - L
- L1 - M - N; cf. C.C. I and IX.

Appendix B, Broadside Texts (cont'd)VIIIa and b. BIRMINGHAM - WOOD

'C.C.'

Location of Broadside: 'a' at Birmingham Lib. 60338, p.17;
 'b' at Birmingham Lib. Religious Broadside
no.10.

Imprint: 'a' has "Wood, Printer, New Meeting-street";
 'b' has "Wood, Printer, New Meeting-St, Birm."

Date: c.1800 - c.1850; 'a' is printed in an old
 style and may date from soon after 1800.

Description of text: There is only one trifling variation between
 'a' and 'b'; 30 stas., A - B - B1 - B2 - B3
 - B4 - B5 - C - C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 -
 D2 - D3 - D4 - E - E1 - f, g - g1 (2 lines)
 - H - J - K - L - L1 - M - N - P - Q.

IX. NO IMPRINT - James Guest of Birmingham?

'C.C.'

Location of Broadside: Birmingham Lib. 119932, p.v (2 copies);
 also in Birmingham Lib. 60338, p.88 and in
British Library 1466 i. 31, no.7.

Attribution: The border design, layout and paper used in
 this broadside support its attribution to
 James Guest in the British Library Catalogue;
 another carol broadside of this type, in
Birmingham Lib. 60338, p.91, bears the imprint,
 "PRINTED BY JAMES GUEST, 93, Steelhouse-lane,
 Birmingham."

Date: c.1842?

Description of text: 30 stas., ordered as C.C. VII.

X. DUDLEY - WALTERS (Chapbook)

'C.C.'

Printed: In the chapbook, A Good Christmas Box,
 printed in 1847 by G. Walters of High Street,
 Dudley, in Part II at p.101; in the facsimile
 copy by M. and J. Raven at pp.16-17.

Date: 1847.

Description of text: 30 stas., A - B - B1 - B2 - B3 - B4 - B5 -
 C - C1 - C2 - C3 - C4 - D - D1 - D2 - D3 -
 D4 - E - E1 - f, g - g3, g1 - H - J - K - L
 - L1 - M - N - P - Q.

Appendix B, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XI. MONMOUTH - PRICHARD

'The Old and Popular Carol, called The Carnal and the Crane!'

Location of Broadside: Hereford Lib., Pilley Collection no.2270, p.7.

Imprint: "Sold by Prichard, Monmouth".

Date: Late eighteenth century?

Description of text: 30 stas., ordered as C.C. VIII.

(b) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE CARNAL AND THE CRANE'

All variants were collected in England.

C.C. no.1. BRONSON 55 no.1.

'C.C.'

Date: July 1909.

Place: Haven, Herefs.

Source: Bronson 55 no.1 from Vaughan Williams, J.F.S.S., IV no.14 (1910), pp.22-25; also in Leather and Williams, Twelve Traditional Carols, pp.22-23; tune in Oxford Carols no.53 (p.109); sung by Mr. Hiron, aged 60, in 1909.

Tune: Bronson group A.

Description of text: 11 stas., A* - B - C* - C1* - C4* - D* - E1 - J - K* - L - M*; the rhyme scheme has been corrupted.

2. BRONSON 55 no.2.

'King Herod and the Cock'

Date: 13 April 1911.

Place: Armscote, Warwicks.

Source: Bronson 55 no.2 from Sharp MSS., 2585/.; also in Sharp, English Folk Carols, p.2, in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.57 (no. 11) and in Oxford Carols no.54 (pp.110-111); sung by Ellen Plumb, aged 85, in 1911.

Tune: Bronson group A.

Description of text: 4 stas., C* - C1 - C2 - C3.

Appendix B, Traditional Variants (cont'd)C.C. 3a. BRONSON 55 no.3.

'King Pharim'

Date: 1893.Place: SurreySource: Bronson 55 no.3 from Broadwood, J.F.S.S., I, no.4 (1902), p.183; also in Broadwood, English Trad. Songs, pp.74-75 and in Oxford Carols, no.55 (pp.112-113); see also R.V.W. Lib. Broadwood MS. pp.193-195; sung by three gypsy men named Goby in 1893.Tune: Bronson group B.Description of text: 9 stas., R - R1 - R2 - C2* - C3* - R3 - R4 - E1* - R5.3b. WILLIAMS - Anon.

(King Pharim)

Date: Not given.Place: Not given; perhaps Herefs.Source: R.V.W.Lib., Vaughan Williams Scrapbook, p.78, initialled R.V.W.; a barely legible text written in pencil, without stanza divisions, which probably represents a traditional gypsy version, perhaps from Herefordshire; no source is given.Without tune.Description of text: 5 stas., garbled, R - R1 - R2 - C2* - C3*.Stanzas Incorporated in Gypsy Versions of 'The Wife of Usher's Well':4a. BRONSON 79 no.3.

'There was a lady in Merry Scotland'

Date: 1908.Place: Dilwyn, Herefs.Source: Bronson 79 no.3; from Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.198; also in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams Scrapbook, p.72; sung by Mrs. Loveridge, a gypsy's wife, in 1908.(Tune: Bronson 79 group B)Description of text: A stanza from C.C., namely C3*, occurs at sta. 8 of this version of Child 79.

Appendix B, Traditional Variants (cont'd)(C.C.) 4b. SHARP - Fletcher

(The Wife of Usher's Well)

Date: 5 September 1919.Place: Cinderford, Glos.Source: Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, p.712;
also in Sharp MSS., . / 3321; sung by
Mr. Fletcher, a gypsy, in 1919.Without tune.Description of text: Stanza C3* from C.C. occurs at sta. 4 of
this version of Child 79.

APPENDIX CVARIANTS OF 'THE HOLY WELL' AND 'THE BITTER WITHY'

The variants are numbered in continuous sequence, but the texts of each ballad are kept separate. The Holy Well precedes The Bitter Withy.

Key to the Description of Texts

- A: On a May morning, Jesus asks to play. (H.W.)
- A1: On a day when rain (etc.) is falling, Jesus asks to play at ball. (B.W.)
- B: Mary replies that Jesus may play, but she wishes to hear of no complaints. (H.W. / B.W.; the wording varies.)
- C: Jesus goes as far as the Holy Well and meets some fine children. (H.W.)
- C1: Jesus 'makes no stop nor stay' but goes out and meets children. (H.W.)
- C2: Jesus runs 'up Lincoln and down Lincoln' (etc.) and meet three 'jolly jordans' (etc.). (B.W. - the wording varies considerably.)
- C3: Jesus 'whoops and calls' and asks the three jordans to play at ball. (B.W.)
- C4: Other variants of the 'journeying stanza'. (H.W. / B.W.)
- D: Jesus greets the children and asks them to play. (H.W. / B.W. - the wording varies considerably.)
- E: The children reply that they are lords' and ladies' sons. (H.W. / B.W. - the wording varies considerably.)

Sequel to the Children's Rebuff in 'The Holy Well':

- F: Jesus turns round and cries.
- F1: No harm will befall the children despite Jesus' great power.
- G: Jesus returns home. (The wording varies.)
- G1: Jesus returns home making 'no stop nor stay', a Cornish variant stanza parallel to C1.
- H: Mary asks Jesus where He has been.
- J: Jesus tells Mary that He has been to the Holy Well.
- J1: Jesus recounts how He greeted the children.
- J2: Jesus recounts how the children rebuffed Him.
- K: Mary replies that Jesus is King of Heaven.
- L: Mary suggests that Jesus should return and dip the children in hell.

Appendix C, Key to the Description of Texts (cont'd)

- M: Jesus rejects vengeance and announces His saving mission.
 N: The angel Gabriel proclaims that Jesus is indeed King of Heaven.

Sequel to the Children's Rebuff in 'The Bitter Withy':

- P: Jesus tells the children that He will prove His superiority.
 Q: Jesus builds a bridge of sunbeams over water and passes over it; the children follow and are drowned.
 Q1: Jesus explains the drowning incident to His mother.
 R: The mothers of the drowned children complain, bidding Mary call home her child. (The wording varies.)
 R1: The mothers 'whoop and call' as they run to complain, a parallel stanza to C3.
 S: The mothers suggest that Mary beat Jesus with withy twigs.
 T: Mary chastises Jesus with withy twigs.
 U: Jesus curses the withy tree.

Additional stanzas:

- V: beg. 'Under the rose' - stanza M from The Seven Virgins.
 W: Hell is a dark, uncomfortable place: a carol commonplace.
 X: beg. 'My carol's done, I must be gone': a carol commonplace.

(a) BROADSIDE TEXTS OF 'THE HOLY WELL'

I. COWPER

'H.W.'

Source:

Cowper, Apoc. Gospels, pp.xxxix-xli, from a chapbook printed in or about 1843 at Birmingham; cf. H.W. VII.

Date:

c.1843.

Description of text:

14 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - G - J - J1
 - J2 - K - L - M - N.

II. HUSK

'H.W.'

Source:

Husk, Nativity, pp.91-94, "from a sheet copy published during the last century, on which it is described as 'A Carol on Christ's Humility to Sinners' "; Husk also mentions on p.91

Appendix C, Broadside Texts (cont'd)

II. cont'd

that the carol enjoyed widespread popularity, and he refers to a woodcut on a broadside printed at Gravesend.

Date: Eighteenth century.

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. no.I.

III, a and b. SANDYS

'H.W.'

Source: 'a' in Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp.149-152,
"from popular broadside carols" (p.186, note);
'b' in Sandys, Christmastide, pp.251-253,
amongst a number of carols which Sandys
describes (p.304, note) as "from manuscript
copies, several of which are also printed as
broadside".

Date: (1833).

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. no. I; there are only two trifling variations between 'a' and 'b'.

IV. SYLVESTER

'H.W.'

Source: Sylvester, Garland, pp.32-35; Sylvester states (p.32) that "on the broad-sheet (printed at Gravesend in the last century), it is stated to be 'A very Ancient Carol'."

Date: Eighteenth century.

Description of text: 13 stas., ordered as H.W. I, except that 'N' is omitted.

V. BIRMINGHAM - BLOOMER (original)

'H.W.'

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137 no.12.

Imprint: "T. Bloomer, Printer, 53, Edgbaston-street,
Birmingham."

Date: 1821-1827.

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. I.

Appendix C, Broadside Texts (cont'd)VI. BIRMINGHAM - BLOOMER (revised)

'The Holy Well - A New Carol'

Location of Broadside: R.V.W. Lib., Sharp Broadside Colln. 2061,
p.172.Imprint: "T. Bloomer, Printer, Birmingham."Date: 1817-1827Description of text: 15 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - Fl - G
- H - J - J1 - J2 - L - M - K*.VII. BIRMINGHAM - JACKSON (Chapbook)

'H.W.'

Title of Chapbook: 'A New Carol Book No.3' (H.W. at pp.61-63).Location of Chapbook: Birmingham Lib. 63240.Imprint: "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by
(front page) Jackson & Son (late J. Russell,) 21, Moor-street."Date: c.1839 - c.1848.Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. I.VIII. BIRMINGHAM - RUSSELL

'H.W.'

Location of Broadside: R.V.W. Lib., Sharp Broadside Colln. 2061,
p.171.Imprint: "Printed by J. Russell, 24, Moor-street,
Birmingham."Date: c.1814 - 1839; perhaps before 1820.Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. I; the text
bears no special resemblance to
H.W. VII.IX, a and b. BIRMINGHAM - WOOD

'H.W.'

Location of Broadside: 'a', with woodcut of lady with lyre,
at Birmingham Lib. 60338, p.13;
'b' with woodcuts of church, harp and
crucifix turned sideways, at Birmingham
Lib. 60338, p.47; 'b' also in Birmingham
Lib. 119932, p.III (five copies) and in

Appendic C, Broadside Texts (cont'd)IX, a and b (cont'd)

Birmingham Library 413436, p.13,
British Lib. 1466 i. 30, no.4 and
British Lib. 1879 cc. 10, p.16.

Imprint (on all copies): "Wood, Printer, New Meeting-street,
 Birmingham."

Date: c.1800 - c.1850.

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. I; the text,
 which is similar to H.W. VIII, is
 identical in both 'a' and 'b' (all
 copies).

X. DUDLEY - WALTERS (Chapbook)

'H.W.'

Printed: In the chapbook, A Good Christmas Box,
 printed in 1847 by G. Walters of High
 Street, Dudley, in Part I at p.43; in
 the facsimile copy by M. and J. Raven
 at p.7.

Date: 1847.

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W. I.

XI. LONDON - CATNACH

'H.W.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'The Golden Chaplet. A Variety of
 Excellent Carols.'

Contents of Broadsheet: 'The Holy Well. A very Ancient Carol';
 'Hark! The Herald Angels Sing'; 'Away
 Dark Thoughts'; 'Christ's Birth';
 'Carol' (beg. "All Glory to God and peace
 upon earth"); untitled poem beg. "Within
 this rock that rock is laid" (a total
 of six carols).

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib. 5 Delta 260, nos. 14
and 22; also in British Lib. 1889
b. 10/III, p.20 verso.

Imprint: "J. CATNACH, Printer, 2, Monmouth-Court,
 7 Dials."

Date: 1813-1838.

Description of text: 13 stas., ordered as H.W. I, except
 that 'N' is omitted.

Appendix C, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XII, a and b. MANCHESTER - SWINDELLS

'Honour the Leaves'

Location of Broadside: Manchester Lib. BR. f. 398.8 Bl.,
p.48('a') and p.73('b').Imprint (both copies): "Swindells, Printer."Date: c.1760 - c.1850 (probably 1800-1830).Description of text: There are small but significant variations between 'a' and 'b', which have both been contaminated by S.V.; their structure is the same, i.e. 12 stas. (divisions not marked), A* - B - C - D - E - F - g - J - J1 - J2, f - L - M.XIII. PLACE UNKNOWN - probably Manchester

'The Leaves of Life'

Location of Broadside: R.V.W.Lib., Sharp Broadside Colln. 2062,
p.110.No Imprint: As it stands, the broadside is a cut-down 'single slip' and the imprint may have been cut off.Date: Unknown; probably early nineteenth century (uses 'long s').Description of text: Textual features, mainly this text's contamination by S.V., suggest that it was printed in the Manchester area; 14 stas. (divisions not marked), A* - B - C - D - E - F - g - J - J1 - J2 - L - M - K - V.XIV. NEWCASTLE - ROBINSON (Chapbook)

'H.W.'

Title of Chapbook: 'A Garland of Christmas Carols' (H.W.
at pp.16-18).Location of Chapbook: British Lib. 3455 dd. 20 (6).Imprint: "Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Robert Robinson,
(front page) Bewick's Head, 38, Pilgrim Street."Date: 1855-1884; the fact that the text has been revised may support the date of 1880 in the British Library Catalogue.Description of text: 13 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - G - J - J1 - J2 - K - L* - M.

Appendix C (cont'd)(b) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE HOLY WELL', FOLLOWED
BY TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE BITTER WITHY'H.W.1. BLUNT - Haigh and Kelk

('The Bitter Withy' - wrongly classified)

Date: 30 October 1921.Place: Birkenhead.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Blunt MS., (unpublished), p.484 (no.6), repeated on p.595 (no.14); described on p.595 as "a version sung in the streets of Birkenhead between 30 and 40 years ago, as remembered by Mrs. Haigh and Miss Kelk, her sister. They recall very few of the words of the carol."With tune.Description of text: 3 stas., a - B - C.H.W.2. HOWITT/JEWSBURY

(untitled)

Date: (1838).Place: Manchester area.Source: Howitt, Rural Life, pp.468-469; also in Leach, Ballad Book, pp.690-691; Howitt (see Rural Life, p.466) apparently took the carol from a volume "collected" by Mrs. Fletcher (née Jewsbury) containing carols "such as are sung in the neighbourhood of Manchester"; it is quite possible that this volume of carols was a chapbook, but since certainty on this point is impossible at present, the text is included among the traditional variants.Without tune.Description of text: 11 stas., contaminated by S.V.; A* - B - C - D - E - F - G - J1 - J2 - L - M.H.W.3. a and b. RIMBAULT/BRAMLEY and STAINER

'H.W.'

Date: (1863).Place: Derbyshire?

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W.3, a and b (cont'd)

Source: 'a' in Rimbault, Colln. of Old Christmas Carols, pp.8-9 (no.5); 'b' in Bramley and Stainer, Christmas Carols, pp.136-137; in both editions the words are described as "traditional-Derbyshire" and the tune as "traditional"; the attribution to Derbyshire may well be editorial, based on knowledge of the Derbyshire custom of well-dressing.

With tune: Identical for both 'a' and 'b'.

Description of text: 14 stas., ordered as H.W.I., but otherwise closest to H.W.IV; the few trifling variations between texts 'a' and 'b' are probably editorial in origin.

H.W.4. SHARP - Butler

('H.W.')

Date: 17 June 1913.

Place: Armscote, Warwicks.

Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), pp.4-5; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, pp.481-482 (360 B); the original is in Sharp MSS., 2866/M.B.; sung by Mrs. Reservoir Butler, a gypsy aged 68, in 1913.

With tune: Cf. H.W.10, 13 and 14.

Description of text: 8 stas., A* - B - C (Mary's prediction) - J2 - K - F - M - W.

H.W.5. SHARP - Fletcher

('H.W.')

Date: 5 September 1919.

Place: Cinderford, Glos.

Source: Sharp MSS.,./3320 (unpublished); sung by Mrs. Isabel Fletcher, a gypsy, in 1919.

Without tune.

Description of text: 6 stas., A* - B - J - J2 - K - F.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W.6. SHARP - Heather

('H.W.')

Date: Collected by Sharp, 9 May 1913; words sent by Miners in January 1912.

Place: Camborne, Cornwall.

Source: Sharp MSS. ./2235 (unpublished), 9 stas. without tune sent to Sharp by Tom Miners as sung by Mr. S. Heather of Ba____ (illegible), Cornwall in January, 1912; Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), p.3 and Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, p.484 (360 E) from Sharp MSS., 2838/., gives tune and first two stanzas, as sung by Samuel Heather, aged 55, at Camborne, Cornwall on 9 May 1913.

Without tune.

Description of text: 9 stas., a - B - C1 - d - E - P - G1 - h - J.

H.W.7. SHARP - Nicholas

('H.W.')

Date: 12 May 1913.

Place: Camborne, Cornwall.

Source: Tune and first sta. in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), p.4 and in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, pp.483-484 (360 D); full words with tune in Sharp MSS., 2849/.; sung by Mrs. Nicholas in 1913.

With tune.

Description of text: 6 stas., A - B - F - G - M - L.

H.W.8. SHARP - Trenerry

('H.W.')

Date: 10 May 1913.

Place: Redruth, Cornwall.

Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), p.2; Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, pp.482-483 (360 C); the original is in Sharp MSS., 2842/.; sung by William John Trenerry, aged 77, in 1913, who learned it from his mother.

With tune.

Description of text: 8 stas., A* - B - C - D - E - G1 - L - M.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W.9. SHARP - Veale (and Paynter)

('H.W.')

Date: Tune coll'd. by Sharp, 9 May 1913; words sent by Miners, January 1912.Place: Camborne, Cornwall.Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, p.1; also in Sharp, Collection, ed Karpeles, II, pp.479-480 (360 A); 11 stas. without tune in Sharp MSS., ./2233; "sent me by Mr. Tom Miners as sung by Mr. Veale of Camborne and Mrs. Paynter of the same place, Jan. 1912"; tune without words in Sharp MSS., 2826/., as sung in 1913 at Camborne by Sydney Veale, originally from St. Columb. Major (also in Cornwall).With tune.Description of text: 11 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - j1 - J2 - K - L - M.H.W.10. WILLIAMS - Davies

'H.W.'

Date: 16 September 1913.Place: Stourport, Worcs.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 4to E, p.12 (unpublished); sung by Mr. Davies, a hop-picker from Stourport, working at Bull's Hop-garden, Aylton, near Ledbury, Herefordshire - see note to C.T.C. 8.Tune only: Cf. H.W.4, 13 and 14 (all sung by gypsies).NO TEXT.H.W.11. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Goodwin

'H.W.'

Date: March 1909.Place: King's Pyon, Herefs.Source: Leather, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), pp.26-27; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.186; sung by Mrs. E. Goodwin, aged 60, in 1909; noted by R.V.W. from a phonograph record; the tune is always printed with the words of H.W.12, but it seems likely that there existed a separate text for H.W.11.With tune.No Text Given.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W.12. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Hancocks

'H.W.'

Date: October 1908.Place: Monnington-on-Wye, Herefs.Source: Leather, J.F.S.S., IV (1910), pp.26-27; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs, pp.186-187 and in Leather and Williams, Twelve Trad. Carols, pp.6-7; sung by Mr. John Hancocks, aged 70, in 1908; noted by R.V.W. from a phonograph record; recorded apparently by the Rev. Francis Wilmot, Rector of Monnington - Hancocks was a farm labourer (see Jones, English Dance and Song, XXVII, p.40).With tune.Description of text: 13 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - G - J - J1 - J2 - L - M - N.H.W.13. WILLIAMS - Loveridges

'H.W.'

Date: 16 September 1913.Place: Pool End and Trumpet, near Ashperton, Herefs.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 4to E, p.2 (unpublished); sung by "the Loveridges", a gypsy family.With tune: Cf. H.W.4, 10 and 14.Description of text: Extremely garbled, but shows the remains of 8 stas., - A, B, M, J, J1, J2, P, F.H.W.14. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Anon. (Gypsies)

'H.W.'

Date: September 1912.Place: Near Sutton St. Nicholas, a village near Hereford.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 8vo D, p.1; printed, slightly altered, in Leather and Williams, Twelve Trad. Carols, pp.4-5; sung by gypsies in 1912.With tune: Cf. H.W.4, 10 and 13.Description of text: 7 stas., A - B - M - F - L* - E - K.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W. / B.W. 15. KING/LEATHER - Jones

('B.W.')

Date: 1908.Place: King's Pyon, Herefs.Source: Leather, J.F.S.S., IV (1910), pp.29-31; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., pp.182-183 and in Brice, Folk Carol, pp.47-49; collected by the Rev. Edwin King from the singing of Mrs. Mary Jones, aged 60, in 1908.With tune.Description of text: 15 stas., A - B - C - D - E - J2 - F - g,
J - J1 - L - M - Q - R1 - T - U.H.W. / B.W. 16a. SIDGWICK - Brooks

('B.W.')

Date: 24 December 1907.Place: Swainshill, Herefs.Source: Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.193 and 197; written down by S. Brooks from the singing of his father, James Brooks, who learned it in Herefs. when he was young.Without tune.Description of text: Sidgwick quotes a few variant readings only, but states that the text comprises 7 stas., nos.1-2 belonging to both H.W. and B.W., nos.3-5 to H.W. and nos.6-7 to B.W.H.W. / B.W. 16b. SIDGWICK - Innes

('B.W.')

Date: 23 December 1907.Place: Hentland, near Ross-on-Wye, Herefs.Source: Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX, pp.193 and 197; written down by Richard Innes, aged 55, who learned it from his mother, aged about 97 in 1907, who herself learned it in childhood.Without tune.Description of text: Sidgwick quotes a few variant readings only, but states that the text comprises 10 stas., nos.1-2 belonging to both H.W. and B.W., nos.3-4 to H.W. and nos.5-10 to B.W.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)H.W. / B.W. 16c. SIDGWICK - Preece

('B.W.')

Date: 25 December 1907.Place: Withington, Herefs.Source: Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX, pp.193 and 197; written down by Jessie Preece from the singing of her mother, who had learned it forty years previously at Cowarne, Herefs., where it had been very popular.Without tune.Description of text: Sidgwick quotes a few variant readings only, but states that the text comprises 9 stas., nos.1-2 belonging to both H.W. and B.W., no.3 to H.W. and nos.4-9 to B.W.B.W.17. BLUNT/Kelk - Baines

('B.W.')

Date: October 1921.Place: Not stated - perhaps Birkenhead.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Blunt MS. (unpublished), p.485, as a loose sheet; sent to Janet Blunt by Miss Kelk of Birkenhead, who had been sent it by her friend, Miss Baines.No tune given - but the tune is said to be the same as that of H.W.1.Description of text: 8 stas., A1 - B - C2 - e, p - Q - R1 - T - U.B.W.18. BROADWOOD/WILLIAMS - Hunt

'Our Saviour Tarried Out'

Date: September 1905.Place: Wimbledon, Surrey, from Sussex.Source: Broadwood, J.F.S.S., II (1906), pp.205-206; also in Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII (1908), pp.147-148; sung by Mr. Hunt, who learned it in his home in Sussex; words taken down by Lucy Broadwood and music transcribed by R.V.W.With tune.Description of text: 8 stas., A1 - B - C2 - D - Q - Q1 - T - U.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.19. BROWN - Anon.

'B.W.'

Date: c.1919.Place: Fownhope, Herefs.Source: A letter sent to me on 20 August 1978 from Mrs. Beatrice Brown, of Whitecross, Hereford; as a child in Fownhope, Mrs. Brown had learned a few words of the carol in about 1919 from an old man who visited the house to sing Christmas carols in return for cider.Without tune.Description of text: One stanza, U, only; cf. B.W.23.B.W.20a. GILCHRIST/PECKHAM - Mrs. "Greasehorn"

'The Bitter Willer'

Date: 21 November 1908.Place: Nutley, near Uckfield, Sussex.Source: Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., IV (1910), pp.37-38; collected by the Rev. H.F. Peckham of Nutley from a gypsy woman known as Mrs. "Greasehorn" (her late husband's nickname), whose singing was "a sort of dreary recitation as devoid of tune as of rhythm" (letter from Rev. Peckham to A.G. Gilchrist, 25/11/1908, in R.V.W. Lib., Gilchrist's Correspondence on 'B.W.').Without tune.Description of text: 10 stas., garbled, A1 - B - C2 - d, e - e, p - Q - r - T - U - X.B.W.20b. GILCHRIST/PECKHAM - Mrs. "Greasehorn"'s son.

'The Bitter Willer'

Date: Prior to February 1908.Place: Nutley, Sussex.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Gilchrist's Correspondence on 'B.W.' (unpublished); collected by the Rev. H.F. Peckham from the son of a gypsy woman, Mrs. "Greasehorn", the singer of 20a.Without tune.Description of text: 6 stas., garbled, A1 - B - C2 - d, e - p - X.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.21. KIDSON / SARAP (?) - Anon.

'B.W.'

Date: About 1908.Place: Bidford, near Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwicks.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Gilchrist's Correspondence on 'B.W.' (unpublished), letter from Frank Kidson to A.G. Gilchrist, 6/9/1910; Kidson was given a copy of the text in August 1910 by a postman named F.G. Sarap (? - Kidson's writing illegible); Sarap had taken the text down two years previously from villagers at Bidford and made Kidson promise that he would not print it without permission; Sidgwick refers to this text in Folklore, XIX (1908), p.192 (see also Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII (1908), p.144, note 1.)Without tune.Description of text: 8 stas., A1 - c4 - D - E - P - Q - S - U.B.W.22. LEATHER - Anon.

'The Sally Twigs' or 'The Bitter Withy'

Date: 1904.Place: Herefs.Source: 5 stas. in Broadwood, J.F.S.S., II (1906), p.302; 7 stas. in Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII (1908), pp.145-146; noted by Mrs. E.M. Leather as sung in Herefordshire in 1904.Without tune.Description of text: 7 stas. (others forgotten) A - B ... E - P - Q - T - U.B.W.23. NOTES AND QUERIES / "C.F.S."

(Untitled)

Date: 1868.Place: Not given.Source: Notes and Queries, 4th Series, I, (1868), p.53, by "C.F.S."; the contributor had recently heard the Christmas carol sung and was making inquiries.Without tune.Description of text: 2 stas., A1 - (prose summary of plot) - U.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)

B.W.24. SHARP - Hall

'B.W.'

Date: 22 August 1911.Place: Shipton (county not given).Source: Sharp MSS., 2616 / . (unpublished); sung by Mrs. Selena Hall, aged 80, at Shipton; MS. note - "This is all Mrs. Hall could remember, was the chorus of the story repeated as the refrain after each verse."With tune.Description of text: One sta. (also a refrain), U, only.

B.W.25. SHARP - Hands

'B.W.'

Date: 9 April 1909.Place: Snowhill, Glos.Source: Sharp, Folk Carols, p.5 (tune, with words of B.W.31); also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, p.487 (361 B); original in Sharp MSS., 2153/2005; sung by John Hands, aged 65, in 1909.With tune.Description of text: One sta., U, only.

B.W.26. SHARP - Taylor

'B.W.'

Date: 1 September 1921.Place: Ross-on-Wye Union, Herefs.Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., VIII, no.31 (1927), pp.31-33; Sharp, Collection, II, pp.485-486 (361 A); original in Sharp MSS., 4832/3329; sung by Thomas Taylor, aged 67, at Ross Union.With tune.Description of text: 8 stas., A1 - B - d, E - P - Q - R - T - U.

B.W.27. SIDGWICK/ANDREWS - Brimfield

'B.W.'

Date: 23 December 1907.Place: Winforton, Herefs.

Source: Words only in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.194-195; tune and 1st sta., "noted by Eleanor Andrews" in Leather, J.F.S.S., IV, (1910), p.29; tune and full text in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.184; sung by G.J. Brimfield of Winforton, who had learned it from his grandfather thirty years previously.

With tune.Description of text: 9 stas., A1 - B - C3 - E - P - Q - R1 - T - U.

B.W.28. SIDGWICK - Brookes

'B.W.'

Date: 26 December 1907.Place: Withington, Herefs.

Source: Collations only, in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), p.196 (text E.e.); written down by Arthur James Brookes, Withington, from the singing of his father, Charles Brookes, aged 75, who had learned it about sixty years previously.

Without tune.Description of text: 9 stas., collations (with B.W.27) given only.

B.W.29. SIDGWICK - Collins

'B.W.'

Date: 11 April 1908.Place: Broadway, Worcs.

Source: Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX, p.198 (text E.h.); sent by Mrs. H. Collins in 1908.

Without tune.

Description of text: Prose redaction showing remains of A1, D, E, P, Q, R, T, U (8 stas.).

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.30. SIDGWICK/ELLERSHAW/BULLEN

'B.W.'

Date: 1888.Place: Herefs.Source: Sidgwick, Notes and Queries, 10th series, IV (1905), pp.84-5; also in Gerould, P.M.L.A., XXIII (1908), pp.142-143; taken down in 1888 by Henry Ellershaw of Rotherham from an old Herefordshire man aged 70, who had learned it from his grandmother; sent to A.H. Bullen, too late for publication.Without tune.Description of text: 9 stas., A1 - B - C2 - E - P - Q - R1 - T - U.B.W.31. SIDGWICK - Gibbs

'B.W.'

Date: 4 April 1908.Place: Evesham, Glos.Source: 'Evesham Journal', 4 April 1908; also in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.197-8 and in Sharp, English Folk Carols, p.5; contributed by Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs of Bengeworth, learned from a little girl; "a version as sung at Evesham more than forty years ago" (Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX, p.197).Without tune.Description of text: 10 stas., A1 - B - c2, d - D - E - P - Q - R - T - U.B.W.32. SIDGWICK - Hill

'B.W.'

Date: 23 December 1907.Place: King's Thorne, Herefs.Source: Collations only, in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.196-197 (text E.f.); written down by James Hill of King's Thorne, as he had had it written out for him 25 years previously.Without tune.Description of text: 8 stas., collations (with B.W.27) given only.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.33. SIDGWICK/WILLIAMS - Holder

'B.W.'

Date: Words only, sent 23 December 1907; words coll'd. with tune, January 1909.

Place: Withington, Herefs.

Source: Collations only, in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), pp.195-196 (text E.b.); stas. 1, 2 and 5, with tune, in Leather, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.30; full words, of 10 stas., sent to Sidgwick in letter dated 23/12/1907, extant in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams Scrapbook, (unpublished) p.69; words and tune were then noted in January 1909 and transcribed by R.V.W. from a phonograph record; sung by Mr. W. Holder of Withington, aged 62 in 1909.

With tune.

Description of text: 10 stas., a - B - C2 - d - E - d, p - Q - R1* - T - U.

B.W.34. SIDGWICK - Layton

'B.W.'

Date: 8 January 1908.

Place: King's Pyon, Herefs.

Source: Collations only, in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1909), p.196 (text E.d.); written down by James Layton of King's Pyon.

Without tune.

Description of text: 8 stas., collations (with B.W.27) given only.

B.W.35. SIDGWICK - Leaper

'B.W.'

Date: 15 January 1908.

Place: Grafton, Herefs., from Gloucestershire.

Source: Collations only, in Sidgwick, Folklore, XIX (1908), p.196 (text E.c.); written down by Pattie Leaper of Grafton as sent by her brother from Gloucestershire, where the carol was sung, as part of a wassailling custom, on Old Christmas Eve.

Without tune.

Description of text: 8 stas., collations (with B.W.27) given only.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.36. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Colcombe

'B.W.'

Date: 1908 and 1909.Place: Weobley, Herefs.Source: Leather, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.29; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.181; sung by Mr. William Colcombe of Weobley; the tune was noted by R.V.W. and by A.M. Webb.With tune.Description of text: One stanza, A1, only.B.W.37. WILLIAMS - Morris

'B.W.'

Date: September 1912.Place: Near Weobley, Herefs.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 8vo D, no.21 (unpublished); sung by Mr. Morris, near Weobley.With tune.Description of text: 10 stas., A1 - B - C2 - D - E - P - Q - R1 - T - U.B.W.38. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Stephens

'B.W.'

Date: August 1913.Place: Monkland, Herefs.Source: R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 4to E, no.14 (unpublished); MS. note - "Phonograph record of songs sung to Mrs. Leather by Charlotte Stephens, August 1913"; Charlotte Stephens was a gypsy (Leather, Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd series, IV, 1925, p.68).Tune only.No Text Given: The tune variations indicate that there were at least 9 stas.

Appendix C, Traditional Variants (cont'd)B.W.39. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Tristram

'B.W.'

Date: 1909.Place: Withington, Herefs.Source: Leather, J.F.S.S., IV (1910), p.30; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.182; sung by Mrs. Tristram in 1909; noted by R.V.W. from a phonograph record.With tune.Description of text: 1st sta., A1, given only.B.W.40. WILLIAMS - Anon. (a gypsy)

'Small drops of rain'

Date: Not given.Place: Not given.Source: R.V.W.Lib., Vaughan Williams MS., Vol.1, p.119 (unpublished); no details are given, but the nature of the text suggests a gypsy singer.Without tune.Description of text: Garbled, showing remains of 5 stas., A1, B, Q, C2, T.

APPENDIX DVARIANTS OF 'THE SEVEN VIRGINS'Key to the Description of Texts

- A: The narrator (Thomas) meets seven virgins beneath the leaves of life.
- B: Thomas asks the seven maids what they are seeking.
- C: The seven virgins reply that they are seeking Jesus Christ.
- D: Thomas directs them to where Jesus is nailed to a tree.
- E: The virgins journey there, weeping.
- F: Mary asks rhetorically what Jesus has done.
- G: Jesus asks His mother not to grieve, for He must suffer for Adam and Eve's sake.
- H: Mary asks how she can cease to weep, when she is obliged to see her Son die.
- J: Jesus entrusts John Evangelist to Mary as her son.
- K: Mary welcomes John, but says that her own Son would be more welcome still.
- L: Jesus dies, bequeathing the Holy Ghost to His mother.
- M: Reflection on the 'gentle rose'; exhortation to pray for the current king and/or queen.
- N: Exhortation to pray for enemies, or for one's ending day; God's charity is the end of the song.

(a) BROADSIDE TEXTS OF 'THE SEVEN VIRGINS'I. BURNE (Chapbook)

'S.V.'

Source:

Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, pp.566-567, "copied from a small chap-book collection of carols (title gone) by Mr. Hubert Smith. A nearly identical copy in a chap-book Selection of Christmas Hymns, printed by J. Wrigley, 30, Miller Street, Manchester."

Date:

(1883); Wrigley chapbook, 1838-1852.

Description of text: 10 stas., A - B - C - D - E - G - J - K - L - N.

Appendix D, Broadside Texts (cont'd)II. SYLVESTER

'S.V.'

Source: Sylvester, Garland, pp.71-73; reprinted in Husk, Nativity, pp.105-107 and in Bullen, Carols and Poems, pp.xxiii-xxiv; Sylvester (p.71) calls his source an "old Birmingham broadside".

Date: (1861).

Description of text: 11 stas., A - B - C - D - E - G - J - K - L - M - N.

III. BIRMINGHAM - JACKSON (Chapbook)

'S.V.'

Title of Chapbook: 'A New Carol Book No.3' (S.V. at pp.55-56).

Location of Chapbook: Birmingham Lib. 63240.

Imprint: "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by Jackson & Son (front page) (late J. Russell,) 21, Moor-street."

Date: c.1839 - c.1848.

Description of text: 11 stas. (divisions not marked), A - bC - D - E - G - H - J - K - L - M - N.

IV. DUDLEY - WALTERS (Chapbook)

'S.V.'

Printed: In the chapbook, A Good Christmas Box, printed in 1847 by G. Walters of High Street, Dudley, in Part II at p.118; in the facsimile copy by M. and J. Raven at pp.19-20.

Date: 1847.

Description of text: 11 stas. (divisions not marked), ordered as S.V.III.

V, a and b. MANCHESTER - SWINDELLS

'Under the Leaves or The Seven Virgins'

Location of Broadside: Manchester Lib. BR. f. 398.8 Bl., p.64 ('a') and p.90 ('b').

Imprint (both copies): "Swindells, Printer."

Date: Both texts (sta. 10.4) refer to "George our King" and so must pre-date 1830.

Appendix D, Broadside Texts (cont'd)V, a and b (cont'd)

Description of text: There are only trifling variations between 'a' and 'b', which consist of 11 stas., printed in 'long lines' and without stanza divisions, ordered as S.V. III.

(b) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE SEVEN VIRGINS'S.V.1. BURNE - Anon. (gypsies)

(Untitled)

Date: (1883).Place: Shropshire.Source: Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.567, from an unnamed gypsy source.Without tune.Description of text: 4 stas., M - D* - f, j - K; contaminated by H.W.; 3 lines apparently added from a chapbook.2. BURNE - Anon. (gypsies)

(Untitled)

Date: (1883).Place: Shropshire.Source: Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.567, from an unnamed gypsy source.Without tune.Description of text: 2 stas., D* - j.3. GILCHRIST/KEWLEY ('Carval' Book)

(Untitled)

Date: c.1830.Place: Isle of Man.Source: Gilchrist, J.F.S.S., VII, no.30 (1926), p.283, "transcribed exactly from a small manuscript carval book (no.3, watermarks 1826 and 1829) in the possession of Archdeacon Kewley"; the Manx Museum, Douglas is unable at present to trace this carval book.

Appendix D, Traditional Variants (cont'd)S.V.3. (cont'd)Without tune.Description of text: 8 stas., A - B* - D* - E* - E* - G - H - J.4. HAMER - Bradley

'Under the Leaves'

Date: c.1967.Place: Shropshire.Source: Hamer, Garners Gay, p.57, sung by Mrs. May Bradley, daughter of Esther Smith, née Whatton, singer of S.V.9c.With tune: Cf. S.V.7, 8 and 9.Description of text: 5 stas., A - b, c - D - g, j - M*.5. HOWITT/JEWSBURY

'Under the Leaves, or the Seven Virgins'

Date: (1838).Place: Manchester area.Source: Howitt, Rural Life, p.466, from a collection of carols from the Manchester area presented by Mrs. Fletcher, née Jewsbury (see note to H.W.5.).Without tune.Description of text: One stanza, A, only.6. SHARP - Pickering

'S.V.'

Date: 20 December 1911.Place: Teagues Bridge, Salop.Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), pp.21-22; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, p.474 (356 B); sung by Enoch Pickering, aged 41, in 1911; Mr. Pickering could remember only the first stanza but gave several 'corrections' to the version Sharp read to him from A Good Christmas Box (S.V.IV.).

Appendix D, Traditional Variants (cont'd)S.V.6. (cont'd)With Tune.Description of text: One stanza, A, only.7. SHARP - Price

'The Leaves of Life'

Date: 30 August 1923.Place: Little Stretton, Salop.Source: Sharp, J.F.S.S., VIII, no.31 (1927), p.34; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, II, pp.473-474 (356 A); sung by Sampson Price, a gypsy, aged 58 in 1923.With tune: Cf. S.V.4, 8 and 9.Description of text: 6 stas., A - b*, c - D* - G* - G* - m, n, corrupt and contaminated by H.W.8a. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Jones (Harriet)

'Leaves of Life'

Date: Not given (probably August 1908).Place: Not given (probably Herefs.).Source: One stanza without tune in Leather, Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd series, IV (1925), p.63; tune without words in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS., vol.I, p.306 (unpublished); sung by Mrs. Harriet Jones, a gypsy.With tune: Cf. S.V.4, 7 and 9.Description of text: One stanza, A, only.8b. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Jones (Alfred Pryce)

'Under the Leaves'

Date: September 1912.Place: Monkland, Herefs.Source: Tune only, in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 8vo D, p.5 (unpublished); sung by Alfred Pryce Jones, a gypsy, the son of Harriet Jones, singer of S.V.8a.

Appendix D, Traditional Variants (cont'd)S.V.8b (cont'd)

With tune: Virtually identical with S.V.8a.

NO TEXT.

9a, b and c. WILLIAMS/LEATHER - Whatton/Loveridge

'Under the Leaves'

Date: September 1912.

Place: The Homme, near Weobley, Herefs.

Source: 'a' and 'b' as one text with collations in Leather, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), pp.49-51; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., pp.187-188 and in Leather and Williams, Twelve Trad. Carols, pp.26-27; tune only, in Oxford Carols no.43 (p.82); this text ('a' and 'b') occurs with no attribution and without the tune in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams Scrapbook, p.70, whilst the tune occurs in the Vaughan Williams MS. 8vo D., p.5, no.3; the text of 'a' was sung by old Mrs. Whatton, the text of 'b' by Mrs. Loveridge and the tune for 'a' and 'b' by Angelina Whatton, daughter of old Mrs. Whatton. 'c', tune only, occurs in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 8vo D., p.5, no.1, as sung by Mrs. Esther Smith, née Whatton, mother of May Bradley (singer of S.V.4); all singers mentioned here were gypsies.

With tune: Cf. S.V.4, 7 and 8 (small variations only between 'a' and 'b', and 'c').

Description of text: 'a' and 'b', 7 stas., A - b, c - D* - g, j* - J - K - m, n, contaminated by H.W.; 'c' has no text.

APPENDIX EVARIANTS OF 'DIVES AND LAZARUS' (CHILD 56)Key to the Description of Texts

- A: Dives holds a feast.
- B: As it fell out upon one day, Lazarus lay down at Dives' door.
- C: Lazarus pleads for meat and drink at Dives' door.
- D: Dives replies that he will not bestow meat or drink on the poor.
- E: Lazarus pleads for meat and drink at Dives' wall.
- F: Dives replies that Lazarus must starve for hunger.
- G: Lazarus pleads for meat and drink at Dives' gate.
- H: Dives replies that he will give no meat or drink for Christ's sake.
- J: Dives sends out his men, but they fling their whips away.
- K: Dives sends out his dogs, but they lick Lazarus' sores.
- L: Lazarus dies; angels from heaven arrive.
- M: Angels summon Lazarus to his place in heaven (stanzas vary).
- N: Dives dies; serpents from hell arrive.
- P: Serpents summon Dives to his place in hell (stanzas vary).
- Q: Dives pleads from hell for a drop of water.
- R: Dives compares the eternal duration of hell to blades of grass.
- S: Dives compares the eternal duration of hell to stars in the sky.
- T: Dives wishes he were alive again for half an hour.
- U: Carol commonplace, beg. "O Hell is dark, O hell is deep".
- U1: Carol commonplace, beg. "And now my carol's ended".
- U2: Carol commonplace, beg. "At merry Christmas time".

(a) BROADSIDE TEXTS OF 'DIVES AND LAZARUS'I. HONE

(Untitled)

Source:

Hone, Anc. Mysteries Described, p.95, quoted as an example of a carol sung by "a Warwickshire chanter ... solemnly listened to by the well disposed crowd"; this probably

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)D.L.I. (cont'd)

indicates a seller of broadsides advertising his wares; on p.97 of Anc. Mysteries Described, Hone quotes the first two lines of D.L. in his list of carols annually printed in his possession; collations of D.L.I. are given in E.S.P.B., II, p.12 (B).

Date: (1823).

Description of text: 2 stas., N - P.

II. HUSK (Child 56 A.b.)

'D.L.'

Source: Husk, Nativity, pp.94-97, "given from a sheet copy printed at Worcester in the last century".

Date: Eighteenth century.

Description of text: 16 stas., A - C - D - E - F - G - H - J - K
- L - M - N - P - Q - R - T.

IIIa. SYLVESTER (Child 56 A.a.)

'D.L.'

Source: Sylvester, Garland, pp.50-54, "reprinted ... from an old Birmingham broadside".

Date: (1861).

Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.

IIIb. SANDYS

'D.L.'

Source: Sandys, Notes and Queries, 4th series, III (1869), p.157; the source is unspecified, but Sandys states that he has seven copies from different parts of the country which conclude with the three stanzas he prints; collations of D.L.IIIb are given in E.S.P.B., II, p.12 (A).

Date: 1869.

Description of text: 3 stas. given only, Q - R - T.

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)IV. BIRMINGHAM - BLOOMER

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib., Douce Adds. 137, no.34.Imprint: "T. Bloomer, Printer, 53, Edgbaston-street."Date: 1821-1827.Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.V. BIRMINGHAM - JACKSON (Chapbook)

'D.L.'

Title of Chapbook: 'A New Carol Book No.2' (D.L. at pp.27-29).Location of Chapbook: Birmingham Lib. 63240.Imprint: "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by Jackson & Son (late J. Russell), 21, Moor-street."
(front page)Date: c.1839 - c.1848.Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.VI. BIRMINGHAM - WOOD

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: Birmingham Library, in the following collections - 41346, p.7, 60338, p.57, 119932, p.137 and 256712, p.73; also in British Lib. 1466 i. 30, no.1 and in British Lib. 1879 cc. 10, p.12.Imprint: "Printed by T. Wood, New Meeting-Street, Birmingham, Where may be had, the greatest variety of Christmas Carols, at the lowest prices."Date: c.1800 - c.1840; probably printed c.1820 (or some years before or afterwards) since the woodcut of a coffin (with name "Poor Lazarus") on all copies of Wood's D.L. is used (without the name) on a lament, 'The death of the Princess Charlotte' (d.1820) in Birmingham Lib. 119932, p.68; the Wood text of D.L. probably goes back at least to the eighteenth century - see discussion in Chapter Eight.Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)VII. BIRMINGHAM - WRIGHT

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib., Douce Adds. 137, no.9.Imprint: "Birmingham: Printed by W. Wright, Moor-street, where Travellers may be supplied with an extensive variety of Songs, Hymns, &c., on the most reasonable terms."Date: c.1820 - 1825 or 1831 - c.1837.Description of text: 16 stas., A - C - D - E - F - G - H - J - K - L - M - N - R - T - P - Q.VIII. NO IMPRINT - Probably Birmingham

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: Oxford Bodl. Lib. Douce Adds. 137, no.57.Attribution: The text resembles D.L.IV and other Birmingham texts closely; the paper is of a coarse weave and the woodcuts (a witch on a broomstick, Christ on the cross) are of a crude old-fashioned type (cf. paper and style of cuts of C.T.C. XVII).Date: Before 1799?Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.IX. DUDLEY - RANN

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: R.V.W. Lib. Sharp Broadside Colln. 2061, p.168.Imprint: "J. RANN, PRINTER, DUDLEY."Date: c.1793 - c.1845.Description of text: 16 stas., identical with D.L.IV, except for one trifling variation.X. DUDLEY - WALTERS (Chapbook)

'D.L.'

Printed: In the chapbook, A Good Christmas Box, printed in 1847 by G. Walters of High Street, Dudley, in Part I at p.49; in the facsimile copy by M. and J. Raven at p.8.

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)X. (cont'd)Date: 1847.Description of text: 15 stas., A - C - D - E - F - G - J - K - L -
M - N - P - Q - R - T.XI. a - d. LONDON - BATCHELAR

(Carol 4)

Title of Broadsheet: 'Christmas Drawing Near At Hand.'Contents of Broadsheet: 'Carol 1' (beg. "Christmas now is drawing near at hand"); 'Carol 2' (beg. "Rejoice and be merry, set sorrow aside"); 'Carol 3' (beg. "A virgin most pure, as the prophets did tell"); 'Carol 4' (beg. "As it fell out upon a day, Dives made a feast"). (four carols)Location of Broadside: 'a' in R.V.W.Lib., Sharp Broadside Colln. 1991, p.45; 'b' in British Lib. 1889 b. 10/III, p.8 verso; 'c' in British Lib. 1875 d. 8 no. 61; 'd' in British Lib. 1889 b. 10/III, p.11 verso.Imprint:
'a' - "Printed by T. Batchelar, Long Alley, Moorfields";
'b' - "Printed and sold by T. Batchelar, 14, Hackney Road Crescent";
'c' - "Printed and sold by Ann Batchelar, 14, Hackney Road Crescent";
'd' - "Printed and sold by D. Batchelar, 14, Hackney Road Crescent".Date: 'a' - 1817 - 1828; 'b' - 1828 - 1832;
'c' - 1836 - 1842; 'd' - 1836 - 1842.Description of text: There are only minor differences between variants a - d; 11 stas. printed as 6, A - CD - GH - JK - LM - NP (shorter London version).XIIa. LONDON - CATNACH

'D.L.'

Title of Broadsheet: 'Christmas Drawing Near at Hand'.Contents of Broadsheet: 'A Virgin most pure'; 'Christmas drawing near at Hand'; 'Dives and Lazarus'; 'While Shepherds watch'd'. (four carols)Location of Broadside: British Lib. 1889 b. 10/III, pp.7^v and 8^r; Oxford Bodl. 5. Delta. 260, no.19; Manchester Lib. BR f. 398.8 B1, p.62.

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XIIa. (cont'd)

Imprint: "Printed by J. CATNACH, 2 Monmouth Court,
7 Dials."

Date: 1813 - 1848.

Description of text: 11 stas. printed as 6, AC - DG - HJ - KL
- MN - P (shorter London version).

XIIb. Printer, ballad title and date as a.

Title of Broadsheet: "A Select Collection of admired Christmas
Carols".

Contents of Broadsheet: 'God rest you merry Gentlemen'; 'A Virgin
Most Pure'; 'Dives and Lazarus'; 'While
Shepherds watch'd'; 'Shepherds Rejoice';
'The Nativity'. (six carols)

Location of Broadside: British Lib. 1889 b. 10/III, p.10^r.

Imprint: "Printed and Sold by J. Catnach, 2, Monmouth-
Court, 7 Dials. Sold by Bennett, Edward-St.,
Brighton."

Description of text: 11 stas., ordered as D.L.XIIa, with a few
minor variations.

XIII. LONDON - PITTS

(Carol 4)

Title and Contents
of Broadsheet: As above, D.L.XI.

Location of Broadside: British Lib. 1875 d. 8, no.57.

Imprint: "Printed by J. Pitts, Wholesale Toy and
Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew Street,
7 Dials."

Date: 1822 (note in ink added below imprint).

Description of text: 11 stas., printed as 6, AC - D - GH - JK -
LM - NP (shorter London version).

XIVa and b. MANCHESTER - SWINDELLS

'D.L.'

Location of Broadside: Manchester Lib. BR f. 398.8 B1, p.57 ('a')
and p.64 ('b').

Imprint (both copies): Swindells, Printer.

Appendix E, Broadside Texts (cont'd)XIVa and b. (cont'd)

Date: c.1760 - c.1850 (probably 1800 - 1830).
Description of text: There are a few small differences between 'a' and 'b', which both consist of 16 stas. (printed without stanza divisions), ordered as D.L.II.

XV. MONMOUTH - HEATH

'The celebrated carol called Dives and Lazarus'

Location of Broadside: Hereford Lib., Walter Pilley Colln.
no.2270, p.16.

Imprint: "Monmouth. Printed and Sold by Charles Heath, in the Square."

Date: 1791 - 1831.

Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.

(b) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'DIVES AND LAZARUS'

All variants except D.L.14 were collected in England.

D.L.1. CHILD 56 B

'A Carol of Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: 1829 - 1839.

Place: Hagley and Hartlebury, Worcs.

Source: Child 56 B, from "F.S.L.", Notes and Queries, 4th series, III (1869), pp.75-76, "as sung by carol-singers at Christmas in Worcestershire at Hagley and Hartlebury, 1829 - 1839".

Without tune.

Description of text: 14 stas., A - B - C - D - E - F - G - H - J - K - L - M - N - P.

2. BRONSON 56 no.1.

'Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: 1905.

Place: Eardisley, Herefs.

Appendix E, Traditional Variants (cont'd)D.L.2. (cont'd)

Source: Bronson 56 no.1, from Andrews, J.F.S.S., II, no.7 (1905), p.125; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.190; tune only in Oxford Carols no.57 (second tune), p.120; collected by Mrs. E.M. Leather from the singing of Mrs. Hannah Harris, a mole-catcher's widow, aged 80; tune noted by Miss E. Andrews.

Tune: Bronson group A.

Description of text: 12 stas., A - E - F - K - G - J - L - M - N - P - p* - R.

3. BRONSON 56 no.2.

'D.L.'

Date: (1871).Place: Not given.

Source: Bronson 56 no.2 (tune only) from Bramley and Stainer, Christmas Carols, pp.84-85, both tune and words described, ibid., p.181 as "traditional"; I differ from Bronson, Trad. Tunes, II, p.18 and from Child, E.S.P.B., II, p.10 in deeming that the text does have independent standing, though it may well reflect a broadside text.

Tune: Bronson group A.Description of text: 16 stas., ordered as D.L.II.4. BRONSON 56 no.3.

('D.L.')

Date: January 1907.Place: Dilwyn, Herefs.

Source: Bronson 56 no.3, from R.V.W., J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.47; also in Leather, Folklore of Herefs., pp.190-191; sung by J. Evans in 1907; tune noted by R.V.W. from a phonograph record.

Tune: Bronson group A.Description of text: 5 stas. given only, A - Q - R - U - U1.

Appendix E, Traditional Variants (cont'd)D.L.5. BRONSON 56 no.4.

('D.L.')

Date: (1910).Place: Weobley, Herefs.Source: Bronson 56 no.4 from Webb, J.F.S.S., II, no.7 (1905), p.131; 'The Moon Shines Bright', sung by William Colcombe in 1905; according to the note in J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.48, this tune was also used by Colcombe for D.L.Tune only: Bronson group A.No Text Given.6. BRONSON 56 no.5.

'Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: 7 September 1921.Place: Ross-on-Wye Union, Herefs.Source: Bronson 56 no.5 from Sharp MSS., 4867/3339; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, pp.60-61 (12 B); sung by Thomas Taylor, aged 67, in 1921.Tune: Bronson group A.Description of text: 9 stas., A - G - c, d - K - J - L - M - N - P.7. BRONSON 56 no.6.

'Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: 19 December 1911.Place: The Trench, Salop.Source: Bronson 56 no.6, from Sharp MSS., 2728/2224; also in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.18 (1914), p.16 and in Sharp, Collection, ed Karpeles, I, pp.58-59 (12 A); sung by Samson Bates, aged 76, in 1911.Tune: Bronson group B. (cf. S.V.6.)Description of text: 15 stas., A - C - D - E - F - G - K - J - L - M - N - P - Q - R - T.

Appendix E, Traditional Variants (cont'd)D.L.8. BRONSON 56 no.7.

'Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: 14 December 1911.

Place: Donnington Wood (county not given; perhaps Salop.).

Source: Bronson 56 no.7, from Sharp MSS., 2733/.; sung by Henry Bould in 1911.

Tune: Bronson group B (cf. S.V.6.)

NO TEXT.

9. BRONSON 56 no.8.

('D.L.')

Date: October 1911.

Place: Lilleshall, Salop.

Source: Bronson 56 no.8, from Sharp MSS., 2715/.; noted by Walter Perry from a Lilleshall singer.

Tune: Bronson group B (cf. S.V.6.)

Description of text: One sta., A, only. (MS. note: "15 stanzas in A Good Xmas Box.")

10. HOWITT/JEWSBURY

'D.L.'

Date: (1838).

Place: Manchester area.

Source: Howitt, Rural Life, p.467, from a colln. of carols from the Manchester area presented by Mrs. Fletcher, née Jewsbury (see note to H.W.5.).

Without tune.

Description of text: 4 stas. given only, L - M - N - P.

Appendix E, Traditional Variants (cont'd)D.L.11. LEATHER/BEDDOE - Anon.

('D.L.')

Date: Late nineteenth century?Place: Herefs.Source: Leather, Folklore of Herefs., p.191, as noted in Herefs. "many years ago" by Dr. John Beddoe and sent to Mrs. Leather by his brother, H.C. Beddoe.Without tune.Description of text: 3 stas. given only, R - S - U2.12. WILLIAMS - Anon. (a waggoner)

('D.L.')

Date: Not given; probably September 1913.Place: Pool End, near Ashperton, Herefs.Source: Tune only, in R.V.W. Lib., Vaughan Williams MS. 4to E, p.2 (unpublished); sung by "a waggoner".Tune: Not in Bronson.NO TEXT.13. SOURCE UNKNOWN

'Lazarus and Dives'

Date: Not given.Place: Not given; perhaps Southern England.Source: Text only, in R.V.W.Lib., LIB/COLL/MPS. 50 (31) I, pp.114-115 (unpublished); no details of source given.Without tune.Description of text: 10 stas., A - c, e - D - c, g - J - K - N - P - L - M; cf. D.L.XI - XIII.

Appendix E, Traditional Variants (cont'd)UNITED STATES OF AMERICAD.L.14. GAINER - Wilson

'Diverus and Lazarus'

Date: (1975).Place: Gilmer County, W.Va.Source: Gainer, Folk Songs from the W.Va. Hills,
pp.35-36; sung by Aunt Mary Wilson of
Gilmer County.Tune: Not in Bronson.Description of text: 7 stas., A - C - D - K - L - M - N*.

APPENDIX F

VARIANTS OF 'THE MAID AND THE PALMER' (CHILD 21)
FOLLOWED BY A LIST OF TEXTS OF 'THE CRUEL MOTHER'
(CHILD 20) INCORPORATING SEVEN-YEAR PENANCES

Key to the Description of Texts

- A: A woman goes to a well to wash.
 A1: Further description of her washing.
 B: A man passes by.
 C: The man asks her for a drink.
 C1: He reiterates his plea for a drink.
 D: The woman refuses to give him a drink.
 D1: She reiterates her refusal.
 E: The man replies that if her lover asked for a drink, she would give him one.
 F: The woman swears that she has no lover.
 G: The man says (that she is forsworn, for) she has borne several children.
 H: The woman asks who, then, is the father of her children.

The man reveals the children's fathers; it is:

- J: her uncle.
 J1: her brother.
 J2: her father.
 J3: the kitchen boy.
 J4: the stable boy.
 K: The woman inquires about the children's fate.

The man reveals where the children are buried; it is:

- L: under the bed head/foot.
 L1: under her brewing lead.
 L2: in a play green.
 L3: under the bower/kitchen floor.
 L4: under the stable/kitchen door.
 L5: beside or beneath a well.
 L6: in a garden wall.

Appendix F, Key to the Description of Texts (cont'd)

M: The woman acknowledges that the traveller is God.

M1: The traveller proclaims that He is God.

N: The woman asks to be given a penance.

N1: The woman asks what will happen to her.

God gives her seven-year penances; they are:

P: to be an eel in a pool.

P1: to be a stone.

P2: to be the clapper in a bell/ring a bell.

P3: to lead an ape in hell/be porter or cook/burn in hell.

P4: to be a bird.

P5: to be an animal.

P6: to be a fish.

P7: a protracted pregnancy.

P8: to be a boat.

P9: to be old horse-bones.

P10: to be covered with blood.

P11: to wash and wring, card and spin.

P12: other penances.

Q-Q12: The woman accepts the various penances assigned to her (the numbering of Q- corresponds with P-).

R: The woman accepts that she must be (or ring) a bell (P2) but recoils from a stay in hell (P3).

S: God promises that the woman will be pardoned on the completion of her penance.

T: Once the woman dies, all this comes to pass.

(a) TRADITIONAL VARIANTS OF 'THE MAID AND THE PALMER' (CHILD 21)

ENGLAND

A. CHILD 21 A

'Lillumwham'.

Date: c.1650.

Place: Lancashire?

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)A. (cont'd)

Source: Percy, Loose and Humorous Songs, ed. Furnivall, pp.96-98, from Bishop Percy's Folio MS. (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 27897), p.461, MS. written c.1650 in a Lancashire dialect - see above, Chapter Ten, note 4.

Without tune.

Description of text: 15 stas. (with long, interlaced refrain),
A - A1 - B - C - D - E - F - G - 1, 11 -
L2 - M - N - P1 - p2, p3 - S.

SCOTLANDB. CHILD 21 B

(Untitled)

Date: c.1820?

Place: Scottish borders?

Source: Sharpe, A Ballad Book, ed. Laing, pp.157-158, no.VII, notes by Sir Walter Scott on ballads that he recollected.

Without tune.

Description of text: 3 stas., P1- p3, s - R (with internal refrain).

C. 'GLENBUCHAT MSS.'

'The Maid of Coldingham'

Date: Before 1818.

Place: Glenbuchat, Aberdeenshire.

Source: Aberdeen Univ.Lib., MS. 2181 ('Glenbuchat MSS.') vol.II, no.5, p.17; according to Dr. D. Buchan, Malahat Review, no.3, pp.98-100, the manuscripts contain fifty-seven Child ballads and a fragmented stanza of a fifty-eighth, collected by the minister of Glenbuchat Parish, the Rev. Robert Scott, and one of his daughters, probably the eldest, Elizabeth Mary, in 1818.

Without tune.

Description of text: 12 stas., A - b, c - D - C1 - D1 - G - L3 -
15, 16 - L - p4, p5 - p1, p7 - p2, p3 (with
internal refrain).

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)IRELANDD, a - d. MUNNELLY/WILGUS - Reilly (John)

'The Well Below The Valley'

Date: In and before February 1969 (precise dates not given, except for 'b').Place: Boyle, Co. Roscommon, Eire.

Location and Textual Description of Variants:

a: Bronson, Trad. Tunes, IV, p.457, from Ceol, III (1969), p.66; collected by Tom Munnelly; 17 stas., with tune; b, c - D - E - F - g - H - j - j1 - j2 - K - 14 - 13 - 15 - N1 - p2 - p3 - R (with internal refrain).

b: Bronson, Trad. Tunes, IV, pp.457-459, from a recording by Tom Munnelly and by D.K. and E. Wilgus on 22 February 1969, sent to Prof. Bronson by Mr. Munnelly; 16 stas., with tune; text as 'a' but with sta. 4 conflated to Fg.

c: Ceol, IV, no.1 (1972), p.8, from a recording by Tom Munnelly and Dr. D.K. Wilgus, first two stas. (b, c - D) given only; with tune.

d: Topic L.P. 12T359, John Reilly, The Bonny Green Tree: Songs of an Irish Traveller, side 1, track 3; produced by Tom Munnelly prior to 'b'; 10 stas., with tune; b, c - D - E - H - j - j1 - N1 - p2 - p3 - R.

Source: Sung by John Reilly, an itinerant (b.1926 - d.1969), one of nine children of a travelling family; born in Ballaghaderreen, Co. Roscommon; in John's childhood, the family travelled mostly in the vicinity of Belfast, Ulster; both John Reilly's parents were singers (Munnelly, Ceol, IV, no.1, 1972, pp.2-8).

Tunes: See above, Chapter Ten, p.247 and note 23.

E. MUNNELLY - Reilly (Willie)

'The Well Below The Valley'

Date: 3 May 1972.Place: Near Clones, Co. Monaghan, Eire.

Source: Recorded by Tom Munnelly from the singing of Willie A. Reilly, a traveller, aged 35, camped on the Rosslea Road, outside Clones. Mr. Munnelly sent me a copy of the tape (50/a/5) on 12 April 1978.

With tune.

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)E. (cont'd)

Description of text: 7 stas., probably bowdlerised since the version was sung reluctantly; b, c - D - E - F - M1 - R - p2, p3 (with internal refrain).

F. MUNNELLY - Reilly (Martin)

'The Well Below The Valley'

Date: 11 December 1973.

Place: Sligo, Co. Sligo, Eire.

Source: Recorded by Tom Munnelly from the singing of Martin Reilly, a traveller, aged 73, of Rathbroughan, Sligo; the informant had not sung the song for some years and needed some prompting; Mr. Munnelly sent me a copy of the tape (275/2) on 12 April 1978; in a letter dated 4/5/1978, Mr. Munnelly writes that the singers of M.P. texts D, E, and F may be related, but only distantly.

With tune.

Description of text: 12 stas., b, c - D - E - G - H - j3, j4 - K L4 - n1, p3 - Q3 - Q3* - T (with internal refrain).

G. WELDON - Duke

'The Well Below The Valley'

Date: Not given.

Place: (Ireland).

Source: Mulligan LP LUN 006, Liam Weldon, Dark Horse on the Wind, (produced by Donal Lunny and Micheal O Domhnaill in the 1970s), side 2, track 2; sung by Liam Weldon, as learned from the singing of Mary Duke (a traveller?).

With tune.

Description of text: 7 stas., confused, A - B - C - D* - N1 - P8 - r* (with internal refrain).

(b) VARIANTS OF 'THE CRUEL MOTHER' (CHILD 20)
WHICH END WITH SEVEN-YEAR PENANCES

Only the endings of these texts are described; the usual criterion for admission to the list is a reference to 'seven years' or to 'porter in hell'; unless otherwise stated, all variants have internal refrains.

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)SCOTLAND

- C.M.1: a. Child 20 I.a., from Harvard Univ., Houghton Lib., Buchan's MSS., II, p.111 (North East Scotland, c.1827).
 b. Child 20 I.b., from Buchan, Anc. Ballads, II, p.207 (place as above, 'a').
 c. Child 20 I.c., from Christie, Trad. Ballad Airs, I, p.106, as sung in Banffshire; tune and 1st sta. printed as Bronson 20 no.2; 17 stas., all texts; only 'c' has tune (Bronson group A); stas. 12 and 14 - 17: N1 ... p4, p6 - p2, p3 - q4, q6 - R.
- C.M.2: Child 20 J.a. and Bronson 20 no.5 from Harvard Coll. Lib., Harris MS., fol. 10 (ballads learned by Amelia Harris in her childhood - the last years of the eighteenth century - from an old nurse in Perthshire; written down by Mrs. Harris' daughter with others of her own collecting); 12 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); stas. 9 - 12: p4, p6 - p, p3 - q4, q6 - q, r*.
- C.M.3: Child 20 K, from Glasgow Univ. Lib., William Motherwell's MSS., p.186 (West Scotland, 1825 and after); 7 stas., without tune; stas. 6 - 7: p4, p6 - p2, p3.
- C.M.4: Child 20 L and (tune only) Bronson 20 no.1, from R.A. Smith, The Scottish Minstrel (sic), 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1820 - 1824, IV, p.33; 9 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); sta. 9 : P2.
- C.M.5: Child, E.S.P.B., V, p.211 from Findlay's MSS., I, p.58 (this MS. was at the time of publication of E.S.P.B. in the possession of its compiler, the Rev. William Findlay of Saline, Fife, who learned the ballads contained in it from his mother and wrote them down c.1865 - 1885); 9 stas., without tune; stas. 7 - 9: N1 - p6, p4 - p2, p3.
- C.M.6: Bronson 20 no.15, from the Gavin Greig MSS., III, p.41 (at present in the keeping of Edinburgh Univ. School of Scottish Studies); also in Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, p.22 (2); collected in Aberdeenshire in October 1907 (?) by Gavin Greig from an unspecified singer, perhaps Mrs. Milne; 1 sta. only (= R), with tune (Bronson group A).
- C.M. 7: Bronson, Trad. Tunes, IV, p.456 (20 no.19.1), from the Archive, Edinburgh Univ. School of Scottish Studies, recording no.1955/64/A1; collected in 1955 (?) by Hamish Henderson and Peter Kennedy from Duncan Burke in Perthshire, who learned it from his grandmother, who came from Islay; 5 stas., confused and in part spoken, with tune (Bronson group A); sta. 5: p6, p9, p3.
- C.M.8: Andrew Crawford's Collection (ed. Lyle), I, pp.36-38, no.12 (and for information, see pp.xxviii-xxxi); collected on 2 December 1826 by Andrew Crawford from Mary Macqueen, wife of William Storie, who learned it from her mother, possibly Elizabeth Copeland, wife of Osborn Macqueen, who died in Kilbirnie Parish in 1831; the Macqueens were a travelling or 'tinkler' family settled at Boghead, near Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire; Mary Macqueen emigrated to Canada with her family in 1828; 24 stas., without tune; stas. 23 and 24: p6, p10 - p12, p3.

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)

- C.M.9: Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, pp.21-22 (A); coll'd. by Greig from "E.G." of Strichen, Aberdeenshire, in the early twentieth century; 17 stas., without tune; stas. 13 - 17: N1 - p6, p4 - p2, p3 - q6, q4 - R.
- C.M.10: Listed in Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, p.252 (B); text available, by courtesy of Dr. E.B. Lyle, from the Gavin Greig MSS., Words, vol.XLIX, pp.95-97 (Edinburgh Univ. School of Scottish Studies); coll'd. by Miss Annie Shirer from Mr. P. Jack of St. Fergus, Aberdeenshire; 15 stas., without tune; stas. 12 - 15: p6, p4 - p2, p3 - q6, q4 - R.
- C.M.11: Listed in Greig and Keith, Last Leaves, p.252 (C); text available, by courtesy of Dr. E.B. Lyle, from the Greig MSS., Words, XXX, pp.92-93; coll'd. by Greig from Bell Robertson of New Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire, who learned it when aged about 14, from another girl; 9 stas. written as 5, without tune; stas. 5 - 9: N1 - p4, p6 - p2, p3 - q4, q6 - R (without internal refrain).
- C.M.12: McIntyre, Chapbook, III, no.1 (n.d.), p.21; sung by Arthur Lohead of Paisley (b.1892), who learned his songs c.1910 from his aunt; 6 stas., with tune; sta. 6: P2.

IRELAND

- C.M.13: Barry et al., British Ballads from Maine, pp.84-85 (D); written down by Mrs. E.C. Nash of Harrington, October 1927, as learned in childhood from the singing of Irish girls in New York; 10 stas., without tune; stas. 8 - 10: N1 - p6*, p4* - p2, p3.
- C.M.14: Shuldham-Shaw, J.E.F.D.S.S., VII, no.2 (1953), p.101; transcribed in 1951 by Patrick Shuldham-Shaw as sung by Cecilia Costello of Birmingham (b.1885) who learned it from her father, of Ballinasloe, Co. Roscommon, Eire; 11 stas., with tune; stas. 10 and 11: n1, p4 - p2, p3.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

- C.M.15: Bronson 20 no.7, from Cox, Folk Songs of the South, p.30 (C) and p.522; coll'd. c. July 1915 by Cox from G.W. Cunningham of Elkins, W.Va.; 3 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); sta. 3: P3.
- C.M.16: Bronson 20 no.8, from McGill, Folk Songs of the Kentucky Mountains, pp.82-86, as sung in Kentucky; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); sta. 8: P3.
- C.M.17: Bronson 20 no.22, from Korson, Pa. Songs and Legends, pp.38-39; recorded by Samuel P. Bayard in 1929 from the singing of Peter Cole, Greene County, Pa.; 15 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); stas. 14, 15: P11 - p2, p3.
- C.M.18: Bronson 20 no.30, from Sharp MSS., 4681/3257; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.62 (L); sung by Mrs. Julie Boone of Micahville, Yancey County, N.C. on 25 September 1918; 7 stas., with tune (Bronson group B); sta. 7: p2, p3.

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)

- C.M.19: Bronson 20 no.32, from Sharp MSS. 3769/2782; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, pp.58-59 (F); sung by Mrs. Maud Kilburn, Berea, Madison County, Ky., on 31 May 1917; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group B); sta. 8: p2, p3.
- C.M.20: Bronson 20 no.35, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.133-134 (A) and p.560; colld. by Juliet Fauntleroy from the singing of Mrs. James B. Crawford of Altavista, Va., on 11 September 1915; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group C); stas. 5 and 6: N1 - P3.
- C.M.21: a. Bronson 20 no.48, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.134(B) and p.560; colld. by Juliet Fauntleroy from the singing of Mrs. Virgie Mayhew Keesee, Pittsylvania County, Va., on 26 May 1915; learned from her uncle who learned it in Tennessee; 5 stas., with tune (Bronson group C); stas. 4, 5: N1 - P3 (with external refrain).
- b. Bronson, Trad. Tunes, IV, p.456 (20 no.8.1) from Davis, More Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.82-83; recorded by A.K. Davis Jr. from the singing of Abner Keesee of Altavista, Va. on 4 August 1932; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); stas. 5, 6: N1 - P3.
- C.M.22: Bronson 20 no.54, from Randolph, Ozark Folk Songs, I, pp.73-74; also in Randolph, The Ozarks, p.185 and in Scarborough, Song Catcher, p.403; sung by Mrs. Emma L. Dusenbury, Mena, Ark. on 1 June 1930; 10 stas., with tune (Bronson group E); sta. 10: P3.
- C.M.23: Gainer, Folk Songs of the W.Va. Hills, pp.26-27; sung by Stella Manthe, Gilmer County, W.Va. (n.d.); 11 stas., with tune; stas. 10, 11: N1 - p2*, p3.
- C.M.24: Moore and Moore, Ballads and Songs of the South West, pp.33-34 (B); sung by Mrs. Daisy Newcomb of Pryor (n.d.), who moved to Oklahoma from Green Forest, Ark. in 1903; 5 stas., with tune; stas. 4, 5: N1 - P3.
- C.M.25: North Carolina Folklore, V, no.1 (1957), pp.20-21; recorded by the editor (whose name I do not know) in June 1956 from the singing of William Stephenson of Newport News, Va., who grew up in N.C.; transcribed by Herbert Shellans; 7 stas., with tune; sta.7: p2, p3.
- C.M.26: Thompson, Body, Boots and Britches, pp.447-448; contributed by Mrs. Frances Ramsay of Lake George, N.Y. (n.d.), as learned in childhood; 15 stas., without tune; stas. 11 - 15: N1 - p4, p6 - p2, p3 - q4, q6 - R.

CANADA

- C.M.27: Bronson 20 no.19, from Mackenzie, Ballads and Sea Songs, pp.12-13 and 391; also in Mackenzie, Quest of the Ballad, pp.104-106 and in Mackenzie, J.A.F., XV (1912), pp.183-184; sung by Mrs. Ellen Bigney at Pictou, Nova Scotia (n.d.); 15 stas., with tune (Bronson group A); stas. 12 - 15: N1 - P2 - p4, p6* - P3.
- C.M.28: Bronson 20 no.26, from Karpeles, Folk Songs from Newfoundland, pp.32-33; sung by Mrs. Theresa Corbett, Conception Harbour, Newfoundland on 24 October 1929; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group B) stas. 5, 7, 8: N1 ... p1, p12 - p2, p3.

Appendix F, Traditional Variants (cont'd)

- C.M.29: Bronson 29 no.37, from Creighton, Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia, pp.3-5; sung by Ben Henneberry, Devil's Island, N.S. (n.d.); 17 stas., with tune (Bronson group C); stas. 14, 16, 17: N1 ... p5, p6 - P2*.
- C.M.30: Bronson 20 no.45, from Helen Creighton and Doreen H. Senior, Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia, Toronto, 1950, pp.19-20; sung by Mrs. R.W. Duncan, Dartmouth, N.S. (n.d.); 13 stas., with tune (Bronson group C); sta. 12: p1, p2.
- C.M.31: Karpeles, Folk Songs from Newfoundland, pp.33-34 (B); sung by Mrs. K.M.Coombs of Portugal Cove, Trepassey Bay, Newfoundland on 4 August 1930; 8 stas., with tune; stas. 6, 8: N1 ... p2, p3.
- C.M.32: Karpeles, Folk Songs from Newfoundland, pp.37-38 (G); sung by Mrs. William Snow, aged 73, of Harbour Grace, Newfoundland on 12 October 1929; 8 stas., with tune; stas. 4, 6, 7: N1 ... p3, p2 - P1.
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APPENDIX GA CLASSIFIED LIST OF VARIANTS OF 'SIR HUGH' (CHILD 155)

Note that the description of textual features in any group is general: no given text necessarily exhibits all the features noted. Trivial distinguishing features are not noted.

I. Mrs. Brown's Group (M.B.)Major Distinctive Features of Group I

- (a) References to 'merry Lincoln' are preserved, even if corrupted.
e.g. S.H. 2 sta. 1.3, "Mirry-land toune".
 - (b) Sir Hugh kicks his ball through the Jew's window.
e.g. S.H. 1 sta. 2.
 - (c) Sir Hugh asks the Jew's daughter to throw back his ball.
e.g. S.H. 3 sta. 3.1-2.
 - (d) The Jew's daughter tempts Hugh with an apple pulled from her father's garden. e.g. S.H. 5 sta. 5.
 - (e) The Jew's daughter prepares Hugh "like a swine" before she kills him. e.g. S.H. 4 sta. 8.4.
 - (f) The texts contain a stanza descriptive of Hugh's bleeding which begins "Then out and cam the thick, thick, blood".
e.g. S.H. 3 sta. 9.
 - (g) The Jew's daughter wraps Hugh's body in a "cake of lead" before throwing him in a draw-well. e.g. S.H. 4 sta. 9.
 - (h) Hugh's failure to return home is mentioned in a stanza beginning "When bells were rung, and mass was sung".
e.g. S.H. 1 sta. 10.
 - (i) Hugh's mother dons a mantle when she goes to search for her son. e.g. S.H. 2 sta. 9.1.
 - (j) Hugh's mother usually visits the Jew's property in the sequence 'castle ... garden ... well'. e.g. S.H. 3 stas. 12-14.
 - (k) Hugh speaks from the well, asking his mother to prepare him a winding sheet and promising to meet her at the back of merry Lincoln. e.g. S.H. 5 sta. 21 and S.H. 6 sta. 6 (corrupt).
 - (1) All extant texts in this group are Scottish.
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Appendix G, group I (cont'd)

- S.H. 1: Child 155 A, from R. Jamieson, Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts and Scarce Editions, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1806, I, p.151; 'Hugh of Lincoln', taken down by Jamieson from the recitation of Mrs. Brown of Falkland (see above, Chapter One, note 28); 17 stas., without tune.
- S.H. 2: Child 155 B, from T. Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 3 vols., London, 1765, I, p.32; 'The Jew's Daughter', sent to Percy in a MS. with three other ballads (Child 13 B, 58 A and 73 A) by John MacGowan from Edinburgh in August 1763; a tune printed with this text in J. Johnson, The Scots Musical Museum, 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1787-1803, VI, no.582 is given as Bronson 155 no.1 (tune group A.a.). 13 stas.
- S.H. 3: Child 155 C, from Bishop Percy's papers; 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated to Percy by George Paton of Edinburgh in 1768 or 1769, and derived from a friend of Paton's; 17 stas., without tune.
- S.H. 4: Child 155 D, from David Herd's MSS., I, p.213 and (stas. 7-10) II, p.219 (Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 22311-22312, dated 1776); 'Sir Hugh'; 10 stas., without tune.
- S.H. 5: Child 155 E, from W. Motherwell, Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, Glasgow, 1827, p.51; 'Sir Hugh, or, the Jew's Daughter', from the recitation of a lady; 22 stas., without tune; this text has the opening, the 'burial stanzas' and other features of the 'School Group', II.i.
- S.H. 6: Bronson 155 no.63, from the Archive, School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh; also in Henderson and Collinson, Scottish Studies, IX, no.1, pp.27-29; 'Sir Hugh and the Jew's Daughter', collected by H.H. Henderson and transcribed by F.M. Collinson from the singing of Mrs. Margaret Stewart, a street-singer from North East Scotland (aunt of the Aberdeen ballad-singer, Jeannie Robertson), in July 1954; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group K).
- S.H. 7: Henderson, Tocher, XIX (Autumn, 1975), p.92; collected by H.H. Henderson from the singing of James and Gilbert Laurenson of Fetlar, Shetland, in 1973; 3 stas., with tune; garbled.
- S.H. 8: MacColl and Seeger, Travellers' Songs, pp.86-88 (A); collected from John MacDonald, a Scottish traveller; 4 stas., with tune (classified by MacColl and Seeger as of the same family as Bronson 236, 'A'-group); garbled.

Note: a text of 'Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter' is printed by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin, 'Miss Reburn's Ballads: a Nineteenth-Century Repertoire from Ireland' in E.B. Lyle ed., Ballad Studies, (pp.93-116), on pp.109-111; from the F.J. Child MSS., vol.XVIII (Harvard Coll. Lib. MS. 25241.47F*), 'letter 6'; this text, sent to Child c.1881 by Miss Margaret Reburn of Iowa, born in County Meath, Ireland, has been rejected from Appendix G as spurious - it appears to be based on S.H. texts 1 and 2, extensively rewritten in a pseudo-medieval style, and was excluded by Child from E.S.P.B.; 13 stas., without tune.

Appendix G (cont'd)

II. The School Group

II.i. The Scottish and Irish School Group (S/I.S.)

Major Distinctive Features of Group II.i.

- (a) The texts may begin with a reference to Summer. e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 1.1, "It was on a May, on a midsummer's day".
- (b) Other texts begin with a reference to a holy day. e.g. S.H. 14 b sta. 1.1, "Yesterday was a high holiday".
- (c) Hugh and his companions are called school boys. e.g. S.H. 16 sta. 1.3.
- (d) Hugh is called "little". e.g. S.H. 9 sta. 7.4. Most Irish variants designate the boy "little Harry Hughes" or similar. e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 1.3.
- (e) Sometimes a window is broken (e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 2), sometimes not (e.g. 9 sta. 1), but the Jew's daughter usually initiates the conversation by inviting Hugh in. e.g. S.H. 18 sta. 2.
- (f) Hugh protests, as in group I (e.g. S.H. 3 sta. 4.3-4), that he cannot enter without his playfellows (e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 4.1-2); usually he also intimates that his mother will be angry. e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 4.3-4; 19 sta. 2.5-6.
- (g) In Irish texts, the Jew's daughter rolls the apple along the ground in order to tempt Hugh, e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 5.
- (h) The account of the murder varies. The Jew's daughter's taunt as she throws him into the well is well preserved; usually the stanza begins, "Lie there, lie there", e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 10.
- (i) Hugh's failure to return is mentioned in a stanza beginning, "The day passed by and the night came on, and every scholar was home, etc." e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 11.
- (j) Hugh's mother takes a stick with her to beat Hugh for staying away so long. e.g. S.H. 13 sta. 7; 10 sta. 10.
- (k) The boy in the well protests that he cannot speak to his mother because of the penknife in his heart. e.g. S.H. 11 sta. 14, but cf. group I, S.H. 3 sta. 15, etc.
- (l) Hugh is concerned that he should be buried properly, e.g. that he should be buried in the churchyard (S.H. 9 sta. 13.3-4) or have a bible at his head etc. (S.H. 11 sta. 16). Often he leaves a message for his schoolfriends. e.g. S.H. 9 sta. 12; 11 sta. 15.
- (m) The most coherent texts in this group originate in Scotland or Ireland.

Appendix G, group II.i. (cont'd)

- S.H.9: Child 155 F, from Hume, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, (1849), p.35; 'Sir Hugh of Lincoln', obtained from recitation in Ireland; (Hume, p.5, first heard the song in boyhood); 14 stas., without tune.
- S.H.10: Child 115 J.
- a. from Notes and Queries, 1st series, XII (1855), p.496; 'The Ballad of Sir Hugh', printed by B.H.C. from the manuscript of an old lacemaker in Northants.; 13 stas., without tune.
 - b. from Notes and Queries, 1st series, VIII (1853), p.614; 'The Ballad of Sir Hugh', given by B.H.C. from memory; apparently, "well-known in Northants."; 6 stas., without tune.
- This text exhibits the features of several groups; see above, Chapter Eleven, note 43.
- S.H.11: Child 155 N and Bronson 155 no.5, from W.W. Newell, Games and Songs of American Children (first printed 1883), pp.76-78; also in Newell, J.F.S.S., IV, no.14 (1910), p.36 and Smith, Musical Quarterly, II (1916), p.123 (A); 'Little Harry Hughes and the Duke's Daughter', collected by Newell from the singing of coloured children in New York, who learned it from a little girl, who learned it from her Irish mother; 16 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.).
- S.H.12: Child 155 Q, from Motherwell's Notebook (see E.S.P.B., V, p.398), p.54; 'The Jew's Daughter', sung by Widow Michael, an old woman in Barrhead, Ayrshire, Scotland, c.1826-1827; 2 opening stas., without tune.
- S.H.13: Child 155 R and Bronson 155 no.56, from Motherwell's Minstrelsy (1827), Appendix no.7, p.xvii (one stanza with tune); the full text and tune is given in Lyle, Andrew Crawford's Collection, no.10, pp.31-33 (additional information, p.xxx); 'Sir Hew', collected by Andrew Crawford and Andrew Blaikie from the singing of Mary Macqueen of Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire, Scotland, in December 1826 (see above, Appendix F, note on C.M.8); 13 stas., with tune (Bronson group D).
- S.H.14:
- a. Child 155 T (E.S.P.B., V, p.241) and Bronson 155 no.24 from M.H. Mason, Nursery Rhymes (1877), pp.46-47; also in Broadwood and Maitland, English County Songs, p.86, arbitrarily assigned to Lincolnshire; 'Little Sir William', tune and words from tradition.
 - b. Bronson 155 no.25 from Sharp MSS. 2085/1946; also in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, pp.154-155, no.31 (C); collected by Sharp from the singing of Sister Emma, aged 71, at Clewer, Berkshire on 27 February, 1909.
 - c. unpublished: see R.V.W. Library, Gilchrist MSS. G.211 no.42 (words) and G230 B, p.55 (tune); 'Little Sir William', attributed to "Mrs. Ludlow from Miss Blyth".

All variants (14 a, b, c) have 7 stas. and a similar tune (Bronson group C).

Appendix G, group II.i. (cont'd)

- S.H.15: Bronson 155 no.4, from Sharp MSS. 701/787; also in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no. 20 (1916) p.255 and Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, pp.152-153, no.31 (A), 'Little Sir Hugh', collected by Sharp from the singing of Mrs. Joseph Ree, Hambridge, Somerset, 26 December 1905; 9 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.); this text has some features of group III.i.
- S.H.16: Bronson 155 no.7, from Hubbard and Robertson, J.A.F. LXIV (1951), pp.47-48; also in L.A. Hubbard, Ballads and Songs from Utah, Salt Lake City, 1961, p.24; 'Little Saloo', sung by Mrs. Mabel J. Overson; learned long before from Mrs. Anna McKellar, Leamington, Utah. 7 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.); in this version, 'Saloo' is murdered by his aunt.
- S.H.17: Bronson 155 no.57, from the Archive, School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh (tune only); full text with tune in Henderson and Collinson, Scottish Studies IX, pp.29-31 (B); 'Little Sir Hugh', collected by H.H. Henderson and transcribed by F.M. Collinson from the singing of Donald Whyte, a 77 year old tinker from Huntly, North East Scotland, in 1961; Whyte learned it when he was eight or nine years of age; 7 stas., with tune (Bronson group E).
- S.H.18: Bronson 155 no.60, from J. Joyce, Ulysses, New York, 1934, p.675; 'Little Harry Hughes'; 5 stas., with tune (Bronson group H).
- S.H.19: Bronson 155 no.65, from P. Barry, Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the North East no.5 (1933), p.7; also in Flanders, Ballard, Brown and Barry, New Green Mountain Songster, p.254 and in Flanders, Anc. Ballads, III, p.124; 'Sir Hugh' or 'The Jew's Daughter', recorded and transcribed by George Brown from the singing of Josiah S. Kennison of Townshend, Vermont (at Cambridge, Mass.) on 6 April 1932; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group M); garbled.
- S.H.20: Bronson 155 no.66, from Flanders and Olney, Ballads Migrant in New England, p.30; also in Flanders, Anc. Ballads, III, p.121; 'Little Harry Huston', collected by H. Flanders from the singing of Mrs. John Fairbanks, North Springfield, Vermont, in 1939; Mrs. Fairbanks learned it from her mother, Margaret Kelley, of County Limerick, Ireland, who learned it from her family; 12 stas., with tune (Bronson group M).
- S.H.21: unpublished: see R.V.W. Library, Gardiner MSS. H.336; 'Sir Hugh', collected by George B. Gardiner from George Blake, aged 79, in Southampton, November 1907; 4 stas.; tune apparently lost.
- S.H.22: Reeves, Everlasting Circle, pp.244-245 (singer's name wrongly spelt as 'Piksett'); see R.V.W. Library, Gardiner MSS. H.842; 'Sir Hugh', sung by James Pike, aged 85, in Portsmouth Workhouse, August 1907; 8 stas., tune apparently lost; the text exhibits some features of group III.i.
- S.H.23: Scarborough, Song Catcher, pp.173-174; a version sent to Scarborough through Mrs. Rachel Slocumb, from Mrs. Charity Lovingood of Murphy, N.C.; 9 stas., without tune; the text exhibits some features of group III.i.

Appendix G, group II.i. (cont'd)

S.H.23*: (added after the completion of Chapter Eleven); Shields, Folk Life, X (1972), pp.98-100; 'Little Sir Hugh', recorded by Hugh Shields from the singing of John Byrne, a farmer in his sixties, at Malin Beg, Co. Donegal, Eire, on 5 September 1968 (Ulster Folk Museum, Cultra, Co. Down, Tape 68/26); 14 stas., with tune; old, coherent text - Hugh's mother is called 'Lady Annsbel' (sta. 8.4).

II.ii. The American School Group (A.S.)

Major Distinctive Features of Group II.ii.

- (a) These variants open with references to a holy day (sometimes garbled) and to dew drops falling. e.g. S.H. 31 sta. 1.
 - (b) The Jew's daughter appears with apples in her hand and calls Hugh, "my little son Hugh". e.g. S.H. 29 sta. 1.
 - (c) Hugh declines the Jew's daughter's invitation on the grounds that if his mother knew, she would make his red blood fall. e.g. S.H. 32 sta. 4.
 - (d) After leading Hugh to a room where no-one can hear him call (e.g. S.H. 32 sta. 5) the Jew's daughter kills him by seating him in a chair, piercing him with a pin, and catching his blood in a silver basin. e.g. 32 sta. 6.
 - (e) The Jew's daughter's taunt begins, "Sink, O sink". e.g. S.H. 27 sta. 5.
 - (f) The mother's stick, with which she sets out to beat her son home - see group II.i, feature (j) - is a birch-rod. e.g. S.H. 29 sta. 7.1.
 - (g) Hugh's instructions for burial are much as in group II.i, feature (l).
 - (h) Most variants in this group come from states lying beside the Appalachian mountains, especially Kentucky and Tennessee.
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- S.H. 24: a. Bronson 155 no.8, from Sharp MSS. 3866/.; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.229 (I); 'Little Sir Hugh', collected from the singing of Mrs. Nancy Alice Hensley, Oneida, Clay County, Ky., in 1917; 1st sta. only, with tune (Bronson group A.b.).
- b. Bronson 155 no.14, from Sharp MSS. 3867/.; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.229 (H); 'Little Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Sophie Annie Hensley, Oneida, Clay County, Ky., in 1917; 1st sta. only (identical with a.), with a similar tune (Bronson group A.c.).

Appendix G, group II.ii. (cont'd)

- S.H.25: a. Bronson 155 no.9, from LC/AAFS recording no.4987; 'Twas on a Cold and Winter's Day', collected by Robert F. Draves from Mrs. Pearl Jacobs Borusky, Pearson, Wisconsin in 1941; Mrs. Borusky learned it from her mother, Mrs. Jacobs, who learned it from William Hagerman of West Virginia; 12 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.)
- b. Treat, J.A.F., LII (1939), p.434, no.45; collected by Asher E. Treat from the same singer, 15 July 1938; text and tune virtually identical with a.
- S.H.26: a. Bronson 155 no.10.a, from Sharp MSS. 4266/3066; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.227(F); 'Sir Hugh', sing by Mr. Dol Small of Nellysford, Va., 22 May 1918. 9 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.).
- b. Bronson 155 no.10.b, from LC/AAFS recording no.10,003 (A1), collected by M. Karpeles and Sidney Robertson Cowell from the same singer (aged 81) on 10 September 1950; text and tune virtually identical with a.
- S.H.27: Bronson 155 no.15, from Sharp MSS. 3839/2811; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.226 (E); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Ben J. Finlay, Manchester, Ky., on 10 August 1917; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.c.).
- S.H.28: Bronson 155 no.16, from Sharp MSS. 3896/2840; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.228 (G); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Dan Bishop, Teges, Clay County, Ky. on 21 August 1917; 5 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.c.)
- S.H.29: Bronson 155 no.17, from Sharp MSS. 3943/2852; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.299 (J); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Berry Creech, Pine Mountain, Harlan County, Ky. on 29 August 1917; 10 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.d.).
- S.H.30: Bronson 155 no.19, from Sharp MSS. 3579/.; 'Sir Hugh', sung by Miss Julia Maples, Sevier County, Tenn. on 19 April 1917; one (burial) sta., with tune (Bronson group A.d.)
- S.H.31: Bronson 155 no.20, from Sharp MSS. 3583/2645; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.222 (B); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Luther Campbell, Bird's Creek, Sevier County, Tenn. on 19 April 1917; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.d.).
- S.H.32: Bronson 155 no.21, from Sharp MSS. 3585/2648; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.223 (C); 'Sir Hugh', sung by W.M. Maples, Sevier County, Tenn. on 20 April 1917; 12 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.d.).
- S.H.33: Bronson 155 no.22, from Sharp MSS. 3509/2592; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.222 (A); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Swan Sawyer, Black Mountain, N.C. on 19 September 1916; 3 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.d.).

Appendix G, group II.ii. (cont'd)

- S.H.34: Bronson 155 no.23, from Sharp MSS. 3655/2719; also in Sharp and Karpeles, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, I, p.225 (D); 'Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Mollie Broghton, Barbourville, Knox County, Ky. on 7 May 1917; 6 stas., with tune, (Bronson group A.d.).
- S.H.35: Burton and Manning, East Tennessee State University Collection, pp.1-2; 'Little Son Hugh', sung by Mrs. Audrey McGuire in 1964; Mrs. McGuire, born in Watauga County, N.C. in 1884, learned most of her songs from her mother when she was a child; 9 stas., with tune (not in Trad. Tunes, but of Bronson type A.d.).
- S.H.36: B.G. Lumpkin, N.C. Folklore, XLVII, no.2 (1969), pp.59-60; 'Sonny Hugh', collected by Lumpkin in September 1951 from the singing of Mrs. Pearl Hartsell of Chapel Hill, N.C., who learned her songs c.1915 from her mother, Mrs. H. Connell and her grandmother, Mrs. J. Taylor Burris, of Stanly County, N.C.; 11 stas., with tune.
- S.H.37: unpublished: see R.V.W. Library, Sharp MSS. ./2788-2789; "from Professor Raine's collection; he took down the words only of the ballad from Mrs. Lucy Banks, late of Paint Lick, Ky."; 12 stas., without tune.
- S.H.38: Stamper and Jansen, J.A.F., LXXI (1958), pp.16-17; 'Water Birch', collected by F. Stamper from an unspecified singer of Littcarr, Knott County, Ky. on 30 December 1955; 14 stas., without tune; in this variant, Hugh's mother is the murderess.

III. 'The Jew's Garden'

III.i. The Merry Scotland Group (J.G.S.)

Major Distinctive Features of Group III.i.

- (a) Variants usually begin "It rains, it hails in merry Scotland" etc. e.g. 46 sta. 1.1.
- (b) Nevertheless, no text in this group can be demonstrated to be Scottish. (The centre of the group seems to be Southern England, but see S.H.39.a., note).
- (c) Hugh is not named.
- (d) Most variants do not contain any reference to the scene in which Hugh's mother speaks with the corpse in the well. An exception is S.H.39.a. sta. 9.
- (e) The broken window is not mentioned. The boys toss the ball high and low, and then into the Jew's garden. e.g. S.H.40 sta. 2.
- (f) Hugh's excuse for not entering the Jew's house is as in group II.i., feature (f): he intimates that his mother would be angry, should he leave his playmates. e.g. S.H.50 stas., 3, 4.

Appendix G, group III.i. (cont'd)

- (g) The Jew's daughter tempts the boy in with an apple, a gold ring, and a cherry. e.g. S.H.45 sta. 3.
- (h) The Jew's daughter feeds the boy sugar sweet, then stabs him like a sheep. e.g. S.H.46 sta. 6.
- (i) As the finding in the well has dropped out, the boy's burial instructions appear to be addressed to the Jew's daughter, who sometimes actually carries them out. e.g. S.H.40 sta. 5.3-6.
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S.H.39: Child 155 G.

- a. 'The Jew's Daughter', written down by Mrs. Dulany, 14 January 1885, from the recitation of her mother, Mrs. Nourse, aged above 90, as learned when a child in Philadelphia; 9 stas., without tune; this text, as written down, has some Scottish features, e.g. "ba" and "I winna come in", stas. 1.4 and 4.1.
- b. another variant from Mrs. Nourse, written down some years earlier by Miss Perine of Baltimore; 10 stas., without tune.

S.H.40: Child 155 I, from Sir Egerton Brydges, Restituta, vol.I, London, 1814, p.381, "obtained some years since" from the recitation of an aged lady; 5 stas., without tune.

S.H.41: Child 155 L.

- a. from a letter written by the Rev. E. Venables, Precentor of Lincoln, 24 January 1885, as sung to him nearly 60 years before by a nursemaid; a Buckinghamshire version; 7 stas., without tune.
- b. from E. Venables, A Walk through Lincoln Minster, Lincoln, 1884, pp.40-41; Venables used to hear this Bucks. version as a child; 8 stas., without tune.

Both variants display features of group I, but see above, Chapter Eleven, note 60.

S.H.42: Child 155 M, from F.H. Groome, In Gipsy Tents, pp.145-146; "first heard at Shepherd's Bush, in 1872, from little Amy North ... familiar to most London gipsies"; 6 stas., without tune.

S.H.43: Child 155 O, from G.A. Sala, Illustrated London News, 21 October 1882, LXXXI, p.415, repeated in Living London, 1883, p.465; heard from a nurse in childhood; 5 stas., without tune.

S.H.44: Child 155 P, from Halliwell, Ballads and Poems respecting Hugh of Lincoln, p.37; communicated by Miss Agnes Strickland, from oral tradition at Godalming, Surrey; 2 stas., without tune.

S.H.45: Child 155 U, (E.S.P.B., V, p.241), from Notes and Queries, 8th series, II (1892), pp.43-44; 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated by Mr. C.W. Penny, as repeated to his brother, the Vicar of Stixwoud, Lincs. by one of the oldest women in the parish; "a song sung by his nurse to a Lincolnshire gentleman, now over 60 years of age"; 4 stas., without tune.

Appendix G, group III.i. (cont'd)

- S.H.46: Bronson 155 no.2, from Creighton, Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia, pp.16-17; 'Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter', sung by Mrs. William McNab (n.d.) of Halifax, Nova Scotia; 7 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.a.).
- S.H.47: Bronson 155 no.13, from Arkwright, J.F.S.S., I, no.5 (1904), p.264; 'Christmas Carol', sung by children from Ecchinswell, Hants. and noted by Miss Arkwright at Adbury, Newbury, Berks. in 1900; 6 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.c.).
- S.H.48: a. Bronson 155 no.27, from Krehbiel, New York Tribune, 17 August 1902, Pt.II, p.2, col.3; 'The Jew's Daughter', from a spinster of Waterbury, Conn., some years previously, who had learned it from her mother; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group B.).
- b. Tolman, J.A.F., XXIX (1916), p.166; contributed by G.L. K(ittredge); 'The Jew's Maiden', sent in March 1914 by Mr. S.M. Clement, who took it down from the singing of Ludlow S. Bull at Yale in 1907; Bull learned it in his childhood from his mother, who learned it from her own mother; the family came from Conn.; 8 stas., (virtually identical with a.), without tune.
- S.H.49: Bronson 155 no.55, from Caedmon Record no. TC 1146 (A5); also in Slocombe, J.E.F.D.S.S., VII, no.2 (1953), p.102; 'The Jew's Garden', collected by Peter Kennedy and Alan Lomax and recorded by Marie Slocombe from the singing of Cecilia Costello of Birmingham, aged 65, c.1953; Mrs. Costello learned most of her traditional songs from her father, from Co. Roscommon, Ireland; 4 stas., with tune (Bronson group C.).
- S.H.50: Bronson 155 no.64, from LC/AAFS recording no.11,903 (B1); also in Parler, Arkansas Ballet Book, p.35; 'The Jew's Garden', collected by Max Hunter (?) from the singing of Mrs. Allie Long Parker, near Eureka Springs, Ark., in September, 1958; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group L.).
- S.H.50*: (added after the completion of Chapter Eleven): Hudson, Folk Songs of Miss., no.19, pp.116-117; also Hudson, J.A.F. XXXIX (1926), pp.108-109; 'The Jew's Garden', sent to Hudson by Mrs. Mims Williams, Magee, Miss., who obtained it from the singing of Mrs. Belle Holt Hubbard, Terry, Miss., aged 79, who learned it in childhood at Woodville, Wilkinson County, Miss.; 6 stas., without tune; the variant has been remodelled and begins 'It rains, it rains on London lanes'.
- S.H.51: MacColl and Seeger, Travellers' Songs, p.88 (B): 'The Jew's Garden', text recited and tune lilted by Caroline Hughes (English gypsy, Dorset); 3 stas. and prose addition, with tune (assigned by MacColl and Seeger to Bronson group A.b.).
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Appendix G (cont'd)III.ii. The Chicken Group (J.G.C.)Major Distinctive Features of Group III.ii.

as above, group III.i.; in addition:

- (j) Prior to his murder, the Jew's daughter leads Hugh through a kitchen, where he sees his nurse, mother or sister preparing a chicken. e.g. S.H. 53 sta. 6.
- (k) The murder stanza often includes a reference to a basin for catching blood. e.g. S.H. 52 sta. 6.
- (l) In addition, there is sometimes a reference to scouring or cleaning a basin, e.g. S.H. 57 sta. 7.
- (m) The boy pleads with the murderess (who is sometimes his nurse, mother, etc.) to spare his life: if he is allowed to live till he is a man, he will repay her. e.g. S.H. 56 sta. 6.

- S.H.52: Child 155 H, 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated by Miss Perine of Baltimore, Md., as sung by her mother c.1825; 7 stas., without tune.
- S.H.53: Child 155 K, from Notes and Queries, 1st series, IX (1854), p.320; also in Burne, Shropshire Folklore, II, p.539; 'Shropshire Ballad', taken down by S.P.Q. from the recitation of a nurse-maid in Salop., c.1810; 7 stas., without tune.
- S.H.54: Child 155 S (E.S.P.B., IV, pp.497-498); written down in April, 1891, by Mrs. W.H. Gill of Sidcup, Kent, as recited to her in childhood by a maidservant in London; 8 stas., without tune.
- S.H.55: Bronson 155 no.3, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.406 and 588 (E) also in Scarborough, On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs, pp.53-54 and Scarborough, Song Catcher, pp.172 and 403; 'A Little Boy Threw His Ball so High', contributed on 11 April 1921 by Mrs. L.R. Dashiell of Richmond, Va., as sung by herself; 7 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.a.).
- S.H.56: Bronson 155 no.26, from Sharp MSS. 1232/1200; also in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.20 (1916), p.254 (2) and in Sharp, Collection, ed. Karpeles, I, pp.155-156, no.31 D; 'Little Sir Hugh', sung by James Chedgey, aged 51, at Bincombe-over Stowey, Somerset on 23 January 1907; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group B).
- S.H.57: Bronson 155 no.61, from Korson, Pennsylvanian Songs, p.36; 'Fair Scotland', recorded by Samuel P. Bayard from the singing of Perry Gump of Greene County, Pa. in 1929; 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group I).
- S.H.58: Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Ind., pp.128-129 (A); collected by Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb from Mrs. Frances Schmidlap Wands, née Taylor, of Marion County, Ind. on 26 February 1936; a lullaby sung in the Taylor family for generations; 11 stas., without tune.

Appendix G, group III.ii. (cont'd)

- S.H.59: a. Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.405-406 (D); 'Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter', contributed by Miss Evelyn Purcell of Schuyler, Nelson County, Va., 20 November 1913; the song can be traced back to the time of Miss Purcell's great-grandfather; 10 stas., without tune.
- b. Davis, More Trad. Ballads of Va., p.234 (CC); 'Little Boy and the Ball', contributed by Miss Margaret Purcell as sung by her mother, Elizabeth Ashton Garrett Purcell in Greenwood, Va., in the early 1890s; tune noted by Winston Wilkinson; 10 stas., almost as 'a'; with tune (classified by Bronson as group I).
- S.H.60: Smith, University of Virginia Magazine, Dec. 1912, pp.114-115; also in Smith, Musical Quarterly, II (1916), p.124, in Pound, American Ballads and Songs, p.15, no.5 (B), and in Scarborough, On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs, p.54; collected by C. Alphonso Smith from George Platt Waller Jr., who learned it c.1897 from his negro nurse, Dinah Scott Talliaferro, 15 miles from Montgomery, Ala.; 5 stas., without tune; garbled.

III.iii. 'The Queen's Garden'

Major Distinctive Features of Group III.iii.

See above, group III.i., features (c), (d), (e), (h) and (i); in addition:

- (n) The opening stanza of variants in this group refers to a little school boy who bounces his ball high into a (queen's) garden, where lilies and roses lie. e.g. S.H. 63 and 64.
- (p) The Jew's daughter requests her servants to carry Hugh to the well. e.g. S.H. 61 sta. 3.
- (q) Some servants take the boy by his head, and some by the feet, in order to throw him in the well. e.g. S.H. 63 sta. 6.
- (r) Several members of this group, e.g. S.H. 61, 64 and 65 were sung by negroes.

S.H.61: Bronson 155 no.6, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.411 and 589 (I); also in Smith, Musical Quarterly, II, p.123 (B); 'Sir Hugh' or 'Little Harry Hughes', sung by Miss Charlotte Rodé, near Rustburg, Va.; learned in childhood from poor white tenants and negroes on her father's farm; contributed by Miss Juliet Fauntleroy on 1 March 1914; 5 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.)

S.H.62: Bronson 155 no.18, from Sharp MSS. 4749/3308; 'Sir Hugh', sung by Mrs. Julia Boone, Micahville, Yancey County, N.C.; on 3 October 1918; 3 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.d.).

Appendix G, group III.iii (cont'd)

- S.H.63: Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.411-412 (J); 'The Little School Boy'; collected by Juliet Fauntleroy from the singing of Miss Charlotte Rodé and Mrs. Hattie Schäfer, near Altavista, Campbell County, Va., on 29 July 1914; 7 stas., without tune.
- S.H.64: Lomax, Folk Songs of North America, p.511, no.273, 'The Queen's Garden', from the Bahamas (p.496); no further details; 5 stas., with tune.
- S.H.65: Parsons, J.A.F., XLI (1928), p.470, 'Ballad', from the Bahamas, c.1926; no further details; 8 stas., without tune; garbled.

III.iv. 'It Rained a Mist'Major Distinctive Features of group III.iv.

See above, group III.i., features (c), (d), (e), (g), and (i) and group III.ii, features (k), (l), and (m); quite frequently however, features (l) and (m) have dropped out of these variants; in addition:

- (s) Most variants in this group begin 'It rained a mist, it rained a mist', e.g. S.H. 69; some begin 'It rained all day, it rained all night'. e.g. S.H. 95. Opening lines other than 'It rained a mist' etc. are noted below.
- (t) No-one dares to go into the Jew's garden. e.g. S.H. 72 sta. 2.4.
- (u) Hugh's reason for not wishing to enter the Jew's house is that he has heard that those who go in never come out again. e.g. S.H. 75 sta. 4.
- (v) Almost all variants in this group are American; but see S.H. 90a and b.
- (w) All variants with tunes belong to Bronson group C, unless otherwise stated.

- S.H.66: a. Bronson 155 no.11 from A.C. Morris, Folk Songs of Fla., p.302; also Morris, S.F.Q., VIII, no.2 (1944), pp.154-155; 'The Jeweler's Daughter', sung by Mrs. G.A. Griffin of Newberry, Fla.; learned from her father, of Georgia. 8 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.); begins "It rains, it pours, it rains, it pours."
- b. Killion and Walker, Treasury of Ga. Folklore, pp.258-259; 'The Jeweler's Daughter', collected in Georgia by fieldworkers from a Works Progress Administration Project, 1935-1941; 7 stas., as 'a' but omits 'a', sta. 3; without tune.
- S.H.67: Bronson 155 no.12, from Nelson and Touchstone (Nelstone's Hawaiians), Victor Record no. V-40193 (B); also on Folkways LP Record no. FP 251 (A3), ed. Harry Smith; 'Fatal Flower Garden'; 9 stas., with tune (Bronson group A.b.); begins, "It rained, it poured, it rained so hard"; cf. above, S.H. 66.

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.68: Bronson 155 no.28, from Rinker, J.A.F., XXXIX (1926), p.213; 'The Jew's Daughter', sung by Mrs. Samantha E. Rinker, Huntingdon County, Pa., learned from her mother, c.1872; 7 stas., with tune, begins, 'It rained, it hailed, it snowed, it blowed'.
- S.H.69: Bronson 155 no.29, from LC/AAFS recording no.1609 (A2); 'The Jew's Daughter', collected by Alan and Elizabeth Lomax from Captain Pearl R. Nye of Akron, Ohio in 1937; 4 stas., with tune.
- S.H.70: Bronson 155 no.30, from McCraw, N.C. Folklore, VII (1959), p.35; sung by Miss Irene Rush, Burlington, N.C.; learned from her mother, who had learned it from her own mother during childhood in Carroll County, Va.; 10 stas., with tune.
- S.H.71: Bronson 155 no.31, from LC/AAFS recording nos. 12,004 (B21) - 12,005 (A1); 'Little Sir Hugh', collected by George Foss from Florence Shiflett, Wyatt's Mountain, near Dyke, Va., on 5 June 1962; 6 stas., with tune.
- S.H.72: Bronson 155 no.32, from LC/AAFS recording no.9980 (A3); 'Sir Hugh', collected by MacEdward Leach and Horace P. Beck from Romney Pullen, Sperryville, Va.; 2 stas., with tune.
- S.H.73: Bronson 155 no.33, from LC/AAFS recording no. 11,453 (A15); 'It Rained a Mist', collected by Anne Grimes from Mrs. Bertha Basham Wright, Franklin County, Ohio; 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.74: a. Bronson 155 no.34, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.407 and 589 (F); 'It Rained a Mist', collected by Juliet Fauntleroy from Jesse Burgess of Altavista, Va.; contributed 30 April 1915; 9 stas., with tune.
- b. Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.407: variant readings from Mrs. Sinai Thomas (née Sales) or Wilkes County, N.C.; 1 sta. and other phrases.
- c. ibid., p.407: variant readings from Edgar Thomas, son of Mrs. Sinai Thomas.
- S.H.75: Bronson 155 no.35; from Prestige-International Record no. INT-DS 25003 (A7); 'It Rained a Mist', recorded by Alan Lomax from the singing of Mrs. Ollie Gilbert (n.d.); 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.76: Bronson 155 no.36, from Winston Wilkinson MSS., 1935-1936, (University of Va.), p.78; 'Sir Hugh, or The Jew's Daughter', sung by Miss Julia Coleman, Richmond, Va.; 6 stas., with tune.
- S.H.77: Bronson 155 no.37, from Krehbiel, New York Tribune, 17 August 1902, Pt. II, p.2, col.2; see also J.A.F., VI (1902), pp.195-196; singer not identified; 'The Jew's Daughter', sung by Clyde Fitch, learned from his mother, who had it from her mother during childhood in Hagerstown, Md.; 10 stas., with tune.
- S.H.78: Bronson 155 no.38, from Randolph, Ozark Folk Songs, I, p.149 (A); 'The Jew's Garden', sung by Mrs. Guy Bosserman, Pineville, Mo., 17 October 1927; 8 stas., with tune.

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.79: Bronson 155 no.39, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.401-402 and 587 (A); also in Smith, Musical Quarterly, II, p.124 (C); 'The Jew's Daughter', contributed by Martha M. Davis, Harrisonburg, Va., 26 April 1913; 10 stas., with tune.
- S.H.80: Bronson 155 no.40, from LC/AAFS recording no. 5228 (B2); 'Jewish Lady', collected by Alan Lomax from Mrs. Crockatt Ward, Galax, Va., 1941; 8 stas., with tune.
- S.H.81: Bronson 155 no.41, from LC/AAFS recording no. 12,006 (B2); 'Little Sir Hugh', collected by George Foss from Violet Cole of Fancy Gap, Va., 10 July 1962; 7 stas., with tune.
- S.H.82: Bronson 155 no.42 from LC/AAFS recording no. 12,006 (A29); 'Little Sir Hugh', collected by George Foss from Rebecca Jane Collins, Mount Airy, N.C., 10 July 1962; 2 stas., with tune.
- S.H.83: Bronson 155 no.44, from Brewster, J.A.F., XLVIII (1935), p.297; also in Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Ind., p.130; 'The Jew's Garden', noted by Mrs. I.L. Johnson from the singing of Mrs. Hiram Vaughan, Oakland City, Ind., 3 March 1935; Mrs. Vaughan learned it from her mother; 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.84: Bronson 155 no.45, from Arnold, Folk Songs of Ala., p.42; 'It Rained, It Mist', sung by Nell Young, Huntsville, Ala. (n.d.); 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.85: Bronson 155 no.46, from Henry, J.A.F., XLIV (1931), p.65; also in Henry, Folk Songs from the Southern Highlands, pp.103-104; 'Hugh of Lincoln', collected from the singing of M.M. Hoover of New York City, who learned it from his mother in South East Pa.; 10 stas., with tune.
- S.H.86: Bronson 155 no.47, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.412-413 and 589 (K); 'The Jew's Daughter', collected by John Stone from Ed Davis and Mrs. Marion Browning, Shipman, Va.; contributed 15 November 1916; 4 stas., with tune.
- S.H.87: Bronson 155 no.48, from Eddy, Ballads and Songs from Ohio, p.66; also in Tolman and Eddy, J.A.F., XXXV (1922), p.344; 'The Jew's Garden', sung by Mrs. Charles Wise, Perrysville, Ohio; 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.88: a. Bronson 155 no.49, from Gresham, J.A.F., XLVII, (1934) pp.358-359 and 361; listed by Davis, Folk Songs of Va., p.25 (2) 'It Rained a Mist', collected by Foster B. and Dorothy Gresham from Mrs. Ruth Jones, Prince George County, Va., 23 February 1933; Mrs. Jones learned it from a cousin in Apex, Wake County, N.C., who learned it from her father; 10 stas., with tune.
- b. Gresham, J.A.F., XLVII, p.360; 8 stas., slightly garbled, sung by Marie Caudle, niece of the singer of 'a', Mrs. Jones, at Matoaca School, Chesterfield County, Va., 4 February, 1933; listed by Davis, Folk Songs of Va., p.25 (3).

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.89: Bronson 155 no.50, from Matteson and Henry, Beech Mountain Folk Songs and Ballads, pp.22-23; 'Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter', sung by Mrs. J.E. Schell, Banner Elk, N.C., 15 July 1933; 8 stas., with tune; begins, "It rained, it rained, it rained, it rained."
- S.H.90: a. Bronson 155 no.51, from Parsons and Roberts, J.A.F., XLIV (1931), p.296, 'Sir Hugh of Lincoln', sung by May F. Hoisington, Rye, New York (n.d.); learned in Pa., from her nurse, of Welsh extraction; 7 stas., with tune; begins 'One day it rained in our town.'
- b. unpublished; see R.V.W. Library Lucy Broadwood MS., pp.454-455; 'Sir Hugh and the Jew's Daughter', "sung by a lady who learnt it from a nurse of Irish extraction about 35 years ago", i.e. c.1880; contributed and noted by Mr. A. Foxton Ferguson, Kensington, London (?), 10 December 1916; 7 stas., with tune, both virtually identical with 'a'.
- S.H.91: Bronson 155 no.52, from R. Smith, S.C. Ballads, p.148; 'The Two Playmates', sung by Mrs. E.L. Bolin, McCormick County, S.C.; learned in childhood from a playmate's grandmother in Spartanburg County, S.C.; 9 stas., with tune; begins, "It rained, alas! it rained, alas!"
- S.H.92: Bronson 155 no.53, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.413 and 590 (L); 'Sir Hugh', contributed by Mr. and Mrs. George D. McLaughlin, Benicia, Calif., 15 May 1916; learned in Rockbridge County, Va.; 7 stas., with tune.
- S.H.93: Bronson 155 no.54, from Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.404-405 and 588 (C); 'It Rained a Mist', contributed by Alfreda M. Peel, 24 April 1923, from the singing of Miss Marie Hatfield, Vinton, Va. 9 stas., with tune.
- S.H.94: Beckwith, J.A.F., LXIV (1951), pp.224-225; 'The Jew's Garden', contributed by Miss H.K. Mull, c.1931, who collected it from her grandmother, Mrs. J.B. Fricker of Reading, Pa.; Mrs. Fricker learned the song in secondary school; 7 stas., without tune.
- S.H.95: Belden, J.A.F., XIX (1906), pp.293-294 (a); 'The Jew's Garden', collected by Miss Williams in Clinton County, Mo.; 9 stas., without tune; begins, "It rained all night and it rained all day".
- S.H.96: ibid., p.294 (b); 'The Jew's Garden', collected by Miss Williams in Clinton County, Mo.; the contributor learned it years ago in Ky.; 6 stas., without tune; begins, "It rained all night and it rained all day."
- S.H.97: Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Ind., pp.132-133 (C); 'The Jew's Daughter', contributed by Mrs. C.H. Allarden of McLeansboro, Ill.; 8 stas., without tune; the first stanza has been remodelled and begins, "One Friday in the month of May".
- S.H.98: Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, II, pp.156-157 (A); collected by W. Amos Abrahams from Mary Best of Statesville, Iredell County, N.C.; 9 stas., without tune.

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.99: Brown, Colln. of N.C. Folklore, II, pp. 157 - 158 (B); 'It Rained a Mist', sent to Professor Hudson in 1932 by one of his students, Miss Marjorie Craig, who obtained it from a pupil, Cleophas Bray of Roanoke Rapids, N.C.; Bray learned it from his mother; 8 stas., tune printed in Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, IV, p.82, not noted by Bronson, but of group 'C' type.
- S.H.100: Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, II, pp.158-159 (C); 'Ballad', also sent to Prof. Hudson in 1932 by Marjorie Craig; sung by Vivian Bast at Greensboro, N.C., who learned it from her grandmother in Md.; 9 stas., without tune; begins, "It was raining hard the other day."
- S.H.101: ibid., pp.159-160 (D); 'The Jewish Lady', sent to Prof. Hudson in May 1942 by Miss Margaret Johnson of Raleigh, N.C., who obtained it from the singing of her mother, then aged 70, who had learned it in childhood; 7 stas., tune printed in Brown, Collection of N.C. Folklore, IV, p.83, not noted by Bronson but of group 'C' type; begins, "A little boy went out one day."
- S.H.102: Cox, Folk Songs of the South, pp.120-121 (A); 'It Rained a Mist', communicated by Miss Violet Hiatt, Great Cacapon, Morgan County, W.Va., February 1917; obtained from her father, who learned it when a child from his mother; 9 stas., without tune.
- S.H.103: ibid., pp.121-122 (B); 'It Rained, It Mist', communicated by Professor Walter Barnes, 19 May 1916; obtained from Miss Lelia Withers, Grafton Taylor County, W.Va., who learned it from her mother; 9 stas., without tune.
- S.H.104: ibid., pp.122-123 (C); 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated by Miss Mildred Joy Barker, Monongalia County, W.Va., 2 October 1916; obtained from her mother; the version has been known in the family for many years; 8 stas., without tune.
- S.H.105: ibid., pp.123-124 (D); 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated by George Paugh; obtained from Mrs. Charles Young of Davis, Tucker County, W.Va.; Mrs. Young learned it as a child; 9 stas., without tune.
- S.H.106: ibid., pp.124-125 (E); 'The Jew's Lady', contributed in May 1916 by Mrs. Snoah McCourt, Orndoff, Webster County, W.Va., who learned it from her mother; 8 stas., without tune.
- S.H.107: ibid., pp.125-126 (F); 'The Jew's Daughter', communicated by Miss Minnie Lee Dickinson; obtained from Mrs. David Fowler, Cheat Neck, W.Va., who learned it from her mother; 9 stas., without tune.
- S.H.108: Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.402-403 (B); 'The Jew's Daughter', collected by Miss Martha M. Davis, from the singing of Mrs. Elmer Brunk of Rockingham County, Va., 6 November 1913; 10 stas., without tune; begins, "It rained, it snowed in New Scotland"; cf. above, group III.i., feature (a).
- S.H.109: ibid., p.409 (G); 'It Rained a Mist', collected by Miss Juliet Fauntleroy from the singing of Miss Hooney Wright, from Surrey County, N.C. and Altavista, Va.; contributed 18 September 1915; 8 stas., without tune.

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.110: Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., pp. 410 - 411 (H); 'It Rained a Mist', reported by Professor J.M. Grainger and contributed by Miss Ruth Soyars of Brim, N.C., from Patrick County, Va.; 20 November 1913; 8 stas., without tune.
- S.H.111: ibid., pp.414-415 (M); 'The Jew's Daughter', collected by John Stone from the singing of Miss Gipson, Charlottesville, Va.; contributed 10 November 1919; 8 stas., without tune.
- S.H.112: Davis, More Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.231-233 (AA); 'The Jew's Daughter', collected by Fred F. Knobloch, John Powell, Hilton Rufty and A.K. Davis Jr.; sung by Mrs. Martha Elizabeth Gibson of Crozet, Va., 17 May 1931; tune noted by J. Powell; 13 stas., with tune (classified as Bronson 155 no.34c, i.e. group C).
- S.H.113: ibid., pp.233-234 (BB); also printed, without tune, in Grapurchat (East Radford State Teachers' Coll., Va.), XI, no.18 (1932), p.3; 'The Jewish Lady', sung by Miss Eunice Yeatts of Meadows of Dan, Patrick County, Va., 10 August 1932; text transcribed by P.C. Worthington and tune noted by G.W. Williams; 9 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.114: Davis, More Trad. Ballads of Va., pp.236-238 (DD); recorded by A.K. Davis, Jr. from the singing of Mrs. W.F. Starkey of Crozet, Va., 11 November 1932; text transcribed by P.C. Worthington and tune noted by E.C. Mead; text and tune also independently collected by Fred F. Knobloch, 1 May 1931; 7 stas., with tune (classified by Bronson as 155 no.3a., i.e. group A.a.); begins, "It rained all day and it rained all night."
- S.H.115: a. Gainer, Folk Songs of the West Va. Hills, pp.68-69; 'The Duke's Daughter', sung by Mrs. Rogers of Newton, Roane County, W.Va.; 9 stas., with tune (Bronson group C type).
b. West Va. Folklore (Fairmont, W.Va.), IX (1959), pp.20-21; 'It Rained a Mist', apparently from the singer of 'a', Mrs. Zona Rogers of Newton, as sung at the Glenville Folk Festival under the direction of Dr. Gainer; 8 stas., with tune, both slightly different from 'a'.
- S.H.116: Henry, Folk Songs from the Southern Highlands, pp.104-105 (B); 'A Little Boy Lost His Ball', obtained from Mrs. Mary Tucker, Varnell, Ga., 1929; Mrs. Tucker's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Harmon, came from Cade's Cove, Tenn.; 8 stas., without tune; begins, "On one dark and misty day".
- S.H.117: Hippensteel, Indiana Folklore, II, no.2 (1969), pp.101-102 (H - 1), tune on p.117; 'It Mist, It Rained', sung by V.E. Ritz, aged 85, May 1965; learned from his grandmother, Rachel Belding, born in Jackson County, Ind., in 1832; tune scored by Esther R. Collyer; 10 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.118: ibid., pp.103-104 (H - 2) and tune, p.118; 'It Rained, It Mist', sung by Dr. Daniel Pugh, 9 November 1968 at Alexandria, Va.; Pugh learned the song c.1927 from his grandfather, Jess Pugh of Rushville, Ind.; 7 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).

Appendix G, group III.iv. (cont'd)

- S.H.119: Hippensteel, Ind. Folklore, II, pp.105-106 (H),
tune p.118; 'The Blue (Dew) Drum Boy',
sung by Mr. Shirley Burpo, Martinsville, Ind., May 1965 and
22 November 1968; learned from his father, aged over 70;
7 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.120: ibid., pp.107-109 (H - 4) and tune, pp.119-120; 'The Jew's
Garden', sung by Mrs. Clara Coryell, formerly of Jackson County,
Ind., 9 February 1965, May 1965 and 14 December 1967; Mrs. Coryell
learned the ballad c.1906-1908 from her aunt's husband, James
Costin of Austin, who lived near her home; 7 stas., with tune
(of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.121: ibid., pp.110-111 (H - 5), tune p.121; 'It Rained All Day',
sung by Mrs. Wallace Harrod of Flatrock, Ind., with her sisters,
2 February 1965 and 1 November 1967; the song has "always been
in the family"; 7 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type);
begins, "It rained all day, it rained all night".
- S.H.122: ibid., pp.111-113 (H - 6), tune p.121; 'The Jew's Garden', sung
by Mrs. Robert Jackson of Anderson, Ind., and her mother, Mrs. Van
Tilbury, on 2 November 1967; Mrs. Jackson learned the song from
her father, George W. Van Tilbury, who learned it from his
mother, Louisa Hollenbeck of Zanesville, Ohio (born 23 June 1845);
8 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.123: ibid., pp.113-114 (H - 7); 'It Rained A Mist', sung by
Mrs. Roy Peters (Lula M. Young Peters) of Lafayette on
18 February 1965; learned c.1902 from her mother, née Bowers;
Mrs. Peters died before the tune could be recorded; 7 stas.,
without tune.
- S.H.124: ibid., pp.115-116 (H - 8), tune p.122; 'It Rained All Day and
It Rained All Night' (first line), or 'The Minstrel Boy';
sung by Mrs. Richard Steuerwald of Martinsville, Ind. on
2 February and in May 1965; Mrs. Steuerwald learned the ballad
from her mother; 8 stas., with tune (of Bronson group C type).
- S.H.125: Moore and Moore, Ballads and Songs of the South West, pp.89-91;
'The Jew's Daughter', sung by Mrs. M. M. Goodwin of Milfay, Okla.,
who learned the song from her parents, who were born in Ky.;
9 stas., with tune (type unknown).
- S.H.126: Randolph, Ozark Folk Songs, I, p.150 (B); Mrs. R.P. Hill,
Galena, Missouri contributed this (untitled) variant on
4 June 1934; she learned it years before in Okla.; 3 stas.,
without tune.
- S.H.127: Tolman, J.A.F., XXIX (1916), p.165; also in Pound, American
Ballads and Songs, no.5 A, pp.13-14; 'The Jewish Lady',
contributed by Mrs. Pearl H. Bartholomew from Mrs. Flo Keller,
both of Warren, Ind.; 6 stas., without tune.
- S.H.128: Welch, West Va. Folklore (Fairmont, W.Va.), III, Pt.2 (1953),
pp.20-21; also in Musick, West Va. Folklore, XI, Pt.2 (1961),
pp.21-22; 'It Rained A Mist', from a notebook collection
contributed by Lynn Welch as written down by his mother in 1910;
7 stas., without tune.

Appendix G, group III.iv (cont'd)

- S.H.129: West Va. Folklore, V, Pt.2 (1955), pp.26-27; 'It rained all day' (photocopy acquired through International Inter-Library Loan Service supplies no details); 8 stas., without tune; begins, "It rained all day, it rained all night."
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IV. Unclassified Texts

- S.H.130: Bronson 155 no.43, from Sharp MSS. 528/601; also in Sharp, J.F.S.S., V, no.20 (1916), p.253 (1) and in Sharp, Collection, ed Karpeles, I, pp.153-154, no.31 B; 'Little Sir Hugh', sung by John Swain at Donyatt, Somerset, 7 August 1905; 5 stas., with tune (Bronson group C); garbled.
- S.H.131: Bronson 155 no.58 from Andrew Blaikie MS., National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh MS. 1578 no.57, p.20; 'The Jew's Daughter' (no further details); tune only (Bronson group F).
- S.H.132: Bronson 155 no.59, from Honoria Galwey, Old Irish Croonauns, Dublin?, 1910, p.15; 'Little Sir Hugh', learned from a servant in childhood at Innishewen, Donegal, Eire; tune only (?), (Bronson group G).
- S.H.133: Bronson 155 no.62, from John Stafford Smith, Musica Antiqua, 2 vols., London 1812, I, p.65; sung by Elizabeth Linley (Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan); tune only (Bronson group J); text is that of S.H.2.
- S.H.134: Fowler, Literary History, p.267, note 40; recollected by Mrs. Earle B. Fowler and her sister, Miss Evabelle Covington, from their childhood at Broadacre, Monroe, N.C.; 1 sta., without tune.
- S.H.135: Pilling, English Dance and Song, XXVIII, no.2 (1966), p.48; 'The Jew's Wall', collected by Julian Pilling from Lillian Pleydell, formerly of Stepney Green; Miss Pleydell and her sisters as children used to sing themselves to sleep with the song; 4 stas., with tune.
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V. References Printed Without Texts

Listed below are the variant number, singer, place of origin, date and number of stanzas. Apparently, no variant has a tune.

Combs, Folk Songs of the Southern United States, ed. Wilgus: p.205:

- 31 A: Martin Bennett, Tanner, W.Va., c.1924, 9 stas.
 31 B: S. Wise Stalnaker, Clarksburg, W.Va., 8 stas.
 31 C: F. R. Power, Hampshire County, W.Va., 9 stas.

Appendix G, section V (cont'd)

Cox, Folk Songs of the South, p.127:

- G: Mr. Showan, Roane County, W.Va., 1915, 7 stas.
- H: Mrs. Laurence C. Roby, Fairmont, W.Va., 1915, 7 stas.
- I: Richard Elkins Hyde, Martinsburg, W.Va., 1916, 8 stas.
- J: Fred M. Smith, Glenville, W.Va., 6 stas.
- K: Mrs. Stella Thomas, Ben Bush, W.Va., 7 stas.
- L: Mrs. Snyder of Roane County, W.Va., 1915, 6 stas.
- M: Prof. Walter Barnes, Fairmont, W.Va., 6 stas.
- N: Miss Violet Noland, Davis, W.Va., 1916.

Davis, Trad. Ballads of Va., p.620:

- (1) Mrs. Lewis Payne, Rockingham County, Va., 1913, 6 stas.
- (2) Adam Gowl, Rockingham County, Va., 1913, 10 stas.
- (3) Colld. John Stone, Nelson County, Va., 1915, 3 stas.

B.L. Jones, Folklore in Michigan, p.5: title only, no details.

VI. Unexamined References from Coffin and Renwick, British Trad. Ballad in North America (1977), pp.107 and 249, given in Alphabetical Order.

References marked with an asterisk are those stated by the International Inter-Library Loans Service, or by Hippensteel, Ind. Folklore, II (1969), pp.139-140, to contain no texts.

*Altoona Tribune (Altoona, Pa.), 16 November 1931, 6.

H.M. Belden, Missouri Folk Songs (University of Missouri Studies vol.XV, no.1), 1913, pp.69-73.

*Berea Quarterly (Berea, Ky.), XVIII, p.12.

Bulletin of the Tennessee Folklore Society (Marysville and Athens, Tenn.), VIII, no.3, p.76.

Arthur P. Hudson, Specimens of Mississippi Folklore, Ann Arbor, 1928, pp.17-18.

*John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly (Los Angeles, Calif.), IX, no.2 (1973), p.60.

*Kentucky Folklore Record (Bowling Green, Ky.), 1957, p.92.

*New York Tribune, 27 July and 4 August 1922.

*Hubert Shearin and Josiah Combs, A Syllabus of Kentucky Folk Songs (Transylvania Studies in English), Lexington, Ky., 1911, p.8.

Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin (Nashville, Tenn.), 1965, pp.42-47.

*Virginia Folklore Society Bulletin (Charlottesville, Va.), no.2, pp.3, 6; no.3, p.5; no.4, pp.4, 8; no.5, pp.6-8; no.7, pp.5-6; no.9, p.7.

TABLE OF NARRATIVE FEATURES SHARED BY 'SIR HUGH' WITH ITS MEDIEVAL ANALOGUES

This table illustrates the growth of a tradition, rather than the dependence of Sir Hugh on any medieval written source. Illustrations from Sir Hugh are from representative texts. A comparison with unrelated ballads is given.

Key to Sources Used in this Table

(a) Stories of Ritual Murder

W.N.: (Thomas of Monmouth) The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth, ed. A. Jessopp and M.R. James, Cambridge, 1896.
William of Norwich died in 1144; this work was composed in 1172-1173 and the manuscript dates, probably, from before 1200 (see p.liii). The work is divided into books and chapters.

H.G.: (the murder of Harold of Gloucester, 1168, in) Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1863-1867, I, pp.20-21.
The manuscript is of the fifteenth century, but may be based on a chronicle contemporaneous with the events described (see pp.xii, xl).

S.T.: (a summary of the murder of Simon of Trent, 1475), ibid., pp.1-11.

The following sources relate to the murder of young Hugh of Lincoln in 1255:

A.F.: (Anglo-French ballad in) A. Hume, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, or an Examination of a Curious Tradition Respecting the Jews, London, 1849, pp.43-54.
This ballad was probably composed (by someone who knew Lincoln) before 1272: see above, Chapter Eleven, note 29.

Burton: Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1864-1869, I, pp.340-348.
The manuscript of the Burton Annals is of the fourteenth century, but the account of Hugh's death follows a separate, apparently authentic tradition (see p.xxx).

Paris: Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. ('Rolls Series'), London, 1872-1883, V, pp.516-519, 546 and 552.
The account of Hugh's death must have been written soon afterwards, since Matthew Paris died in 1259.

Waverley: Annales Monastici, ed. Luard, II, pp.346-348.

The Waverley Annals were probably written contemporaneously with the events they describe (see p.xxxvi)

Key to Sources Used in this Table (cont'd)(b) The Miracle of the Singing Boy

Texts of the 'C-group' (alone used in this analysis) are printed (except for C6) by Carleton Brown, 'The Prioress's Tale' in W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, ed., Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Chicago, 1941, pp.447-485; page numbers for C1 - C5 and C7 - C10, below, refer to this study.

- C1: pp.467-468, from Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. 32, Art. 19, of the thirteenth century.
- C2: pp.468-469, from Phillipps MS. 8336, written by the Franciscan Friar William Herebert, who died in 1333.
- C3: pp.469-470, from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11579, of the early fourteenth century.
- C4: p.470, from Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 12. E. 1, Art. 19, of the early fourteenth century.
- C5: pp.470-472, from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. 3938 ('The Vernon Manuscript') of the late fourteenth century.

C6: (not printed by Brown) Chaucer's 'Prioress' Tale' in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed., Boston, 1957, reprinted London, 1966, pp.161-164; lines cited here refer to the line numbers in 'Group B' of The Canterbury Tales.

C7: pp.474-475, from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge MS. Delta. 5. 10, Lib. II, Cap. 84, compiled in 1409.

C8: pp.475-476, from the same manuscript as C7, Lib. II, Cap. 87; this text is based upon the version of C1 with only a few verbal changes.

C9: pp.477-479, from Alphonsus a Spina, Fortalitium Fidei Contra Iudeos, Saracenos, Aliosque Christiane Fidei Inimicos (1458-1460), from the Basel edition of c.1475. The author, a convert from Judaism, was Doctor of Theology in the Franciscan College at Salamanca.

C10: pp.480-485, from Trinity College, Cambridge MS. O. 9. 38, a commonplace book (perhaps of a Glastonbury monk) written at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

(c) Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter (Child 155)

For a description of these textual groups, see above, Appendix G.

M.B.: Mrs. Brown's Group (I).

Appendix H (cont'd)

Key to Sources used in this Table: (c) Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter (cont'd)

S/I.S.: The Scottish and Irish School Group (II.i.)

A.S.: The American School Group (II.ii.)

J.G.S.: The Jew's Garden, 'Merry Scotland' Group (III.i.)

J.G.C.: The Jew's Garden, 'Chicken' Group (III.ii.)

Q.G.: The Jew's Garden, 'Queen's Garden' Group (III.iii.)

J.G.M.: The Jew's Garden, 'It Rained a Mist' Group (III.iv.)

(d) Other Child Ballads

Texts are numbered as in E.S.P.B.; for B.W. (Bitter Withy) texts, see above, Appendix C.

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) <u>Sir Hugh</u> texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(1) The story is set in Lincoln	Burton (p.340) <u>Paris</u> (p.516) <u>Waverley</u> (p.346) <u>A.F.</u> , sta. 1.2	C9 (p.477)	Texts <u>1</u> sta. 15.3 (M.B.); <u>10</u> sta. 10.1 (S/I.S.); <u>41</u> sta 1.1 (J.G.S.)	cf. <u>64 B</u> sta. 20.5; <u>65 H</u> sta. 37.4; <u>79 B</u> sta. 4.1; <u>256</u> sta. 1.1; <u>262</u> sta. 1.3 and corrupt phrase in <u>B.W.</u> <u>30</u> sta. 3.1.
(2) upon a Holy Day	<u>W.N.</u> , I.vii (p.26): buried on Good Friday. <u>Burton</u> (p.340) <u>Paris</u> (p.516): Hugh is kidnapped shortly before St. Peter's Day.		See the opening line of texts <u>5</u> (M.B.); <u>14</u> (S/I.S) and <u>28</u> (A.S.)	cf. <u>73 D</u> sta. 4; <u>81 A</u> sta. 1; <u>284</u> sta. 1 and <u>B.W.</u> <u>18</u> sta. 1.

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) Sir Hugh texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(3) and/or in the Summer.	<u>A.F.</u> sta. 2.4: Hugh is kidnapped at the beginning of August. See also Narrative Feature (2): St. Peter's Day is 29 June.		Text 9 sta. 1.1 (S/I.S).	See the opening stanzas of Child <u>167 A</u> ; <u>191 A</u> ; <u>199 A</u> ; <u>270 A</u> .
(4) The boy is the only child	<u>Burton</u> (p.340)	<u>C5</u> (line 11); <u>C10</u> (p.482); other C-texts by implication.	Texts <u>1</u> sta. 10.4 (M.B.); <u>9</u> sta. 7.4 (S/I.S.); <u>37</u> sta 8.4 (A.S.)	
(5) of a widow	<u>W.N. I.iv</u> (p.17). <u>Burton</u> (p.340)	<u>C6</u> (line *1692) <u>C9</u> (p.477)	By implication, since Hugh's father is mentioned in only a few texts, e.g. <u>15</u> sta. 8.3 (S/I.S.) & <u>67</u> sta. 9.3 (J.G.M.)	
(6) and is also a school boy.	<u>Burton</u> (p.340)	<u>C2</u> ; <u>C4</u> ; <u>C6</u> (line *1693); <u>C7</u> (p.474); <u>C9</u> (p.477); <u>C10</u> (p.480)	<u>5</u> sta. 1.3 (M.B.) <u>9</u> sta. 1.2 (S/I.S.) <u>27</u> sta. 1.3 (A.S.) <u>63</u> sta. 1.1 (Q.G.) <u>80</u> sta. 8.1 (J.G.M.)	

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) <u>Sir Hugh</u> texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(7) Other schoolboys or playmates are mentioned.	W.N., I.xiii (p.38): William's boy friends are the first to suggest the identity of the corpse. Burton (p.342): see Narrative Feature (24). Paris (p.517): neighbours testify that Hugh was playing with Jewish boys of his own age.	C7 (p.475): the boy is sought by his parents and fellow scholars.	2 sta. 2.4 (M.B.) 9 sta. 2.4 (S/I.S.) 24 sta. 1.3 (A.S.) 39 sta. 4.2 (J.G.S.) 53 sta. 4.2 (J.G.C.) 71 sta. 6.4 (J.G.M.)	
(8) The children play ball.			See the opening stanzas of <u>1</u> (M.B.); <u>11</u> (S/I.S.); <u>24</u> (A.S.); <u>39</u> (J.G.S.); <u>53</u> (J.G.C.); <u>69</u> (J.G.M.)	cf. <u>11 A</u> sta. 1; <u>39 A</u> sta. 9; <u>156 A</u> sta. 16; <u>81 D</u> sta. 1; <u>49 D</u> sta. 1 and <u>B.W.</u> <u>30</u> sta. 1.4.
(9) The boy has been warned not to associate with Jews.	W.N., I.iii (p.16): by his uncle, a priest.		Implied in <u>9</u> sta. 12 (S/I.S.); <u>29</u> sta. 2 (A.S.); <u>39</u> sta. 4 (J.G.S.); <u>53</u> sta. 4 (J.G.C.); <u>77</u> sta. 4 (J.G.M.)	

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) Sir Hugh texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(10) Jews entice the boy (into their house).	W.N., I.iv (pp.16-19): William is promised advancement and his mother is paid 3 shillings. S.T.: promised a silver coin.	C5 (lines 37-38). Implied in C3 (p.469) and C10 (p.481).	1 sta. 6 (M.B.): with apple pulled from garden. 9 sta. 3(S/I.S.): apple rolled on ground. 27 sta. 2.2 (A.S.): apples in her hand. 39a sta. 5 (J.G.S.); 53 sta. 5 (J.G.C.); 71 sta. 4 (J.G.M.): with apple, gold ring and cherry.	
(11) He is taken to an inner room.	Burton (p.341) <u>Paris</u> (p.516)	C1 & C8 (pp.467, 476); C3 (p.469).	1 sta. 7 (M.B.) 9 sta. 4 (S/I.S.) 28 sta. 4 (A.S.) 48 sta. 5 (J.G.S.) 52 sta. 5 (J.G.C.) 71 sta. 5 (J.G.M.)	cf. 120 B sta. 7; <u>174 sta. 14.</u>
(12) He is first of all fed by the Jews.	W.N., I.v, (p.20): William is seized while eating dinner. S.T.: fed on grapes and apples. <u>Paris</u> (p.516): Hugh is hidden for ten days, fed on milk. cf. H.G.: boy hidden for several days. <u>Burton</u> (p.341): Hugh is hidden for six days but starved.		Hugh is fed 'with sugar sweet' in 21 sta. 2.2 (S/I.S.); 42 sta. 5.2 (J.G.S.) 54 sta. 6.2 (J.G.C.): this is probably not a feature of the <u>ur-ballad.</u>	

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) Sir Hugh texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(13) He is stabbed: parts of his body are extracted.	W.N., I.v (p.22), II.ix (p.91): after crucifixion, William's left side is pierced; later a maidservant finds a penknife. Burton (p.341): after crucifixion, stabbed with knives. Paris (p.517): stabbed with knives, crucified, heart pierced with spear; entrails taken out for magical purposes. A.F. sta. 32: Hugh is stabbed whilst on the cross; his heart is pulled out and eaten by Jews.	<u>C1</u>, <u>C8</u> (pp.467, 476): boy's stomach is cut open and insides pulled out. <u>C2</u>, <u>C4</u>, <u>C7</u>: means of death not specified. <u>C3</u> (p.469): head cut off. <u>C5</u> line 40, <u>C6</u> line *1761: throat cut. <u>C9</u> (p.478): tongue and heart pulled out. <u>C10</u> (p.481): throat cut and heart pulled out.	No part of the body is extracted. Hugh is stabbed, with penknife <u>2</u> sta. 4 (M.B.), <u>11</u> sta. 7.3 (S/I.S.) or with a pin - <u>28</u> sta. 5.2 (A.S.) <u>39b</u> sta. 7.2 (J.G.S.)	Similar 'penknife' stanzas occur in <u>93 A</u> sta. 12; <u>68 A</u> sta. 6; <u>81 E</u> sta. 7; <u>161 B</u> sta. 7. A similar 'pin' stanza occurs at <u>93 F</u> sta. 10.
(14) The boy's blood is an important part of his murder.	W.N., II.xi (p.93): a converted Jew, Theobald, suggests that Jews believe they cannot regain their homeland 'sine sanguinis humani effusione'; <u>ibid.</u>, p.lxxxvi: early fifteenth century screen at Loddon church, Norfolk, shows Jew holding basin to collect blood.		<u>1</u> sta. 8 (M.B.) begins 'And first came out the thick, thick blood.' Blood caught in cup or bowl: <u>9</u> sta. 5.3 (S/I.S.); <u>35</u> sta. 3.3 (A.S.); <u>52</u> sta. 6.3 (J.G.C.); <u>83</u> sta. 7.3 (J.G.M.)	cf. <u>120 A</u> sta. 17. cf. <u>93 A</u> stas. 21, 22; <u>81 G</u> stas. 28, 30.

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) <u>Sir Hugh</u> texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(15) In his suffering the boy is compared to a sheep or lamb.	<u>W.N.</u> , I.v (pp.19-20) <u>Burton</u> (p.341)	<u>C10</u> (pp.481-482)	<u>M.B.</u> has comparison to swine: <u>1</u> sta. 7.4. Later variant (?) of this is 'stabbed like a sheep': <u>20</u> sta. 5.4 (S/I.S.); <u>39a</u> sta. 7.4 (J.G.S.); <u>54</u> sta. 6.4 (J.G.C.)	
(16) A Christian maidservant is involved.	<u>W.N.</u> , II.ix (pp.89-91): clears up after murder and gives evidence. <u>A.F.</u> stas. 44 - 47: former nurse of one Jew throws Hugh's body in well.		Detail as in <u>A.F.</u> may have led to adoption of woman murderess. A false nurse occurs in <u>J.G.C.</u> : e.g. <u>53</u> sta. <u>6.3</u> .	cf. false nurse in <u>93 A</u> sta. 6.
(17) The boy's corpse is 'sealed' in some way	<u>W.N.</u> , I.v (p.22): with boiling water. <u>H.G.</u> : melted wax and boiling fat. <u>A.F.</u> sta. 45: melted yellow wax. <u>Hume</u> , <u>Sir Hugh of Lincoln</u> , pp.16-17: <u>Hugh's</u> body was in fact wrapped in lead cere-cloth, but this was common medieval practice: see <u>O.E.D.</u> VI, Pt.I, p.65, 'lap', vb.2, sense 3, 'to lap in lead'.		cake of lead: <u>1</u> sta. 9.1 (<u>M.B.</u>). quire of tin: <u>11</u> sta. 9.1 (S/I.S.). 'folding sheet': <u>38</u> sta. 6.1 (A.S.).	cf. Child <u>168</u> sta. 12.1.

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) <u>Sir Hugh</u> texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(18) and thrown into a well.	Burton (p.342). <u>Paris</u> (p.517): Hugh's mother finds his body in well inside Jew's house. <u>Waverley</u> (p.347): body thrown into a well after it has been ejected from a stream and the earth. A.F. sta. 46: the earth and a 'jakes' first reject the body, which is then thrown in a well.	See above, Chapter Eleven, note 41.	<u>1</u> sta. 9.3 (M.B.) <u>20</u> sta. 6.3 (S/I.S.) <u>27</u> sta. 4.3 (A.S.) <u>39a</u> sta. 8.3 (J.G.S.) <u>55</u> sta. 7.3 (J.G.C.) <u>80</u> sta. 7.3 (J.G.M.)	cf. <u>68 F</u> stas. 7, 8.
(19) The Jew who murders the boy also taunts him.	Burton (p.341), <u>Paris</u> (p.517): Hugh is mocked as Christ was. A.F. sta. 37.		<u>1</u> sta. 9.2 (M.B.) <u>11</u> sta. 10 (S/I.S.) <u>27</u> sta. 5 (A.S.) <u>56</u> sta. 8.3-4 (J.G.C.)	cf. <u>4 D</u> sta. 17; <u>68 C</u> sta. 10; <u>118</u> sta. 43.
(20) The boy's mother misses her son when he does not return from school.	Burton (p.342)	C6, lines *1776- *1780. C9 (p.478); C10 (p.482). cf. <u>C1</u>, <u>C8</u> (pp.468, 476).	<u>1</u> sta. 10 (M.B.) <u>9</u> sta. 7 (S/I.S.) <u>27</u> sta. 6 (A.S.)	cf. <u>90 B</u> sta. 16, <u>90 C</u> sta. 22.

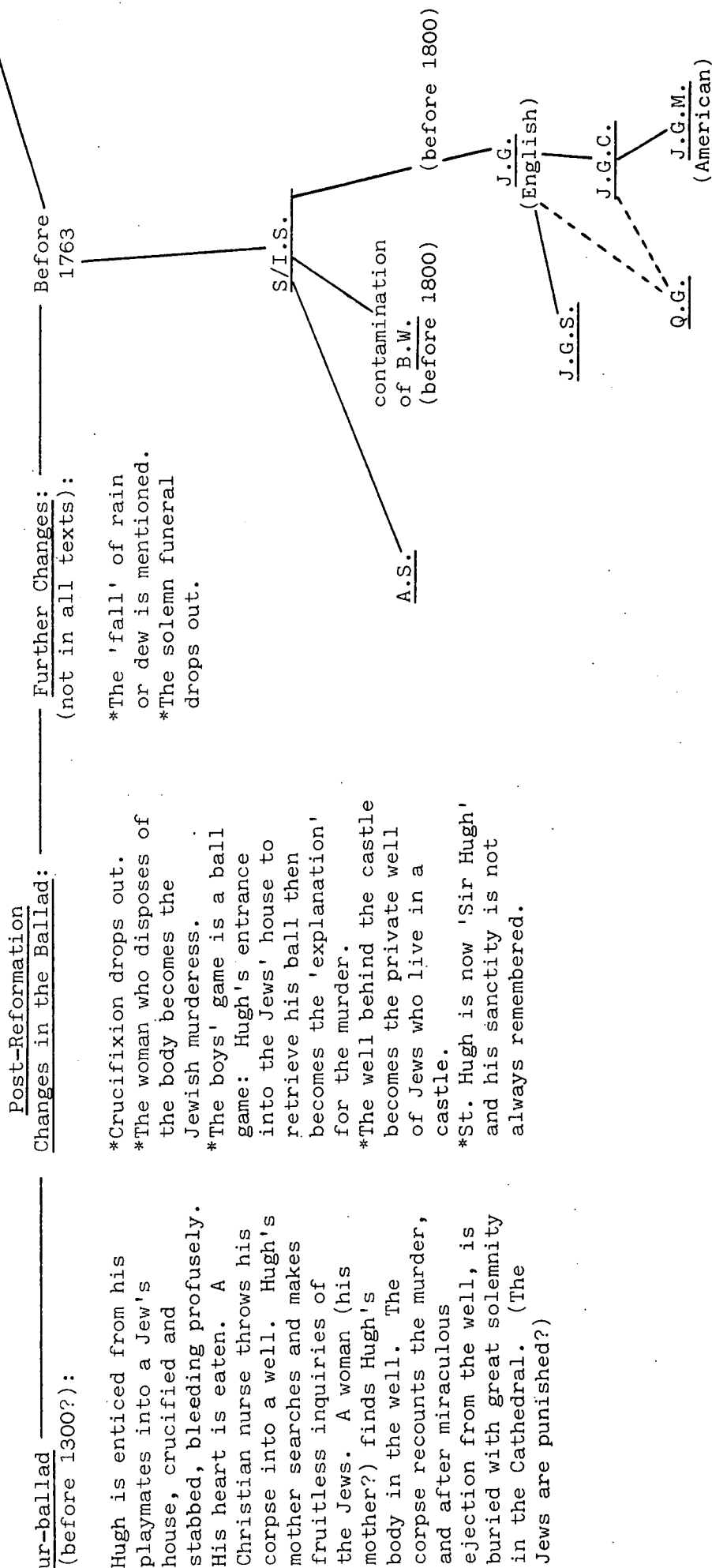
Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) <u>Sir Hugh</u> texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(21) She takes up a staff		<u>C1</u> , <u>C8</u> (pp.468, 476).	<u>3</u> sta. 11.2 (M.B.); In School Group texts the mother takes a stick to beat her son: <u>9</u> sta. 8 (S/I.S.); <u>29</u> sta. 7 (A.S.).	cf. <u>76</u> G sta. 3; <u>157</u> G sta. 27.2. See also note in <u>E.S.P.B.</u> , V, p.11.
(22) and searches for him through the streets.	W.N., I.xv (pp.41-42): on hearing that William's corpse has been found, his mother rushes through the streets shouting accusations against the Jews. <u>Burton</u> (p.342), <u>Paris</u> (p.517): she enquires of neighbours. <u>A.F.</u> stas. 3, 4.	<u>C1</u> , <u>C8</u> (pp.468, 476); <u>C3</u> (p.469); <u>C5</u> , lines 61-62; <u>C6</u> , lines *1783-*1786; <u>C9</u> (p.478); <u>C10</u> (p.482).	<u>11</u> sta. 12.1 (S/I.S.). <u>31</u> sta. 5.2 (A.S.).	
(23) She makes inquiries of the Jews, in vain.	<u>A.F.</u> sta. 7.	<u>C5</u> , lines 63-74; <u>C6</u> , lines *1790-*1792. cf. <u>C1</u> , <u>C8</u> (pp.468,476) and <u>C10</u> (p.482).	<u>1</u> stas. 12-14 (M.B.): mother visits Jew's garden, castle & well. <u>14</u> stas. 2, 3 (S/I.S.): mother goes to door and Jew's wife denies seeing her son.	
(24) A child testifies that the boy is in the Jew's house.	W.N., I.v (p.19). <u>Burton</u> (p.342): Information from Hugh's usual playmates rouses suspicion of the Jews among the Christians. <u>Paris</u> : see above, narrative feature (7).	<u>C7</u> : see above, narrative feature (7).	<u>1</u> sta. 10.3-4; <u>5</u> stas. 11, 16. (M.B.) cf. <u>20</u> sta. 9 (S/I.S.).	

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) Sir <u>Hugh</u> Texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(25) or God guides the boy's mother to the right place.	<u>A.F.</u> stas. 5, 6: after <u>Hugh's</u> mother has prayed, she is seized with the suspicion that the theft of her son is the work of Jews.	C6, lines *1793-*1796; <u>C9</u> (p.478).	only in 11 sta. 12.3 & 17 sta. 6.1-2 (S/I.S.).	
(26) The woman finds the corpse in the well.	<u>Paris</u> (p.517): his mother. <u>A.F.</u> sta. 48: a woman who came to draw water.		The boy's mother: 1 stas. 14, 15 (M.B.); 9 stas. 10, 11 (S/I.S.); 31 sta. 7 (A.S.)	
(27) The boy's corpse explains about the murder.		C6 lines *1839-*1859; <u>C9</u> (p.479) and <u>C10</u> (p.484): the corpse in the cathedral explains the murder and the miracle. See also above, Chapter 11, note 40.	Hugh explains that a penknife lies in his heart: 2 sta. 12 (M.B.); 9 sta. 11 (S/I.S.); 32 sta. 11 (A.S.). 39a sta. 9 (J.G.S.).	cf. 86 A sta. 10.
(28) The corpse miraculously leaves the well.	On the motif of ejection from a tomb, see narrative feature (18), above, <u>A.F.</u> and <u>Waverley</u> .		1 sta. 16.3-4 (M.B.). implied in 14 sta. 6.3-4 (S/I.S.) and in 50 sta. 8 (J.G.S.).	
(29) The corpse is wrapped in a winding sheet.	<u>W.N.</u> , I.xviii (p.51)		Hugh asks his mother to prepare his winding sheet: 1 sta. 15 (M.B.); 9 sta. 13 (S/I.S.).	cf. 77 B sta. 14.2 and <u>F</u> sta. 10.

Narrative Features	(a) Ritual Murder Stories	(b) Miracles of the Singing Boy	(c) Sir Hugh Texts	(d) Other Child Ballads
(30) A solemn funeral is held.	W.N., I.xviii (pp.50-51); H.G.; <u>Burton</u> (pp.343-344); <u>Paris</u> (p.518); <u>Waverley</u> (p.347); <u>A.F.</u> stas. 68, 69.	See the end of all C-texts except C2. The wording of <u>C7</u> (p.475) resembles <u>W.N.</u> at this point.	Only in 1 sta. 17 (M.B.). In other texts, Hugh gives instructions for his burial: 9 sta. 13 (S/I.S.); 31 sta. 8 (A.S.); 43 sta. 5 (J.G.S.); 52 sta. 7 (J.G.C.); 79 sta. 10 (J.G.M.)	cf. 49 A sta. 5, B sta. 6, D sta. 9; 120 A sta. 27.
(31) Bells are rung.	H.G. <u>Paris</u> (pp.407-408) tells of miraculous bells heard miles from habitation on the night of Robert Grosseteste's death (Bishop of Lincoln, died 1253).	C5, line 134.	1 sta. 17.1-2 (M.B.): bells rung without men's hands.	Bells ring at funerals in 69 A sta. 23.1-2; 84 A sta. 8.2; 87 B sta. 11.3.
(32) and miracles testify to the boy's sanctity.	W.N. I.ix, xii, xiii, xviii (pp.31-2, 37, 39, 51-2): light, 'odour of sanctity', incorruptibility. H.G.: light. <u>Burton</u> (p.343), <u>Waverley</u> (p.347) and <u>A.F.</u> stas. 59-61: blind woman cured. (<u>Waverley</u> : also, <u>light</u> .)	(The singing in all C-texts).	1 sta. 17.3-4 (M.B.): the books in Lincoln are read without men's tongues. See also above, narrative feature (31).	

DIAGRAM OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'SIR HUGH' (CHILD 155)

(See above, Key to Appendix H, section c)



APPENDIX K

INDEX OF BROADSIDE PRINTERS REFERRED TO IN THE
APPENDICES WITH RELEVANT DATES

Details of books and directories cited here are given in the Bibliography, Section III.

ANONYMOUS: C.T.C. XVII (probably London); H.W. XIII (probably Manchester); D.L. VIII (probably Birmingham).

The coarse paper, crude woodcuts (on C.T.C. XVII and D.L. VIII) and use of long 's' indicate that these broadsides were probably printed before 12 July 1799, when an act was passed requiring all printed papers to bear the name and address of the printer (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, p.xii-xiii). See also James Guest.

BATCHELAR family of London:

Batchelar, Thomas: C.T.C. XIa, D.L. XIa (Long Alley); C.T.C. XIb, D.L. XIb (14 Hackney Road Crescent).

1817-1828 at Long Alley, Moorfields; 1828-1832 at 14 Hackney Road Crescent, Bethnal Green.

Batchelar, Ann: D.L. XIc (14 Hackney Road Crescent).

1836-1842 at 14 Hackney Road Crescent, Bethnal Green.

Batchelar, Daniel: D.L. XId (14 Hackney Road Crescent)

1836-1842 at 14 Hackney Road Crescent, Bethnal Green.

(All information in Todd, London Printers Imprints, p.12).

BENNETT (stationer) of Brighton: D.L. XIIf (sold at Edward Street).

(No information has been obtained regarding this stationer.)

BLOOMER, Theophilus, of Birmingham: C.T.C. V, H.W. VI (no address); C.C. VI, H.W. V, D.L. IV (53 Edgbaston Street).

1817: at 38 Snowhill; 1818: at 133 Digbeth; 1821-1827 (year of death) at 42 Edgbaston Street (present no.50) (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, nos. 38, 39, 50). Bloomer's address is 53 Edgbaston Street in Wrightson's Triennial Directories for 1823 and 1825.

CATNACH, James, of London: C.T.C. XIIa, b, H.W. XI, D.L. XIIa, b (2 Monmouth Court).

1813-1838 (year of retirement) at 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials (D.N.B. IX, p.321). All broadsheets but D.L. XIIf are listed in 1832 Catalogue (Shepard, History, p.213f).

Appendix K, Index of Broadside Printers (cont'd)

DAVIS, T., of Gravesend: C.T.C. X (King Street).

Local directories list T. Davis as stationer and newsagent at 14 King Street from 1846 until 1849 (letter from W.T.W. Woods, Divisional Librarian, County Library, Gravesend, 26 September, 1978).

EVANS family of London

Evans, Thomas: C.T.C. XIIIa (79 Long Lane).

1803-1813 at 79 Long Lane, West Smithfield (Todd, London Printers Imprints, p.66; Shepard, Pitts Ballad Printer, p.37, dates imprint to the 1790s).

Evans, John and Charles: C.T.C. XIIIb (Long Lane).

1821/2-1828 at 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield (Todd, London Printers Imprints, p.65; Shepard, Pitts Ballad Printer, p.37).

GUEST, James, of Birmingham: probably C.C. IX (no imprint).

c.1830 - c.1842 at 91 Steelhouse Lane; 1843-1879 at 51 Bull Street, an adjoining street (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, p.xix and no.149; Guest is listed at no.91 Steelhouse Lane in Wrightson and Webb's Directories for 1833 and 1835 and at no.93 in Pigot's Birmingham Directory of 1842).

See also Joseph Russell.

HEATH, Charles, of Monmouth: D.L. XV (the Square).

Born at Hurcott in Worcestershire in 1761; set up as printer in Monmouth in 1791; died in 1831 (D.N.B. XXV, p.340).

JACKSON, William and Son, of Birmingham: C.T.C. VI, C.C. VII, H.W. VII, S.V. III, D.L. V (all in three chapbooks together entitled 'A New Book of Christmas Carols' in Birmingham Library 63240, L p 07.2 JAC. - see Bibliography Section I; front pages of chapbooks bear imprint 'BIRMINGHAM Printed and Sold by Jackson & Son (late J. Russell), 21 Moor Street'; back pages bear imprint 'Jackson & Son, Printers, 21 Moor-street, Birmingham').

c.1839 - c.1848 at 21 Moor Street (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, no.283; White's Directory of 1849 lists the firm at 69 Digbeth).

MARTIN, Susanna(h), of Birmingham: (printer of 'A Carol for Christmas Day', given in Chapter 5, above, in chapbook 'Three New Carols for Christmas', Birmingham Library 60338, L F10 09, at p.85).

Wife or daughter of printer Robert Martin; items printed at no.10, Ann Street are dated c.1800; from 1803-1810 the imprint is 'S. and T. Martin'; Susannah Martin died 3 January 1810 (Jenkins, Printing in Birmingham, p.267, and nos. 679, 680).

Appendix K, Index of Broadside Printers (cont'd)

PITTS, John, of London: C.T.C. XIV, D.L. XIII (6 Great St. Andrew Street).

1820-1844 at 6 Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials
(Todd, London Printers Imprints, p.151).

PRICHARD, of Monmouth: C.C. XI (no address).

The name does not appear in nineteenth century directories (letter from K. Kissack, Curator, Monmouth Museum, 15 July 1978). Use of the long 's' supports the idea that Prichard printed in the eighteenth century.

RANN, J., of Dudley: D.L. IX (no address).

John Rann was in business as a printer from 1793 at High Street until 1821, when he moved to Hall Street; he died in 1854, aged 98 (letter from H.P. Barnes, Director of Leisure and Recreation Services, Dudley); Rann's son, John Jr., continued to print at Hall Street and is listed in Pigot's Birmingham Directory of 1842 and Kelly's Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1845; a second son, Joseph Rann, was also a printer (letter from H.P. Barnes).

ROBINSON, Robert, of Newcastle: H.W. XIV (38 Pilgrim Street).

R. Robinson is listed as a bookseller at 38 Pilgrim Street in Ward's Newcastle Directories from 1855 until 1884/1885; The British Library catalogue dates the Robinson chapbook containing H.W. XIV as c.1880.

RUSSELL, Joseph, of Birmingham: C.T.C. VII, H.W. VIII (24 Moor Street).

c.1814-1839 at 22 Moor Street; in 1819 was sentenced to six months imprisonment for profane and seditious libel, during which time his press was managed by Elizabeth Guest (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, p.xix and nos.51, 184). Russell's address is given as 24 Moor Street in Pigot's Commercial Directories of 1816-1817 and 1818-1820.

SWINDELLS, of Manchester: C.T.C. XVIa, b, H.W. XIIa, b, S.V. Va, b, D.L. XIVa, b (no address).

George Swindells printed at Hanging Bridge from c.1760 until his death in 1796; Alice Swindells printed at the same address from c.1792 until c.1828; George's son, John Swindells printed there from 1829 until a few years before his death in 1853; this firm is known to have printed songs and carols (article by J.F.A. in 'Local Notes and Queries', The Manchester Guardian, 16 November 1874, p.7; Neuburg, Chapbooks, p.58; The Manchester Press before 1801, pp.11, 17, 18, 22 and 23; Manchester Directories from 1788 till 1845).

Henry Swindells printed at 9 Sedgewick's Court, according to Pigot's Manchester Directory of 1830 and Slater's Directory of 1855; a printer named J. Swindells is listed at Pall Mall in Slater's Directories from 1848 until 1863.

Appendix K, Index of Broadside Printers (cont'd)

TAYLOR, William, of London: C.T.C. XV (16 Waterloo Road).

1831-1832 at 16 Great Waterloo Road, Lambeth; 1836 at 14 Waterloo Road (Todd, London Printer's Imprints, p.191).

WALTERS, George, of Dudley: C.C. X, H.W. X, S.V. IV, D.L. X: all these texts occur in the chapbook (in two parts), A Good Christmas Box, printed by Walters at High Street, Dudley, in 1847; an original copy of the chapbook is in the Local History Library, Dudley; a facsimile copy was produced by Michael and Jon Raven, Wolverhampton Folk Song Club, September 1967.

Walters was in business in High Street, Dudley from at least 1819 until 1850 (letter from H.P. Barnes, Director of Leisure and Recreation Services, Dudley, 5 September 1978; Pigot's Birmingham Directories for 1818-1820, 1830 and 1842; Kelly's Post Office Directory of Birmingham, 1845).

WOOD, Thomas or Joseph, of Birmingham: C.T.C. VIII, C.C. VIIla, b, H.W. IXa, b, D.L. VI (New Meeting Street).

Thomas Wood printed at 9 New Meeting Street from c.1800 until c.1840 and was succeeded there by Joseph Wood from c.1842 until c.1850 (Jenkins, Printing in Birmingham, p.269; Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, no.24; Birmingham Directories from Chapman's, 1803 until White's of 1849).

WRIGHT, William, of Birmingham: C.T.C. IX, D.L. VII (Moor Street).

1820: at 2 Cary's Court, Moor Street; c.1823 - c.1825 at 113 Moor Street; August 1827 : at 17 Moat Lane, Smithfield; 1831 - c.1837 at 3 Moor Street (Morgan, Warwicks. Printers Notices, nos. 46, 87, 118, 169, 191; Wrightson's Triennial Directories of 1823 and 1825).

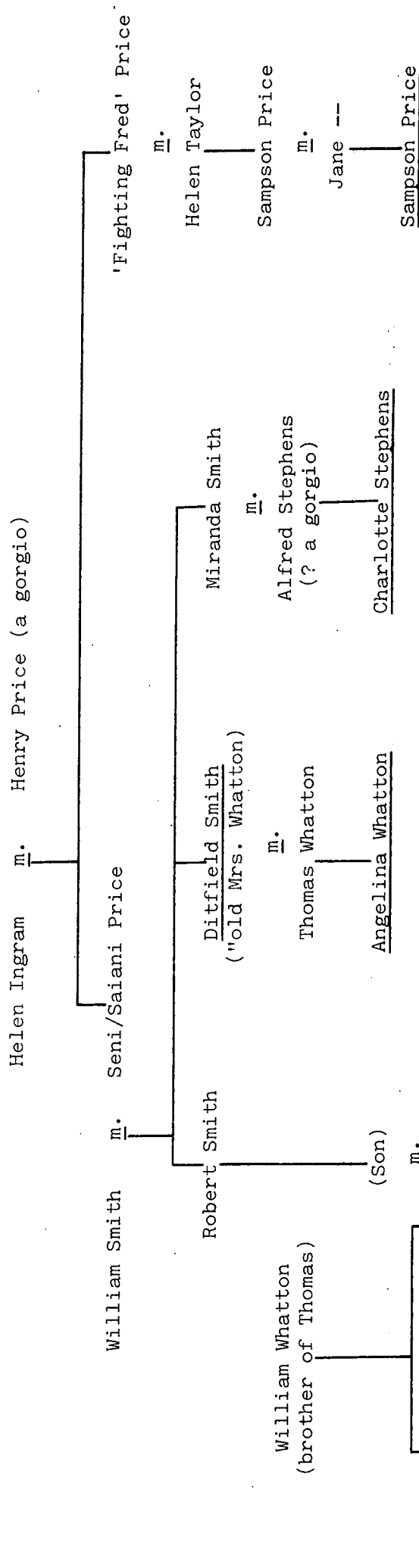
WRIGLEY, John, of Manchester: see S.V. I (30 Miller Street).

Listed at 30 Miller Street in Manchester Directories from Pigot's, 1838 until Whelan's, 1852.

APPENDIX L

A SIMPLIFIED FAMILY TREE OF SOME GYPSY SINGERS

Singers of religious ballads are underlined. The information is derived from Leather, Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd Series, IV (1925), pp.59-73 and from a private letter sent to me by Mrs. Margaret Hamer, 24 July 1978.



- Notes:
1. Elizabeth and Esther Whatton were brought up by Ditfield Smith ("old Mrs. Whatton").
 2. May Bradley was brought up after her mother's death by her grandfather, Robert Smith.
 3. The Whattons are related to the Shropshire Whartons, gypsies who sang for Charlotte Burne (see Shropshire Folklore, II, pp.554 and 565).

APPENDIX MINDEX OF SINGERS (and Important 'Contributors')

A

Allerden, Mrs. C.H.: S.H. 97.

Anonymous Texts: C.T.C. 1, 2, 3,
4, 5, 14, 19, 20, 23, 29, 39,
45, 49, 62, 63; C.C. 3b;
H.W. 2, 3, 14; B.W. 21, 22,
23, 30, 40; SV. 1, 2, 3, 5;
D.L. 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13;
M.P. texts A, C; C.M. nos. 1,
3, 4, 6, 16; S.H. 2, 4, 5,
9, 10, 11, 14a, 38, 40, 41,
43, 47, 48a, 53, 64, 65, 66b,
90b, 129, 131, 132.

B

Baines, Miss: B.W. 17.
 Banks, Mrs. Lucy: S.H. 37.
 Barker, Mrs. Mildred Joy: S.H. 104.
 Barnes, Prof. Walter: S.H. group V.
 Bartholomew, Mrs. Pearl H.:
S.H. 127.
 Bast, Vivian: S.H. 100.
 Bates, Samson: D.L. 7.
 Beale, Aunt Fanny: C.T.C. 58.
 Beechy, Mrs., of Shipton:
C.T.C. 16.
 Belding, Rachel: S.H. 117.
 Bennett, Martin: S.H. group V.
 Best, Mary: S.H. 98.
 Beverly, Mrs. Donna Snodgrass:
C.T.C. 59.
 Bigney, Mrs. Ellen: C.M. 27.
 Bishop, Mrs. Dan: S.H. 28.
 Blake, George: S.H. 21.
 Blyth, Miss: S.H. 14c.
 Bolin, Mrs. E.L.: S.H. 91.
 Boone, Mrs. Julia: C.M. 18;
S.H. 62.
 Borusky, Mrs. Pearl Jacobs:
S.H. 25.
 Bosserman, Mrs. Guy: S.H. 78.
 Bould, Henry: D.L. 8.
 Bowers; see Peters
 Bradley, Mrs. May (gypsy): S.V. 4.
 Bray, Cleophas: S.H. 99.
 Brimfield, G.J.: B.W. 27.
 Brixey, Mrs. Clyde: C.T.C. 53.
 Brogton, Mrs. Mollie: S.H. 34.
 Brookes, Arthur James: B.W. 28.
 Brookes, Charles, B.W. 28.
 Brooks, S., and James: H.W./
B.W. 16a.
 Brown, Mrs. Anna: S.H. 1.

Brown, Mrs. Beatrice: B.W. 19.
 Browning, Mrs. Marion: S.H. 86.
 Brunk, Mrs. Elmer: S.H. 108.
 Bull, Ludlow S.: S.H. 48b.
 Burgess, Jesse: S.H. 74a.
 Burke, Duncan: C.M. 7.
 Burns, Mrs. J. Taylor: S.H. 36.
 Burpo, Mr. Shirley: S.H. 119.
 Butler, Mrs. Reservoir (Gypsy):
H.W. 4.
 Byrne, John: S.H. 23*.

C

Campbell, Luther: S.H. 31.
 Caudle, Marie: S.H. 88b.
 Chedgey, James: S.H. 56.
 Clayton, Mary Anne: C.T.C. 11.
 Colcombe, William: B.W. 36; D.L. 5.
 Cole, Peter: C.M. 17.
 Cole, Violet: S.H. 81.
 Coleman, Miss Julia: S.H. 76.
 Collins, Mrs. H.: B.W. 29.
 Collins, Rebecca Jane: S.H. 82.
 Connell, Mrs. H.: S.H. 36.
 Cooknell, Mrs. George: C.T.C. 18a.
 Coombs, Mrs. K.M.: C.M. 31.
 Cooper, Mrs. C.: C.T.C. 66.
 Copeland, Elizabeth: C.M. 8;
S.H. 13.
 Corbett, Mrs. Theresa: C.M. 28.
 Coryell, Mrs. Clara: S.H. 120.
 Costello, Mrs. Cecilia: C.M. 14;
S.H. 49.
 Costin, James: S.H. 120.
 Couch, Tom, Jim and Dave: C.T.C. 55.
 Covington, Miss Evabelle: S.H. 134.
 Crawford, Mrs. James B.: C.M. 20.
 Creech, Mrs. Berry: S.H. 29.
 Creech, John Buckingham and wife,
 Malinda: C.T.C. 61b.
 Cunningham, G.W.: C.M. 15.
 Cutting, Clarence: C.T.C. 48.

D

Dashiell, Mrs. L.R.: S.H. 55.
 Davey, Mrs.: C.T.C. 13.
 Davies, Mr.: C.T.C. 8; H.W. 10.
 Davis, Ed: S.H. 86.
 Davis, Martha M.: S.H. 79.
 Duke, Mary: M.P. text G.
 Dulany, Mrs.: S.H. 39a.

Appendix M, Index of Singers (cont'd)

Dunagan, Mrs. Margaret: C.T.C. 34.
 Duncan, Mrs. R.W.: C.M. 30.
 Dusenbury, Mrs. Emma L.: C.M. 22.

E

Eldridge, Aunt Mary: C.T.C. 42.
 Ellyson, Mae: C.T.C. 44.
 Emma, Sister: S.H. 14b.

Evans, J.: D.L. 4.

D

Fairbanks, Mrs. John: S.H. 20.
 Fidler, Bessie: C.T.C. 46.
 Fields, Aunt Lizbeth: C.T.C. 41.
 Findlay, Rev. William: C.M. 5.
 Finlay, Ben J.: S.H. 27.
 Fitch, Clyde: S.H. 77.
 Fletcher, Mr. (gypsy): C.C. 4b.
 Fletcher, Mrs. Isabel (gypsy):
 H.W. 5.

Fowler, Mrs. David: S.H. 107.
 Fowler, Mrs. Earle B.: S.H. 134.

Fricker, Mrs. J.B.: S.H. 94.

G

G: E.G. of Strichen: C.M. 9.
 Gainer, Francis C.: C.T.C. 50.
 Gentry, Mrs. Jane: C.T.C. 33a.
 Gibbs, Mr. and Mrs.: B.W. 31.
 Gibson, Mrs. Martha Elizabeth:
 S.H. 112.
 Gilbert, Mrs. Ollie: S.H. 75.
 Gill, Mrs. W.H.: S.H. 54.
 Gipson, Miss: S.H. 111.
 Goby (gypsies): C.C. 3a.
 Goodwin, Mrs. E.: H.W. 11.
 Goodwin, Mrs. M.M.: S.H. 125.
 Gowl, Adam: S.H. group V.
 'Greasehorn', Mrs. (gypsy):
 B.W. 20a.
 'Greasehorn', son of Mrs.:
 B.W. 20b.
 Griffin, Mrs. G.A.: C.T.C. 36;
 S.H. 66a.

Gump, Perry: S.H. 57.

Gypsies: see Itinerants

H

Hagerman, William: S.H. 25.
 Haigh, Mrs.: H.W. 1.
 Hall, Mrs. Selena: B.W. 24.

Hampton, Mint and Henry: C.T.C. 43.
 Hancocks, John: H.W. 12.
 Hands, John: B.W. 25.
 Harris, Mrs. A.: C.M. 2.
 Harris, Mrs. Hannah: D.L. 2.
 Harrod, Mrs. Wallace: S.H. 121.
 Hartsell, Mrs. Pearl: S.H. 36.
 Hatfield, Miss Marie: S.H. 93.
 Hatfield, Miss Forrest: C.T.C. 45.

Heather, Samuel: H.W. 6.
 Henneberry, Ben: C.M. 29.
 Hensley, Mrs. Nancy Alice: S.H. 24a.
 Hensley, Mrs. Sophie Annie: S.H. 24b.

Hiett, Miss Violet (from father):
 S.H. 102.

Hill, James: B.W. 32.
 Hill, Mrs. Lizzie, J.: C.T.C. 52.
 Hill, Mrs. R.P.: S.H. 126.
 Hirons, Mr.: C.C. 1.

Hoisington, May: S.H. 90a.
 Holder, Mr. W.: B.W. 33.
 Hollenbeck, Louisa: S.H. 122.
 Hoover, M.M.: S.H. 85.

Hubbard, Mrs. Belle Holt: S.H. 50*.
 Hughes, Caroline (gypsy): S.H. 51.
 Hughes, Robert: C.T.C. 10.
 Hunt, Mr.: B.W. 18.

Hyde, Richard Elkins: S.H. group V.

I

Innes, Richard: H.W./B.W. 16b.
 Isom, Bill Kitchen: C.T.C. 60.

Itinerants:

- (a) English gypsies, unknown singers:
 C.T.C. 4, 7, 14, 23; C.C. 3b;
 H.W. 14; B.W. 40; S.V. 1 and 2.
- (b) English gypsies, known singers:
 C.T.C. 8, 9; C.C. 3a, 4;
 H.W. 4, 5, 10, 13; B.W. 20, 38;
 S.V. 4 and 7 - 9; S.H. 42, 51.
- (c) Irish travellers ('tinkers'):
 M.P. texts D, E, F, ?G.
- (d) Scottish travellers ('tinkers'):
 C.M. 8; S.H. 8, 13, 17.

J

Jack, Mr. P.: C.M. 10.
 Jackson, Mrs. Robert: S.H. 122.
 Jacobs, Mrs.: S.H. 25.

Johnson, Miss Margaret (from her
 mother): S.H. 101.
 Jones, Alfred Pryce (gypsy):
 S.V. 8b.

Appendix M, Index of Singers (cont'd)

Jones, Mrs. Harriet (gypsy):
S.V. 8a.

Jones, Mrs. Mary: H.W./B.W. 15.

Jones, Mrs. Ruth: S.H. 88a.

Joyce, James: S.H. 18.

K

Keese, Abner: C.M. 21b.

Keese, Mrs. Virgie Mayhew:
C.M. 21a.

Kelk, Miss: H.W. 1; B.W. 17.

Keller, Mrs. Flo: S.H. 127.

Kelley, Mrs. Margaret: S.H. 20.

Kennison, Josiah S.: S.H. 19.

Kilburn, Mrs. Maud: C.M. 19.

L

Lancaster, Mrs. Nilla: C.T.C. 40.

Landry, Samuel: C.T.C. 17a, b.

Laurenson, James and Gilbert:
S.H. 7.

Layton, James: B.W. 34.

Linley, Elizabeth (Mrs. Richard
Brinsley Sheridan): S.H. 133.

Lochead, Arthur: C.M. 12.

Long, Mrs. Maud: C.T.C. 33b.

Loveday, Miss May: C.T.C. 18b.

Loveridge, Mrs. (gypsy):

C.T.C. 23(?); C.C. 4a; S.V. 9b.

Loveridge (gypsy family): H.W. 13.

Lovingood, Mrs. Charity: S.H. 23.

Ludlow, Mrs.: S.H. 14c.

M

McCourt, Mrs. Snoah: S.H. 106.

MacDonald, John (Scottish
traveller): S.H. 8.

McGuire, Mrs. Audrey: S.H. 35.

McKellar, Mrs. Anna: S.H. 16.

McLaughlin, Mr. and Mrs.

George D.: S.H. 92.

McNab, Mrs. William: S.H. 46.

Macqueen, Mary (Scottish
traveller): C.M. 8;

S.H. 13.

Manthe, Stella M.: C.M. 23.

Maples, Miss Julia: S.H. 30.

Maples, W.M.: S.H. 32.

Michael, Widow: S.H. 12.

Milne, Mrs.: C.M. 6.(?)

Morris, Mr.: B.W. 37.

N

Nash, Mrs. E.C.: C.M. 13.

'Nelstones Hawaiians' (Nelson and
Touchstone): S.H. 67.

Newcomb, Mrs. Daisy: C.M. 24.

Nicholas, Mrs.: H.W. 7.

Noland, Miss Violet: S.H. group V.

North, Amy (gypsy): S.H. 42.

Nourse, Mrs.: S.H. 39.

Nye, Capt. Pearl R.: S.H. 69.

O

O'Halloran, Agnes: C.T.C. 28b.

Osborne, Mrs. Lizzie: C.T.C. 57.

Overson, Mrs. Mabel J.: S.H. 16.

P

Parker, Mrs. Allie Long: S.H. 50.

Paton, George: S.H. 3.

Payne, Mrs. Lewis: S.H. group V.

Paynter, Mr. (of Boskenna): C.T.C. 1a.

Paynter, Mrs. (of Camborne): H.W. 9.

Penny, C.W.: S.H. 45.

Perine, Miss: S.H. 52.

Peters, Mrs. Roy: S.H. 123.

Phillips, Mrs. Gentie (gypsy):
C.T.C. 9.

Pickering, Enoch: S.V. 6.

Pike, James: S.H. 22.

Pleydell, Miss Lillian: S.H. 135.

Plumb, Mrs. Ellen: C.T.C. 15; C.C. 2.

Power, F.R.: S.H. group V.

Preece, Mrs. and Jessie: H.W./B.W. 16c.

Price, Sampson (gypsy): S.V. 7.

Pugh, Dr. Daniel: S.H. 118.

Pugh, Jess: S.H. 118.

Pullen, Romney: S.H. 72.

Purcell, Mrs. Elizabeth Ashton Garrett
and Miss Margaret: S.H. 59b.

Purcell, Miss Evelyn: S.H. 59a.

R

Ramsay, Mrs. Frances: C.M. 26.

Ree, Mrs. Joseph: S.H. 15.

Reilly, John (Irish traveller):

M.P. text D.

Reilly, Martin (Irish traveller):

M.P. text F.

Reilly, Willie (Irish traveller):

M.P. text E.

Appendix M, Index of Singers (cont'd)

Rice, Mrs. Tom: C.T.C. 37.
 Rice, Mrs. William: C.T.C. 47.
 Riley, William: C.T.C. 65.
 Rinker, Mrs. Samantha E.: S.H. 68.
 Ritchie, Jason: C.T.C. 54.
 Ritz, V.E.: S.H. 117.
 Roberts, Mary Anne: C.T.C. 12,
22.
 Robertson, Bell: C.T.C. 24;
C.M. 11.
 Roby, Mrs. Laurence C.: S.H.
group V.
 Rodé, Miss Charlotte: S.H. 61, 63.
 Rogers, Mrs.: S.H. 115a, b.
 Rush, Miss Irene: S.H. 70.

S

Sales: see Mrs. Sinai Thomas.
 Salyers, Mrs. Julia: C.T.C. 56.
 Sawyer, Mrs. Swan: S.H. 33.
 Schäfer, Mrs. Hattie, S.H. 63.
 Schell, Mrs. J.E.: S.H. 89.
 Scott, Sir Walter: M.P. text B.
 Setters, Jilson and wife,
 Rhuhamie: C.T.C. 61a.
 Shannahan, Margaret: C.T.C. 28a.
 Sheridan: see Linley.
 Shiflett, Florence: S.H. 71.
 Showan, Mr.: S.H. group V.
 Sim, Mrs.: C.T.C. 25.
 Sloane, Mrs. Alice and Mrs. Sudie:
C.T.C. 30.
 Small, Mr. Dol: S.H. 26a, b.
 Smith, Charles: C.T.C. 21.
 Smith, Esther (gypsy): S.V. 9c.
 Smith, Fred M.: S.H. group V.
 Snodgrass, Donna: see Mrs. Beverly.
 Snow, Mrs. William: C.M. 32.
 Snyder, Mrs.: S.H. group V.
 Soyers, Miss Ruth: S.H. 110.
 Stalnaker, S. Wise: S.H.
group V.
 Starkey, Mrs. W.F.: S.H. 114.
 Stephens, Charlotte (gypsy):
B.W. 38.
 Stephenson, William: C.M. 25.
 Steuerwald, Mrs. Richard:
S.H. 124.
 Stewart, Mrs. Margaret: S.H. 6.
 Strickland, Miss Agnes: S.H. 44.
 Sullivan, Mrs. E.M.: C.T.C. 27.
 Sutton, Mrs. D.H.: C.T.C. 39.
 Swain, John: S.H. 130.

T

Talliaferro, Dinah Scott: S.H. 60.
 Taylor, Thomas: B.W. 26; D.L. 6.
 Taylor: see also Mrs. Wands.
 Thomas, Edgar (son of Sinai):
S.H. 74c.
 Thomas, James: C.T.C. 6b.
 Thomas, Mrs. Sinai (née Sales):
S.H. 74b.
 Thomas, Stella: S.H. group V.
 Tinkers: see Itinerants.
 Townsley, Mrs.: C.T.C. 35.
 Travellers: see Itinerants.
 Trenerry, William John: H.W. 8.
 Tristram, Mrs.: B.W. 39.
 Tucker, Mrs. Mary: S.H. 116.

V

Van Tilbury, George: S.H. 122.
 Vaughan, Mrs. Hiram: S.H. 83.
 Veale, Sydney: H.W. 9.
 Vrooman, Mrs. James L.: C.T.C. 26.

W

Wallace, Mrs. Annie, C.: C.T.C. 64.
 Waller, Jr., George Platt: S.H. 60.
 Wands, Mrs. Frances Schmidlap,
 née Taylor: S.H. 58.
 Ward, Mrs. Crockatt: S.H. 80.
 Welch, Lynn: S.H. 128.
 Weldon, Liam: M.P. text G.
 Whatton, Angelina (gypsy): S.V. 9a, b.
 Whatton, Esther: see Esther Smith.
 Whatton, old Mrs. (gypsy): S.V. 9a.
 Wheeler, Miss Mary: C.T.C. 51.
 Whyte, Donald (Scottish traveller):
S.H. 17.
 Wilbur, Mrs. Marie: C.T.C. 38.
 Williams, Miss: S.H. 96.
 Williams, Mrs. Mims: S.H. 50*.
 Wilson, Aunt Mary: D.L. 14.
 Wise, Mrs. Charles: S.H. 87.
 Withers, Miss Lelia: S.H. 103.
 Wooten, Will: C.T.C. 32.
 Wooton, William: C.T.C. 31.
 Wright, Mrs. Bertha Basham: S.H. 73.
 Wright, Miss Hooney: S.H. 109.

Y

Yeatts, Miss Eunice: S.H. 113.
 Young, Mrs. Charles: S.H. 84.
 Young, Lula M.: see Mrs. Roy Peters.
 Young, Nell: S.H. 105.

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(a) Unpublished Dissertations, in alphabetical order of author.

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Kendall, Roger Grant, 'The English and Scottish Border Ballads: A Critical Study' (Univ. Durham Ph.D.), 1973.

Mackey, Julie Reich, 'Medieval Metrical Saints' Lives and the Origin of the Ballad' (Univ. of Pennsylvania Ph.D.), 1968.

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(b) Unpublished Song Collections, etc., in alphabetical order of library.

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (KING'S COLLEGE):

Aberdeen University Library MS. 2181 ('The Glenbuchat MSS.'), 4 vols.: xerox copies of ballad texts from vols. I (nos. 8 and 14, pp.19-20, 26-27), II (no. 5, pp.17-18) and III (no. 10, pp.23-26).

Gavin Greig MSS: see Edinburgh University, School of Scottish Studies.

BIRMINGHAM CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY, Local Studies Department: (Collections are listed in number order).

41346 (LF 05.2): A Collection of Broad-sides etc., Carols, Political and Satirical, relating to Birmingham and District, c.1800-1840. 4to.

60338 (LF 10 0.9): A Collection of Christmas Carols ... c.1800-1840. 4to.

63240 (L p. 07.2 JAC): A New Book of Christmas Carols. This 12mo volume contains three chapbooks entitled 'A New Carol Book' (nos. 1, 2, 3); Book 1 is numbered pp.1-24; Book 2, pp.25-48; Book 3, pp.49-72. Imprint on front page of each chapbook: "BIRMINGHAM: Printed and Sold by Jackson and Son (late J. Russell), 21 Moor Street". Imprint on back page of each chapbook: "Jackson and Son, Printers, 21 Moor-street, Birmingham". Title page of volume bears a handwritten date in pencil, "(c.1845)".

119932 (LF 05.2): A Collection of Ballads (Birmingham Printed) ... c.1800-1820. 4to.

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256712: Broadside Ballads Mostly Printed in Birmingham, c.1820. 4to.

Birmingham Lib. Religious Broadside: (a numbered collection of loose broadsides kept in Map Cabinet 51).

DURHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY:

An uncatalogued collection of broadsides in the keeping of Dr. I. Doyle.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES:

Gavin Greig MSS. (on loan from King's College, Aberdeen): copies of ballad texts, sent by Dr. E.B. Lyle, from the Greig Words volumes V, p.95; XIV, p.109; XXX, pp.92-93; XXXVII, p.44; XXXVIII, p.53; XLIX, pp.95-97; LIX, p.13; LXII, p.29 and LXIII, p.76; Greig Tunes volume II, p.109 (c) and (d).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY:

A xerox copy of Peter Buchan's MS., 'Ancient Unpublished National Ballads of Scotland, 1827' (1 vol.), pp.179-180.

HEREFORD REFERENCE LIBRARY:

Walter Pilley Collection, Newspaper Cutting Book 2270. folio.

LONDON

BRITISH LIBRARY:

(Collections are listed in number order).

1466 i. 30: A Collection of Eight Religious Poems Printed on Single Sheets. T. Wood. Birmingham (1830?). fol.

1466 i. 31: A Collection of Christmas Carols Printed on Single Sheets. James Guest. Birmingham (1830). fol.

1875 d. 8: A Collection of Broadside including a number of Christmas Carol Sheets and Newsmen's, Lamplighters' and Beadles' Christmas Addresses (1750? - 1840?). fol.

1879 cc. 10: Ballads and Broadside? 1805?
(Spine bears title 'Hymns'). fol.

1889 b. 10/III: A Collection of Cuttings from Newspapers, Advertisements, Playbills etc. formed by Fillinham, Bound in 8 vols. III: Christmas Carols. fol.

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3435 dd. 20(6): A Garland of Christmas Carols. pp.20. Robert Robinson:
Newcastle upon Tyne (1880?). 8vo.

11621 aaa.46(4): 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo'. Christmas Carols, pp.32.
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(London)

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(Headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society).

(Collections are listed in alphabetical order of compiler; unless otherwise stated, the MSS. were consulted on microfilm.)

Janet H. Blunt MSS.

Lucy E. Broadwood MSS.

George B. Gardiner MSS.

Annie Geddes Gilchrist MS. G211.

Annie Geddes Gilchrist, Correspondence on "The Bitter Withy" (G230):
an envelope containing loose notes and letters with some texts.

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(hard-backed volumes of broadsides pasted on to sheets).

Cecil J. Sharp MSS. (transcripts: originals in Clare College,
Cambridge.)

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these microfilms are in the British Library).

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(a hard-backed folio volume containing texts and letters,
sometimes not securely attached).

Library/Collection/MPS. 50(31): a collection of texts, etc. of unknown
origin.

MANCHESTER CENTRAL LIBRARY, Language and Literature Department:

BR. f. 398.8 B1.: Ballads and Broadside (a one-volume collection of
broadsides, many printed by Swindells of Manchester, consulted on
microfilm).

OXFORD UNIVERSITY, BODLEIAN LIBRARY:

Douce Adds. 137: A Collection of Christmas Carols, mainly printed at
Birmingham and York by Bloomer, Carrall, Croshaw, Watson, Wright
and Wrighton (several dated 1826-1827). fol.

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Gough Adds. Middlesex 4to 48: 'Genuine Christmas Carols, As Taken from the Mouth of a Wandering Gipsy Girl in Berkshire'. (Two broadside slips enclosed in book entitled T.C. Croker's Residence at Fulham, privately printed by and for the Noviomagians at Pryor's Bank, Fulham, c.1843.)

5 Delta. 260: Ten Broadside Sheets of Carols: The Star of Bethlehem; The Evergreen; The Golden Chaplet; Saviour of Mankind, etc.
London n.d. fol.

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Xerox copies of ballad texts from Collection 1547, Box Number 18,
Headings 183 A - D.

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(ed. D.K. Wilgus, of the University of California at Los Angeles.)

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The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

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<u>Year</u>	<u>Producer</u>	<u>Short Title</u>
1791	Pye	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
1797	Pye	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
1798	J. Ward	<u>New Birmingham Directory</u>
1800	T. Chapman	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
1801	T. Chapman	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
1803	T. Chapman	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
1808	T. Chapman	<u>Annual Directory of Birmingham</u>
1808	Thomson and Wrightson	<u>New Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>

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<u>Year</u>	<u>Producer</u>	<u>Short Title</u>
1812	Thomson and Wrightson	(<u>Birmingham Directory</u>)
1815	R. Wrightson	<u>New Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1816-1817	James Pigot, Manchester	<u>Commercial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1818	R. Wrightson	<u>New Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1818-1820	James Pigot, Manchester	<u>Commercial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1821	R. Wrightson	<u>New Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1823	R. Wrightson	<u>Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1825	R. Wrightson	<u>Triennial Directory of Birmingham</u>
1828-1829	J. Pigot & Co., Manchester	<u>National Commercial Directory</u>
1830	J. Pigot & Co., Manchester	<u>Commercial Directory of Birmingham and Worcester</u>
1831	R. Wrightson	<u>Annual Directory of Birmingham</u>
1833	Wrightson and Webb	<u>Directory of Birmingham</u>
1835	Wrightson and Webb	<u>Directory of Birmingham</u>
1839	Wrightson and Webb	(<u>Directory of Birmingham</u>)
1842	J. Pigot & Co., London and Manchester	<u>New and Complete Directory of Birmingham and its Environs</u>
1843	Wrightson and Webb	<u>Directory of Birmingham</u>
1845	W. Kelly & Co., London	<u>Post Office Directory of Birmingham</u>
1846	Wrightson and Webb	<u>Directory of Birmingham</u>
1849	Francis White & Co., Sheffield	<u>History and General Directory of the Borough of Birmingham</u>
1856	Francis White & Co., Sheffield	<u>General and Commercial Directory of the Borough of Birmingham</u>
1860	W. Kelly & Co., London	<u>Post Office Directory of Birmingham (2 vols)</u>
1871	E.R. Kelly & Co., London	<u>Post Office Directory of Birmingham</u>
1876-1877	J. Hulley	<u>Birmingham Directory</u>
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<u>Year</u>	<u>Producer</u>	<u>Short Title</u>
1772	Elizabeth Raffald	<u>Manchester Directory</u>
1773	Elizabeth Raffald	<u>Manchester Directory</u>
1781	Elizabeth Raffald	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1788	J. Radford	<u>Directory for the Towns of Manchester and Salford</u>
1794	Scholes	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1797	Scholes	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1800	G. Bancks	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1802	G. Bancks	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1804	R. & W. Dean & Co.	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1808-1809	R. & W. Dean	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1811	Dean	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1813	J. Pigot	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1813	Pigot and Dean	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1817	Pigot and Dean	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1818-1819	Pigot and Dean	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1821-1822	Pigot and Dean	<u>New Directory of Manchester and Salford</u>
1828	? Pigot	<u>Manchester and Salford Directory</u>
1829	J. Pigot & Son	<u>General Directory of Manchester and Salford</u>
1830	J. Pigot & Son	<u>General Directory of Manchester and Salford</u>
1832	J. Pigot & Son	<u>General and Classified Directory of Manchester, Salford, etc.</u>
1833	J. Pigot & Son	<u>General and Classified Directory of Manchester and Salford</u>
1836	J. Pigot & Son	<u>General Classified and Street Directory of Manchester and Salford</u>
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1845	I. Slater	<u>Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford</u>
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1851	R. Ward	<u>Directory of Newcastle</u>
1855	R. Ward	<u>North of England Directory</u>
1863-1864	R. Ward	<u>Directory of Newcastle</u>
1867-1868	Robert Ward (producer of all Newcastle directories listed here)	from 1867-1890 the short title of the Directories listed here is: <u>Ward's Directory; comprehending the towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead, etc.</u>
1871-1872		
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