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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Title: The British Ballad West of the Appalachian Mountains.

This dissertation represents a study of the migration of British ballads to the regions west of the Appalachian Mountains and their survival there. In the study of ballads, the term migration means more than their movement from one geographical area to another; it refers also to the changes that are constantly developing within ballads when they are transmitted by oral tradition. A ballad should not be considered degenerate when it changes in this manner, but instead only following a natural process of adapting itself to local areas through which it passes.

The British ballad was brought to America by immigrants from the British Isles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The remote communities of the New England states and the Southern Appalachian Mountains are today the principal depositories of British ballads in America, a fact that can be explained to a great extent by the isolation of such communities from the main currents of civilization.

The population movements west of the Appalachians in the first half of the nineteenth century carried the British ballad into the present day mid-region of the United States, made up of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. There it was subjected to the influence of new forces in American civilization, principally: a general feeling on the part of the people of separation from the East, rejection of eastern and European manners and institutions, and a rapidly expanding social order.

In this new environment the older type of British ballad, called the Child ballad for its principal collector, Francis J. Child, began its decline, whereas the traditional broadside, a ballad of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that had passed into oral tradition from printed versions, continued to thrive and became the model for native American ballads.

Only about ten percent of the Child ballads are found in general survival in the mid-region of the United States. The changes that occurred in such ballads from the early nineteenth century to the present were in part the changes that they underwent in England and in eastern America. The increasing popular interest in science is reflected in a general rejection of the supernatural. The emphasis placed on propriety of human behavior brought about a rejection of morally offensive elements. Other changes occurred in Child ballads that may be charged directly to the cultural traits of the region. They are apparent in such factors as poetic imagery, vocabulary, and verse pattern. The outstanding change is the conversion of the tragic into the comic. The great spirit of optimism that the frontier left as a heritage to the region is reflected in the consistent refusal of the folk to take seriously the profoundly tragic narratives of certain Child ballads. There is a general trend among Child ballads toward fragmentation.

Broadside ballad style was as much a product of eastern America as of England. It emphasized vigorous rhythmic movement and narration of action rather than poetic imagery. The broadsides that passed into oral tradition were more flexible in adapting themselves to local areas of the mid-region

than was the Child ballad. Accidents in the performance of work, murder, and disappointed love were their principal subjects. A favorite subject of those introduced by Irish laborers was pride in occupational achievement. By changing place names and occupational titles in such ballads, it was a simple matter for them to adapt it to any locality.

The Child ballads of the mid-region appear in greatest numbers in areas where the self-sufficient small farm was the principal economic unit and farm life was relatively stable. This fact suggests that the folk who lived close to the soil as their British ancestors had done, and who were blessed with adequate forests and rainfall, retained a certain amount of interest in the Child ballad, whereas on the fringes of the plains interest declined rapidly.

Child ballads failed to survive on the plains or in the Far West in significant numbers. Traditional broadsides, on the other hand, survived in a number of local adaptations. The influence of Irish broadside ballads is particularly noticeable in the region. A number of cowboy ballads of the Southwest and miner's ballads of the Far West are local adaptations of broadsides of both Irish and English origin.

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THE BRITISH BALLAD WEST OF THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS

PREFACE

Much has been written about the British ballads found in New England and the Southern Appalachian Mountains. There has long been a need, however, for a study of the British ballad in the regions west of the Appalachians to show the extent to which it has survived and the changes it has undergone in its westward migration. A number of collections of ballads have been made in local areas west of the Appalachians, but no one, to my knowledge, has studied the British ballad from a regional viewpoint in that portion of the United States. The purpose of this work is to provide such a study.

I am indebted to the collectors of ballads in local areas of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley and of the Far West for most of the primary source material used in this study. I am also indebted to Doctor Stith Thompson for his valuable suggestions on sources. I wish to thank Dr. R. C. Stephenson for directing this dissertation.

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August, 1956

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Chapter I: Ballad Migration in America

A. The Study of Ballad Migration

In studying ballad migration, one readily sees that changes have occurred in ballads in a variety of ways. At first glance, the term migration seems to suggest a study of mere geographical movement of ballads; yet their nature is such that they do not move intact from one place to another, and so we are forced to consider other aspects of ~~ballad~~ change, even if the object of our study should be only the change in geographical position. For example, the term migration is used by musicologists in describing the movement of ballad tunes from one ballad to another and of ballads from one tune to another. It also suggests a study of the movement of narratives, not only in a geographical sense, but the movement of narrative elements, such as the passing from one ballad to another of the dramatic sequence in which two lovers die, or of the fact that vines grow out of their graves after death. This could be extended to include the movement of standard introductions and signatures from one ballad to another. There is also the migration of linguistic elements, the cliches common to British ballads, such as lily-white hand, milk-white steed, etc.

Such things are representative of the types of change that occur in ballads when they move freely from one area to another. They reflect the generally fluid nature of traditional literature, the fact that it is in a constant state of change and is always adjusting itself to the characteristics of the people who happen to possess it at any given time in history and in any geographical location. They are the elements which do much to prove the validity of the well-known phrase attributed to the Grimm brothers which describes this process of self-adaptation of a ballad: "das Volk dichtet." There is some doubt as to whether the Grimms ever made such a statement. Phillips Barry's careful

investigations seem to show that it is found nowhere in the writings of the Grimms, but instead was carelessly lifted by Gummere from an essay by the ballad scholar Uhland published in the magazine Kleine Schriften in 1830.[1] This may be true, and if so, it goes a long way toward destroying Gummere's theory for which he offers the phrase as evidence, that ballads originated in the early choral dance. But the phrase "das Volk dichtet" has also been ~~applied~~ USED generally to describe that elusive characteristic of ballads wherein they can adapt themselves freely to the land over which they pass. Whether the Grimms uttered the phrase or not, ~~the phrase~~ IT is no less genuine in this respect.

The title of this study indicates that an investigation will be made ~~into~~ OF British ballads as they have survived in a geographical region, but the very nature of ballads determines a broader course than that of studying the mere physical movement of ballads. Our work will extend into an examination of the important changes which have occurred in British ballads in their westerly movement across America and will at the same time present such evidence as might (may?) be available that would offer some explanation for such changes.

The study of ballad migration cannot keep itself entirely free of the problem of ballad origin, ~~that is, the origin of a particular group of ballads, not the origin of the ballad as a form of traditional literature.~~ This latter subject has been well covered in the works of Gummere, Pound, Reed Smith and Gerould, and it has no place in this work. But in the study of the ballads of a geographical region we are necessarily concerned with their origin, whether in the British Isles or in America, as well as ~~we are concerned also~~ with the migration of certain narrative motifs from their British originals, or earliest known variants, to ballads containing place names and language traits of American origin discovered within recent times.

[1] Phillips Barry, "Das Volk Dichtet Nichts," Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast, No. 7, p. 4.

The problem of presenting a satisfactory explanation for the origin of British ballads has occupied the attention of ballad scholars for a long time. The substance of Professor Gummere's theory is that ballads originated in choral dancing at an early time in European history. This theory by itself is made plausible mainly by the survival in Danish ballads of the choral dance refrain. The fact that there are no such survivals among British ballads is explained by placing all known British ballads in a decadent period of balladry, a suggestion which vitally concerns our subject. The matter of decadence of British ballads old or new has been subjected to considerable questioning, but one thing concrete that appears to have come out of the argument is the proof of the ever-changing, fluid nature of the ballad. Whether such a characteristic is a sign of degeneracy or of the natural process of diffusion of traditional literature is still a thing to be agreed upon by students of the ballad. The concept of degeneracy implies a period in the beginning during which there ~~is~~ EXISTED "genuine" ballad in an unchanging state; then something happened to bring about change, and with it a movement away from the genuine. Therefore, according to this principle, ~~in British ballads~~ the greater part of ^British ballads ~~our subject matter~~ are degenerate pieces, and in fact, the unquestionable originals are yet to be found.

At least one work has attempted to establish a definite time for the onset of decadence in British ballads, ~~and that is~~ an article by John Robert Moore entitled "The Influence of Transmission on the English Ballads." The author points out the fact that ballads discovered at the end of the eighteenth

century and written down at that time have a certain poetic quality which is not found in ballads discovered in oral tradition in more recent times and that this is the result of the low intelligence of the people who preserve them now. The point of division between the authentic and the degenerate is placed at about one hundred and fifty years ago. The following quotation sums up this view:

> Hence it is that we find the ballads still surviving, after all the life has gone out of them, instead of giving way to new ones... Nevertheless, they have been undergoing steady disintegration for at least a century and a half. Where they were collected and printed in one community, and were left untouched elsewhere, the later versions are usually inferior in poetic quality, and are frequently but faint recollections of the original story. This is partly due to the increasingly low average of intelligence among those who transmit the ballads.[2]

The reference to low average of intelligence is too broad a generalization to have validity, ~~even when applied to the twentieth century, when people expect to find British ballads most readily in communities which have not been touched by the main currents of modern civilization, and would therefore be populated by folk of inferior intelligence in twentieth terms. These are the people in modern times who would be expected to know ballads in versions closest to those of the eighteenth century in England.~~ for collectors have found ballads in modern times among people of all levels of intelligence. The selection of a time period of one hundred and fifty years is arbitrary, and in a sense it assumes that the ballads collected at the end of the eighteenth century were products of poets conscious of their art, which has since been corrupted.

[2] John Robert Moore, "The Influence of Transmission on the English Ballads," Modern Language Review, vol. 40, ~~385-408 (1916)~~, p. 389.

In studying traditional literature, one must consider problems which never arise in the study of literature of the printed page. In general, persons who study the traditional ballad have too often applied to it the methods of study suitable ~~for~~ to literature of accepted authorship, which does not exist as literature until it is set down in writing, and once printed, is virtually unchanged for all time to come. This is not to say that ballad scholars have failed to recognize the flexibility of traditional literature, for certainly this fact is elementary to those ~~persons~~ who have made investigations in the field, but only that many have devoted an undue amount of effort in an attempt to excuse such a condition or, in some instances, to condemn it outright. In the latter case, one frequently finds the terms "degenerate" and "corrupt" applied to variants of a British ballad found in America, ~~which is~~ an extension of the principle of decadence described above to the idea THAT decadence EXISTS outside a national boundary and purity within. This view seems to be the basis of an article by Charles Neely in which he laments the changeable nature of British ballads found in Illinois. He discusses in the follow quotation the alterations made in the Illinois version of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet from the Child version:

> English and Scottish ballads of the Child collection are rather uncommon in Southern Illinois, and those that are current have suffered deterioration at the hands of the transmitters. The ballads have lost many of the details which belonged to them in earlier versions. There is a tendency on the part of the singers to omit the introductory stanzas and to plunge headlong into the climax. And such details as are given sometimes have become sadly disarranged; for instance, in the local variant of 'Lord Thomas and Fair Annet,' Fair Elender and not the brown girl has 'house and land'. When the singer fails to remember stanzas, he often borrows from some other song or ballad; 'The Gypsy Laddie' contains an example of such confusion.[3]

[3]Charles Neely, "Four British Ballads in Southern Illinois," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 52, p. 75.

The belief in corruption and degeneracy of American ballads of British origin became more generally accepted after the publication in the late nineteenth century of Professor Child's collection. His three hundred and five ballads, arrived at only after some doubts and misgivings on his part, became models of purity in British ballads, with all variants treated as corruptions. This ~~{fact}~~ becomes evident when we observe the widespread use of Child's numbering system as the hallmark of the "true" British ballad, particularly if the variant in question is of American origin. It was not Child's intention, however, as indicated in his letters to other ballad collectors, Grundtvig, for example, that his numbering system should become a standard of measurement of the authentic in British ballads. The fact that it has become so is in itself a piece of folk-lore of ballad collecting, for students of the ballad have adopted it as the only convenient means at hand for cataloguing ballad narratives. When used in this ~~sense~~ way the Child numbers are ~~the~~ a logical tool ~~[for the purpose]~~ They also have some value as a means of referring conveniently to British ballads of relatively early origin, generally of the sixteenth century or earlier, as distinct from the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century or later. Therefore, when a person wishes to acquaint his reader with the narrative motif of a certain ballad, he describes it as having the characteristics of a certain Child number. John Jacob Niles probably had in mind the convenience and utility of this device when he said:

> ....these numerical designations have become so well established in the field of ballad study that today any balladry in the Anglo-Saxon world that is worthy of the term is indicated by the same Child designations. They are simply called Child ballads or are indicated, for example, as Bonny Barbara Allen, Child No. 84.[4]

[4]John Jacob Niles, "Folk Ballad and Carol," The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge, pp. 226-227.

The principal value of using the Child numbering system as a means of identifying narrative motifs lies in the fact that one can use the title of a ballad given to it by the informant and at the same time acquaint the reader with the motif to which it is related. The editors of British Ballads from Maine point out in the following paragraph the necessity for a compromise with the system of titles and numbers used by Child:

> Why should we call a song 'Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight' when there is no Lady Isabel in it and no Elf Knight? We have preferred to give it the common local name of 'The False-hearted Knight,' with the identification of 'Child 4,' which every ballad student understands.[5]

Another interpretation of ballads is that which places supreme emphasis on the legitimacy of each individual piece as authentic traditional material and either disregards the matter of migration among ballads or subordinates it to a position of minor importance. The legitimacy of each ballad is established by the social milieu in which it is discovered. This is the approach that Carl Sandburg uses in The American Songbag. The atmosphere surrounding the discovery of a certain ballad and not its relationship through narrative or language characteristics with an older ballad of British origin is the principal factor in determining its legitimacy as traditional material. This interpretation is also a primary concern in the collections of John A. and Alan Lomax. It has a certain value in its insistence on restricting investigations to the social groups who would be most likely to transmit and receive ballads by oral tradition. It is not necessarily true, however, as this plan of action seems to suggest, that the informant must live in a shanty far from any urban group and must have had an exceedingly infrequent contact with the printed page

[5] Phillips Barry, Fannie H. Eckstorm and Mary W. Smyth, editors, British Ballads from Maine, p. xix.

before his ballads may be considered authentic traditional material.

Another approach to ballad study is that which investigates the changing pattern of ballads as they are diffused through the varying stages of social development of the people who sing them. It was C. Alphonso Smith who best set forth the principle of perpetual change in ballads and thus established the validity of all versions no matter where or when they might be discovered. The following paragraph conveys the substance of this view:

> But there will never be a real renaissance of ballad interest in the United States until we realize that the ballad is unique not only in its origin but in its perpetuation. In other words these ballads that survive are not already made but are still in the making. There is no standard version of any living ballad in the sense in which we speak of the standard version of Gray's Elegy or Poe's Raven. When Gray or Poe died their poems ceased to be malleable material. But as long as a ballad circulates by oral transmission it is always in process of making or re-making. The first version if we could catch it hot from the lips of the composing throng, would not, through mere priority, be one whit more authentic or authoritative than the latest version, provided the latest version was also the product of the people.[6]

In using the term composing throng, Smith appears to accept the theory of group origin of ballads, one that is open to much criticism and, in fact, is considered invalid by such leading students of the ballad as Louise Pound. Professor Smith's main point, however, is that ballads develop according to an evolutionary principle which recognizes the inevitable changes that occur as ballads readjust themselves to fit the people's demands for narrative entertainment at a particular stage in their social development. The flexibility of traditional literature is such that people are constantly revising it to fit their changing concepts of what is good, bad, tragic, humorous, etc., and therefore each time a ballad is sung, it is subjected to the whims of the singer, who at any time may change a word or phrase, or substitute a narrative element from another ballad simply because he

[6]C. Alphonso Smith, "Ballads Surviving in the United States," Musical Quarterly, vol. 2, p. 120.

happened at the moment to forget the trend of the original story. Within this plan of study the term degenerate must be used with care. We would not consider a ballad degenerate solely because it might have developed a vocabulary different from that of a ballad of the sixteenth century dealing with the same narrative, nor would we be justified in condemning it because it does not tell all the story that is told in the earlier ballad. If a ballad has mixed parts of the narratives of two or more earlier ballads, we should not pronounce the more recent one a corrupted form of either of the older ballads. One is no more corrupted than the other solely because of mixed narrative elements. The terms degenerate and corrupt should not be used to describe the natural changes that occur when a ballad migrates from one locality to another. These terms should be reserved for such characteristics as confused verse patterns and pornographic parodies of ballads.

The term degenerate has sometimes been used as a categorical description of all American ballads to distinguish them from legitimate European originals. Professor B. J. Whiting has the following to say on this point:

> ...We are apt to decry the American ballads as degenerate survivors of noble originals, and to lament the fact that so many of the more beautiful have not lived on. Without entering into the always debatable ground of poetic merit, have we not a right, a duty almost, if our theories be correct, to consider the ballads represented in America as more truly popular than many of those in Child's collection which did not survive?[7]

Mr. Whiting appears to be using the term truly popular in the sense of legitimate, or some quality opposite from degenerate. If this is the meaning he intends, then his point is well taken. The fact that

[7] B. J. Whiting, "Proverbial Material in the Popular Ballads," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 47, p. 23.

Child's versions of a ballads did not survive intact in America is due to the dynamic character of traditional literature and is not necessarily proof that either America or England possessed ballads more beautiful or more solidly traditional than the other.

B. New England and the Southern Appalachians as Principal Depositories of British Ballads.

It is a commonly accepted fact that British ballads came to America with the immigrants from the British Isles. It ~~was~~ IS this group and their native born descendants ~~which~~ WHO have made up the majority of the population of America down to the present time. Through the first quarter of the nineteenth century the portion of Americans, either immigrant or foreign born, who were not of British ancestry were very much in the minority, being made up mainly of three groups which came from the continent of Europe: the Dutch of New York, the Palatine Germans of Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley, and the French of the Mississippi Valley. It was natural that the immigrants should bring to America their customs, religions and literature, both written and traditional, which had been a part of their cultural background in Europe. Balladry represented a prominent part of the background of the British immigrants, and the mass of laborers and farm folk brought it in abundance. They were the principal source of British ballads in America, but undoubtedly some were introduced by Americans who traveled to England and by American sailors who associated with those of Britain.[8]

During the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, the population was confined to the coastline and the coastal plains, the latter representing a wider strip in the South than in the North. During this era ballads were a universal means of entertainment among the unlettered folk. As the population moved westward the ballads traveled along, but always subjected to the influences of changing environments. In the following terse statement Reed Smith sets forth the view that the farther westward the population moved, the less the British ballad moved with it:

[8] Reed Smith, South Carolina Ballads, p. 73.

> Most of the ballads were first confined to the coast districts. As the tide of population flowed farther and farther westward, however, the ballads went too, though in decreasing proportion.[9]

Although he offers no ~~additional information on~~ enlargement upon this idea beyond the foregoing brief statement of a fact, Reed Smith has touched on a prominent point in the history of British balladry in America. It will be our purpose later in this work to see in greater detail the effects upon the British ballad of being transported through successive stages of frontier settlement in America. For the present we can clarify the summary statement above by pointing out that the British ballad became during the nineteenth century less and less a popular medium of ~~[literary]~~ expression both on the Atlantic seaboard and in the West, and that it remained popular only among vestigial social groups that tended to change their eighteenth-century mores at a much slower rate than did the people on either side of them. Such ballad-preserving groups ~~have been~~ ARE located in the present century ON a line running approximately north and south ~~that represented in the eighteenth century the division between East and West, or in other words~~ THROUGH THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS AND NEW ENGLAND. THIS LINE REPRESENTED the western extremity of settlement ~~of the time.~~ IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND BECAME THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

The position of balladry in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was approximately what it was during the same period in England and Scotland. The older ballads of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were preserved in the memories of the people and were sung as favorites out of the past, but the newer printed broadside ballads were far more popular. The latter were one of the principal means of diversion for? with the mass of the people. The

~~[8] Reed Smith, South Carolina Ballads, p. 73.~~

[9] Ibid.

sale of copies of broadside ballads printed on cheap paper was a flourishing industry both in England and in the colonies. Many a print shop managed to keep itself financially sound by striking off quantities of them and attracting customers by posting copies on the front door. Broadside ballads were among the products of Benjamin Franklin's printing shop, and he is quoted as having disapproved of the popularity of the 'vicious and silly things' for being a corrupting influence on the minds of the people.[9]

Early in the colonization period the ballad incurred the fire and wrath of preachers in America. It was a particularly vulnerable target for hell-fire and brimstone preaching because the ministers of several sects regarded it as the incarnation of lax morals of preceding centuries. Cotton Mather complained about the corrupting influence of "foolish songs and ballads" which were sold about the New England countryside. The frontier itinerant preacher inveighed heavily against a set of evil forces summed up in the nebulous term "the old ways," which included the singing of ballads. This fictitious enmity between an invented code of morals and an imaginary evil has continued for three centuries down to the present time, for the Pentecostal preachers in the Appalachian Mountains still forbid their followers to sing the old "sinful songs." But the people continue to sing them, although with some feeling of guilt, and usually introduce their ballad-singing sessions with a few hymns as a sop to the local preacher. People who have collected ballads in the Southern Appalachians have encountered this obstacle to their work universally. The same pattern must be employed by all in getting ballads out of a

[9] McEdward Leach, The Ballad Book, p. 37.

potential informant. The first reaction which the collector encounters upon approaching an informant and stating the object of his quest in invariably a general denial of knowledge of "those old songs." The skillful collector must proceed slowly and not press the informant for fear of incurring a stubborn refusal to sing altogether, and generally such reluctance is traceable to the association of ballad singing with sinful ways, a condition inspired by generations of preachers of fundamentalist doctrine. This situation is described again and again in the reports of ballad collectors on their experiences in the mountains, such as those of C. Alphonso Smith, Dorothy Scarborough, Mellinger E. Henry and Cecil Sharp.

Most ballad collecting has been done in America within recent times, mainly since 1900. It has shown that there are two areas which are particularly rich in British ballads and are especially notable for the number of old ballads of the Child collection which are found there. These areas are New England and the Southern Appalachians. They have produced by far the greatest number of variants of Child ballads known in the United States, some of which have not been found at all in other regions. In regard to the mountains, we may assume from observing the known facts that during the nineteenth century ballads were universally popular throughout the region, but by the time the ballad collectors entered the field in the twentieth century, ballads were retained in abundance only by people living in the most remote sections of the mountains. In the North we find the pattern slightly changed. Ballads remained popular entertainment of the folk in the remote farming sections of New England during

the nineteenth century. By the time ballad collectors began their work in the twentieth century, ballads no longer had universal appeal in the communities, and they had to confine their investigations to the thinning ranks of older informants. This was the experience of the two principal collectors in New England, Phillips Barry and Helen Hartness Flanders.

It would be a mistake to assume that most of the people in the Appalachian Mountains or the New England village of the present day spend their leisure time singing Child ballads, or that one may have them sung merely by stepping up to the porch of any inhabitant and asking him to render a dozen or so. It is not nearly as simple a matter as that. For one thing, it is a natural social characteristic in the remote rural area to be suspicious of strangers until they state their name, their place of origin and their business with convincing promptness. In the mountains there is still the moral question and fear of retaliation from the local preacher, described above, which serve to retard the potential informant. In the present day one must search for informants, and when he finds them, he must cultivate them with patience and persuade them that he has a sincere appreciation of their art.

Ballad collectors in the New England area have found most of their material in the remote towns of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, or among people of the fishing towns along the coast where the population has remained relatively stable. The most important work to come out of this area has been <u>British Ballads from Maine</u>, edited by Barry, Eckstorm and Smyth. Phillips Barry has been the most industrious collector in New England, and his numerous articles

published in the Journal of American Folklore and his editorship of the Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast attest to the abundance of British ballads in that area. It cannot be claimed, however, that ~~even the upper portion of~~ New England has retained a population as immobile as that of the Southern Appalachians. Basically the people of the small towns of ~~upper~~ New England are descendants of English settlers, but other elements have been introduced in appreciable numbers, such as the French from Canada and the Irish who came as laborers in the lumber camps in the nineteenth century. The importance of such population changes on British ballads is that the original solid Anglo-Saxon community was divided, and thus the singing of Child ballads could no longer have a universal appeal throughout the community as it had in the Southern Appalachians. This does not mean that ballads introduced by the new immigrants were foreign to British balladry. The Canadian French brought their own greatly modified versions of Child ballads which they had acquired from their contact with the Scotch of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Irish immigrants introduced broadside ballads heavily influenced by the "come-all-ye" style of introduction.[10] The editors of the collection British Ballads from Maine have given the Child ballad ~~the majority~~ MUCH of their attention, but they are careful to point out that this type represents only a portion of the ballads in their region.

The ballad collector in the Appalachian Mountains soon recognizes that in the twentieth century that region does not constitute one homogeneous mass of

[10] Barry, Eckstorm and Smyth, op. cit., pp. xvii-xviii.

people. Within this century there have been openings made in the formerly totally isolated mountain region, into which have poured influences of the modern industrial world. This is true, for example, in the coal fields of Harlan County, Kentucky, and in the area around Knoxville, Tennessee, where a transplanted manufacturing center has been established. Since organized collecting of ballads in America has been done only in the twentieth century, collectors have found the available ballads and informants separated into isolated sections. They have found them most abundant in the sections of the mountains which have not had contact with the intruding industrialism and have retained cultural characteristics much like those of the society which populated the region in the eighteenth century. This fact is substantiated by the experiences of Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles, who conducted their investigations in the mountains during the years 1916 through 1918. They found the most fertile ground for discovering Child ballads in the region of the Great Divide between the States of North Carolina and Tennessee. In this region, described by Miss Karpeles as the one in which "the most primitive conditions prevailed," they found that singing ballads was the common entertainment of the whole community. They found ballads as well known ~~among~~ By the eight year old child as ~~among~~ By the eighty year old grandmother, a condition quite the opposite of that in which Cecil Sharp worked in England, where he found ballads almost altogether among old people. Sharp affirms the complete community interest in ballads in the more isolated sections of the mountains. He became interested in the Appalachian mountains as an abundant source of folk songs through his acquaintance with Mrs. Olive Dame Campbell, a collector of songs

herself, and when he arrived there, he was greatly surprised at the fact that children as well as adults were well acquainted with numbers of Child ballads and were able to correct adults on the texts. In England he had had to confine his inquiries to people above the age of seventy years. In the following paragraphs he describes the ideal conditions for ballad collecting in the remote communities of the mountains:

> ....I discovered that I could get what I wanted from pretty nearly every one I met, young and old. In fact, I found myself for the first time in my life in a community in which singing was as common and almost as universal a practice as speaking.
>
> And it was precisely this ideal state of things that I found existing in the mountain communities. So closely, indeed, is the practice of this particular art interwoven with the ordinary avocations of everyday life that singers, unable to recall a song I had asked for, would often make some such remark as, 'Oh, if only I were driving the cows home I could sing it at once!'[11]

Maud Karpeles points out that the ballads which they found in the remote areas did not always represent the best ballad texts. They discovered more complete variants of some ballads in an area of Kentucky which had been subjected to the disturbing influences of a recently established mineral industrialism. Despite such influences, the ballad texts found there often contained more complete narratives, and the language of such texts was as close to that of the eighteenth-century settlers who first introduced them to the region as was that of texts found in the isolated sections of the mountains. The informants were fewer in number and generally of advanced age.[12] This

[11] Cecil J. Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, vol. I, p. xxv.

[12] Ibid., p. xv.

fact suggests that ballads survive among people who enter an industrial civilization after maturity but fail to survive among people who are reared in such an environment.

The existence of Child ballads in such abundance in the Appalachian Mountains can be attributed to the fact that the region has remained isolated from the main currents of American civilization except for the aforementioned encroachments of industrialism upon certain sections. The fact that people in the mountains have retained certain cultural characteristics of the eighteenth century has sometimes been misinterpreted. They have often been spoken of disparagingly by outsiders who make frequent references to their alleged low level of intelligence and disregard for conventions of society of other regions. Some writers speak rather loosely about the mountains having been filled with refugees and undesirable social elements; the following paragraph quoted by Rupert Vance is typical of this view:

> Mr. John Fiske...comes dangerously near to assigning as their ancestors indentured servants and 'shiftless people who could not make a place for themselves in Virginia society including many of the mean whites.'[14]

Others have hinted that the people who settled in the mountains chose the site because they could produce the necessary things of life with little expenditure of labor. The truth is that they were as sound and stable a stock as the folk who settled other regions. It is wrong to suppose that the mountaineer chose his isolation objectively, or that he possessed some strange characteristic of intellect that made him seek isolation so that he could maintain his language

[14] Rupert Vance, Human Geography of the South, p. 224.

unchanged and could continue singing the old ballads that he had learned from his ancestors. At the time the mountain dweller took up the land there the region was no more isolated than surrounding areas of wilderness. It would be reading history backward to suppose that he could foresee the time when highways, navigation and modern industrialism would bypass him and leave him isolated.~~14~~ 15

People of English ancestry from Virginia and North Carolina established the first settlements on the eastern slopes of the Appalachian Mountains shortly before 1750. The second group of note to arrive were the Scotch-Irish. The period 1730 to 1760 was the time of their greatest immigration to the American colonies. They landed in large numbers at Philadelphia and Baltimore, and ~~moved southwestward~~ most of them moved westward and southwestward in search of unclaimed land. By 1750 most of the land on the eastern plateau had been taken, and the new immigrant settled on the slopes of the mountains, where they mixed with the normal westward movement of people from Virginia and North Carolina.16 ~~15~~ By the time of the Revolutionary War all but the western slopes of the ~~mountains~~ Appalachian Mountains had been settled.17 ~~16~~ A review of family names common in the Appalachians today reveals the fact that the descendants of the original settlers still occupy the land. Names of Scottish origin are still plentiful, such as McClure, McCoy, and McAfee, as well as names of English origin, like Hampton, Rogers, Morgan, Foster, AND Bradley.

15 ~~14~~ Ibid., p. 245.

16 ~~15~~ Margaret W. Morley, The Carolina Mountains, pp. 140-141.

17 ~~16~~ Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, p. 76.

The most important event from a cultural standpoint which occurred in the mountains was the rapid decline in immigration during and after the Revolutionary War. The decline had begun in 1763, the year of the close of the Seven Years War. When the settlement of the Indian problem west of the mountains opened up the rich lands of the Ohio and Tennessee Valleys, the settlers began to move through the gaps in the mountains to those areas. The Revolutionary War slowed this population movement, but in the 1780's it was renewed with greater strength than before. From this time on, the number of settlers who paused in the mountains was quite low, and the majority of them passed on to the more enticing lands of the ~~present day Middle West.~~ OHIO VALLEY. This population movement will be dealt with later in this work, but it is important at this point for its influence on the cultural characteristics of the Appalachian Mountains. Margaret Morley points out in the following quotation the importance of this change in the rate of settlement:

> Emigration to the mountains, at one time considerable, practically ceased when the great West was opened up and the people flocked thither, no longer drawn to the less exciting region of the Southern mountains. The more enterprising of the North Carolina mountaineers also went West, we are told, thus leaving behind the conservative element, another fact rich in explanation of the people here today, and leaving less ambitious natures, as well as the weaker ones.~~17~~ 18

Miss Morley's point is well taken when she states that the conservative element of the population remained in the mountains, living in social isolation and preserving the traditional literature of their eighteenth-century heritage. Certain elements of the population thus experienced successive moments of dissatisfaction with the past, one while emigrating to the mountains and another on leaving them. On each occasion the conservative group (those likely to preserve traditional ballads) was left behind, while those dissatisfied with their past emigrated westward.

18 ~~17~~ Morley, op. cit., p. 141.

23

the people of the Appalachians have retained more of the ballads popular with the folk of eighteenth-century England and Scotland than have their neighbors to the East and the West, and the ballads so preserved have undergone less change than have those in other regions. In the following paragraph Reed Smith summarizes the conditions existing in the Southern Appalachians which were ideal for the preservation of the old ballads:

> On the way westward, the great Appalachian highlands were gradually and sparsely settled. This region to-day contains the richest store of ballads, in both numbers and purity, to be found in America. For here the conditions for ballad preservation were (and are) ideal. Almost every characteristic of place and people seemed made to order for that purpose. Racial purity and integrity; intense conservatism of language, customs, and social background; comparative isolation---in many communities complete isolation---from the chaotic impact of modern civilization; primitive conditions of life, simple habits of thought, and naive standards of taste---all these have persisted in combination, forming a social fabric wonderfully tenacious of the lore of the past.[18] 19

The fact that New England and the Southern Appalachians are the principal depositories for the British ballad is substantiated by the statistics on the results of ballad collecting in the United States. The number of Child ballads which have been recorded from oral tradition has grown with each publication in the field. Up to 1900 the few Americans who had devoted time to the collection of ballads considered the United States almost a barren field for British ballads. Francis J. Child listed some seventeen of the ballads in his collection as surviving in the United States, although he made no serious attempt to collect them here. These were listed in his major work. A United States

19 [18] Reed Smith, op. cit., p. 74.

Department of Interior publication entitled Special Inquiry, November, 1913, and described in an article by John Jacob Niles, discusses the location of the seventeen ballads listed by Child. All were discovered in Atlantic coast states, with New England states predominating.[20] From this meagre showing, the number of ballads included in Child's work which have since been discovered in the United States has increased enormously, to such extent that ballad collectors have concluded within recent times that more of the Child ballads exist in oral tradition in this country today than are known to exist in England and Scotland.[21] In 1916 the number of ballads reported by Professor C. Alphonso Smith as having been collected from oral tradition in the United States was seventy-six, of which forty-two were discovered in the Southern states alone, principally in the Appalachian Mountains.[22] The number seventy-six here represents separate Child ballads, for many of which there were numerous versions found. In 1928 Reed Smith included a ballad survey in his publication South Carolina Ballads, the purpose of which was to list all traditional ballads from the Child list which had been recorded in North America. His finding showed that up to that date there had been eighty-seven ballads found in America. The South had yielded sixty-eight, New England twenty-four, and Canada fifteen, with some duplications included for those ballads found in more than one region. In addition to the statistics on the number of ballads found, the survey demonstrates clearly that the important areas of British ballad survival in the United States are the Southern mountains and New England, with the mountains producing the greater number.[23] Professor Smith revised his survey

[20] Niles, op. cit., p. 225.
[21] Reed Smith, op. cit., p. 77.
[22] C. Alphonso Smith, op. cit., p. 110.
[23] Reed Smith, op. cit., pp. 169-174.

in 1933. By that time the number of ballad survivals of British origin discovered in America had increased to one-hundred and nine. Seventy-three of these had been found in the South, principally in the Appalachian Mountains, and sixty-two in New England, again with duplications included.[24] ~~23~~

The foregoing statistics have no special value to our study in themselves. Our observation of them leads us to the immediate general conclusion that the British ballad has survived in the Eastern portion of the United States in appreciable numbers. The figures dealing with survivals within regions of the United States are important to us, not for any comparison between the regions mentioned, since there are duplications of ballads represented here, but for the fact that the only regions in the United States which were considered were the Southern mountain states and New England. Thus, the surveys show that the older British ballads, referred to as Child ballads, have survived to a much greater extent in these two regions than anywhere else in the United States. The regions are, in fact, the principal depositories of British ballads in America.

24 ~~23~~ Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in America, 1933," Journal of American Folklore, vol. XLVII, p. 73.

Chapter II: The British Ballad in the Middle-West and Lower Mississippi Valley.

A. The Evolution of Western Cultural Traits

The Appalachian Mountains represented the western boundary line of civilization during the period in American history when the coastal plains were being settled. It might appear that the mountains were a physical obstacle in the path of westward expansion, but in reality they were ~~not a physical obstacle as much as they were~~ MORE a natural line of demarcation between two stages of westward expansion. Immigrants who were inclined to move westward would not have permitted the mere fact of rugged terrain to hinder them. By the year 1760 a considerable portion of the good farm land on the coastal plains had been taken, and a ~~number of~~ FEW pioneering folk had gone westward into the upper Ohio Valley in search of new and richer land. The first settlers tended to follow the river valleys, preferring water transportation and the richer soil available there. This is the way that early civilization had moved on the eastern side of the Appalachians, and the pattern continued on the western side. Thus the Ohio Valley developed early as the principal avenue of westward expansion after 1760.[25]

The ~~real~~ FIRST surge of population began ~~in 1763 with~~ [AT] the end of the Seven Years War, an issue fought between the British and the French that decided who would control the Ohio Valley. The war created a severe drain on the British colonial military forces, with the result that the royal officials in the colonies issued the Proclamation of 1763. It forbade settlement west of a boundary line drawn on the map down the middle of the Appalachian Mountains,

[25] Paullin, op. cit., p. 76.

so much were they considered the natural boundary of civilization in the colonies.[26] Many immigrants ignored the proclamation and moved over the mountains to settle in the Ohio Valley in defiance of the British. These were the first to take part in the great race for the best lands of the valley. The movement was also the first expression of a new independence that was later to become ~~later~~ so characteristic of the West.

The movement of settlers into the Ohio Valley was retarded somewhat during the years of the Revolutionary War, but in the 1780's the rate of immigration increased rapidly. Those who settled north of the Ohio River came from New England and central New York State and were predominantly of English stock. The settlers in the area south of the Ohio came from Western Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina of an ancestry almost exclusively English and Scotch-Irish in origin.[27] The mass of such folk brought to the region a cultural heritage from the British Isles that had already undergone some years of residence in America, including a body of traditional literature.

Although the French had been the first Europeans to settle in the Ohio Valley, their communities had been few in number and had been depleted by the Seven Years War. The newly arriving Americans of British ancestry soon became the predominant group of the region. They did not remain as distinctly a homogeneous racial group, however, as their forefathers had been in the East during the colonial period. In addition to the French who had preceded them, other groups from the continent of Europe came in the nineteenth century to settle in the region. The largest group to arrive was made up of

[26] Ray A. Billington, Westward Expansion, pp. 140-143.
[27] Ibid., pp. 246-253, 263-264.

Germans from the Palatinate and Wurtemberg, some half million of whom settled in the Ohio Valley between the years 1830-1860.[28] They tended to keep themselves isolated from the main currents of English-speaking society, and general assimilation into the social mass did not come until the third generation had reached adulthood.

The movement of native population westward in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tended generally to follow two principal paths. In the North, the immigrants from the New England states followed a course to the west and southwest. Their settlements extended from the area west of the Connecticut River, through central [illegible] New York and westward into the Ohio Valley. The States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois grew out of this population movement in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and in the second quarter, people from the same group populated the territory from which Michigan was created. In the South, the immigrants also tended to move to the west and southwest. Settlers from Virginia and North Carolina populated the central plateau of Tennessee and Kentucky; from South Carolina and Georgia they moved directly westward to the territories from which Alabama and Mississippi were created.[29]

The area north of the Ohio River tended to maintain a homogeneous farm population made up of small independent farmers who performed their own labor, even though there was more divergence of national origin there than in other areas. The Southern group was less uniform in terms of occupation. Representing an important element was the small plantation owner who would work in the

[28] Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History, pp. 137-138.
[29] Billington, op. cit., pp. 248, 290-328.

fields with the help of slaves, which seldom numbered more than five. In Kentucky and Tennessee this group based its farm economy on tobacco and corn and outnumbered the large plantation owners. Further south the principal crop was cotton. The small farmer and the plantation owner were more closely matched in numbers. The former usually owned few slaves, performed manual labor in the fields with them, or served as his own overseer, and was usually content with modest living accomodations and education. The large plantation owner, on the other hand, the type often romanticized in novels of the South, usually owned more than fifty slaves, did not perform manual labor, and insisted on providing his children with a superior education.[30] The cotton-producing area expanded rapidly. It began in ~~an area less than one hundred miles wide in~~ the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina, about the year 1791 and moved directly westward at an accelerating rate, pausing ~~ending~~ on the banks of the Brazos River in Texas during the 1840's.[31] But when the westward progress of cotton was halted because of climatic and topographical conditions, it remained stationary during the remainder of the nineteenth century. The two types of planters owned the majority of the land in the lower Mississippi Valley. A third group, often referred to as "poor whites," owned little or no land, were often squatters, and practiced no organized system of cultivation. With the exception of the French of Louisiana, the three groups were made up almost entirely of people of British ancestry.[32]

[30] Francis P. Gaines, The Southern Plantation, pp. 143-146.
[31] Walter P. Webb, The Great Plains, p. 189.
[32] Billington, op. cit., pp. 319-328.

When the Southerners became aware of the fact that they could not continue indefinitely westward because of the unsuitable climatic conditions in the region popularly known as "The Great American Desert," they turned toward the Northwest in hope of finding a way out of the dilemma. This became a noticeable trend in population during the decades 1840 to 1860. Missouri had already been settled, a considerable portion of its population having come from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and in the 1840's and 1850's they turned their attention to the open lands of Iowa, KANSAS, Nebraska, and even areas further north. They were flat land farmers' sons seeking new and cheaper land.[33] In the 1820's ~~This same population movement directed~~ some settlers had moved across the Ohio River into Indiana and Illinois, where they ~~became~~ HAD BECOME the representative population in the southern counties. Several of the latter contributed companies of men to the Confederate Army during the Civil War.[34]

One other population movement which would have a bearing on our subject remains to be mentioned, and that is the immigration of mountain folk from the Southern Appalachians to the Ozarks of Southwestern Missouri. A substantial portion of the population in the Appalachian Mountains, the more energetic and progressive of the mountain folk, in fact, were successful on bottom land farms. Contrary to the present day view of the mountain dweller current in periodical comic strips, only a portion of them lived in shacks on the sides of mountains on a diet of hog fat and sweet potatoes and spent their days drinking whiskey from an earthen jug. The sons of bottom land farmers also went in search of new and cheaper land. Since they were accustomed to farming in a mountain area, they moved in appreciable numbers to the Ozarks of Arkansas and Southern Missouri between the years 1825 to 1860.[35] There they settled down to a life that was

[33] Turner, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

[34] Charles Neely and J. W. Spargo, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, pp. 6-7.

[35] Vance Randolph, The Ozarks, pp. 15-16.

identical with that which they had left in the Appalachians. They preferred the social isolation which the mountains made possible, and since they were descendants of the English and Scotch-Irish stock that had settled the Appalachians in the eighteenth century, they brought to the area an abundance of traditional literature of British origin. Vance Randolph adequately described the area when he said: "The Ozark country is, in a sense, only a small edition of the Appalachian highlands..."[36]

In the preceding discussion of population movements in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley, we have observed the fact that people of British ancestry were diffused generally throughout the region. Let us now observe some of the cultural traits which gave the region its distinctive character.

The foregoing facts on population movement and history of settlement become important to our study when we observe that the mountains, at first a natural boundary of land settlement, then a military boundary, became eventually a boundary between regions. They represented the first great division in America between East and West and thus became the line of demarcation between two groups of people, Easterners and Westerners. Americans were already accustomed to considering differences between Northern and Southern life, but with this new immigration there appeared a third cultural area distinct from the other two. This was not a new thing in America. Actually, this difference between regional cultural patterns was a continuation of that which made the way of life pursued by the colonists different from that of folk in England. These distinctive cultural areas were part of the broader east-west movement

[36] Ibid., p. 16.

of the frontier from Europe across the Atlantic and across the whole of the American continent, described by Walter P. Webb in The Great Frontier.[37] The feeling of distinctiveness of life within an area was a concept that followed the frontier across America. The West was where the frontier happened to be at a given time in history. After the frontier had moved on and the area had ceased to be the West, the distinctive cultural characteristics which it had developed remained as its permanent possession. With the ever-moving frontier as the initial force which brought about such an awareness of cultural differences, we could consider the division between East and the successive stages of West as an even more valid basis of separation of regions than that of North and South. Frederick Jackson Turner points out the striking similarity of cultural and even physical characteristics between the English and the Americans of the colonies:

> The country exhibits three phases of growth. First came the period of the application of European men, institutions, and ideas to the tidewater area of America. In this period of colonization, English traits and institutions preponderated, though modified by the new American conditions. But the constant touch of this part of the country with the Old World prevented the modifying influences of the new environment from having their full effect, and the coast area seemed likely to produce institutions and men that were but modified shoots from the parent tree. Even the physical features of the colonial Americans are described by travelers in colonial days as English: the ruddy complexions, without delicacy of features or play of expression; the lack of nervous energy.[38]

Turner finds that the settler west of the mountains possessed cultural traits decidedly unlike his compatriot of the East and that in the move he had undergone

[37] Walter P. Webb, The Great Frontier,

[38] Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of Sections in American History, pp. 86-87.

"a process of Americanization," losing on the way most of the traits of his European ancestry:

> ....The second phase of our growth begins with the spread of this colonial society towards the mountains; the crossing of the Alleghenies, and the settlement upon the Western Waters. Here the wilderness had opportunity to modify man already partly dispossessed of their Old World traits. In adjustment of themselves to completely new conditions, the settlers underwent a process of Americanization, and as each new advance occurred, the process was repeated with modifications. In this reaction between the West and the East, American society took on its peculiar features.[39]

The settlers in the Middle-West voiced their awareness of differences between themselves and Easterners in concrete terms. For example, let us examine their approach to political institutions. The demand for political independence on the part of a group of people invariably reflects an already existing feeling of cultural independence, a feeling of difference between its basic ways of life and those of the people who exercise political control over them. The desire for political independence is an expression in concrete terms of a desire to control the more intangible aspects of life. In the territories immediately west of the mountains this desire was expressed in the form of immediate demands for statehood as soon as the territory met the minimum requirements of population. Territorial conventions which met for the purpose of drawing up petitions for statehood tended to reflect a pattern of grievances. Those most frequently expressed dealt with matters such as inefficient organization of justice and military defense, a condition resulting from the remoteness of the center of government; the dislike of paying taxes when the settlers were providing for their own defense and were the ones most

[39] Ibid., p. 87.

capable of doing so; the general incompatibility between the frontiersman and the Eastern planter and business man; and the control by Easterners of the legislatures.[40] These expressions of the frontiersmen were often stated with considerable conviction and vehemence, and behind them lay the more abstract spirit of intolerance of the old ways of doing things and rejection of institutions which were important to the Easterner.

The governments of the states of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys which were created during the first half of the nineteenth century reflected just such an intolerance of institutions inherited from Europe by way of the Eastern states. In the matter of suffrage, for example, the Eastern states distributed the vote among its citizens according to a political philosophy not too far removed from that of England. In those states the vote was given according to the vested interest which one might have in his community, sometimes called the "stake-in-society" principle, which demanded property ownership or payment of taxes as a prerequisite for voting. In the New England states this requirement was augmented by one demanding support of the established church. It was only after a great deal of agonizing political soul searching that the Eastern states extended suffrage to all male citizens, and in several of them this change did not occur until after the Civil War. The state constitutional conventions which were held during the 1820's in Massachusetts, New York and Virginia (meetings in which much bitter argument flowed) are testimony to the reluctance with which landed and monied elements in the Eastern states relinquished only a part of their belief that politics ~~were~~ WAS A matters which they alone were competent to manage. This was a concept inherited

[40] Ibid., pp. 136-137.

from the political system of eighteenth century England. In contrast to it, the governments of the western states came into being amid an atmosphere of free suffrage. The states of Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Michigan and Wisconsin entered the Union with provisions for voting regardless of property ownership or payment of taxes. Such action is representative of the tendency on the part of the people of the West to reject or modify the institutions inherited indirectly from Europe.

The Reverend Timothy Flint, a native of Salem, Massachusetts, traveled the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers during the early years of the nineteenth century and shrewdly observed the differences between the manners and customs in the region and those of his home state. He expressed some amazement at the energetic, independent thinking characteristic of men of the West. The following paragraph represents his appraisal of Kentuckians:

> Their enthusiasm of character is very observable, in the ardour with which all classes of the people express themselves, in respect to their favourite views and opinions. The feelings of the people naturally tend to extremes. Hear them rate their favourite preacher. He is the most pious and powerful preacher in the country. Their orators and their statesmen, in eloquence and abilities surpass all others. The village politicians have an undoubting and plenary faith, that whatever measures the Kentucky delegation espouse in Congress, not only ought to prevail, but will prevail. The long line of superlatives, the possession of the best horse, dog, gun, wife, statesman, and country, are felt to belong to them in course....[41]

He is surprised at the dynamic nature of society in the West. He finds a great portion of the population there on the move and, being an Easterner, cannot see any good in the general restlessness, described in the following paragraph:

[41] Timothy Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 73.

> I shall have occasion elsewhere to remark upon the moving or migratory character of the western people generally, and of this state in particular. Though they have generally good houses, they might almost as well, like the Tartars, dwell in tents. Every thing shifts under your eye. The present occupants sell, pack up, depart. Strangers replace them. Before they have gained the confidence of their neighbors, they hear of a better place, pack up, and follow their precursors. This circumstance adds to the instability of connexions, and more especially the ministerial one....[42]

He concludes this confession of bewilderment by observing that the people there do not consider a minister a very necessary part of society.

The Reverend Mr. Flint accurately observed the dynamic character of society in the Middle-West of the early nineteenth century. While feeling constrained to disapprove of it mildly as a reflection of inconstancy on the part of the people, he found good in their industry. But being an Easterner who had been reared in a society much less accustomed to changing institutions, he could not believe that such conditions were permanent. They were only a temporary interruption of the status quo, to which he felt sure they would return. Some Easterners, however, were able to recognize the fundamental nature of the new society which they had entered, as demonstrated by the following excerpt from a letter written by a pioneer in a Middle-Western state to a friend back in New England:

> If you value ease more than money or prosperity, don't come... Hands are too few for the work, houses for the inhabitants, and days for the day's work to be done... Next, if you can't stand seeing your old New England ideas, ways of doing, and living, and in fact, all of the good old Yankee fashions knocked out of shape and altered, or thrown by as unsuited to the climate, don't be caught out here.[43]

[42] Ibid., p. 75.

[43] Letter from an unnamed pioneer, quoted in: Frederick Jackson Turner, "Middle Western Pioneer Democracy," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 3, no. 7, p. 404.

The spirit of new freedom typical of the West is strongly emphasized in a letter written by one of the prominent New England intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century, William E. Channing, published in the Cincinnati Messenger in 1836. He says of Boston that it "does not abound in a tolerant spirit," but in discussing the West he says:

> ....I hear of the defects of the West; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man and that he has a self-respect, which is not always found in older communities; that he speaks his mind freely.[44]

In reply to an invitation to come to Cincinnati to preach, Dr. Channing says:

> I should do it cheerfully if I could... I fear the habits, rules, and criticisms under which I have grown up have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the western people...[45]

Our observations on life in the Middle-West have been founded so far on historical facts and real experiences of inhabitants of the region or of visitors. If we may turn to a work of fiction, however, for a representation of the attitudes of the people of the region toward European institutions, we would find none more convincing than that given in Mark Twain's Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Huck's adventures with the Duke of Bridgewater and the self-styled King make the royalty of Europe appear ridiculous. This is particularly true of the mock play on the Royal Nonesuch. The utter falseness of the play, which the people quickly detect, is another reflection of the

[44] William E. Channing, letter published in the Cincinnati Messenger, 1836, quoted in: Robert E. Chaddock, "Ohio Before 1850," Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Law, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 150-151.

[45] Ibid., p. 151.

manner in which fundamental European institutions are reduced to comedy in the Middle-West.[46]

It is not the object of our study to review all facets of life in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. The foregoing facts are offered as examples chosen at random to illustrate the progressive development of the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries into a nation of sections having distinct cultural traits. From our brief survey of such traits as they developed in the Middle-West we have seen that life in that region was distinct from that of the East. The region emphasized new ways of doing things and new institutions. It was impatient with the rigidly controlled and less flexible institutions from the East, particularly if they were outmoded importations from Europe, and it either rejected them or modified them. ~~to suit their needs.~~

[46] Mark Twain, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, pp. 207-216.

B. The Trend in Child Ballads in the Region

The next question with which we are concerned is that of discovering the changes in British ballads that occurred when they were introduced into the new environment of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. Having observed some of the characteristics which gave life in that region its distinctiveness, we now turn to an examination of British ballads found in the region to observe the changes that they have developed. As was set forth in the preceding chapter, there is no simple formula to explain the manner in which ballad change takes place. Traditional literature is flexible and is in a constant state of change; this much has been established. But there is no rule to account for the origin of ballad change, for such a rule would have to account for all possible ballad-singing situations, a matter too complex to be condensed into a simple, concise statement of fact. One can describe the general pattern of changes which have occurred among ballads within a limited area and draw reasonably sound conclusions concerning the trend which has developed therein, but it would be speculating unduly to attribute each detailed change in ballads to some specific cultural characteristic of the region.

A preliminary examination of the British ballads which have been found in the region reveals the fact that those of the Child type, which in the majority are older that the mass of broadside ballads, have changed more than have the latter. So, for the purpose of more accurate examination, we shall divide British ballads into the two groups, beginning our study with the Child ballads. In this portion we shall study the survival of the Child ballad in the mid-region of the United States and examine a representative number of them to determine the principal types of change that they have developed. Such changes taken together may indicate a trend which would be applicable to all Child ballads west of the Appalachians.

Professor H. M. Belden, who has been one of the most industrious workers in collecting ballads in Missouri and surrounding area, has made some inquiry into the types of change that have occurred in Child ballads there. At the time of publication of his article in 1912 he had discovered some eighteen Child ballads in that state. ~~An~~ Examination of them revealed ~~revealed them~~ two types of change: ~~the fact that~~ omission ~~they have omitted~~ from earlier texts of ~~the~~ elements which might be considered morally offensive to persons

sensitive to stories dealing with adultery, ~~etc.,~~ and like subjects,
~~a tendency in the~~ and ~~the fact that ballads which in English version~~
and a tendency in ballads of English origin
~~deal with a supernatural phenomenon have tended in~~
their American versions to lose ~~their~~ supernatural qualities.[47] We shall observe later that such characteristics belong not only to Child ballads which have been collected in Missouri, but to those found in the whole mid-region of the United States.

Another student of the ballad, McEdward Leach, has dealt with the question of types of change which have occurred in Child ballads in America. He observes four types, making no distinction between regions, so that we must assume that they are applicable to ballads in the United States as a whole. Two of those which he sets forth are repetitions of those suggested by Belden. In addition, he suggests the possibility that earlier manners and customs "are rationalized and made familiar" and that additional changes have resulted from "just plain forgetting."[48] There is some validity in these latter two points, although they are burdened with nebulous terminology.

[47] H. M. Belden, "Balladry in America," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 25, pp. 5-6.
[48] Leach, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

The first is supported by examples of changes in vocabulary and will be dealt with later. The reference to "plain forgetting" is a statement in loose terms of a trend toward fragmentation, to be treated also in our investigation of the Child ballads in the region.

In addition to the types of changes which the above mentioned writers have suggested, we shall see by examining a selection of Child ballads from the region that there is ample justification for setting forth a fifth type: the conversion of tragic elements found in earlier ballads into comic and ridiculous situations. This characteristic may be found in abundance among the Child ballads of the region, and of the five aforementioned types of change, this can be associated most clearly with the overall cultural characteristics of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley, described heretofore.

It should be pointed out that whereas Belden based his observation of changes in Child ballads on those which he had collected in Missouri and THE immediate area, Leach intends his observations to apply to Child ballads generally throughout the United States. This distinction between geographical regions makes necessary some explanation for our choosing the regions west of the Appalachian Mountains for our study of

the British ballad. The changes which have occurred in Child ballads and the facts which will be set forth later concerning the broadside ballads appear more clearly delineated among the ballads West of the Appalachians. One may find ballads collected in the Eastern states which reflect one or more of the five types of change mentioned above, but not in such abundance as to indicate a general trend. This fact is vital to our choice of the region west of the Appalachian Mountains as a beginning point for the study of British ballads, for it is there that the changes which have been influenced by residence in America have been well established and are thus found in greater abundance. It was not intended, therefore, that we should prove the origin of certain changes in the ballads west of the Appalachian Mountains but that we should approach the British ballad at a point where we could be sure that it had passed a significant period of residence in America and had migrated over an area of sufficient breadth to permit ample opportunity for change under the influence of American civilization.

We should keep in mind that it is one thing to discover changes which have occurred in ballads of a certain region but that it is quite another to

establish the causes of such change. The latter should always be approached with care, for traditional literature does not lend itself easily to proof of such matters. There are two general factors to consider in studying the cause of ballad change: time and place. So far we have indicated that the cultural characteristics of the regions west of the Appalachian Mountains had something to do with the changes that occurred in Child ballads there, but this is contradictory to the claim of McEdward Leach presented in the following quotation:

> What kinds of change do the ballads undergo when they come to America? The change that occurs, it will be discovered, is a consequence more of time than of place. English ballads today show the same types of change as do American ballads.49

To say that British ballads both in England and America have developed the same types of change primarily because of the element of time is a rather broad assertion which ignores the principle of adaptation of ballads to localities through which they pass. The ballad scholar Entwistle gives a more accurate observation when he recognizes both

~~48William J. Entwistle, European Balladry, p. 228.~~

49 IBID., p. 38.

time and place as elements which foster ballad change. He states that from the sixteenth century onward the English ballad gradually took on the broadside style, or as he puts it:

> ...English balladry was not one whit less active in that century (the sixteenth), but it had taken on a new direction. The invention and application of printing was causing ballad-mongers to print their wares on broadsides.[50]

At another point Entwistle recognizes the fact that ballads brought to America from England, already under the influence of the broadside, developed new versions as a result of their residence here. He describes the influence on the English ballad of its being transported to America: ~~in the following statement:~~

> ...English settlers in America took with them the debris of the national ballads .... Such ballads serve as the models for new creations on the American continent, which are of interest as springing from a kind of neo-medieval society.[51]

One might wish to inquire further into his meaning of

[50] William J. Entwistle, European Balladry, p. 228.
[51] Ibid., pp. 240-241.

the phrase neo-medieval society, but the principal point here is that both time and place are factors which have acted upon British ballads in America.

The broadside ballad in America is a subject that will be taken up later in this chapter. For the present we should inquire into the survival of Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States. We may best determine survival by surveying the work of ballad collectors in the region.

A general survey of Child ballads found in the region reveals the fact that of the more than one hundred which have been discovered in America, ~~less~~ fewer than half the number have ~~migrated~~ BEEN COLLECTED west of the Appalachian Mountains. The chart on page forty-seven demonstrates this fact clearly. It represents a tabulation of the number of examples of each Child ballad found by collectors who have worked in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. The totals that are shown below each ballad represent the findings of the collectors who have done work of significant proportion among the informants of the region. It will be noted that many of the prominent names among ballad collectors of the United States are not listed. Names such as Cecil Sharp, Dorothy

Collector	States Represented	Child No.	Title of Child Ballad
Arnold	Alabama	2	The Elfin Knight
Beatty	Wisconsin	3	The False Knight Upon the Road
Beck	Michigan	4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight
Belden	Missouri	7	Earl Brand
Brewster	Indiana	8	Erlinton
Eddy	Ohio	10	The Twa Sisters
Gardner and Chickering	Michigan	12	Lord Randal
Hudson	Mississippi	13	Edward
Major	East Texas	18	Sir Lionel
Neely	Illinois	20	The Cruel Mother
Owens,	East Texas	26	The Three Ravens
Pound, "Folk-Songs of Nebraska"	Nebraska	46	Captain Wedderburn's Courtship
Pound, American Ballads and Songs	Nebraska, Mo., and Alabama	49	The Two Brothers
Randolph	Arkansas-Mo. Ozarks	53	Young Beichan
Stout	Iowa	54	The Cherry-Tree Carol
Tolman	Ind. and Kansas	63	Child Waters
Treat	Wisconsin	68	Young Hunting
Total Number of Examples of Each Child Ballad Collected	16	73	Lord Thomas and Fair Annet
		74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William
		75	Lord Lovel
		76	The Lass of Roch Royal
		79	The Wife of Usher's Well
		81	Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard
		84	Barbara Allen
		85	Lady Alice
		93	Lamkin
		95	The Maid Freed from the Gallows
		105	The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington
		112	The Baffled Knight
		155	Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter
		173	Mary Hamilton
		200	The Gypsy Laddie
		209	Geordie
		215	Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow
		218	The False Lover Won Back
		226	Lizzie Lindsay
		236	The Laird o' Drum
		243	James Harris (The Daemon Lover)
		250	Henry Martyn
		272	The Suffolk Miracle
		274	Our Goodman
		277	The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin
		278	The Farmer's Curst Wife
		279	The Jolly Beggar
		286	The Golden Vanity
		287	Captain Ward and the Rainbow
		289	The Mermaid
		295	The Brown Girl
		299	The Trooper and the Maid

Scarborough, John H. Cox, and Josiah Combs are not included in the survey because their work was confined almost exclusively to the Appalachian Mountains. Phillips Barry confined his field collecting to New England and adjacent areas of Canada.

With the exception of Louise Pound, the persons ~~that are~~ represented on the chart are the collectors who have worked within definitely prescribed geographical bounds included within the region under present study. ~~(with the exception of Louise Pound.)~~ The majority of the collectors have been thorough to the extent of indicating both the town (or the county) and the state in which each ballad was discovered. Most of them have indicated in the titles to their articles or books the geographical area in which they did their work. Tolman deals with ballads collected in both Indiana and Kansas and is faithful about indicating the source of each ballad in his notations. Pound's <u>American Ballads and Songs</u> is, of course, a treatment of ballads from various parts of the United States, but the ballads from this source which are represented on the chart are only those which by notation are shown to have been collected in the region presently under study. It should be pointed out also that

there is no duplication between the two works of Pound which are cited. The ballads from Nebraska which were chosen from American Ballads and Songs for representation on the chart were checked against the other work, "Folksongs of Nebraska," to avoid any possible duplication.

The chart shows a total of forty-nine Child ballads that have migrated to the mid-region of the United States. This number is less than half the one hundred and twenty Child ballads reported for the entire United States by Reed Smith.[52] In terms of more specific figures, only 40.8 percent of all the Child ballads found in the United States have been discovered west of the Appalachian Mountains. Several of the forty-nine ballads represented on the chart have been discovered only in a limited number of examples.

So as to set forth more clearly the pattern of survival of Child ballads west of the mountains, we must establish some basis of classification for distinguishing ballads of general survival from those of limited survival. The chart reveals a

[52]Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in America, 1933," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 47, pp. 73-75.

natural point of division between the ballads for which fewer than five examples are shown and those represented by five or more examples. In addition, each of those in the first category has been discovered by no more than two collectors. Thus we may safely consider the ballads in this group to be limited in survival. There are nineteen ballads which fit this category. The remaining thirty ballads of general survival are listed in the table on page fifty-two arranged by number of examples of each which were found in the region. Since Reed Smith's checklist of one hundred and twenty Child ballads discovered in the United States makes no attempt to distinguish between those of general and limited survival, we have no sound basis on which to compare the mid-region to the entire country in this aspect. It is interesting to note, however, that the ballads of general survival shown on page fifty-two represent only twenty-five percent of those shown by Reed Smith.

The table on page fifty-two gives us a reasonably accurate view of the popularity of certain Child ballads over others. Bonny Barbara Allen (84)

heads the list with eighty-one examples found. Four other ballads are shown with thirty or more examples each: James Harris (The Daemon Lover) (243), fifty-one examples; Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73), forty-nine examples; Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4), thirty-four examples; and Lord Lovel (75), thirty examples. Such figures are interesting by themselves as indicative of the relative popularity of certain ballads of the region compared to the others. They do more, however, than give us popularity ratings. They convey an important fact regarding the trend in Child ballads in their progressive movement westward across the United States, for the ballads listed above as most popular in the region all deal with tragic love. This element ~~has superseded all others as~~ IS THE PREDOMINANT subject matter of Child ballads in the region; that is, it has been found so during the years since 1912, when the greatest collecting efforts have been expended.

It would be unjustifiable speculation to attempt to explain the popularity of the tragic love theme in terms of specific cultural traits of the region. For example, the trait outlined in a previous chapter,

50

Child Ballads of General Survival in the Middle-West and Lower Mississippi Valley Arranged by Numbers of Examples Collected[53]

Child No.	Child Title	Number of Examples
84	Bonny Barbara Allen	81
243	James Harris (The Daemon Lover)	51
73	Lord Thomas and Fair Annet	49
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight	34
75	Lord Lovel	30
10	The Twa Sisters	26
76	The Lass of Roch Royal	21
12	Lord Randal	20
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William	20
200	The Gypsy Laddie	20
95	The Maid Freed from the Gallows	18
2	The Elfin Knight	16
155	Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter	16
286	The Golden Vanity	14
49	The Two Brothers	13
26	The Three Ravens	12
295	The Brown Girl	12
79	The Wife of Usher's Well	11
289	The Mermaid	11
53	Young Beichan	10
278	The Farmer's Curst Wife	10
68	Young Hunting	9
277	The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin	9
13	Edward	8
209	Geordie	8
274	Our Goodman	8
85	Lady Alice	7
7	Earl Brand	6
250	Henry Martyn	6
18	Sir Lionel	5

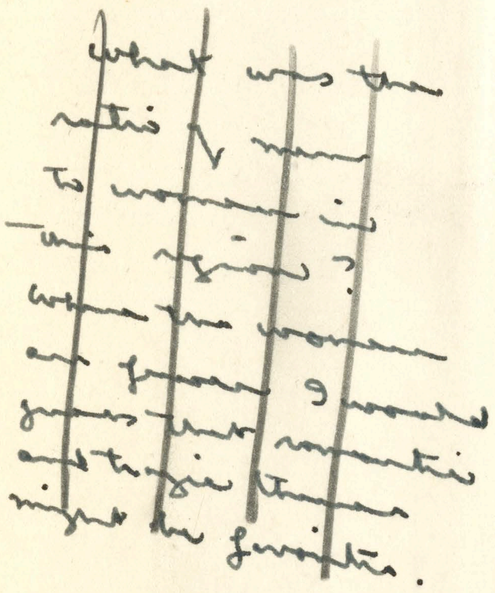
[53]Excluding the ballads of which fewer than five examples of each have been collected.

the tendency to reject ideas with the mark of European culture upon them and to promote that which is the creation of the region itself, could have no apparent influence upon the relative popularity of the tragic love theme in ballads. Tragic love is a subject with universal human appeal, and this is more likely to be the reason for its popularity in the mid-region. Ballads dealing with other subject matter, as, for example, ballads of border warfare between the English and the Scotch, failed to survive in the mid-region of the United States probably because of their lack of appeal to regional cultural traits. For example, it is easy to see why The Hunting of the Cheviot (162), The Bonny Earl of Murray (181), and Rob Roy (225)[54] did not survive in the mid-region, since they deal with subject matter limited to the British Isles.

(52)

Ballads of Robin Hood, which also migrated to America, failed to survive in the mid-region. Apparently Robin Hood had too much of an English background to

[54] Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in America, 1933," op. cit., p. 74. The checklist of Child ballads in America lists the three ballads, but they were not reported by any collectors of the mid-region.



appeal to the folk of the mid-region, and so the people there created ballads on their own outlaw heroes, Jesse James and Cole Younger, for example. The best explanation that can be offered for the popularity of tragic love as ballad subject matter in the region is a negative one, the fact that of all ballad subjects, it offers least to be rejected. It offers no national theme to invite rejection, and its personal and place names are innocuous. It is a subject with universal human appeal which does not attach itself to individual nations or localities.

It might be asked if the trend in formal literature of the nineteenth century could have influenced the popularity of the tragic love theme in traditional ballads. One is always on dangerous ground in attempting to explain traditional literature in terms of movements in formal literature of conscious authorship, but within the fringe literature, that which was produced for the new mass of reading public of the nineteenth century, there might have been influences to affect the traditional ballad. During the first half of the nineteenth century Romanticism was the prevailing movement in American

literature and thought. Within this period tragic love was a prominent theme among the volumes of cheap narratives turned out to satisfy the literary tastes of the masses. One might ask, then, if the popularity of this theme in written literature could have been responsible for its popularity in ballads. Lord Lovel, for example, might be explained in terms of a young man who travels out West, leaving a girl behind in the East. He returns to find his sweetheart dead of some mysterious cause, and he dies of grief himself. But to explain the popularity of such a theme in terms of a literary movement whose life was but a fraction of that of traditional balladry would be putting the well-known cart before the horse. Romanticism borrowed much of its subject matter from traditional literature, but there is no evidence that it influenced any changes in traditional literature. There is the additional fact in regard to Child ballads of the mid-region of the United States that Romanticism as a movement in formal literature came to an end during the 1860's, whereas the ballads with which we are dealing were not collected until fifty years or more later. If they had been influenced by a movement

in literature of formal authorship, then they would be expected to show influences of Realism and Naturalism, which came after Romanticism had ceased to exist.

A more logical explanation of the popularity of the tragic love theme in Child ballads of the mid-region lies in facts more closely associated with popular balladry. ~~By~~ BEFORE the nineteenth century the printed broadside of conscious authorship had had considerable effect on the traditional ballad both in England and in America. The broadside will be dealt with at greater length in a later chapter, but for our present purpose we should observe the fact that America was the scene of a particularly noticeable trend toward the broadside style in balladry. Even ballads many centuries old which form part of the Child collection were heavily influenced in America by the style of written broadsides. Hack writers of broadsides in England frequently borrowed their stories from traditional ballads, a fact repeatedly brought out by Child in his introductions to ballads in his collection. In particular they tended to appropriate ballads of tragic love to their own purposes. Reed Smith cites

broadside versions of each of the five most popular Child ballads listed above. Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73), for example, is shown to have been licensed as a broadside by one L'Estrange between the years 1663 and 1685.[55] Entwistle speaks of the exceptional influence of the broadside on the traditional ballad in America, mentioning the sentimental Barbara Allen as one of the most popular in this respect.[56] McEdward Leach points out the fact that this ballad was frequently used as broadside material and that such broadsides have often been re-introduced into oral tradition.[57] The evidence of its popularity is clearly borne out by the eighty-one examples of this ballad collected in the mid-region, as shown on the chart on page forty-seven. From the above evidence we might conclude that the frequent appearance in broadside form of Child ballads dealing with tragic love resulted in a greater diffusion of the traditional forms of those same ballads.

55 Reed Smith, South Carolina Ballads, op. cit., p. 109.

56 Entwistle, op. cit., pp. 240-241.

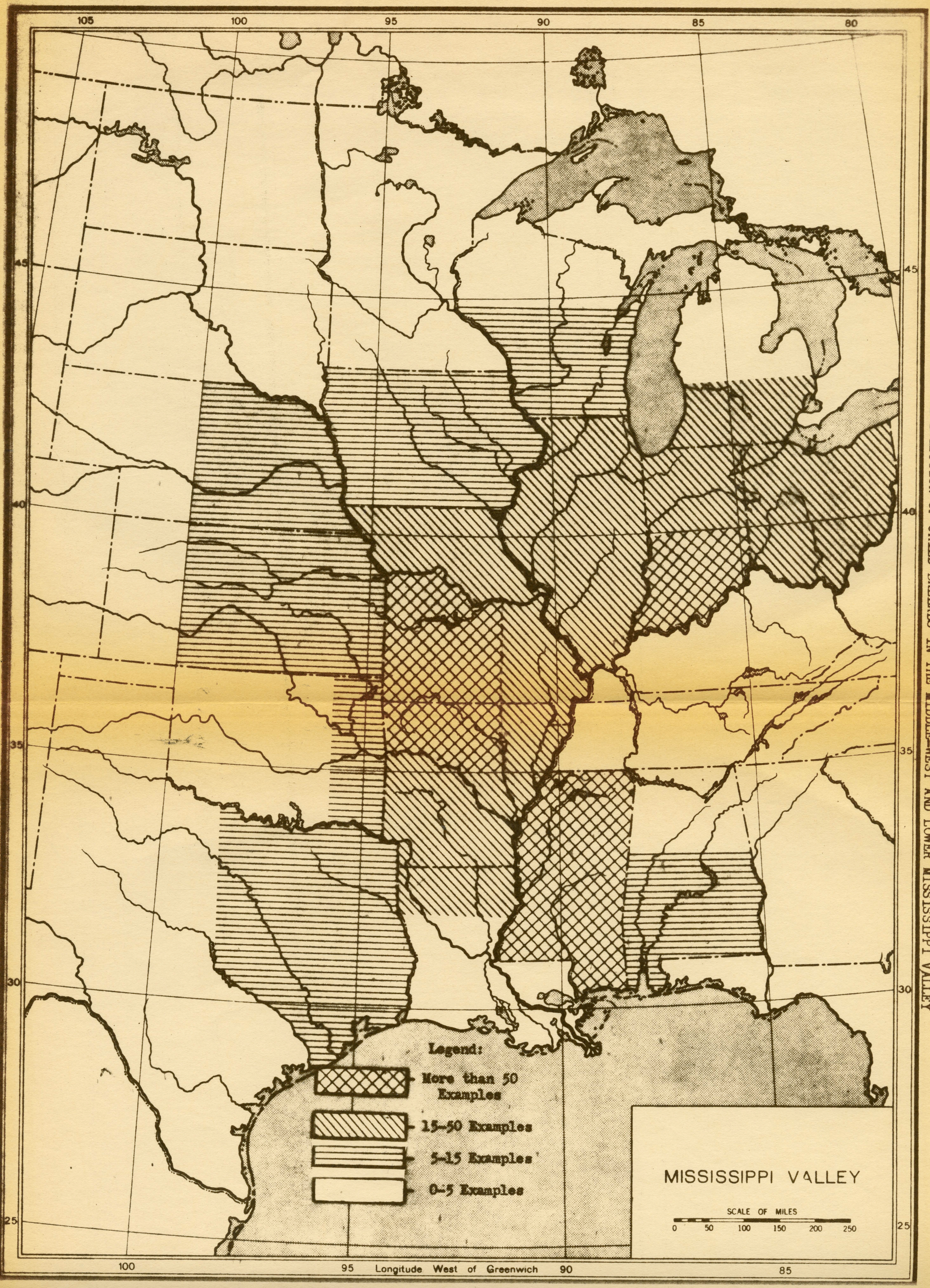
57 Leach, op. cit., p. 33.

Another characteristic of the chart on page forty-seven demands our attention: the relative number of ballad examples found in localities within the region. The most important fact to note in this respect is the greater number of Child ballad survivals in the Ozark Mountains. By far the most successful collector shown on the chart is Vance Randolph. He collected ballads and folksongs exclusively in the Ozarks, and his efforts have resulted in the publication of four large volumes, of which volume I is devoted altogether to British ballads and songs from the locality. The chart shows that he discovered a total of forty separate Child ballads in the Ozarks, more than were found by any other single collector. The nearest rival to Randolph in total number of Child survivals discovered is Belden, with a total of twenty-nine Child ballads. It is significant that much of Belden's field collecting activities were likewise conducted among Ozark people, although he did not devote his efforts to the locality exclusively. Randolph collected examples of forty Child ballads in the region, and in addition, he found a total of

six ballads which are not reported by any other collector. There are three ballads in his collection which were listed by only one other collector. The significance of such figures is that they indicate rather conclusively that the Ozarks contain the greatest concentration of Child ballad survivals of any locality west of the Appalachians. This fact is in accord with the findings presented in a previous chapter on the movements of population west of the Appalachians. It was pointed out that the Ozarks were settled principally by immigrants from the Appalachian Mountains, who would undoubtedly have transported a relatively large number of Child ballads to their new locality. Thus the discoveries made by Randolph and Belden indicate that the Ozarks were in terms of Child ballad survival only a section of the Appalachians moved westward.

The map on page sixty shows the distribution of Child ballads in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley as they have been reported by collectors of the region. It is not intended as a complete representation of all Child ballads in the region. The collection of ballads there has not been as widely diffused throughout the region

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD BALLADS IN THE MIDDLE-WEST AND LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY



as we would prefer, and therefore the data ~~that is~~ represented on the map ~~is~~ ARE confined to those areas where collectors have been active. Even so, we must assume certain freedoms with the actual geographical areas covered by the collectors. We know, for example, that Gardner and Chickering collected ballads only in Southern Michigan and that Beck worked in the northern part of that state. Thus, it has been divided into two parts, each shaded according to the findings of the collectors. Even though a collector may have confined his work to no more than a dozen communities, it seems reasonable to give the area the shading representing his findings. It would be reasonably accurate to shade the area in which a collector has worked for an arbitrary distance of about one hundred and fifty miles around the actual focal point of his collecting activity. Thus, the southern half of Wisconsin has been shaded to represent the findings of Treat. Major and Owens collected Child ballads mainly northeast of the Colorado river in Texas and east of the ninety-eighth meridian; therefore that area has been shaded to correspond with the number of ballads which they report.

The industry with which a collector works in an area undoubtedly influences the results which he obtains. This factor can be seen on the map also. For example, Hudson's collection shows a concentration of Child ballads in the mid-section of Mississippi. Since social and economic conditions in this area are approximately the same as those in the lower part of Alabama covered by Arnold, we would expect to find Child ballads in equal proportion in the two areas. The findings of Arnold, however, show only seven Child ballads, which are indicated on the map accordingly. The discrepancy here might be charged to unequal application to the task of collecting. It should be noted that no shading is given on the map for Kentucky or Tennessee. This fact does not mean that such states are devoid of Child ballads, rather that collectors within these states have done the majority of their work in the mountains, an area outside the scope of the map. No collector appears to have worked west of the mountains exclusively in those states. The States of Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota apparently have not been investigated. The latter three states would be expected

to yield few Child ballads because of the heavy concentration of population from Northern Europe in that area. West Texas was investigated by John A. Lomax, who discovered fewer than five Child ballads in the area. His collection will be discussed in the section on broadsides.

An overall view of the map reveals two significant facts about the distribution of Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States. One is the fact that west of the Mississippi river Child ballads have declined rapidly in popularity. ~~The majority~~ Most of this area falls within the two lower categories shown on the map; that is, fewer than fifteen examples of Child ballads found. Much of the area shows fewer than five examples of Child ballads. An exception to this condition, however, is shown in the Ozark Mountains. The findings of Vance Randolph and H. M. Belden show this area to be a major depository of Child ballads. Thus, the map delineates the Ozark area, showing it to be a place of concentration of Child ballads surrounded by areas of declining interest in the type. The Appalachian origin of the people of the Ozarks,

combined with their social isolation, DESCRIBED HERETOFORE, provides sufficient explanation for this fact.

The other significant fact revealed by the map is that Child ballads have remained most abundant in the areas where the principal economic unit was the small, self-sufficient farm and the people who worked it firmly rooted in the soil, located generally east of the ninety-eighth meridian. Farm families in such areas could spend their lives on one piece of land, blessed with secure agricultural conditions. This is the area between the Appalachian Mountains on the east and the Great Plains on the west, excluding Northern Michigan. As this civilization moved onto the plains, it encountered agricultural conditions vastly different from that which it had left behind. This was the first time in the history of the movement of English-speaking people to America and across the continent that they had ~~encountered~~ tried to farm in an area lacking trees or sufficient water.[58]
~~treeless and waterless agricultural conditions.~~[59]

The relative security of farm life of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys was now exchanged for a

58 Webb, THE GREAT PLAINS, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

~~Farmers with their conditions is a much higher phase.~~

life that was unstable and insecure. In this new environment the Child ballad failed to survive. Tolman has reported a very few ballads from Kansas. John A. Lomax, who collected ballads among the cow camps of West Texas and the open range country of what is now New Mexico, found fewer than five Child ballads. Louise Pound reports the greatest number of Child ballads (approximately twenty) from any plains area. In general, however, relatively few Child ballads are known to have survived west of the ninety-eighth meridian.

Another area in which they failed to survive is that of Northern Michigan, where the principal occupational group was the lumberjack. When Beck collected their songs, he found one lone example of a Child ballad, The Farmer's Curst Wife (278).[59]

~~Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States appear to have survived in greatest abundance generally in the areas occupied by the small farmer living in relatively stable economic conditions.~~

41 Interest in the Child ballad declined on the plains

59 Earl C. Beck, Songs of the Michigan Lumberjacks, p. 107.

to an insignificant fraction of the forty-nine which are known to have migrated west of the Appalachian Mountains.

[move to new page at beginning of each new section]

1. Rejection of Morally Offensive Elements

We have observed that Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States developed a variety of changes in their new environment. One noticeable change is that they lost, or glossed over, elements which might be morally offensive. The tendency to eliminate such elements is present in mountain ballads, but it becomes an innate property of those of the mid-region of the United States. One may still find in the region a number of ballads which formerly developed a narrative around such themes as adultery, incest, and murder ~~that was~~ inspired by sexual promiscuity, but which in their present form have excluded those themes or have hidden them in vague language. The ballads of this type found in the region have tended to subordinate the immoral elements and emphasize elements which in the earlier

versions were insignificant. Such a characteristic might be explained in terms of changing tastes of all English-speaking people over a period of time and a more extensive change of taste among the folk of the mid-region of the United States. Let us inquire first into the former.

During the nineteenth century there was a noticeable change that occurred both in England and America in social attitudes toward women. One way in which such attitudes were reflected was in the speech of gentlemen in the company of women. Much of what later came to be called Victorian manners sprang from such tangible aspects of life as the social taboos against the discussion in mixed company of any matter related to sex. Out of this age came many of the words in the English language which were polite substitutes for others considered too crude for feminine ears, such as the substitution of limbs for legs and in a family way for pregnant. Within such an age the purity of women was a thing that exerted an influence on the daily lives of people to a far greater degree than it had done in

the preceding century. During the frontier period of the settlement of the mid-region of the United States this nineteenth-century characteristic was prominent. In general, men were expected to conduct themselves in the presence of women with the utmost propriety. This trait was augmented by the work of revivalist preachers who roamed the Mississippi and Ohio Valley states and railed at every camp meeting against sinful ways, as described by Peter Cartwright in his account of his life as an itinerant preacher in the region.[60]

The ballads which migrated to the Mid-West and lower Mississippi Valley came under the influence of the spirit of propriety which pervaded the region and were made to conform to the sensibilities of the people on this subject. Those which appear most altered in this respect are the ballads which formerly dealt with incest. One of this type which figures prominently in the region is The Two Brothers (49). In Child versions it is closely associated with Lizzie Wan (51) and The Sheath Knife (16), both of which deal with pure incest between brother and

[60]Peter Cartwright, Autobiography, passim.

sister. The former deals with incest between ordinary folk and the latter between a prince and a princess. Child's version A of Edward (13) might also be associated with this motif. The only explanation that is given for the murder in this ballad is the cutting of a willow wand "that would never been a tree," a phrase which is continued in the examples of The Two Brothers found in the mid-region of the United States, although there is not the slightest suggestion of incest in the latter. Child's version A of The Two Brothers contains an implication of incest in the following stanza:

> 'And what will I say to my sister dear,
> Should she chance to say, 'Willie, whar's John?'
> 'Oh, say that he's to England gone,
> To buy her a wedding ring.'[61]

None of the nine examples of this ballad found in the mid-region of the United States mentions or even implies the incestuous motive behind the murder. Mrs. Nancy Brewster of Oakland City, Indiana, contributed a version in which the murderer, as in Lizzie Wan, vows to escape the

[61] Sargent and Kittredge, editors, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, p. 91.

father's vengeance by taking a ship before the latter should arrive home, as described in the following stanza:

> "What will you tell your dear papa
> When he comes home in the evening?
> "I'll set my foot on yonder ship
> And sail away to sea."[62]

The question and answer exchange between the dying brother and his murderer ends with the matter of what to tell their father and mother, no mention whatsoever being made of the sister, as in the Child ballad. This same pattern is used in another example obtained by Brewster from an informant in Indiana.[63] The story is ended rather abruptly in both ballads with the plan to elude the father and with no motive for the murder given. An example collected by Belden in Columbia, Missouri, introduces the sister in the question and answer sequence, but the reply contains no reference to incest, as ~~shown in~~ the following stanza shows:

[62] Paul G. Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Indiana, p. 57.
[63] Ibid., p. 56.

'Oh brother, oh brother, when you go home
My sister will ask for me;
Tell her I'm down in Dublin town
Sleeping beneath the churchyard tree.'[64]

Louise Pound gives an example of this ballad entitled Two Little Boys. In spite of the title, one of the principals is old enough to have a sweetheart who is substituted for the sister. Thus the incestuous element is converted entirely to a normal relationship between a boy and his sweetheart, nor is there even rivalry between the boys for her hand. The ballad has changed the cause of death from murder to an accident which occurs while the two "boys" are enjoying a playful wrestling match. The following stanzas tell this portion of the story:

They wrestled up, they wrestled down,
They wrestled around and around,
And a little penknife run through John's pocket,
And he received a deadly wound.

"O, what shall I tell your true love, John,
If she inquires about you?"
"O, tell her I'm dead and lying in my grave,
Way out in Idaho."[65]

[64]H. M. Belden, editor, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, p. 34.
[65]Louise Pound, American Ballads and Songs, p. 46.

The reference to Idaho is given evidently for no purpose other than rhyme, but it serves to place the ballad as to region and approximate date. An example discovered by Hudson in Pine Valley, Mississippi, entitled The Cruel Brother is a much briefer narrative and mentions neither sister, wife nor sweetheart.[66]

As stated above, much of the story of The Two Brothers parallels that of Edward, and in the long history of the two ballads they have exchanged narrative elements with each other. Some English versions of Edward have introduced the incest theme,[67] some making the sister the victim of the murder, but this element does not appear in any of the eight examples of the ballad found in the mid-region of the United States. An example of Edward recorded by Hudson (also entitled The Cruel Brother, although the informant was not the same as the one supplying the example of Child 49 above) adheres to the more common pattern found in Child A of picturing

66A. P. Hudson, Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background, pp. 73-74.

67Archer Taylor, "Edward" and "Sven I Rosengard," pp. 22-23.

the murderer, Son Davie, with a wife and children. The latter appear also in the example published in Owens' collection. In these two examples of the ballad, as well as in most versions found in the Southern Appalachians, the murderer proposes to take his wife and children aboard ship and escape with them across the sea, contrary to the Child version A, which makes the wife a party to the murder and strongly suggests adultery. In no example of the ballad found in the mid-region of the United States, however, is the element of incest or adultery even implied.

The ballad Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter (155) exists in certain English versions which suggest that the Jew's daughter entices the boy into her house with the object of introducing him to sexual pleasures. The most common figures used to represent the object of enticement are the red apple and the cherry; such figures are used frequently in versions found both in England and in America. Four of the examples of this ballad encountered in the mid-region of the United States

make use of the blood-red cherry, but neither in the English nor in the American versions is there any open association made between the cherry and invitation to sex. In all cases this element is only implied. The concept of sexual immorality in this ballad, however, is only a fixture that has intruded itself among a variety of motives which inspired the Jewess to the crime. In some versions she is only the agent acting for the entire family; these contain a religious motive, the reprisal of the Jews for torments suffered at the hands of the Christians. The story related by the Prioress in The Canterbury Tales is developed around the figure of Christ resisting temptation, but even this motif is not entirely free from the suggestion of sexual enticement. An example collected by Tolman in Warren, Indiana, heightens the mystery of the forbidden territory of the Jew's garden with the phrase: "Where no one was darst to go;" the action is brought back to reality, however, when the Jew's daughter shows the young boy a thing so worldly as "a yellow dish apple" before showing him the red cherry,

described in the following two stanzas:

> At first they tossed their ball too high,
> And then again too low,
> Till over in the Jewish garden it fell,
> Where no one was darst to go, go, go,
> Where no one was darst to go.
>
> At first she showed him a yellow dish apple,
> And a gay gold ring,
> And then a cherry as red as blood,
> To entice this little boy in, in, in,
> To entice this little boy in.[68]

The use of cherries and apples as symbolic figures does not appear in all English versions, and so on the basis of symbolism alone it cannot be claimed that the immoral element was rejected only when the ballad arrived in the mid-region. Much of the action of the English versions which do mention them emphasize the act of showing, whereas the American examples do not. An example collected by Brewster in Indiana has changed the manner of displaying the objects from the act of showing to a literal act of pulling the fruit off trees, as in the following stanza:

68 Albert H. Tolman, "Some Songs Traditional in the United States," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 29, p. 65.

She pulled him off a green apple,
She offered it to him;
She pulled him off a blood-red cherry,
And that enticed him in.[69]

The possible association of the fruit with an offering of sex has been reduced in this Middle-West example.

Several English versions of Young Hunting (68) begin with a direct invitation issued by his mistress to spend the night, followed by his refusal and the murder. The example collected by Hudson in Mississippi has rejected the direct references to immorality by shifting the opening to a point after the murder has been committed and then giving Young Hunting a wife for a murderer. Thus, it has become another story of a wife who lays her husband low for infidelity, a much less heinous crime, evidently, than that of living with a member of the opposite sex without benefit of marriage.

This ballad is interesting for its complete invention of a question and answer sequence, this time between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. It begins with

[69] Brewster, op. cit., p. 129.

the following stanzas which open the conversa-

tion:

> She was walking in the garden one day,
> -
> And whom should she see but her own father-in-law,
> Saying, "Daughter, where's my son?"
>
> "He's been a-hunting these three long days,
> I expect him home tomorrow;
> But if he does not return home again,
> My heart will break with sorrow."[70]

The action continues with the traditional stanzas between the lady and her talkative parrot borrowed from Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4). In the final lines the lady is punished:

> This lady and her merry maidens all
> Were hung next market day.[71]

The ballad of Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard (81) is a narrative built entirely upon adultery. Why is it, then, one might ask, that we find it at all among the Child ballads of the mid-region of the United States, where direct references to adultery were not considered fit subject matter for mixed COMPANY?

70 Hudson, op. cit., p. 77.
71 Ibid.

There is no explanation, and so we must call it an exception to the general pattern.

~~company.~~ ~~One explanation lies in the fact that~~ The ballad was not popular in the region. Only six examples were reported in all, and three of these are from Randolph's collection from the Ozarks. ~~Another explanation is the fact that~~ There is in some examples an attempt to gloss over the bedroom scene, the result of which appears ~~as~~ awkward and self-conscious, ~~description.~~ The handling of this scene in the Belden example is particularly awkward; it introduces descriptive phrases not found in Child versions, and notably absent are such phrases appearing in the latter as "...to bed with thine own wedded wife," etc. The following stanza is from Belden's example:

> From that they fell to hugging and kissing,
> And from that they fell to sleep;
> And next morning when they woke at the break of day
> Lord Arnold stood at their feet.[72]

In emphasizing so pointedly that the couple passed directly from kissing to sleep the singer of this ballad probably was making an attempt to avoid

[72] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 59.

direct mention of the adulterous situation. The result of the bad ruse, however, is to call greater attention to the matter than was ever done in the English versions, wherein the matter of adultery is strictly subordinate to the main point: Lord Barnard's hasty action and subsequent remorse. The Missouri example has reversed the two points. The example collected by Gardner and Chickering in Michigan tells us that the lovers conversed "long and sweet" and at last fell asleep. This euphemism appears in certain Child versions and has been retained in the example from Michigan, as shown in the following stanza:

> Long and sweet they conversed that night,
> And at last they both fell asleep;
> And when they awoke it was broad daylight,
> Lord Valley he stood at their feet.[73]

The English versions of The Gypsy Laddie (200) present an adulterous situation in which the gypsy charms the wife of a nobleman by singing sweetly and persuades her to forget her husband, baby, and home and run away with him. The pattern among the

[73] Emelyn E. Gardner and Geraldine J. Chickering, Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan, p. 48.

examples of the mid-region is to reduce the magnitude of the sin by making the lady an unmarried young girl. For this purpose a stanza is invented to convey the idea of her youth and addlebrained state. The following stanza from an example collected by Hudson in Mississippi is typical:

> "How old are you, my pretty little miss,
> How old are you, my honey?"
> She answered him with a "He, ho, ha,
> I'll be sixteen next Sunday."[74]

In order to reduce even more the rapidly mounting suggestion of immoral behavior, the following stanza from the same example as that above gives the gypsy honorable intentions when he asks the young lady to be his wife:

> "If you will come and go with me
> And be my wife forever,
> I'll swear by the sword that hangs by my side
> You'll never want for money."[75]

Of the nine examples of The Gypsy Laddie found in the region, six contain some reference to the extreme youth of the lady. Most of them, however, give her

[74] Hudson, op. cit., p. 118.
[75] Ibid.

some sort of married status before the courtship with the gypsy. An example collected by Neely in Southern Illinois, like that described above from Hudson's collection, presents the girl in a youthful role apparently in a subtle attempt to reduce the seriousness of her behavior. The courtship scene is described in a pair of stanzas which picture her as the essence of silliness:

> "How old are you, my pretty little miss?
> How old are you, my honey?"
> She answered me with a smile and a kiss,
> "I'll be seventeen next Sunday."
>
> "Will you go with me, my pretty little miss?
> Will you go with me, my honey?"
> She answered me with a smile and a kiss,
> "I'll go with you next Sunday."[76]

The American ballads which tell the story of Child's The Elfin Knight (2) have descended from older versions which narrate the successful efforts of a maiden to ward off the charms of an evil elf-knight or a knight in human form equally malicious. The efforts of the suitor, whether in the form of an elf or a human being, in some Child versions

[76] Charles Neely, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, p. 79.

have been directed toward seduction by casting a spell over the maiden. In Child's version A, which was taken from a broadside published in 1670, the knight has lost his supernatural character and has become a human knight attempting to seduce the girl. American versions have mostly done away with both elf and knight and have developed two principal narrative motifs, both of which have eliminated the element of seduction. One of such motifs is a comic situation in which the girl avoids the attentions of an old man by assigning him impossible tasks to perform. Typical of this motif is the example from Missouri included in Belden's collection. The following stanzas taken from it show the degree to which the young lady's wit has relieved her from an uncomfortable situation:

Tell him to deed me an acre of land
Between salt water and sea land.

Tell him to plow it with a sheep's horn
And seed it down with three grains of corn.

Tell him to reap it with a pen knife
And haul it in with a single span of mice.

Tell him to put it in yonder barn,
That never was built since Adam was born.

Tell him to build me a ship of brick
And come sailing over the deep.

Tell the old fool when he's done this work,
To bring me the land and I'll give him the shirt.[77]

Three other examples of this ballad collected in the mid-region of the United States develop the theme of the girl warding off the attentions of the old man.

The other motif which is found in examples of The Elfin Knight deals with a courtship between a young man and a maiden with the customary happy ending. This type has retained the feature of the impossible tasks, in this case imposed by each party upon the other so that each can test the degree of the other's love. Thus, what formerly was a tale of evil seduction has become a story of innocent courtship. Of the sixteen examples of this ballad found in America, the majority develop this style of narrative. The typical ending is that shown in

[77] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 3.

the following stanza from an example discovered by Brewster in Indiana:

> Just tell that gent if he's done his work,
> Ly flum a lum a licker aloma,
> He can call tonight and get his shirt,
> Tum a tiest tum a tiste tuma tinest
> Ly flum a lum a licker aloma.[78]

An important fact is that none of the examples discovered in the Middle-West or lower Mississippi Valley develops the narrative according to the earlier motif in which a maiden protects herself against the conjurings of an evil seducer.

[start to new page]

2. Rationalization of the Supernatural

A second characteristic of British ballads west of the Appalachian Mountains is their exclusion of any serious treatment of supernatural elements. Ballads which in their earlier English versions dealt seriously with such beings out of medieval lore as elves, devils, ghosts, etc., have exchanged the supernatural elements in the transfer to the mid-region of the United States for characters

[78]Brewster, op. cit., p. 27.

cast in human form. The elfin-knight is no longer either an elf or a knight. Ghosts no longer appear in serious narrative, and violins which formerly talked and accused the perpetrators of a crime have been dropped from the story completely. These are representative of the changes in specific narrative elements which are suggestive of a general tendency among Child ballads dealing with the supernatural as they moved across the American continent.

The tendency to eliminate the supernatural altogether or to rationalize the supernatural elements into realistic elements is characteristic of British ballads generally in the whole of America. Like the suppression of immoral elements, this characteristic did not come into being the moment the ballad moved west of the Appalachians. The tendency was under way before the westward migration of the ballads, but it is in the region west of the mountains that we find the characteristic more clearly established.

In the Eastern portion of the country, where the Child ballad arrived relatively early, one finds a residue of the supernatural among British ballads which does not appear except in isolated instances among ballads west of the mountains. For example, The Suffolk Miracle (272), which deals with an adventure between a living person and a ghost, appears in two major collections of mountains ballads, Sharp's English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians and Cox's Folk-Songs of the South, as a serious ghost story. It has been found in only one instance west of the Appalachians. Vance Randolph records an incomplete example in the Ozarks.

One of the best ~~old~~ known of all ghosts in British balladry is that of Lady Margaret, which appears at the foot of Sweet William's bed on the night of his wedding. The ghost is a vital element in most English versions of the ballad, Fair Margaret and Sweet William (74), and it appears in numerous examples of the same ballad in the Eastern portion of the United States. For example, from

the Appalachians, Sharp gives five full texts of which three have retained the supernatural element by having the ghost appear at the foot of Sweet William's bed. Cox's section on this ballad contains seven examples, of which no fewer than five make direct mention of Margaret's ghost. By contrast, out of a total of twenty examples listed by collectors in the mid-region of the United States, only two mention the ghost, an example found by Neely in Southern Illinois, which speaks of "Margaret's grimly ghost,"[79] and one in Randolph's collection. The remaining eighteen either bring the real live Margaret to the foot of Sweet William's bed or eliminate the scene altogether. Thus the tendency toward rationalization of a supernatural element, which was under way among ballads collected in the mountains, is found developed to a greater degree west of the mountains.

It is interesting to note how few Child ballads which formerly dealt with supernatural elements have survived in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. The following survey indicates the proportion

[79]Neely, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, op. cit., p. 142.

of such ballads which migrated westward to those which were left along the way. Its results should be interpreted as proof that the supernatural theme was not popular with ballad singers of the region; they do not provide us, however, with any full explanation as to why certain ballads survived in the region while others failed to survive. The explanation of this phenomenon must come from factors much broader than the elimination of supernatural elements from a ballad narrative.

A survey of the migration of the supernatural in Child ballads reveals three categories of that ballad group: 1. Ballads of the Child collection in which supernatural elements figure prominently. 2. Ballads from the first category which migrated to America. 3. Ballads from the second category which migrated to the mid-region of the United States. The second category is based on a comparison between the Child collection and Reed Smith's checklist of Child ballads in America.[80] The third category is based on a comparison between Smith's

[80] Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in America, 1933," op. cit., pp. 73-75.

checklist and our chart of Child ballad survival in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley on page forty-seven. The following list represents the first category, Child ballads in which the supernatural is a prominent element in the narrative:

Child No.	Title
2	The Elfin Knight
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight
10	The Two Sisters
29	The Boy and the Mantle
34	Kemp Owyne
35	Allison Gross
39	Tam Lin
40	The Queen of Elfan's Nourice
42	Clerk Colvill
43	Broomfield Hill
44	The Twa Magicians
59	Sir Aldingar
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William
77	Sweet William's Ghost
78	The Unquiet Grave
79	The Wife of Usher's Well
214	The Braes of Yarrow
255	Willie's Fatal Visit
265	The Knight's Ghost
272	The Suffolk Miracle
278	The Farmer's Curst Wife

The foregoing list represents the ballads of the Child collection in which supernatural elements play a prominent part in the narrative; the principal characters of most versions are involved

with ghosts, elves, mermaids, witchcraft, etc. It does not include a number of ballads in which the supernatural is only suggested, or it does not play an important role in the narrative.

The following list, representing the second category, contains those ballads from the above list which appear on the checklist of Child ballads in America prepared by Reed Smith:

Child No.	Title
2	The Elfin Knight
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight
10	The Two Sisters
39	Tam Lin
40	The Queen of Elfan's Nourice
43	The Broomfield Hill
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William
77	Sweet William's Ghost
78	The Unquiet Grave
79	The Wife of Usher's Well
214	The Braes of Yarrow
272	The Suffolk Miracle
278	The Farmer's Curst Wife

Thirteen ballads, or approximately two-thirds of those listed in the first category have survived in America. A study of the major collections of ballads made in the Eastern states reveals that, like Fair Margaret and Sweet William, more than half of the examples of the above ballads found

therein have retained the supernatural elements which they inherited from English versions.

The following list represents the third category. They are the ballads from the above list which have ~~migrated to~~ been found in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley:

Child No.	Title
2	The Elfin Knight
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight
10	The Two Sisters
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William
79	The Wife of Usher's Well
272	The Suffolk Miracle
278	The Farmer's Curst Wife

Seven ballads from the list of twenty-one Child ballads in the first category have ~~survived~~ been collected west of the Appalachian Mountains, and one of these, The Suffolk Miracle, appears only as a short example in Randolph's collection from the Ozarks. The question which now arises is: to what degree have the Child ballads in the mid-region preserved the supernatural elements? We may find the answer to this question by examining a representative number of such ballads to see what remains of the ghosts, elves, etc.

~~Ballads - Viking Book of Folk-Ballads~~
~~Viking Press ed. English - Spelling Wall~~

~~Ed by albert B Friedman~~

The Elfin Knight (2) is an exceedingly popular ballad in the mid-region of the United States. Some fourteen examples have been reported under such titles as The Cambric Shirt, A True Lover of Mine, The Two Lovers, Rosemary and Thyme. Child's version A of this ballad deals with a contest of wits between a maiden and an elf-knight who intends to seduce her. He has first attracted her interest by blowing irresistably on his horn, as ~~described~~ in the following lines:

> He blowes it east, he blowes it west,
> He blowes it where he lyketh best.[81]

The notes from the horn make her desire him, and he appears at her bedside. Then begins the assignment of impossible tasks by both parties, at the end of which she has outwitted him by making him admit to having a wife and children. She then realizes his evil intentions and says:

> 'My maidenhead I'll then keep still,
> Let the elphin knight do what he will."[82]

[81] Sargent and Kittredge, op. cit., p. 3.
[82] Ibid., p. 4.

In none of the versions west of the mountains does the male character appear in his supernatural form. As was pointed out ~~previously~~ in the discussion on the decline of immorality in ballads of the region, the story has become one of courtship of two types, one between two lovers who test each other's love and the other between a maiden and an old man; in the latter she assigns him impossible tasks to discourage him. In a version from Princeton, Indiana, collected by Brewster, the lovers address an unnamed third party:

> I want her to make me a cambric shirt,
> Rivers and seas are merry in time,
> With very fine needle and very coarse work,
> Then she shall be a true lover of mine.
>
> Go tell him to plant an acre of land,
> Rivers and seas are merry in time,
> Between the salt sea and the dry sand,
> Then he shall be a true lover of mine.[83]

Another version furnished by Brewster from Aurora, Indiana, has omitted the matter of courtship altogether. The young man is addressing his mother, assigns the usual number of impossible tasks and

[83]Brewster, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

then bids farewell. ~~bows out.~~ The following stanzas illustrate the motif:

> Mother, make me a cambric shirt
> Fom a nomanee, cast nomanee,
> Without a stitch of needlework,
> Keely ope, keely ope, patalai, patempali,
> Fom a nomanee, cast nomanee.
>
> Wash it out in an old dry well,
> etc, etc,
> Where a drop of water never fell,
> etc.
>
> Hang it out on an old bush thorn,
> Where the sun never shone since Adam was born.
> etc.
> Mother, plant me an acre of corn,
> And plow it up with an old ram's horn.
> etc.
>
> Now, kind friends, my song is done,
> I hope I've not offended one.
> etc.[84]

Belden presents a version from Missouri that invents a messenger to carry the assignments back and forth, as in the following stanzas:

> Are you a-going to London, sir?
> Fum a lum a castly ony,
> Just give my love to a little girl there,
> Tum a keetle, o keetle, o taly, etc.
>
> Tell her to make me a cambric shirt
> Without a needle or needler's work.
> etc.[85]

[84] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[85] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 2.

The motif of the elf who charms a girl by blowing on his horn appears in early versions of two ballads: The Elfin Knight (2) and Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4). American versions of the latter ballad have also eliminated the supernatural being and have substituted a realistic seducer and murderer in human form. Such a character is found generally in versions from both East and West, and in most of them he is unidentified until the middle of the story when he makes known his intentions to the maiden; even then he is given no classification beyond that of a murderer. The nearest that American examples of this ballad come to giving him supernatural status is a suggestion of mysterious origin. This element appears in a Georgia version in Cecil Sharp's collection, introduced by the following stanzas:

There was a proper tall young man,
And William was his name;
He came away over the ragin' sea,
He came a-courting me, O me,
He came a-courting me.[86]

[86] Sharp, vol. I, op. cit., p. 7.

In another version collected by Sharp in Virginia, the ballad opens with an unidentified person having a mysterious power over a girl. There is a strong suggestion here of an enchantment without a direct reference to a supernatural being. The following is the initial stanza:

> He followed her up and he followed her down,
> He followed her to the room where she lay,
> And she had not the power to flee from his arms,
> Nor the tongue to answer Nay, Nay, Nay,
> Nor the tongue to answer Nay.87

The identification of the murderer as a knight is found in several Eastern versions of this ballad; usually, however, he is a knight with human characteristics. A typical opening stanza is the following from Mattawamkeag, Maine, appearing in the collection of Barry, Eckstorm and Smyth:

> I'll tell you of a false hearted knight
> Who courted a lady gay,
> And all that he wanted of this pretty fair maid
> Was to take her sweet life away.88

The suggestion of mysterious origin and powers has continued among certain examples of this ballad

87 IBID., p.9.
88 Barry, Eckstorm and Smyth, op. cit., p. 26.
~~88 William A. Owens, Texas Folk Songs, p. 35.~~

recovered west of the Appalachians. This is true particularly of four examples discovered in the Middle-West, two from Brewster's collection and two from that of Belden, which have introductions very close to those from the East described above. The majority of the twenty-nine versions of this ballad discovered in the mid-region, however, have lost even this suggestion of supernatural origin. Most of them begin with the direct order to the maiden to bring her father's money and horses. A typical introductory stanza is the following collected by William A. Owens in a Texas community close to the ~~border with~~ Louisiana BORDER:

> Go bring me some of your father's gold
> And bring me your mother's fee,
> Oh, come, oh, come my Pretty Polly
> And go along with me.[89]

One of the strangest introductions to this ballad appears in an example from Belden's collection, which could have been derived from the air of mystery surrounding the origin of the suitor seen above in

89 William A. Owens, Texas Folk Songs, p. 35.

Eastern versions. The Missouri ballad, however, begins with a series of stanzas that are practically nonsense:

> Willie came over the main, wide ocean,
> Willie came over the sea,
> Willie came over the main, wide ocean,
> Willie came courting me.
>
> I had no mind to tell him to go away,
> My mind was to tell him to sit down.
> - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
> My mind was to tell him to sit down.
>
> 'Hand me down your father's gold,
> Likewise your mother's too,
> Away we will go to the marigold country,
> The length of a long summer day.[90]

Child's versions A and B of The Two Sisters develop the motif of the violin made of the parts of the drowned sister's body. Thus the violin is given magical properties that enable it to accuse the other sister of the crime. Of the eighteen versions of this ballad reported in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley, none has preserved this motif. The majority of them develop a narrative in which the miller (or his son) becomes the villain by fishing the drowning sister out of the millpond, robbing her of her rings and pushing her in again.

[90]Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 7.

The closing stanzas in Belden's version from Tuscumbia, Missouri, is typical of this motif:

'O miller, O miller, yonder comes a swan
A-swimming down the old mill pond.'

The miller threw out his old grab hook
And brought her safely from the brook.

He robbed her of her golden ring
And plunged her in the brook again.

They hung him on his own mill gate
For drownding of poor sister Kate.[91]

The Wife of Usher's Well (79) survives in most of the nine versions found in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley under the title The Three Little Babes. The narrative is so closely dependent on a supernatural event that the ballad could hardly survive without it. The aforementioned nine versions maintain the basic supernatural theme of the wife's dead children returning to their home to visit their mother, but variations have developed within them to limit the super-natural element. We do not find among them the great air of mystery which pervades the earlier

[91] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

Scottish version, Child A, the wish uttered aloud by the mother that she might have them home again, their mysterious behavior after appearing, scenes which derive their power from the supernatural. Versions discovered west of the Appalachians have substituted a religious theme for the supernatural, and the air of mystery has been converted to the sentimental. The version collected by Belden in Ballinger County, Missouri, develops the narrative in this fashion, as shown by the following stanzas:

She prayed to God, if there be any God,
If there be any God on high,
To send her three little babes back home
That night or soon next day.

It being close to Christmas times,
When the nights was long and cool,
'Come home, come home, my three little babes,
Come running home again.

'Spread o'er the table bread and wine,
That my three little babes may dine.'
'I cannot eat none of your bread,
Neither can I drink your wine.

'Tomorrow morn at eight o'clock
With my Savior I will dine.'
'Spread o'er the bed the golden sheet,
That my three little babes may sleep.'

'Cold clods, cold clods at my head and feet,
Cold clods at my head and feet;
The tears that flow from a mother's eyes
Will wet a winding sheet.'[92]

Most versions of Fair Margaret and Sweet William (74) in Child's collection describe the appearance of Margaret's ghost at the bed of Sweet William on his wedding night to chide him for marrying another lady. It was pointed out above that a majority of the examples of this ballad found in the mountains retain the ghost feature but that only two west of the mountains make direct mention of a ghost, those found by Neely and Randolph. The latter gives four examples of the ballad, of which only one presents the ghost. The example discovered by Neely in Southern Illinois describes the bedroom scene as follows:

'Twas at the silent midnight hour
When all were fast asleep;
In glided Margaret's grimly ghost,
And stood at William's feet.[93]

The example given by Randolph is much the same.

92 Ibid., p. 57.
93 Neely, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, op. cit., p. 142.

It introduces the ghost in the following stanza:

> The day bein' gone an' the night comin' on
> When all men were asleep,
> Sweet William spied Lydia Margaret's ghost
> A-standin' at his bed's feet.[94]

The other eighteen examples of this ballad which are found in the mid-region of the United States either omit the bedroom scene altogether or avoid the ghost matter by substituting other situations. The most common situation is to have Lady Margaret appear alive to chide Sweet William for his rash action.

This same scene is presented in two examples of the ballad recorded by Belden in Missouri, in one collected by Brewster in Indiana and in one by Hudson in Mississippi. One of the Belden examples has Lady Margaret carrying out a rather anti-climactic vengeance on Sweet William by making him bow, as the stanzas below indicate:

> 'I'll throw down my ivory comb,
> I will just brush back my hair,
> And I'll go and make Sweet William bow,
> And no more shall I go back there.'

94 Vance Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, vol. I, p. 110.

She threw down her ivory comb,
She just brushed back her hair;
She went and she made Sweet William bow
And no more did she go back there.[95]

The example listed by Brewster describes the bedroom scene in a stanza almost identical with those of Neely and Randolph, except that the live Lady Margaret comes "walking softly downstairs" and stands at William's feet.[96] The Hudson example gives a unique presentation of the bedroom scene by having Sweet William dream that he sees Lady Margaret at his feet. When he kisses her, he is undone, as described in the stanzas below:

The day being o'er and the time drawing near
When all of the men were asleep,
Sweet William dreamed Lady Maggie was there
A-standing at his bed feet.

The first he kissed was her pale cold cheek,
The next was her dimpled chin;
And last of all was her cold blue lips,
That pierced his heart within.[97] (Hudson, p. 88)

This scene is undoubtedly a transfer of the dream which appears later in the narrative of Child versions.

[95] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 51.
[96] Brewster, op. cit., p. 74.
[97] Hudson, op. cit., p. 88.

The remaining examples of Fair Margaret and Sweet William have omitted the bedroom scene, most of them making use of some sort of substitute situation, such as the bizarre things that Sweet William dreams. The example presented by Eddy is typical of this type; it tells us only that Sweet William was disturbed by a dream:

> The day was far spent and the night was coming on,
> When most of the men was at work;
> Sweet William he said he was troubled in his head
> By a dream that he dreampt that night.[98]
> ~~(Eddy, p. 35)~~

A number of examples that have omitted the ghost and bedroom scene altogether have substituted narrative elements from other ballads. ~~An ex-~~ One given ~~ample presented~~ by Brewster introduces the scene from Lord Thomas and Fair Annet ~~wherein~~ in which Lady Margaret's mother counsels her to stay at home. Instead, Lady Margaret dresses herself in costly robes and rides through the town, where everyone takes her to be a queen.[99]

[98] Mary O. Eddy, Ballads and Songs from Ohio, p. 35.

[99] Brewster, op. cit., p. 76.

Another ballad which introduces a supernatural element is The Farmer's Curst Wife (278). This, however, is a comic situation, and in Child's versions the presentation is not one in which the listener is supposed to believe literally in the picture of the devil that is presented. The versions of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi make no substitute for the devil, nor would it be possible to maintain the motif without him, since the entire comic situation centers about his carting the old wife off to hell and the trouble he has with her there until he finds it necessary to bring her back.

3. Changes in Poetic Imagery, Vocabulary and Verse Pattern

The Child ballads which have been discovered in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley demonstrate a noticeable change from those of the Child collection in characteristics of poetic imagery, vocabulary and verse pattern. The

poetic imagery which so enriches the British versions has been changed in the ballads of the mid-region to a style that is less stimulating to the imagination. Figures which in British versions were presented in a tone of great mystery and detachment of narration have assumed a more worldy, unexcited and matter-of-fact tone. Often a comparison between the manner of presentation of a certain scene in a version from the Child collection and that of a ballad of the mid-region of the United States results in a decided anti-climax of tone. Frequently important scenes in the American versions do not possess the tense drama of those of the Child collection, and their overall tone is considerably simplified. There is frequent indiscriminate transfer of dramatic situations between ballads in America, and in their new setting they lose the forcefulness of the original.

Changes have also appeared in the vocabulary of the ballads of the mid-region. They have adapted themselves in numerous instances to regional characteristics. Place names have often

been exchanged for local names; for instance, an example of Barbara Allen (84) from Illinois has Sweet William appearing "from the western states." In The Two Brothers (49), the murdered brother is buried "way out in Idaho." Such conscious introductions of local place names are common.

Occasionally we find a meaningless name substituted for one that is of English origin. London Town is changed to Lasso Town or Scarlet Town, the latter appearing in Barbara Allen in numerous examples.

Certain archaic terms which are found in the English versions have been retained in those of the mid-region, but they have been given a pronunciation which indicates that they have no meaning to the singers there. An example of The Wife of Usher's Well (79) from Missouri has the three babes sent away "to learn the garmuree," a term which could have no meaning to the informant, who would be unaware of the original word grammaree. An example of The Two Brothers (49) borrows the situation from the above ballad and has the boys sent to learn their A, B, C. The most frequent changes in vocabulary occur among ordinary expressions,

as in the case of the murderer in Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4), who tells Pretty Polly to "light off" when it comes time to dismount from the horse.

The verse pattern of ballads of the region has generally become more flexible than that of the ballads of the Child collection. The informants of the region appear to show much less concern for regularity of rhythm or consistency of lines per stanza; they frequently depart radically from the basic four-line ballad stanza of alternating lines of iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter. The English versions are relatively rigid in their stanzaic pattern, their most frequent deviation probably being their occasional introduction of an anapestic foot at the beginning of some line other than the first. They are more consistent at maintaining the alternating tetrameter and trimeter. The Child ballads of the mid-region of the United States often, with no apparent reason, introduce a fifth line to a stanza when all other stanzas in the ballad follow the regular four line pattern,

the extra line appearing to be an afterthought which the narrator wishes to add for the edification of the listener.

American ballads have a great affinity for nonsense refrains. They have preserved and have given variation to the refrains which appear in English versions, such as those in The Elfin Knight (2), The Two Sisters (10) and The Three Ravens (26). A refrain has been added to one ballad, The Gypsy Laddie (200), whereas the English versions show none. An example of the latter ballad found in Texas interrupts the narrative frequently for a refrain with separate stanzaic arrangement, beginning with "Rigga, digga, dingo, dingo, da," etc. Refrains to the three ballads listed above have developed some ~~rather~~ bizarre combinations of sounds in the examples found in the mid-region.

Imagery in Child ballads of the region is often reduced to more factual and less suggestive description; frequently this has made necessary the addition of detail of action which in the British versions was left to the imagination of

the listener. An example of Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) collected by Belden in Missouri goes into great detail to describe the stealing of gold and the selection of horses from the father's stable:

> She handed him down her father's gold,
> Likewise her mother's too;
> Away they went to the stable door,
> Took choice of twenty and two.[100]

The handing down of gold and taking choice of horses in the stable are extra details that have not appeared in Child's versions. In the same ballad the fascination with detail is continued in the stanzas dealing with the events by the seaside, where the lady has been ordered to disrobe. In the following stanzas we are told that she took off her robe, handed it to the murderer, that not only was it an especially good robe but it cost too much to rot in the sea. The introduction of the idea of cost of the robe is a property of the American example:

[100] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 7.

She pulled off the lily-white robe
And delivered it up to him,
For it was too fine and cost too much
To rot in the bottom of the sea.[101]

In an example of the same ballad from Evansville, Indiana, we hear in the opening stanza the irritated voice of the young lady complaining in very worldly tones of being followed by a pest:

He followed me up and he followed me around,
And he followed me around all day;
I had not the power to speak a word
Or a tongue to answer, 'Nay, O Nay,'
Or a tongue to answer 'Nay.'[102]

At another point the murderer is quite specific about the manner in which she is to disrobe. He orders her to take off her clothes and lay them "on this rock;" no other place will do, apparently:

Take off, take of those fine, fine clothes
And lay them on this rock, etc.[103]

Another example collected by Belden, this one from Kirksville, Missouri, presents the scene with the

101 Ibid.
102 Brewster, op. cit., p. 31.
103 Ibid.

girl complaining of being followed, but this time she informs us that he followed her right into her room. The ballad opens with the following lines:

> He followed me up and he followed me down,
> He followed me into the room, etc.[104]

The choice of words and phrases that are used in narrating incidental details in general assumes the pattern of conversation that one finds among rural folk of a farm community in the mid-region of the United States. The following couplets from The Two Sisters (10), given without their accompanying refrains, illustrate the tone of homespun, folksy conversation which is typical of ballads of the region:

> The youngest daughter she got her a beau,
> etc., etc.,
> The eldest daughter she had none.
>
> Her beau he got her a beaver hat,
> etc., etc.,
> The oldest daughter she didn't like that.[105]

An example of The Two Sisters from Oxford, Mississippi,

[104] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 9.
[105] Brewster, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

recorded by Hudson, narrates the same events as in the above stanzas with similar needless introduction of redundant pronouns. In addition, the older daughter thinks "hard" of the attentions of the young man toward the younger sister, whereas the older receives not "a single thing:"

> Johnny give the youngest a gay gold ring,
> He didn't give the oldest a single thing.
>
> Johnny give the youngest a beaver hat,
> The oldest she thought hard of that.
>
> The miller was hung on the gallows so high,
> The oldest she was buried close by.[106]

In an example of Bangum and the Boar (Sir Lionel, Child 18) from Missouri, we are given a far more detailed estimate of the frightening character of the wild boar than in Child versions; ~~as described in the following stanza:~~

> There is a wild boar in this wood
> That'll cut your throat and suck your blood.[107]

The love scene in an example of Young Beichan (53)

[106] Hudson, op. cit., p. 68.
[107] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 29.

from Wisconsin (given under the title of Lord Baitman in Beatty's collection) is described with the tone of a modern true-romance fiction. ~~In the following stanza,~~ The Turkish lady declares her love for Lord Baitman in a most unconvincing outburst of emotion:

> She led him down to the lower cellar
> And drew him a drink of the strangest wine,
> Saying, 'Every moment seems like an hour,
> Oh, Lord Baitman, if you were mine.'[108]

97

Later in the narrative she decides to go look for Lord Baitman, the passage of time being indicated by the statement that seven years have "rolled around;" in the following stanza she sets out on her journey:

> Seven long years have rolled around,
> It seemed as if it were twenty-nine;
> She bundled up her finest clothing,
> And declared Lord Baitman she'd go find.[109]

~~(Ibid.)~~[109]

[108] Arthur Beatty, "Some Ballad Variants and Songs," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 22, p. 63.

[109] Ibid.

An example of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73) collected in Kansas by Tolman shows that the archaic word riddle, meaning to counsel, has been altered to its modern usage. The daughter calls upon her mother to read her a riddle, a useless act under the circumstances. In the second line of the same stanza the word is given its older verb usage, but the order is to riddle "in wool," which is probably the result of a confusion with "riddle it all in one:"

> 'Go read me a riddle, dear mother,' said he,
> 'Go riddle it all in wool...' (Tolman, p. 59)110

A unique manner of pronouncing the expectation of death to come from sorrow over the loss of a lover is given in an example of Sweet William and Lady Margaret (74) from Missouri; the ballad speaks of "hanging around" corpses, as follows:

> 'Fold back, fold back those flowing white sheets,
> . . . . . me now decline;
> For today they hang around Lady Margaret's corpse
> And tomorrow they shall hang around mine.' 111

110 Tolman, op. cit., p. 59.
111 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 49.

A pair of stanzas from the same ballad, collected by Brewster in Indiana, describe Lady Margaret's grief in language that is quite casual and lacking in sincere emotional appeal; it is more like ordinary conversation between friends:

> Lady Margaret threw down the ivory comb
> And vanished from that place,
> And all that day and all that night
> Lady Margaret was seen no more.
>
> The day being past and the night a-coming on,
> When most of the men were asleep,
> Lady Margaret came walking softly downstairs
> And stood at William's bed feet.[112]

The descriptive detail employed in an example of Barbara Allen (84), found by Major in East Texas, is notable for the new tone assumed by the servant toward his master. In fact, the absence of a reference to a master is one of its prime characteristics. The servant is identified with a servant's position but assumes a tone of great familiarity toward "Willie" in the following stanza:

[112] Brewster, op. cit., p. 74.

He sent his servants to the town,
And also one to her dwelling,
Saying 'Willie's sick and sent for you,
If your name is Barbro Allen.'[113]

In the foregoing stanza the phrasing again shows the deadly serious drama of the Child versions; the manner in which the servant addresses Barbro Allen is outstanding for its casualness, denoting the relaxed relationship between servant and master in the American setting. The final stanzas of the same ballad, which deal with the burial of the lovers and the vines growing out of their graves, have added details which are not found in Child's versions. The superfluous detail in the Texas ballad again disturbs the imagery that is suggested in certain versions of the same ballad in the Child collection. This is particularly true in the description of the vines. In the final stanza of the example given by Major, the description of this scene is handled more awkwardly than in Child versions:

[113] Mabel Major, "British Ballads in Texas," Tone the Bell Easy, p. 148.

Sweet Willie was buried in the churchyard
And Barbro buried beside him;
Out of Willie's grave sprang a bright rose,
And also one from Barbro's.

They grew so high in the new churchyard,
Why should they grow any higher?
They looped, they tied in true love knots,
They lived and died together.[114]

The prize for uninspired description, however, probably goes to Belden's example of Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard (81) from Missouri. The following stanza deals with the warning that Little Mathy Groves' friend tried to send him on his horn:

There was one man among them all
Who owed little Mathy some good will,
And he put his bugle horn to his mouth
And he blew both loud and shrill.[115]

Several ballad narratives are open to infusion of Biblical moral lessons, and among the examples of those collected in the mid-region we find this element occurring often. In certain examples of Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter (155) and The Wife of Usher's Well (79) the narrative is interrupted

114 Ibid., p. 149.
115 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 59.

for a stanza on a religious theme. A stanza from an example of the latter ballad found in Missouri has the wife praying for the return of her three babes:

> She prayed to God, if there be any God,
> If there be any God on high,
> To send her three little babes back home
> That night or soon next day.[116]

In an example of The Wife of Usher's Well discovered by Louise Pound in Nebraska, the parting of the babies with their mother has a completely religious sentiment attached, the matter of spirits returning to the grave before daylight having been dropped. In the following stanza they express their hope of seeing their mother in heaven:

> 'A sad farewell, kind mother dear,
> We give the parting hand,
> To meet again on that fair shore
> In Canaan's happy land.'[117]

Tolman records an example of Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter in which the young boy calls for a

116 Ibid., p. 57.
117 Pound, op. cit., p. 20.

prayer-book to be buried at his feet:

> If any of my playmates should call for me,
> You may tell them that I'm asleep;
> But if my mother should call for me,
> You may tell her that I am dead,
> And buried with a prayer-book at my feet.118

Two of the examples of the same ballad collected by Randolph in the Ozarks contain the young boy's request for the prayer-book, one of which appears to introduce both the prayer-book and the Bible only for convenience of rhyme:

> Oh, put the prayer-book at my head,
> The Bible at my feet,
> And when my playmates call for me,
> Tell them that I'm asleep.
>
> Oh, put the prayer-book at my feet,
> The Bible at my head,
> And when my parents call for me,
> Tell them that their little one's dead.119

The above scene has been included in an example of The Two Brothers (49) found in Indiana. The exchange of dramatic elements is not surprising in view of the similarity of the death scenes in the two ballads. The following stanza is from

118 Tolman, op. cit., p. 165.

~~119 Randolph, op. cit., pp. 149-150.~~

119 RANDOLPH, OZARK FOLKSONGS, VOL. 1, OP. CIT., PP. 149-150.

The Two Brothers:

> Bury my Bible at my head,
> My satchel at my feet,
> My little bow and arrows at my side
> When I am sound asleep.[120]

The reference to "little bows and arrows" is pure emotionalism manufactured out of an unnatural sentiment.

In some examples of Child ballads in the mid-region, the influence of oral tradition has become immediately apparent in the garbled names, phrases, and even whole stanzas. Undoubtedly, in the transfer from one singer to another, such elements are given different pronunciations, or the phrasing of an event is altered. For example, version H of Child's Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) has the murderer promising the girl that they will go to "some unco' land," some unknown place to which they can flee with the gold. In the migration of the ballad to the mid-region of the United States, the place has been changed to "the marigold country,"

120 Brewster, op. cit., p. 57.

a term without any apparent meaning in the ballad. The following stanza from an example of the ballad collected in Missouri uses the term:

> Hand me down your father's gold,
> Likewise your mother's too,
> Away we will go to the marigold country,
> The length of a long summer day.[121]

In the same scene from an example collected by Brewster in Indiana, an equally unidentifiable place is suggested:

> And I'll take you to the bonny sea sands,
> And then we'll marry at Dee, O Dee,
> And then we'll marry at Dee.[122]

Equally meaningless places and names have crept into other ballads of the region. An example of The Two Sisters (10) collected by Stout in Iowa contains a strange reply of the older sister to the pleas of the younger to be pulled out of the water. She tells the younger:

[121] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 7.
[122] Brewster, op. cit., p. 32.

I'll neither lend me my hand or glove,
I'll be true, true to my love, etc.[123]

The words lend me could possibly be the result of an error in transcribing, or it could be the result of alteration by oral tradition from lend thee, for an example found by Belden in Missouri gives the reply: "I will neither lend you my hand nor glove, etc."[124] From this same ballad, however, we get an equally unexplained term, native land, given in the following stanza:

'O sister, O sister, lend me your hand
To help me to the native land.'[125]

A possible confusion of sounds has led another informant in Missouri to have the sister promise the miller an ink-stand as a reward for being pulled out:

'Miller, O miller, lend me your hand,
And I'll give you a gold ink-stand.'[126]

[123] Earl J. Stout, Folklore from Iowa, p. 1.
[124] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 18.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., p. 24.

Not only are single names and phrases mispronounced and garbled but whole scenes are presented in a confused state. The opening stanza in an example of The Cruel Brother (49) collected by Hudson in Mississippi contains just such a confusion of scenes:

> Two little boys were going to school,
> They were playmates for to be;
> Willie said to Johnnie,
> 'Can you throw a rock or toss a ball?'[127]

The foregoing examples of unique vocabulary and phrasing have been the result of misinterpretations and mispronunciations of elements that belonged to the ballads before they entered the mid-region. A considerable number of unique terms encountered in the ballads of the region have no antecedents among earlier versions, and so we can assume that the ballads acquired them locally. This does not mean that all ballads of the mid-region are alike in these properties, however, for the areas of homogeneous speech and vocabulary are much smaller

[127] Hudson, op. cit., p. 73.

than the ballad region with which we are dealing. But it is an easy matter to single out terminology that was not a part of a ballad when it migrated to the region, and with this much as proof, we can safely say that it was acquired from one of the speech areas of the mid-region.

Neely's example of Fair Margaret and Sweet William (74) recorded in Southern Illinois speaks of Lady Margaret's "grimly ghost."[128] In an example of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73) taken from the same area, Lord Thomas asks his mother to discourse instead of the usual request to riddle in solving his dilemma. The following stanza contains this term:

> 'Oh, Mother, dear Mother, will you discourse,
> Will you discourse as one?
> O shall I marry fair Elender dear,
> Or bring the Brown girl home?'[129]

One of the examples of Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) collected by Belden makes use of the term

128 Neely, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, op. cit., p. 141.

129 Ibid., p. 136.

light off as an order issued by the murderer for Pretty Polly to dismount:

> 'Light off, light off, pretty Polly,' said he,
> 'Light off like the leaf of a tree;' etc.130

In Hudson's example of the same ballad, the lady pronounces the murderer a rebel. There are no other elements in the ballad that could be related to the Civil War. Whether or not the term is so related could only be matter for speculation. It appears in the following stanza:

> 'O turn yourself around and about
> To view the leaves on the trees,
> For it don't become a rebel like you
> To watch a lady like me, me, me,' etc.131

In the third and fourth stanzas of Hudson's Earl Brand (7) we note the fact that Fair Elinor arose and "slipped on" her clothes; she then informed Sweet William that he may be "mad or pleased" as he wished. Mad here signifies angry:

130 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 9.
131 Hudson, op. cit., p. 62.

Fair Elinor arose, slipped on her clothes
For to let Sweet William in,
So ready was she to go with him
And leave all the rest of her kin.

'Be mad or pleased,' Fair Elinor she said,
'Be mad or pleased as you may be;
I wish myself in old Ireland
And you in the middle of the sea.'[132]

Hudson's example of Young Hunting (68) relates a scene between the father and the daughter-in-law concerning the whereabouts of Young Hunting. Her reply to the father-in-law's question ~~has the tone~~ IS PHRASED IN THE LANGUAGE of the Mississippi pine forest community in which it was collected:

'He's been a-hunting these three long days,
I expect him home tomorrow,' etc.[133]

In The Maid Freed from the Gallows (95), the instrument of death is usually "the gallows tree." An example discovered by Hudson in Mississippi has substituted the term "sorrow tree," which might be considered a decided improvement in poetic quality over the former. She asks each person in turn if he has come to see her "hung along the sorrow tree;"

132 Ibid., p. 66.
133 Ibid., p. 77.

in the following stanza she addresses the important question to her father:

> 'Father, O father, did you bring your gold?
> Did you come to buy me free?
> Or did you come to see me hung
> Along the sorrow tree?[134]

The word biler is used to describe Lord Thomas in an example of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73) collected by Tolman in Kansas. It appears significantly in the first stanza, where traditionally Lord Thomas' occupation is described:

> Lord Thomas he was a bold biler, sir,
> A biler, sir, was he;
> Fair Elender being an accomplished young lady,
> Lord Thomas he loved her dearly, dearly,
> Lord Thomas he loved her dearly.[135]

The first stanza in many versions of this ballad is devoted to describing Lord Thomas as "a forester and a chaser of the King's deer." Thus, the term biler could be related to byrlawman, a minor rural

[134] Ibid., p. 112.
[135] Tolman, op. cit., p. 159.

officer in England,[136] and it would not in this case be considered a local creation.

It was pointed out above that the verse pattern of the ballads of the mid-region is more flexible than that of the ballads of the Child collection. Metrical patterns are disregarded more frequently, with the result that a stanza becomes so variable in meter that it has more the appearance of conversation than poetry. This does not imply that the ballads of the region have disregarded verse pattern altogether, for they still adhere in general to the basic four-line ballad stanza made up of alternating lines of iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter, but the stanzas which disregard this orderly arrangement are more numerous among the ballads of the mid-region.

An example of James Harris, the Daemon Lover (243) from Indiana begins with a stanzaic arrangement according to the regular pattern. The first

136 ~~J. A. H. Murray~~, New English Dictionary, vol. I, ~~c. 1857.~~ The following definition of byrlawman is given in the N.E.D.: "...An officer appointed for various local duties....arbitration in agricultural disputes, etc. This still survives locally in Scotland and north of England as Burleyman, Birleyman, etc."

line of the fourth stanza then deviates drasti-

cally:

> She hadn't been on the sea more than two weeks,
> I'm sure it wasn't three,
> Till this fair damsel began to weep,
> And she wept most bitterly.[137]

Stanza number five of the example of Young Hunting (68) recorded by Belden in Missouri possesses an unusual metrical arrangement in that ~~a word of~~ the initial foot in the first and second lines is a dactyl. ~~primary importance, live, given as a command form of the verb, is given the position of an unaccented syllable in the iambic foot.~~ The result is a disruption of the rhythmic pattern set by preceding stanzas, which follow the standard form. The following is stanza number five:

> 'Live half an hour, Young Henry,' she said,
> 'Live half an hour for me,
> And all the men in our town
> Shall give relief to thee.'[138]

The following stanza from Fair Margaret and Sweet William (74), discovered in Indiana, also lacks

[137] Brewster, op. cit., p. 146.
[138] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 35.

regular meter:

> The day being past and the night a-coming on,
> When most of the men were asleep,
> Lady Margaret came walking softly downstairs
> And stood at William's bed feet.[139]

Such irregularities are even more noticeable when one encounters variable metrical patterns from one stanza to another. The following three stanzas were taken from an example of Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) collected by Gardner in Michigan. The first stanza is made up predominantly of anapestic feet; the second predominantly iambic. The third goes to anapestic again with an extra unaccented syllable in the third line:

> There lived a false knight in London did dwell
> Who courted a lady fair;
> And all that he wanted of this pretty maid
> Was to take her life away.
>
> 'Go get part of your father's gold
> And part of your mother's fee;
> And we will go to some strange country
> Where married we shall be.'

[139]Brewster, op. cit., p. 74.

She went and got part of her father's gold
And part of her mother's fee;
O she went, O she went to her father's stable-door,
Where the horses stood fifty by three.140

Variation in meter from one stanza to another is quite common in ballads of the region. The above trio of stanzas are typical. In the following stanzas from James Harris, The Daemon Lover (243) we find examples of extreme variation which, although not typical of the entire region, is certainly to be found in more than one ballad; they are the first, fourth, and eighth stanzas:

'We have met, we have met, we have met, my dear,
We have met, we have met,' said he;
'For I've just returned from the salt, salt sea,
And 'twas all for the love of thee.

If you will forsake your house-carpenter
And go along with me,
I'll take you where the grass grows green
On the banks of the sweet Dundee.'

'What are you weeping for? My gold?
Or is it for my store?
Or is it for your house-carpenter
That you never expect to see any more?141

140 Gardner and Chickering, op. cit., p. 29.
141 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

110

Additional flexibility of form of ballad verse can be seen in the variation of ballad stanzas by number of lines, although this characteristic is not as common as that of variation of metrical pattern described above. An example of Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter (155) recorded by Tolman in Indiana contains stanzas made up of five lines, the fifth line being a repetition of the fourth, but the final stanza alters this arrangement with the addition of a sixth line given as a sort of afterthought or the singer's parting shot:

> 'If any of my playmates should call for me,
> You may tell them that I'm asleep;
> But if my mother should call for me,
> You may tell her that I am dead,
> And buried with a prayer-book at my feet,
> And a bible at my head, head, head,
> And a bible at my head.[142]

Treat's example of James Harris, The Daemon Lover (243) collected in Wisconsin is made up mainly of four-line stanzas. In the fourth stanza, however, James Harris is promising the carpenter's wife a

[142] Tolman, op. cit., p. 165.

better life on the green banks of a stream if she will only run away with him. In this case, however, he offers her the banks of two streams and in so doing adds a fifth line to the stanza:

> 'If you'll forsake your house carpenter
> And go along with me,
> I will take you where the grass grows green,
> On the banks of the Sweet Willee,
> On the banks of the Sweet Liberty.'[143]

An unusual prolongation of the ballad stanza is carried out in an example of The Three Ravens (26) discovered by Stout in Iowa. It is done not by variation of number of lines per stanza, for the stanzaic arrangement is consistent, but by elaborating the nonsense refrain, which is characteristically interwoven with the narrative couplets. The nonsense refrain is the property of the same ballads generally in the mid-region as of those of the Child collection, such as The Elfin Knight (2), Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4), The Three Ravens (26), The Golden Vanity (286),

[143] Asher E. Treat, "Kentucky Folksong in Northern Wisconsin," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 52, p. 46.

etc., but among those of the mid-region of the United States the nonsense refrain has become more elaborate. Possibly the most elaborate of all is that of Stout's example of The Three Ravens. The following is the first stanza:

> There were three crows sat on a tree,
> Oh Billy Magee Magar!
> There were three crows sat on a tree,
> Oh Billy Magee Magar!
> There were three crows sat on a tree,
> And they were black as crows could be,
> And they all flapped their wings and cried
> Caw, Caw, Caw, Billy Magee Magar!
> And they all flapped their wings and cried
> Billy Magee Magar![144]

4. The Comic Treatment

The comic treatment is prominent among Child ballads found in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley, ACCORDING TO our survey of the ballads discovered within the region. Not only are those ballads which develop a comic situation prominent in the region, but there is a noticeable tendency

[144] Stout, op. cit., p. 2.

to convert a tragic ballad into ~~one that is~~ a mock tragedy. Within the first named group we find well represented in the region such ballads as Our Goodman (274), The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin (277) and The Farmer's Curst Wife (278); eight examples have been found of the first, nine examples of the second and ten of the third. These ballads have maintained the basic comic situations that are developed in those of the Child collection and have added elements to them in some examples. Thus, comedy in ballads is a popular theme in the mid-region of the United States, a condition that fits well into the general cultural characteristics of the region that were described earlier within this chapter in the section entitled "The Evolution of Western Cultural Traits."

The second group of ballads mentioned above, those in which a former tragic theme has been made into a mock tragedy, represents one of the most important groups in the mid-region. Within this type of change we find one of the greatest contributions of the region to British balladry.

In our discussion of the evolution of cultural traits characteristic of the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley we observed that life in the region was dynamic and constantly in a state of change. We saw the evolution west of the mountains of a new regional spirit and a feeling of separation from the East. A product of this latter quality of life was a tendency to reject cultural traits of European origin and sometimes even those which were a product of the Eastern states. We may now observe a relationship between such a characteristic of the region and its balladry. A great number of the ballads of the Child collection deal with a tragic theme, and many of these migrated to America, where they became a part of the traditional literature of the East. During their residence in this region, they remained ballads of pure tragedy. But in the migration west of the mountains the purely tragic frequently gave way to tragedy with comic overtones and often conversion into mockery of the original tragedy.

It is possible to find an explanation of such a tendency within the cultural characteristics of the region itself. The lasting influence of the frontier upon the region is one possible explanation. In a dynamic social order, where all things are on the move and new institutions are barely established before they are changed to conform to the moving social tide (just such a condition AS that ~~is~~ described heretofore by the immigrant IN ~~to~~ Wisconsin writing to his friend in Connecticut), one would expect in its traditional literature a taste for narratives that describe action and accomplishment. Thus, narratives which deal with tragedy only for tragedy's sake would be treated with an impatience that would invite mockery of tragedy. One of the predominant characteristics of such a region would be a profund optimism on the part of the people. Such optimism would linger long after the frontier had passed on, and so in time it would exert a lasting influence upon the traditional ballads of the region, thus creating even more impatience on the part of the people with ballads associated with tragic failure.

Another possible explanation of the tendency toward mockery of tragic narrative lies in the adulation of work and accomplishment expressed by the people of the region. Thus we find in the region an ascending popularity of ballads of work and occupation. The ballads collected by Beck in Northern Michigan show only one Child ballad, and it is based upon a comic situation, The Farmer's Curst Wife (278). The majority of Beck's collection is made up of work ballads of the Michigan lumberjack, modeled upon the broadside style, which deal with narratives of work and pride of occupation. We shall observe later that this type of ballad assumed a predominant position in the West, whereas Child ballads declined to near extinction. Thus, the folk of the mid-region of the United States would be prompted to treat lightly a ballad which narrated no events dealing with pride and accomplishment in one's occupation.

In our discussion of the rationalization of supernatural elements of the Child ballads of the mid-region into commonplace elements, we observed

an important example of such a characteristic in the ballad The Elfin Knight (2). The tone of version A of this ballad in the Child collection is one of mysterious enchantment of a lady by an elf, and we observed that in its migration west of the Appalachian Mountains it became a ballad of courtship between two lovers. Some examples of it found there have developed a comic theme in which a maiden avoids the attentions of an old man. Thus we find such stanzas as the following, in which the girl expresses, instead of fear, a great deal of amusement at the old man's attentions:

> Are you a-going to Boston, sir?
> Just give my respects to an old man there.
>
> Tell the old fool, when he's done this work,
> To bring me the land and I'll give him the shirt.[145]

In an Indiana example, the courtship of two young lovers is given a slightly humorous tone in the mutual assignment of tasks, apparently for the purpose of testing each other's affections. The following stanzas develop this theme:

[145] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

If you go up to town tonight,
Just hand this note to that young miss,

And tell her to make me a fine shirt,
And make it out of an old cotton sheet.

If you go down to town tonight,
Just hand this note to that young gent.

And tell him to plow it [the land] with a ram's horn,
And seed it down with one grain of corn.

Tell him to reap it with his penknife,
And haul it in with two yoke of mice.[146]

In examples of Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) found in the region, the manner in which the murderer approaches the lady in the beginning and her way of doing him in never manage to maintain the basic seriousness of such scenes presented in the Child collection. From Indiana we have an example in which the young lady is irritated by a most persistent masher:

He followed me up and he followed my around,
And he followed me around all day;
I hadnot the power to speak a word
Or a tongue to answer, 'Nay, O Nay,'
Or a tongue to answer, 'Nay.'[147]

146 Brewster, op. cit., pp. 25-27.
147 Ibid., p. 31.

In another example the murderer is identified as "Willie," a name most unlikely to be associated with mysterious evil-doers. After discovering Willie's intentions, she "dipped" him in the sea:

> Willie came over the main, wide ocean,
> Willie came over the sea,
> Willie came over the main, wide ocean,
> Willie came courting me.
>
> She turned her face to the green willow tree,
> Her back to the bottom of the sea;
> She gathered him around the slender waist
> And dipped him into the sea.[148]

In the examples of The Two Sisters (10) found in the mid-region the miller (or the miller's son) is frequently presented as a great fool. This is contrary to the role which the miller's son plays in Child versions, in which he comes out the hero by taking his magic violin into the hall where it can condemn the sister for the murder. The following stanzas from a Missouri example of the ballad portray the miller as a stupid villain; a humorous tone is given the description of his hanging, and

148 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 7.

the singer concludes the whole tale with the insinuation that he is tired of the story anyway and that if the listener wants any more he can just make it up himself:

> Down she sank and away she swam
> Until she came to a miller's mill-dam.
>
> 'Miller, O miller, lend me your hand,
> And I'll give you a gold ink-stand.'
>
> The miller accepted the golden ink-stand
> And then he pushed her in again.
>
> The miller was hung on his mill-yard gate
> For drownding of poor sister Kate.
>
> The saddles and bridles are hanging on the shelf;
> If you want any more you can sing it yourself.[149]

In humorous approach to a tragic situation, an even better example of the same ballad is reported by ~~Garner~~ Gardner and Chickering in their collection of ballads from Michigan. The informant grew up in Nebraska and was visiting in Michigan when contacted there by the collectors; so the unique treatment given the narrative in the following stanzas should properly be assigned to Nebraska:

149 Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Peter and I went down the lane,
Down the lane, down the lane,
Peter and I went down the lane,
And sister came behind.

Both of us sisters loved him well,
Loved him well, etc., etc.,
As only I can tell.

Peter could love but one of us then,
So sister must go away.

Sister was bending over the well,
When splash, splash, in she fell.

Peter and I were wed one day,
And oh, what people did say!

Peter then left for foreign parts,
And I'll die of a broken heart.[150]

In the ballad Lord Randal (12), the question and answer scene between the mother and the son is usually handled with a tone of suspense as the mother begins to realize what has happened to her son. The repetitious nature of the ballad (what Gummere has called <u>incremental repetition</u>) is the means of building suspense, and the speech of the two characters is quite suppressed in tone in most versions. Amid the tense situation which is present

[150] Gardner and Chickering, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 33-34.

between the mother and son, a lapse into violent speech on the part of either character would immediately break the spell of the serious dramatic situation, and the result would be melodrama. Just such a condition exists in an example of Lord Randal collected by Tolman in Indiana, when at the climax, on being questioned as to what he wills to his sweetheart, Lord Randal launches into a violent condemnation of her, combined with a direct accusation: ~~The following stanza conveys this scene:~~

> "Oh, what did you will to your sweetheart,
> Johnnie Ramble my son?
> Oh, what did you will to your sweetheart,
> My own dear little one?"
> "All hell and damnation for to parch her soul brown,
> For she is the one that has caused me lie down."[151]

The ballad Sir Lionel (18) is an ancient ballad of great seriousness which narrates the fight between a knight and a wild boar that had killed numbers of men. An example from Missouri reported by Belden develops the story with a strange blend of the

[151] Tolman, op. cit., p. 157.

comic and the serious. The introductory stanza sets the comic tone with references to "old Bangum" and the substitution of "would a-wooing ride" for the more serious purpose for which Sir Lionel sets out on his adventure in version A of Child's collection ("Wold on huntynge Ryde"). Examples of this ballad which are found in the mid-region appear to have dropped the name Sir Lionel altogether; thus the title of Belden's example is Bangum and the Boar. The following is its introductory stanza:

> Old Bangum would a-wooing ride,
> Dillum down, dillum down,
> Old Bangum would a-wooing ride,
> Dillum down,
> Old Bangum would a-wooing ride
> With sword and buckler by his side,
> Cum-e-caw, cud-e-down, kill-e-quo-qum.[152]

The refrain is typical of the examples found in the mid-region, and here it emphasizes even more the non-serious tone of the ballad in its opening lines. The stanza is constructed much like that

[152] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 29.

of Mr. Frog Went A-Courtin'. In the second stanza, Bangum meets "a pretty maid," an additional suggestion of the comic, since in Child's A she is presented as "a lady" who is in trouble because her knight is slain. No mention is made of the slain knight in the Missouri example, and so up to this point in the ballad the listener is to assume that it is to be a story of courtship between an old man and a pretty girl. In subsequent stanzas the serious aspects of Bangum's fight are described, and the result is a confusion of the comic introduction with the serious conclusion. The remaining portion of the ballad shows this gradual movement from one tone to the other:

Old Bangum rode to the greenwood side,
And there a pretty maid he spied.

'There is a wild boar in this wood
That'll cut your throat and suck your blood.'

'Oh, how can I this wild boar see?'
'Blow a blast and he'll come to thee.'

Old Bangum clapped his horn to his mouth
And blew a blast both loud and stout.

The wild boar came in such a rage,
He made his way through oak and ash.

They fit three hours in the day,
At last the wild boar stole away.

Old Bangum rode to the wild boar's den,
And spied the bones of a thousand men.[153]

In the portion of this chapter which deals with verse pattern of ballads of the mid-region, we observed the unusually lengthy nonsense refrain of the example of The Three Ravens (26) collected by Stout in Iowa, its principal line being "Billy Magee Magar!" Here again the nonsense refrain assumes a major role in the ballad and serves to introduce a comic overtone to what is basically a ballad on the tragedy of a slain knight left unburied on the battlefield. In this example given by Stout, as in the other five examples found in the mid-region, the story is one of exchange of questions between three crows as to where their next meal is coming from; the second and third stanzas develop this theme:

Said one old crow unto his mate,
Billy Magee Magar, etc.
"What shall we do for grub to ate?"

"There lies a horse on yonder plain,
Who's by some cruel butcher slain."[154]

[153] Ibid., pp. 29-30.
[154] Stout, op. cit., p. 2.

The example found by Hudson in Mississippi conveys even more suggestion of a comic question and answer session between two crows, as shown in the following stanzas:

One old crow says to his mate,
"What'll we do for grub to eat?"
His mate replies, "In yonders lane
Lies an old gray horse, just lately slain.

"We'll seat ourselves on his back-bone
And pick his eyes out, one by one."[155]

Beatty has recorded in Wisconsin an example of Young Beichan (53) in which the love scene between the young man and the Turkish maiden is given a particularly melodramatic tone; ~~as shown in the following stanza:~~

She led him down to the lower cellar,
And drew him a drink of the strangest wine,
Saying, "Every moment seems like an hour,
Oh Lord Baitman, if you were mine."[156]

The Turkish maiden's love for Young Beichan is only suggested by her actions in Child's versions of the ballad, and there is no such direct proclamation of love as that above, which is pure melodrama.

[155]Hudson, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
[156]Beatty, op. cit., p. 63.

In examples of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73) found in both England and America, the manner in which each party rides up to the other's door and announces himself is usually described with such terms as "tirled at the pin," "tingled at the ring," "jingled at the ring," etc. An example reported by Belden from Missouri presents this scene in a rather comical fashion by having the characters write letters and pass them in to each other:

> He rode and rode till he came to her door,
> He wrote a letter and handed it in;
> So who was there so ready as she
> To rise and welcome him in.
>
> She rode and she rode till she came to his door,
> She wrote a letter and handed it in;
> So who was there so ready as she
> To arise and welcome her in.[157]

The initial stanza of an example of this ballad found by Hudson in Mississippi describes Lord Thomas as a brave man for courting the queen's daughter.

157 Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

Lord Thomas, Lord Thomas he was a brave man,
He courted the queen's daughter,
The queen only had but one only daughter,
Fairrellater her name.[158]

A prominent scene in many versions of Fair Margaret and Sweet William (74) is that in which Lady Margaret is in her bower combing her hair and spies Sweet William walking with his new bride. Realizing her fate, she lays down her comb, binds up her hair and goes out of her bower to die. The dramatic decision is thus made more forceful by the utter calmness of her action, described in the following stanza from Child's version A:

Down she layd her ivory comb,
And up she bound her hair;
She went her way forth of her bower,
But never more did come there.[159]

An example from Missouri gives the scene a different treatment, in which Lady Margaret is pictured as a shrew who vows to go give Sweet William a piece of her mind and then forget him. The combing and brushing events are made ludicrous by a change of verb tense to the future, indicating a hastily

[158]Hudson, op. cit., p. 84.
[159]Sargent and Kittredge, op. cit., p. 157.

rising anger and a conscious preparation for venting it. The following stanza conveys this reversal of sentiment from that of the Child version:

'I'll throw down my ivory comb,
I will just brush back my hair,
And I'll go and make Sweet William bow,
And no more shall I go back there.'[160]

Child's versions of The Lass of Roch Royal (76) relate a lengthy story of a maid in love with a young man; when he returns from a journey, his mother turns her away from their door, and with her child in her arms she goes away to die of grief. All the examples of the ballad found in the mid-region have omitted the tragic events and have reduced the narrative to a flirtation between two lovers with repartee on the maid's faithfulness while the young man is in some foreign land.

Vance Randolph's collection contains an example ~~from which the following stanzas were taken,~~ that is characteristic of ~~the twenty-one examples~~ ALL THOSE found in the mid-region:

[160]Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 51.

Oh who will shoe your pretty little feet,
An' who will glove your hands?
An' who will kiss your ruby, ruby lips
When I'm in a furrint land?

My father will shoe my pretty little feet,
My mother will glove my hands,
Nobody will kiss my ruby, ruby lips
When you're in a furrint land.161

We may observe in examples of Barbara Allen (84) found in the mid-region certain changes from tragedy into comedy much like those described above in Fair Margaret and Sweet William. It is apparently contrary to the tastes of the folk of the mid-region to accept seriously the profound tragedy of the young man who discovers love too late and of the young maid who is too hard-hearted to sympathize with him on his deathbed. In the following stanzas from an example of Barbara Allen recorded by Louise Pound in Nebraska, we find the usual tragic tone changed to one of light-hearted flippancy as Barbara Allen hops and skips about at the deathbed to avoid the young man's touch and confession of love. The reference to the death

161 Randolph, OZARK FOLKSONGS, VOL. I, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

of "the Old Woman" is typical of the casualness with which death was accepted by the people of the region:

> Slowly, slowly she rose up,
> And to his bedside was going,
> She pulled the curtains to aside
> And said "Young man, you're a-dying."
>
> He stretched out his pale white hand,
> Expecting to touch hers,
> She hopped and skipped all over the floor,
> And said, "Young man, I won't have ye."
>
> Sweet William died on Saturday night,
> And Barbara on Sunday,
> The Old Woman died last of all,
> She died on Easter Monday.[162]

The manner in which the Jew's daughter murders Sir Hugh (in Child No. 155) is narrated in Child versions with the usual seriousness of tone befitting the tragic situation. The examples of the ballad found in the mid-region, on the other hand, describe the event in language that conveys a sort of carnival atmosphere about the knifing of Sir Hugh. In the example presented by Brewster from Indiana, the manner of sticking is changed

[162]Pound, op. cit., p. 10.

but slightly from that described in versions A, B, and C of Child's collection, the latter comparing the event to sticking (or dressing) a swine, whereas the former likens it to sticking a pig. The change of one word here manages to shift the tone from the tragically serious to the comic. The word pig suggests the atmosphere of good times and feasting that go with pig killing on a farm: ~~The following stanza is from the example presented by Brewster:~~

> She wrapped him in her apron
> And pinned it with a pin;
> She put him on her own bedside
> And stuck him like a pig.[163]

In the example of the same ballad recorded by Pound from an Alabama informant, the scene is given an equally humorous tone with the use of the verb stobbed in place of stuck; ~~as shown in the following stanza:~~

[163] Brewster, op. cit., p. 129.

She took me then by her lily-white hand,
And led me in the kitchen,
She laid me down on a golden plank,
And stobbed me like a sheep.[164]

Child's versions A and B of The Gypsy Laddie (200) make the lady of the house succumb to a spell which the Gypsy has cast over her. Thus she goes away with Johnny Faa against her will, and the story is one of tragedy resulting from the evil done by gypsies. Most of the examples of the mid-region have eliminated the reference to magical spells altogether, and the story becomes one of good-natured wooing of a silly young girl by the handsome Gypsy Davey. A particularly sharp contrast may be seen between the character of the sedate wife of the Child versions to the addle-brained young girl presented in the example found by Neely in Illinois: ~~The following stanzas are taken from the latter:~~

"How old are you, my pretty little miss?
How old are you, my honey?"
She answered me with a smile and kiss,
"I'll be seventeen next Sunday,
"I'll be seventeen next Sunday."

[164]Pound, op. cit., p. 15.

"Will you go with me, my pretty little miss?
Will you go with me, my honey?"
She answered me with a smile and kiss,
"I'll go with you next Sunday,
I'll go with you next Sunday."[165]

The Farmer's Curst Wife (278) is a ballad that narrates a humorous situation in all versions, English and American, and is particularly popular in the mid-region of the United States. The examples that are found there have outdone the Child versions in description of the wife's shrewish character. For example, in the following stanza recorded by Gardner and Chickering in Michigan, the devil has brought back the farmer's wife and says to him:

"Farmer, O farmer, I'm sorry to tell
That your old woman reigns bully of hell."[166]

Such extravagant characterization is apparently of American origin, for nothing like it appears among the Child versions of the ballad. In the same tone, an example from Missouri gives the following final

[165]Neely, Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
[166]Gardner and Chickering, op. cit., p. 376.

comment by the husband after the devil has returned his wife:

> 'Now, old woman, on earth you must dwell;
> You are not fit for heaven, and they won't
> have you in hell.'[167]

The above stanzas are typical of the exaggerated style given humorous ballads in the mid-region of the United States. They furnish additional evidence of the fact that the comic element occupied a far more important position among ballads of that region than among those of the Child collection.

[167] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 97.

5. Fragmentation

We have observed thus far that Child ballads found in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley possess characteristics which make them different from those of the Child collection in such matters as narrative style, character treatment, language, and verse pattern. At least one characteristic, the tendency to transform the tragic into the comic, may be attributable directly to the distinctive cultural traits of the mid-region of the United States. Inasmuch as human tragedy is a prominent feature of Child ballads generally, this tendency on the part of those found in the mid-region does much to explain the decline of the Child ballad west of the Appalachian Mountains. We observed previously that the most popular Child ballads of the mid-region were those dealing with tragic love, but even these were subject to frequent intrusions of a comic overtone. It is true that the people west of the Appalachians created ballads of their own with tragic endings, but it was tragedy of a different type from that of the Child ballad. It was tragedy with a comic tone, the tragedy, for example, of Joe Bowers and Sweet Betsy from Pike. Even Jesse James is lacking in real pathos when it describes Jesse going to his rest.

Another characteristic of Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States which gives additional evidence of their decline is their general reduction in length in comparison with the ballads of the Child collection. Not only do the Child ballads of the mid-region develope a shorter narrative, but their actual length in average number of stanzas is less than the average for the ballads of the Child collection. In addition to the reduction in average length, we find numerous instances of ballad fragments reported by collectors of the region. Both factors suggest a general tendency among the Child ballads of the mid-region in the direction of fragmentation.

No specific limitations on a ballad are implied in the term fragment. As long as a ballad tells a complete story we would ordinarily not regard it as a fragment, even though it may have omitted episodes contained in an older ballad. Fragmentation occurs when the principal elements of a narrative are omitted so that a complete story is not developed in the remaining piece, but the actual number of stanzas in the ballad is not necessarily the criterion for determining such a condition. Frequently we have the word of the informant that a certain piece is a fragment of a longer ballad that he once knew. On the other hand, the informant will sometimes compensate for

for forgetting one part of a ballad by introducing an episode from another. Such migration of narrative elements is a normal characteristic of traditional literature, and the fact that the ballad in question has dropped a portion of its narrative in favor of a new episode does not make it a fragment. If, however, all the ballads within a certain region are greatly reduced in length by comparison with older versions, and if they consistently omit portions of the narratives as they are developed in older ballads, then we might assume that they have reached a point of stagnation and are moving as a mass toward fragmentation. Such a condition exists among the Child ballads of the mid-region of the United States.

The table on page 162 represents a study of the forty-nine ballads found in the mid-region to determine the degree to which each has been reduced in length in its migration to that region from England. The table is based upon the average number of stanzas found in the examples of a particular ballad in the mid-region compared to the average number of stanzas in the versions of the Child collection. The figures in the first column on the right represent the average number of stanzas for each of the forty-nine ballads of the Child collection. Those in the

TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON BETWEEN AVERAGE NUMBER OF STANZAS PER BALLAD IN THE CHILD COLLECTION AND AVERAGE NUMBER PER BALLAD IN THE MIDDLE-WEST AND LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

Child No.	Title	Average No. of Stanzas Per Ballad in Child Collection	Average No. of Stanzas Per Ballad in Middle-Westand Lower Mississippi Valley
2	The Elfin Knight	13	9
3	The False Knight Upon the Road	9	4
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight	17	10
7	Earl Brand	16	9
8	Erlinton	22	7
10	The Twa Sisters	18	9
12	Lord Randal	8	5
13	Edward	10	6
18	Sir Lionel	21	4
20	The Cruel Mother	12	9
26	The Three Ravens	8	4
46	Captain Wedderburn's Courtship	15	9
49	The Two Brothers	16	7
53	Young Beichan	31	10
54	The Cherry Carol	13	2
63	Child Waters	29	3
68	Young Hunting	22	12
73	Lord Thomas and Fair Annet	28	14
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William	15	9
75	Lord Lovel	11	6
76	The Lass of Roch Royal	20	4
79	The Wife of Usher's Well	10	6
81	Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard	25	8
84	Bonny Barbara Allen	11	9
85	Lady Alice	7	5
93	Lamkin	18	8
95	The Maid Freed from the Gallows	9	9
105	The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington	13	11
112	The Baffled Knight	14	6
155	Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter	11	5
173	Mary Hamilton	13	3
200	The Gypsy Laddie	12	7
209	Geordie	20	7
215	Rare Willie Drowned in Yarrow	11	7
218	The False Lover Won Back	12	10
226	Lizie Lindsay	23	2
236	The Laird o' Drum	17	9
243	James Harris, The Daemon Lover	17	11
250	Henry Martyn	8	12
272	The Suffolk Miracle	28	11
274	Our Goodman	26	10
277	The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin	9	7
278	The Farmer's Curst Wife	11	13
279	Tha Jolly Beggar	20	3
286	The Golden Vanity	12	8
	[illegible] Ward and the Rainbow	12	7
	[illegible]	7	7
	[illegible]	12	8
	[illegible] the Maid	10	6
	Average:	15	7

second column represent the average for each of the ballads in the mid-region. For example, the table shows that for The Elfin Knight (2) there is an average of thirteen stanzas for all versions in Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads, whereas the average number of stanzas for all examples of the same ballad found in the mid-region is nine. Thus the reduction in average length of this ballad in its migration to the mid-region is four stanzas. The average number of stanzas for all the forty-nine ballads in the Child collection is fifteen, and the average number for the same ballads in the mid-region is seven. Stated another way, a ballad in the Child collection requires an average of fifteen stanzas to tell its story, whereas in the mid-region it tells its story in an average of seven stanzas.

It should be noted that the greatest reduction in average number of stanzas appears mostly among ballads that are not well known in the mid-region of the United States, as shown on the chart on page forty-five. The following list shows the five ballads for which there is greatest reduction in

average number of stanzas:

Child No.	Title	No. of Examples Shown on Chart, Page 45	Reduction in Average No. Stanzas
63	Child Waters	1	26
53	Young Beichan	10	21
226	Lizie Lindsay	1	21
81	Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard	6	17
272	The Suffolk Miracle	1	17

The ballads for which there is least reduction in average number of stanzas are of several types. Two ballads, Henry Martyn (250) and The Farmer's Curst Wife (278), gained in average number of stanzas in their migration to the mid-region. The gain in the average for The Farmer's Curst Wife may be explained in terms of its great popularity as a humorous ballad. A ballad of the same type, The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin (277), averages only two stanzas shorter in the mid-region than in the Child collection. It is possible that the gain in average length shown by Henry Martyn comes from the fact that four of the six examples collected in the mid-region contain additional narrative elements that appeared in English broadside versions of the ballad, such as the quest for vengeance carried out by Captain James Stuart on the pirate Henry and the subsequent hanging of the latter. Because they do not deal with these events, the

Child versions are much shorter by comparison. The average for the ballad Barbara Allen (84) in the mid-region is very close to that of the Child versions. This fact can be attributed to its popularity as broadside material in both England and America.

In addition to the table comparing the average length of ballads of the mid-region to that of the ballads of the Child collection, additional evidence of the tendency toward fragmentation is shown in the actual number of ballad fragments reported by collectors of the region. The number is high, particularly in view of the fact that collectors have not all followed the same practice in reporting fragments. Brewster, Belden, and Randolph list all their findings, and at the end of each group of complete ballad examples, they give the fragments of that particular ballad which they may have encountered. In her article "Folk-Songs of Nebraska," Louise Pound gives only two to three representative stanzas from each Child ballad found in the area and gives none in complete text, probably as a means of holding the article to a reasonable length. These are not considered fragments.

The table on page 166 shows the number of fragments of Child ballads found by collectors in the mid-region of the United States. A total of 110 fragments is shown for thirty-five of the forty-nine Child ballads found in the region. This is a relatively high rate of fragmentation in view of the fact that no comparable number of fragments of such ballads is found either in the Child collection or among the collections made in the Eastern states. This fact, added to that dealing with the reduction in length of ballads, as shown in the table on page 162, suggests a general tendency toward fragmentation on the part of Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States.

TABLE OF FRAGMENTS OF CHILD BALLADS COLLECTED IN THE MIDDLE-WEST AND LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

Child No.	Title	Number of Fragments
2	The Elfin Knight	1
4	Lady Isabel and the Elf-Night	7
8	Erlinton	1
10	The Twa Sisters	2
12	Lord Randal	5
13	Edward	1
18	Sir Lionel	2
26	The Three Ravens	10
45	King John and the Bishop	1
53	Young Beichan	1
54	Cherry Tree Carol	1
63	Child Waters	1
68	Young Hunting	2
73	Lord Thomas and Fair Annet	9
74	Fair Margaret and Sweet William	5
75	Lord Lovel	3
76	The Lass of Roch Royal	13
81	Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard	3
84	Barbara Allen	9
85	Lady Alice	2
93	Lamkin	1
95	The Maid Freed from the Gallows	1
155	Sir Hugh, or, The Jew's Daughter	3
173	Mary Hamilton	2
200	The Gypsy Laddie	5
209	Geordie	3
226	Lizie Lindsay	1
236	The Laird o' Drum	1
243	James Harris, The Daemon Lover	2
250	Henry Martyn	1
274	Our Goodman	3
279	The Jolly Beggar	1
280	The Golden Vanity	2
289	The Mermaid	3
295	The Brown Girl	2
	Total:	110

C. The Migration of the Broadside Ballad to the Region

Thus far we have spoken of the condition of Child ballads in the mid-region of the United States and have seen how they developed important patterns of change which made them distinct from related ballads of the Child collection. The causes of such change certainly may be charged in part to the conditions which made the cultural traits of the region distinct from those of the eastern states and England, but for additional explanation we might look to a factor which was imported with the ballads themselves, their introduction to the printed page. Such an event did much to bring about a change in ballad structure in both England and America. There is no definite date for this occurence, for in discussing changes in traditional literature one can seldom resort to specific measurement of time. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that by the end of the sixteenth century there was considerable production among the printing shops of England of the phenomenon known as the broadside.

The term broadside includes a variety of literary products, of which the ballad is the most common. One author describes the broadside as "merely a medium of circulation, restricted to timely

subjects of an urgent nature."[168] Printers used the term to describe anything printed on a single sheet, ~~usually of cheap paper, designed~~ for public circulation by a ~~pedlar~~ PEDDLER, for decorating the walls of taverns and other public houses, or in the case of official proclamations, for posting on public billboards. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the medium open to all men for conveying political opinion, the forerunner of the present day newspaper editorial. It was also a means of circulating an obituary and ridiculing persons involved in scandalous behavior. Many of the sheets thus produced merely used the four line ballad stanza as a simple, convenient verse pattern and ignored the narrative element, whereas others retained the narrative and used the verse form of the legitimate traditional ballad. With or without a narrative, all forms printed in the style described above have been popularly called broadside ballads. One of the best known collections of broadsides is that known as The Roxburghe Ballads, a publication of The Ballad Society.

In general, the broadsides written for the public ~~at large~~ were the work of professional hack writers who worked hand in hand with printing shops. When not engaged in the production of ballads about a local event the professionals devoted their energies

[168] Ola E. Winslow, American Broadside Verse, p. xix.

to turning out narratives of general interest. It was in this category that they frequently invaded the realm of older traditional ballads. They were not in the least reluctant to borrow a story from oral tradition and re-write it in the conventional language of the broadside. The results of this practice have been confusing to the student of the ballad. Kittredge describes ~~in the following paragraph~~ one of the principal effects of such professionalism on the traditional ballad:

> 'Broadside ballads' are of two main classes, which are really quite distinct: those that are traditional and those that are not. In the seventeenth century there was a great demand for printed ballads, and there grew up a class of professional 'purveyors to the press,' as Mr. Child calls them, who were kept busy in supplying materials for the single-page issues which were hawked about by pedlars and with which every alehouse seems to have been papered. Many traditional ballads were printed in this form, usually in debased versions. Now and then a good old ballad was made over by some hack-writer and when this was the case, the broadside text, though a pitiful specimen of Grub Street versification, may preserve the substance of a lost traditional ballad.[169]

Thus, we are indebted to the ballad hack, for even though he tampered with traditional ballads and dressed up the language to fit the current ballad style, he was responsible for preserving

[169] Sargent and Kittredge, op. cit., pp. xxvii-xxviii.

for later centuries a number of traditional ballads which otherwise would have been lost.

In tone, the broadsides were sentimental and melodramatic, and more than anything else they lacked that fundamental seriousness which was the property of traditional ballads. Broadsides developed their own characteristic vocabulary in journalistic fashion, with standard introductions and signatures notable for their appeal by means of cuteness of tone and pretension to literary sophistication. Such properties are found in both custom-made broadsides and reconditioned traditional ballads.

Another important property of broadside ballads is the fact that some of the re-written traditional pieces have been re-introduced into oral tradition. Numbers of ballads which are known to have existed before the advent of the broadside in the latter half of the sixteenth century and which have been recovered from oral tradition in a later century show evidence of the work of the pseudo-literary ballad monger, often in isolated stanzas and lines done in the professional style. The best examples of this type are the Robin Hood ballads of the Child collection, numbers 117-154. Several ~~of them~~ were taken from broadsides and were included in the collection only because Child recognized in them

certain aspects of older traditional ballads, while others were recovered from tradition and yet possess characteristics of the broadside.[170] Versions of some of these latter pieces (Robin Hood Rescuing Three Squires, number 140; and Robin Hood Rescuing Will Stutley, number 141) have been found in America in the twentieth century among people who could only have received them through oral tradition.[171] Thus, ballads which appear to have existed in oral tradition were re-written in the broadside style and returned to oral tradition. It should be pointed out, however, that Robin Hood ballads are extremely scarce in America and represent only a minor element of the British ballads collected here. Far more common is Barbara Allen, appearing in Child's collection as Bonny Barbara Allen (84), probably the most widely diffused of any British ballad in America. Child's version B was ta ken from the broadside of The Roxburghe Ballads. McEdward Leach points out its popularity as early broadside material,[172] yet it has been recovered from oral tradition many times both in England and in America. No one could possibly say with authority the number of times that

[170] Ibid., p. xviii.
[171] Reed Smith, "The Traditional Ballad in America, 1933," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 47, op. cit., p. 74.
[172] Leach, op. cit., p. 33.

this ballad has made the complete cycle from tradition to broadside (or to songbook in recent years) and back to tradition. We must not assume, however, from these few examples of inclusion of broadside versions of ballads in the Child collection that the two are inseparable. The great majority of ballads in the Child collection are shown to be from oral tradition.

The broadside ballad was quite popular in the American colonies. We observed in a preceeding chapter the testimony of Benjamin Franklin on the number of broadside publications which his shop turned out to satisfy the demands of the unlettered folk of the colonies. His experience with this medium was probably typical of that of the many printing shops in the colonies, if we are to judge by the number of broadsides which remain today in library archives throughout the country. It is significant that the American colonies were settled during the period of prolific broadside production in England, a condition that would cause many broadsides to be transported to the colonies by immigrating printers. A number of collections of broadside verse compiled in the twentieth century attest to the popularity of the form, at least through the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The collection of Ola E. Winslow entitled American Broadside Verse is made up of broadside ballads of a stereotyped, pseudo-literary tone. A prominent theme ~~found~~ among them is funeral verse, a public pronouncement of the worthy deeds of a deceased individual. A copy of the ballad was usually tacked to the coffin of the person so honored. This was the forerunner of the letter edged in black of later decades, and in fact, the custom of blocking off death notices with a black border originated with this form of broadside ballad. The first instance of this custom appears in the broadside lamenting the death of John Winthrop of Massachusetts.[173] Such funeral elegies, often composed by friends of the deceased instead of professional writers, were the principal subject matter of native American broadsides up to the year 1765. It was considered an honor to be selected for the task of scribbling the elegy of a prominent deceased citizen, but apparently in ~~making~~ the choice, little attention was given to poetic ability. Miss Winslow accurately summarizes the qualifications of such work as poetry when she says:

> Judged as poetry, hardly a line from all these numerous elegies would survive. But as a record of personal bereavement, and an effort to comfort those that mourned, these tributes were unimpeachably sincere. Occasionally, when the author forgot his models sufficiently to be simple for a line or two, his emotion broke through the stiffly starched conventionalities and pulpit phraseology, but this was not often.[174]

[173] Winslow, op. cit., p. xix.
[174] Ibid., p. xxi.

The foregoing comment correctly appraises the quality of funeral broadsides, for their imagery tended to follow a stereotyped pattern more inflexible than any type in the broadside category. The following stanza, quoted from An Elegy Upon His Excellency William Burnet, Esq., is typical of the sentiment of the type:

> Burnet the Great no more must bless our eyes,
> Burnet the Learned, the Gen'rous and the Wise;
> Gone, gone for ever, that capacious Mind,
> The vital Breath all scattered in the Wind.[175]

Between the years 1765 and 1800 a new series of subjects occupied the attentions of the ballad makers: liberty, property, politics, and war. The rate of production of broadsides during this period far exceeded that of any corresponding period in preceding years.[176] The stirring of rebellious spirits from the year 1765 was a windfall for professional ballad writers, hawkers, and printers, and the flood of ballads that were sold about the streets of the colonial cities appeared interminable, each new political or military event being recorded for exploitation of the popular taste. In 1773 a broadside ballad ~~which~~ was circulated

[175] Ibid., p. 35.
[176] Ibid., p. xxiii.

about the Boston Tea Party under the title Tea, Destroyed by Indians. As narrative it ~~never~~ DOES NOT get beyond the announcement of the fact that the participants were colonists in disguise, and from that point on it never relinquishes its call for "Bostonian's sons" to keep up their courage, ~~It ends~~ ENDING with ~~the~~ A ~~following~~ stirring stanza:

> Let us with hearts of steel now stand the task,
> Throw off all darksome ways, nor wear a mask;
> Oh! may our noble zeal support our frame,
> And brand all tyrants with eternal SHAME.[177]

In like manner other military events are celebrated, the narrative stanzas being frequently interrupted for patriotic harangues. Two broadsides, On the Evacuation of Boston and Captain Paul Jones's Victory, are more faithful to the task of narration than the others of this category, although the narrative stanzas are heavily larded with emotion for the American cause. The following stanza from Captain Paul Jones's Victory is typical of this characteristic battle broadside:

> We fought them eight glasses, eight glasses so hot,
> Till seventy bold seamen lay dead on the spot,
> And ninety bold seamen lay bleeding in their gore,
> While the pieces of cannon like thunder did roar.[178]

[177] Ibid., p. 138.
[178] Ibid., p. 145.

Miss Winslow's collection is limited to broadsides dealing with American persons and events through the year 1794, and thus we find no ballads among them that might be identified with British broadsides of more general subject matter. As a group they demonstrate the universal appeal of the ballad form as a medium which fit the pseudo-literary tastes of the mass of Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They ~~also~~ ALSO show the degree to which the broadside style influenced American balladry.

Another important contribution to the study of broadside balladry in America is the publication by Worthington C. Ford entitled Checklist of Massachusetts Broadsides, etc., 1639-1800. Its principal purpose is to list all broadsides printed in Massachusetts during the years indicated in the title. The term broadside is loosely applied, for a considerable portion of the work is taken up with listing the official pronouncements of the government regarding changes of law, recognition of the authority of public officials, public confessions of criminals, etc. One section of the collection, however, deals with ballads printed in Massachusetts during the above years. ~~Altogether~~ ALL TOGETHER some four hundred and seventy-three ballads are described, the majority of which

appear to have been written by professional hack writers. The subjects range from the serious to the asinine. Some ballads in the latter vein are mere tilting in doggerel verse between local professional writers, such as The Lady's Looking Glass and An Answer to the Lady's Looking Glass. Other so-called ballads on similar themes are Barney Leave the Girls Alone and Bob and Joan. The first of this pair begins with the lines:

> Judy leads me such a life!
> The devil ne'er had such a wife...[179]

The second begins with a stereotyped introduction in the form of a couplet:

> Young gallants all I pray draw near,
> And you a pleasant jest shall hear...[180]

Ballads on historical events from the Revolutionary War are found in abundance among the Massachusetts broadsides, in keeping with the national spirit that the war had aroused. The following lines are typical of the introductions to ballads of this motif, wherein the narrative is always preceded by a great deal of literary flexing of the national muscles and stirring of spirits:

> Rouse! Rouse, ye Patriots, brave and bold,
> And gird your bucklers on...[181]

[179] Worthington C. Ford, Checklist of Massachusetts Broadsides, etc., 1639-1800, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. 75, p. 398.

[180] Ibid., p. 400.

[181] Ibid., p. 416.

The above lines are from France Triumphant Over the Combined Powers: An Excellent New Patriotic Song. Other historical broadsides begin in similar manner and relate important military events of the war, such as,for example: Captain Paul Jones of the Ship Poor Richard, The Battle of Queenstown, and The Battle of Bunker Hill, the latter appearing in five separate versions.[182]

The foregoing titles are sufficient to illustrate the majority of broadsides represented by the four hundred and seventy-three listings in Ford's work. However, it is with the minority that we are most concerned in the study of the migration of broadside ballads, for distributed throughout the collection we find a number of pieces that are re-written ballads which existed in oral tradition and in broadside form in England. A few are examples of Child ballads. Whether such pieces are the result of direct copying of older English broadsides or of reprinting of ballads that were introduced to America by oral tradition we cannot determine. The following titles are examples of this category: The Turkish Lady (Young Beichan, number 53), Chevy Chase (The Hunting of the Cheviot, number 162), The Coast of Barbary, Jockey to the Fair, The Frog He Would A-Wooing Go, The Reformed Rake, The Scolding Wife(278), and Young Johnny the Miller.[183]

[182] Ibid., pp. 399, 403.
[183] Ibid., pp. 404-444.

The Winslow and Ford collections demonstrate the great interest in the broadside ballad during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the part of the people of the eastern states. We need not dwell longer on the fact that, aside from the few foregoing titles of older pieces, it was a balladry written objectively for a specific moment to capitalize on popular interest in a timely subject. Miss Winslow recognizes this fact in the following paragraph:

> ...Broadside verse merely offers a somewhat more direct and immediate response to the life of the hour. Delayed for a week, or even a day, most of these verses would never have been written. There was a tribute to be paid, a warning to be sounded, and at once. Men spoke with the menace of disaster upon them, and they waited not to polish their words.[184]

Of the more than five hundred and fifty broadsides listed in the two collections (excluding the few British broadsides that have appeared in traditional form), not one appears to have made its way into oral tradition. They apparently carried within themselves the elements of their own failure to survive. One of them has become popular as material for high school and college sophomore anthologies of American literature: Francis Hopkinson's Battle of the Kegs,[185] but this survival could hardly be considered traditional.

[184] Winslow, op. cit., p. xviii.
[185] Ibid., p. 153.

The greater number lived only for the moment; or, as McEdward Leach says, "Over the years the folk rejected far more than they accepted."[186]

The enthusiasm for broadside ballads in the American colonies was a condition inherited from England. As pointed out heretofore, broadside balladry as a popular movement existed in England from the sixteenth century through much of the nineteenth century, and it made the transfer to America with the colonists who came within the period. The same type of broadsides that we saw in the collections of Winslow and Ford were being ground out of the presses in England during the same period, the only differences being in the names of the deceased, the generals, the battles, and the principals involved in the scandals. Draper's A Century of Broadside Elegies is a collection of English broadsides written in much the same style as those produced in America, with the exception of those dealing with the American Revolutionary War.

A small minority of the British broadsides became preserved in oral tradition. This group, which we might call traditional broadsides, migrated to America. They migrated west of the Appalachian Mountains in the early nineteenth century, where they have survived to the present day.

It must not be assumed that all traditional British broadsides

[186] Leach, op. cit., p. 33.

originated with the professional hack writer. We have observed heretofore that the professional writer sometimes borrowed his material from ballads already established in oral tradition. Thus, it is often difficult to say with authority that a particular broadside ballad belongs to one category or another. A great portion of Child's work in compiling his collection dealt with the separation of ballads of pure broadside origin from those of traditional origin. In general, Child rejected ballads which could not be shown to have existed in tradition before their appearance as broadsides.

A great number of broadside ballads which passed into oral tradition have survived west of the Appalachian Mountains. Ballads of this type have survived in greater numbers west of the Appalachians, in fact, than have the Child ballads, for as the latter declined, the traditional broadsides increased in popularity. A particularly noticeable characteristic is that in their traditional form they have retained many features of the PRINTED broadside style. Their tone is less dignified than that of the majority of Child ballads. Their language is generally simpler, less dramatic, and lacking in the flashes of poetic imagery that are characteristic of Child ballads. The air of mystery surrounding human action, so

characteristic of the latter, is replaced in the traditional broadside by a more matter-of-fact, unexcited, and sometimes stereotyped style of narration.

How might we account for the great popularity of the traditional broadside ballad in America and its continuing popularity in its migration westward? A partial explanation lies in the fact that the settlement of the eastern states of America occurred during the period in which broadside production was at its height in both England and America. The broadside thus became a portion of the traditional literature of the unlettered immigrant moving westward. An additional explanation may be found in the fact that the broadside style was more compatible with the ~~cultural~~ DESIRE FOR SONGS OF LOCAL ADAPTATION IN ~~trends~~ of the regions west of the Appalachian Mountains. Proof of such a view may be found in the fact that the traditional broadside has adapted itself more to local place names, events, etc., than has the Child ballad. The broadside style appears to have had more appeal to folk who were part of the rapidly expanding social order of the westward movement. A portion of the changes that we ~~have~~ observed in the Child ballads surviving in the mid-region indicate a tendency on the part of such ballads toward the broadside style.

The traditional broadsides do not form one homogeneous group of ballads. Within the entire group there appears a nucleus of ballads which can be traced without question to English broadsides of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. There are others which appear to deal solely with ~~American proper names and events~~ PERSONS AND HISTORICAL EVENTS IN AMERICA but whose narratives ~~has~~ HAVE certain resemblances to English broadsides.

Then there are broadsides which are sung by occupational groups, each adapting a song to its own type of work but retaining certain standard features common to all versions, such as refrain, metrical pattern, or certain fascinating images. An interesting example of the latter feature is the characteristic phrase appearing in examples of The Unfortunate Rake (a British broadside) which describes the body of the dying youth:

(150)

All wrapped in white linen
And cold as the clay.[187]

This phrase appears in a sailor's adaptation of the ballad, entitled The Sailor Cut Down in His Prime. It appears in The Saint James's Hospital found in the Appalachian Mountains, and in The Cowboy's Lament of the Southwest. It appears again in the Rocky Mountain ballad I Once Was a Carman in the Big Mountain Con. ANOTHER British

[187]Barry, "Irish Folk-Song," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 24, p. 341.

~~A British~~ broadside describes the hardships of working in "Canaday-I-O," whereas an example discovered by Beck among the lumberjacks of northern Michigan has altered THE PLACE NAME. The following lines show its adaptation to the American setting:

And spend the winter pleasantly
In Michigan-I-O.[188]

The same ballad appears in the Southwest, having altered the above refrain to conform to its new setting:

And spend the summer pleasantly
On the range of the buffalo.[189]

The migration of narrative elements among broadside ballads west of the Appalachian Mountains is complex. The foregoing examples are typical of the migration of refrains, a prominent characteristic of broadside ballads in America.

Evidence of the vigorous migration of the broadside ballad west of the Appalachian Mountains may be found in the great variation in both title and text. A typical example is that of the ballad which narrates the story of the jealous lover who invites his sweetheart out for a walk and murders her. This story appears under numerous ballad titles. Belden states that the earliest example of the ballad yet known appears in Pepys' collection

[188]Beck, op. cit., p. 9.
[189]John A. Lomax, Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads, p. 335.

under the title The Bloody Miller, which deals with an incident that occurred in 1684.[190] A later example deals with a murder comitted by a miller in Berkshire County, England, in the year 1744; it is given in the Roxburghe collection under the title The Berkshire Tragedy; or, The Wittam Miller.[191] Cox discovered a broadside example in an Edinburgh chapbook printed in 1744.[192] It appears in the Harvard College Library collection of English broadsides under the title given immediately above.

(152)

The ballad has been collected in eastern states as The Lexington Miller. In the mid-region of the United States it is reported by most collectors under one or more of the following titles:

The Jealous Lover
The Wittam Miller
The Cruel Miller
The Bloody Miller
The Oxford Girl
The Wexford Girl
The Waco Girl
Oma Wise
Florella
Pearl Bryant
The Old Shawnee
On the Banks of the Old Pedee
The Silver Dagger
The Kosciusko Girl
The Shreveport Girl
The Ellen Sharp Murder

[190] Belden, Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, op. cit., p. 133

[191] The Roxburghe Ballads, vol. 8, pp. 629-631.

[192] John H. Cox, Folk-Songs of the South, p. 311.

The story remains basically the same in spite of great variation in names and the manner in which the murder is committed. The foregoing list of titles shows the degree to which the ballad has adapted itself to local communities. The Kosciusko Girl was found in Mississippi, which contains a town of that name. The Waco Girl is a Texas example. An element of the narrative which appears in almost all examples is that which describes the particularly gory details of the murder. The following stanzas from The Waco Girl give a description of the scene that is typical of all examples:

We walked along, we talked along,
Till we came to the level ground;
And picking me up a hackwood stick,
I knocked that fair maid down.

And falling on her bending knee,
"O Lord have mercy," she cried,
"O Willie, my dear, don't murder me here,
I'm not prepared to die."

But paying no attention to her pleading words,
I beat her more and more,
Till the blood around her yellow hair
Stood all out in a gore.

Then taking her up by the yellow hair,
I swung her round and round;
And taking her down to the still waters deep,
I threw her in to drown.[193]

[193] Unpublished manuscript of a ballad collected by John Q. Anderson of College Station, Texas.

The POPULARITY OF THIS ~~prolificness of the~~ ballad, which we might call The Bloody Miller, its oldest known title, is matched by THAT OF a number of ballads of British origin in the mid-region of the United States. It is representative of the EXTENT ~~degree~~ to which broadside ballads HAVE remained popular since their introduction to the region in the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to count the exact number of broadside ballads of British origin which have been found in the mid-region of the United States. The great AMOUNT ~~degree~~ of migration of narrative elements among them and their tendency to adapt themselves to local place names and events makes it impossible to arrive at the specific number of British broadsides surviving in the region. We observed above the multiplicity of titles by which The Bloody Miller is known in the region. The Butcher Boy is an example of extreme variation in ~~the~~ narrative elements among its many examples. Their titles indicate such variation: The Sailor Boy, The Cruel Father, The Deceived Maid, and There Is An Alehouse in Yonder Town.[194] Owens found it under

[194]This ballad caught the fancy of American jazz orchestras about the year 1935 and for several months was the top tune in commercial music circles under the title There Is A Tavern in the Town. The song is at least two hundred years old, and it is one of the mysteries of present day commercial music that it should have become nationally popular during the specific months of that year.

the title The Butcher Boy in an East Texas community. A ballad with a similar narrative is contained in a collection of nineteenth century English broadsides; it is entitled Young William.[195] In The Roxburghe Ballads it appears as The Constant Lady and False-Hearted Squire.[196] The foregoing titles designate a series of ballads which have in common the theme of the young lady deceived by her lover. It is only this central theme that makes it possible to group them as one ballad. If we applied other criteria, we would have to consider them separate ballads having certain similarities of narrative.

Most of the ballad collections in the mid-region of the United States list one or more variants of the above ballad. The title most frequently used is The Butcher Boy, but some collections list it under more than one title. Three ballads in Belden's collection, for example, narrate elements of the story, but each is presented as a separate ballad. If we use similarity of narrative as our criterion, all the ballads appearing under the foregoing titles can be considered examples of one British broadside. We could refer to the ballad by any of the titles under which it appears, but a more logical method would be to choose the title by which it is known most commonly in the region under study, in this case The Butcher Boy. This is the method which

[195] John Ashton, Modern Street Ballads, pp. 392-393.
[196] The Roxburghe Ballads, vol.1, pp. 260-262.

will be used below in comparing the number of British broadside examples to the number of Child examples which have been collected in the region.

Another problem in the study of British broadsides is the difficulty of distinguishing them from native American ballads. Such distinctions are frequently open to debate. For example, the British broadside The Indian Lass is the American Little Mohea. Tolman and Eddy suggest in an article in the Journal of American Folk Lore that the ballad was first published and circulated in England and that the American Little Mohea is a later American version.[197] Barry argues that it originated in America and was carried to England by sailors.[198] It is not our purpose here to settle such disputes, nor would it be possible to settle all that could arise over the many broadside ballads in America. In computing the number of British broadside examples found in the mid-region of the United States, we must use a broad interpretation of the type. The figures in the table on page 192 show the number of examples of ballads found in the mid-region which are also found among collections of British broadsides.[199] Thus, our figures possibly include some ballads which were of American origin but which are a part of the

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[197] Albert H. Tolman and Mary O. Eddy, "Traditional Texts and Tunes," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 35, p. 408.

[198] Barry, Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the North East, no. 6, pp. 16-17.

[199] See the following collections of British ballads: Journal of the Folk Song Society; Roxburghe Ballads; Sabine Baring-Gould, Songs and Ballads of the West; Baring-Gould, A Garland of Country Song; H. Rollins, editor, ~~The Pepys Ballads~~ THE CAVALIER AND PURITAN. ~~Cecil J. Sharp, One Hundred English Folk Songs.~~

traditional literature of both England and America.

The table on page 192 shows the number of examples of British broadside ballads collected in the mid-region of the United States compared to the number of examples of Child ballads found therein. The results show an almost EQUAL NUMBER ~~quantity~~ of each type, the broadsides having the greater number. Six hundred and eighteen examples of British broadsides were collected, as compared with five hundred and ninety-two examples of Child ballads. While the difference between these totals is not great, if we add to the number of British broadside examples the large number of native American ballads, which in general tend to adopt the broadside style, we see that the broadside has become by far the predominant style of ballad in the mid-region of the United States.

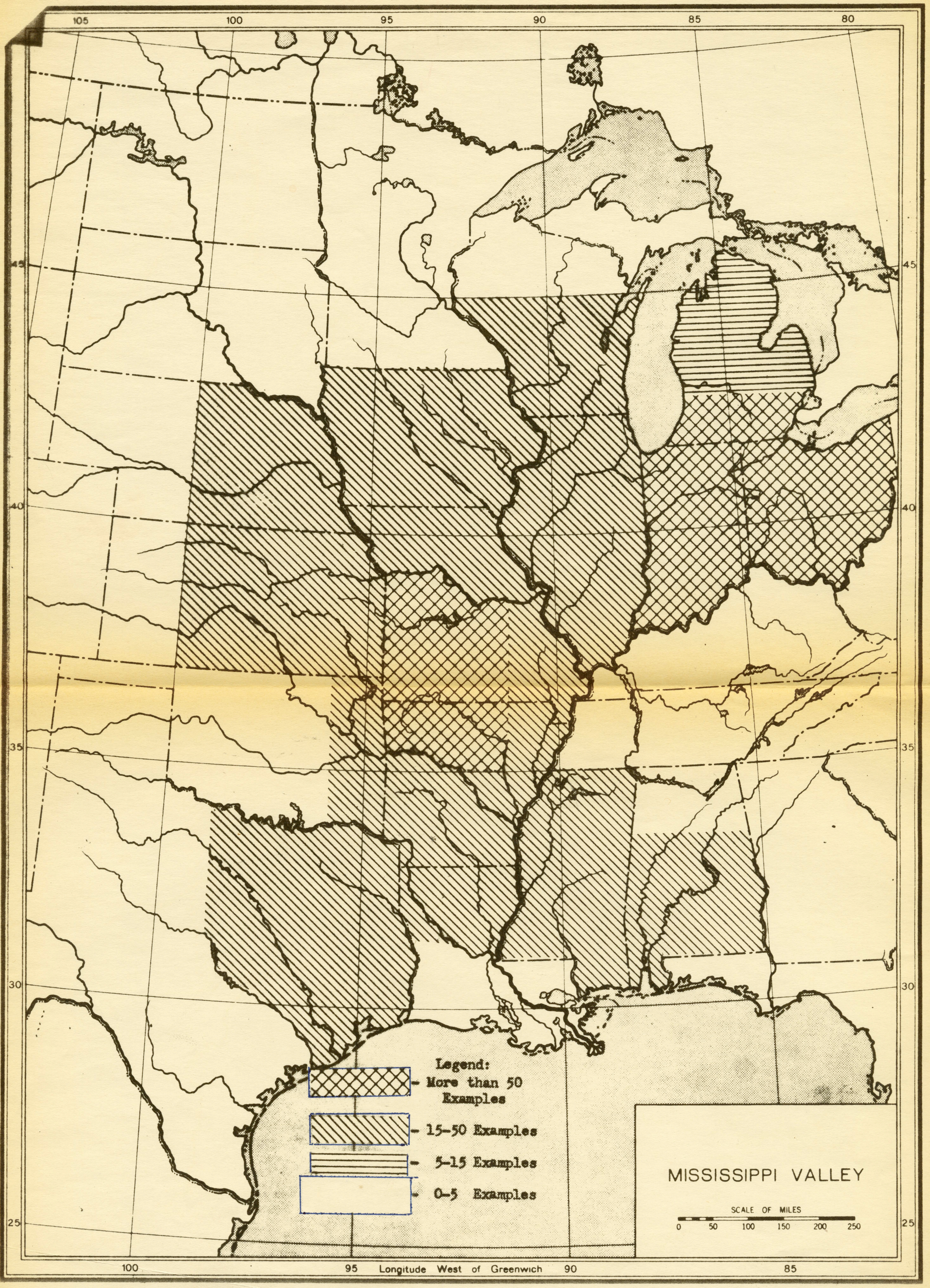
~~156~~

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF EXAMPLES OF BRITISH BROADSIDE BALLADS AND THE NUMBER OF EXAMPLES OF CHILD BALLADS COLLECTED IN THE MID-REGION OF THE UNITED STATES

Collector	No. of Examples of British Broadsides	No. of Examples of Child Ballads
Arnold	22	7
Beatty	0	2
Beck	6	1
Belden	126	104
Brewster	52	87
Eddy	54	58
Gardner and Chickering	52	30
Hudson	35	68
Major	9	14
Neely	17	4
Owens	19	15
Pound, *Folk-Song of Nebraska*	36	13
Pound, *American Ballads and Songs*	18	8
Randolph	89	150
Stout	34	17
Tolman	26	6
Treat	23	8
Total	618	592

The map on page 194 shows the distribution of British BROADSIDE ballads in the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley. The criterion for choosing broadside ballads ~~for~~ FROM Louise Pound's American Ballads and Songs was the same as that for Child ballads. Only those ballads were chosen which were shown by notation to have been collected in the mid-region of the United States. In northern Michigan we note an increase in broadside ballads over Child ballads. This difference is not great, however, because of the fact that the majority of lumberjack ballads collected by Beck appear to have originated within the occupational group and are thus not of British origin. We should observe that the Ozark Mountain area, which on the Child ballad map is clearly delineated because of the large number of survivals, ~~has blended with~~ IS LESS DISTINCT FROM the surrounding area on the map on page 194. One of the most important facts revealed by the two maps is that broadside ballads remained popular in the states along the fringes of the plains while the Child ballad declined in that area. It is in this area that the broadside ballad began to adapt itself to the new occupational groups of the West.

DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH BROADSIDE BALLADS IN THE MIDDLE-WEST AND LOWER MISSISIPPI VALLEY



CHAPTER III: THE BRITISH BALLAD IN THE WEST

A. The Failure of the Child Ballad to Survive in the West

The differences which we observed in the preceding chapter between the survival of Child ballads and broadside ballads suggest certain facts about the social and economic background of ballad survival in the mid-region of the United States. The Child ballad appears to have survived (although not as abundantly as in the East) in areas where the principal economic unit was the small, self-sufficient farm and where folk were firmly rooted to the soil. This is the area between the Appalachian Mountains on the east and a line approximately at the ninety-eighth meridian on the west, an area of abundant rainfall and productive soil, where a family might subsist on a farm of eighty acres. The Child ballad failed to survive and the broadside continued to thrive in areas where migratory occupational groups were numerous, such as the cattle ranches, railroad camps, and wheat farms of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and West Texas, which together represent the fringes of the Great Plains. The same condition prevailed in the forests of northern Michigan. When Beck collected among the lumberjacks of the latter area, he found one lone example

of a Child ballad, a comic piece called The Farmer's Curst Wife (278). Collectors who worked on the fringes of the Great Plains have failed to find Child ballads abundant. The population of the plains has had a heavy representation of migratory work groups, such as the cowboy, the gandy dancer, and the wheat harvester, to whom apparently the Child ballad did not appeal. In addition it has had the rancher and the dry land farmer, who were subjected to similar economic insecurity. The very small number of Child ballads which remained in oral tradition among such occupational groups and the relatively large number of ballads in the broadside style which are found among them suggest that the Child ballads, with their narratives of European origin, were inadequate for expressing the new style of life in the West.

The number of Child ballads which have been collected in the West is quite meager. Most of those reported have been obtained from informants who migrated there from the mid-region of the United States. Two Child ballads included in Pound's American Ballads and Songs, The Mermaid (289) and The Two Brothers (49), were obtained from informants in Junction, Wyoming, and Hansen's Ferry, Washington, respectively.

The first informant had migrated from Nebraska and the second from Missouri.[200] In the preface to her article "Folk-Song of Nebraska," Professor Pound lists her informants, some of whom live in Wyoming and Montana, but she does not list them by individual ballad. Thus, we have no way of knowing whether any of the Child ballads were obtained in the West. The title of the article ~~infers~~ IMPLIES, however, that the ballads are part of the traditional literature of Nebraska, indicating that the informants learned their ballads there.

John A. Lomax collected songs around the cow camps of West Texas and the open range country of present day New Mexico. His collection contains a ballad entitled Bow Down Your Head and Cry, which is a greatly altered example of The Maid Freed from the Gallows (95). The narrative is told in the first person and deals with a fight, a killing, and the subsequent punishment of the killer. Two stanzas show the association with the Child ballad:

"Oh, do you bring me silver, poor boy,
Or do you bring me gold?"
"I bring you neither," said the man,
"I bring you a hangman's fold."

"Oh, do you bring my pardon, poor boy,
To turn me a-loose?"
"I bring you nothing," said the man,
"Except a hangman's noose."[201]

[200] Pound, ~~American Ballads and Songs~~, op. cit., p. 245.
[201] Lomax, op. cit., p. 159.

Another ballad in the Lomax collection, Mustang Gray, deals with the adventures of Mayberry Gray, a Texas Ranger who participated in the Mexican War. In the ballad NARRATIVE he is imprisoned in Monterrey, Mexico. A maiden falls in love with him and sets him free. This portion of the plot is like that of Young Beichan (53), suggesting an association between the two ballads. The Texas ballad, however, does not carry the action any further, and there is no subsequent meeting between the two lovers as in the Child ballad. The similarity of the two plots may be found in only one stanza of Mustang Gray:

> A senorita loved him,
> And followed by his side;
> She opened the gates and gave to him
> Her father's steed to ride.[202]

There is insufficient evidence here to claim any Child origin for the ballad. J. Frank Dobie expresses the conviction that it was written by James T. Lytle, a Texas Ranger.[203]

In another collection of cowboy songs from West Texas and New Mexico we find an example of Barbara Allen (84). It appears in Jules Verne Allen's Cowboy Lore,[204] its text being

[202] Ibid., p. 364.

[203] J. Frank Dobie, "Mustang Gray: Fact, Tradition, and Song," Tone the Bell Easy, p. 122.

[204] Jules Verne Allen, Cowboy Lore, pp. 74-75.

only slightly different from examples common in the eastern states.

The Mormons of Utah were noted for their great love of singing. Their folksongs deal mostly with religious subject matter. Since the original body of Mormons who founded the settlement of Deseret were Americans who had been reared in the East or in the Middle-West, one would expect them to have carried to the West many of the traditional ballads prominent in the other regions. But they sang songs of their own creation which were devoted strictly to zealous proclamation of their religion. The fact that they knew traditional songs is shown by the parodies which they created on the tunes and verse patterns of such songs. Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, who have made extensive inquiry into Mormon folklore, have the following to say about the restricted subject matter of Mormon songs:

> ...More particularly they possess an appreciable body of songs whose origins are as varied as are the sources of folklore but which they have reshaped to such a degree that they express effectively the autonomous theological and sociological aspirations of the Latter-day Saints.[205]

The Fifes have done extensive field collecting in Utah with

[205]Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, "Folk Songs of Mormon Inspiration," Western Folklore, vol. 6, p. 52.

recording machine. In their collection only two Child ballads appear: an example of Lord Thomas and Fair Annet (73) and one of Lord Lovel (75). The Archives of the University of Utah have transcriptions of examples of two other Child ballads found in that state: The Farmer's Curst Wife (278) and Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4).[206] The four Child ballads appear to be all that have survived in Utah. There are four other published works which deal with Mormon folksongs, but no Child ballads appear in any of them.[207]

The ballads of Colorado, California, Nevada, and Idaho show a strong influence of miners and mule-skinning freighters. These occupational groups contributed a number of ballads to the traditional literature of the West, but they are notably lacking in examples of Child ballads. Levette Davidson

[206] A Bibliography of the Archives of the Utah Humanities Research Foundation, 1944-1947, University of Utah Bulletin, vol. 38, pp. 3-8.

[207] See: Levette J. Davidson, "Mormon Songs," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 58, pp. 273-300; George F. Briegel, 44 Old Time Mormon and Far West Songs; Pioneer Songs Compiled by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers; and Lester A. Hubbard, "Songs and Ballads of the Utah Pioneers," Utah Humanities Review, vol. 1, pp. 74-96.

collected folksongs in the Rocky Mountain states, but his collection does not list a single Child ballad.[208] The ballads collected in California, Nevada, and Idaho by Wayland Hand and Duncan Emrich are also lacking in this type.[209] Mrs. R. F. Herrick, a resident of Eureka, California, contributed a short article to the Journal of American Folk Lore on two "traditional songs," one of which is an example of Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) under the title Love's Impossibility. In explaining its source she says only that she learned it from her father, "who was born in 1807."[210] It is likely, therefore, that she learned the ballad before immigrating to California. From such scant information we could not say that the ballad is popular in oral tradition in California. Aside from this dubious example, no Child ballads appear to have survived in the abovementioned states.

[208] Levette J. Davidson, "Songs of the Rocky Mountain Frontier," California Folklore Quarterly, vol. 2, pp. 89-112.

[209] Wayland D. Hand and others, "Songs of the Butte Miner," Western Folklore, vol. 9, pp. 1-49; and Duncan Emrich, "Songs of the Western Miners," California Folklore Quarterly, vol. 1, pp. 213-232.

[210] Mrs. R. F. Herrick, "Two Traditional Songs," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 19, pp. 130-132.

A- There is some evidence that Child ballads migrated to the Northwest, but they failed to survive in any significant numbers. It was pointed out above that Pound's informant from Hansen's Ferry, Washington, had learned her example of The Two Brothers (49) in Missouri. An article entitled "Folk Songs from Oregon"by Russel M. Harrison lists some eight Child ballads recorded in that state. The article is based entirely on the repertoire of one informant, Mrs. Clarice Judkins of Eugene, Oregon. She was born in Iowa and moved to Oregon while she was still of school age (1890). We are told that she learned "some of her songs" while going to school. Her repertoire consists of more than one hundred songs, of which eight are Child ballads.[211] We are not told whether these eight ballads were among those sung by the informant's playmates in school. Since no other collections of ballads of the Northwest have been published, we must assume that the Child ballads discovered by Pound and Harrison were not generally known in the area. The information which ~~were~~ WE are given on the Scottish origin of Mrs. Judkins' father shows a likely source of the Child ballads that she knew.

[211] Russell M. Harrison, "Folk Songs from Oregon," Western Folklore, vol. 11, pp. 182-184.

Other collectors in the Northwest have discovered only an insignificant number of Child ballads. Professor Warren E. Roberts of Indiana University, who resided for a time in Portland, Oregon, writes:

> It is true that I recorded some folksongs in Portland, Oregon, some years ago, including some traditional ballads. All of the traditional ballads I recorded, however, came from college students who were not residents of the area but who came from Massachusetts and Vermont and had learned their ballads in their homes. If these texts were included in your study, they would be misleading.[212]

Professor William L. Alderson of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, writes of similar experience in ballad collecting in the area. He was able to find among permanent residents of Oregon only two examples of Child ballads, Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight (4) and The Farmer's Curst Wife (278), and the informant in each case had been reared in the Middle-West.[213]

In summarizing the survival of the Child ballad in the West,

[212] Letter dated April 3, 1956 from Professor Warren E. Roberts, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

[213] Letter dated May 7, 1956 from Professor William L. Alderson, Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

we may say with certainty that no one to date has discovered any significant number of Child ballads in general survival in the region. To a certain extent this is negative proof, but in view of the meager showing of Child ballads among the collections made in the region so far, it appears that we are safe in saying that the Child ballad failed to survive in the traditional literature of the West.

In an article published in The Mid-West Quarterly, Louise Pound introduces the matter of the failure of Child ballads to survive in the West. Her investigation is directed more at disproving the communal composition theory of Gummere and Kittredge and the same theory extended by John A. Lomax to western ballads than at explaining the lack of regional survival of the Child ballad. In proving her point, however, she suggests certain views on the survival of Child ballads. She states that Child ballads were the creation of professional poets and were thus superior to the ballads coming from the untaught and unlettered masses who produced ballads in the Middle Ages of a poorer quality, ~~that~~ WHICH have long since been forgotten. Thus, the ballads produced by the western cowboy, homesteader, and miner are the modern counterparts of the inferior ballads of the

Middle Ages. She expresses this view in the following quotation:

> ...It [the language of the Child ballad] is for its time much nearer the poetry coming from professional hands than what might be expected from medieval counterparts of The Old Chisholm Trail and The Boll Weevil. No doubt there existed analogues of these pieces, i.e., songs which were sung by and were the creation of ignorant and unlettered villagers, but we may be certain that these medieval analogues were not the Child ballads.[214]

At another point Miss Pound suggests a great discrepancy between the level of intelligence of the creators of the Child ballads and that of the creators of the ballads of the West:

> ...If we keep our eye on the evidence, the Child pieces are by far too good to have had their origin in any way parallel to that which produced The Old Chisholm Trail and The Boll Weevil.[215]

This view attempts only to deny the similarity in manner of origin of the two types of ballads. It infers, however, that the modern singers of cowboy songs, being unlettered, did not know the Child ballad because of its superior poetic form. If such inference correctly reflects Professor Pound's view on the failure of the Child ballad to survive in the West, then it

[214] Pound, "New World Analogues of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads," The Mid-West Quarterly, vol. 3, p. 180

[215] Ibid., p. 179.

is open to criticism, for Child ballads survived for centuries among masses of unlettered English-speaking folk. In America they were known from the Atlantic coast to the ninety-eighth meridian. How, then, could we explain the failure of the Child ballad to survive farther west on the basis of intelligence of the folk alone? A better explanation for the fact that people of the West did not sing the Child ballads is to be found in more tangible aspects of life in the West, such as the greater struggle with the elements which they found necessary for survival and the vigor with which occupational groups approached their work. These things created the need for ballads which expressed pride in occupational achievements and tragedies resulting from performance of work. The British broadside, not the Child ballad, was better suited to such themes, and thus it was adapted to western settings and became the model for native ballads. The rejection of Child ballads was further stimulated by the ever-present feeling of separation from European institutions.

B. Survival of the British Broadside Ballad in the West

We observed heretofore that the ballads of the West can be classified by occupational group rather than by area. To a great extent such ballads deal with events which occur in the daily practice of each occupation. Approximately two-thirds are ballads of local origin, the remaining third being local adaptations of ballads which migrated to the region. The majority of ballads in the latter category are British broadsides which migrated to the region. They adapted themselves to the West by substituting local place names in place of older names and revising narrative events to conform to local occupational situations. It is mainly in this form that the British broadside has survived in the West.

The number of examples of broadsides which have migrated unchanged to the West is quite small. In the section of this work dealing with Child ballads in the West we observed the example of Barbara Allen reported by Jules Verne Allen from New Mexico. Since this ballad belongs to both the Child and broadside categories, in variants only slightly different from each other, we should note it at this point as an example of the broadside in the West which made no local adaptations and was discovered by Allen in essentially

the same form as it appears in the East. The collection of songs published by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers contains examples of the British broadsides Little Mohea and Captain Jinks that are essentially the same as those found in the eastern states and in England.[216] The Fife collection and the University of Utah collection contain examples of The Jealous Lover with texts like those of the East and the mid-region.[217] These represent the only British broadsides which appear to have migrated unchanged to the West. All others have adapted themselves to the predominant occupational traits of each area to which they have migrated.

The cowboy has produced more ballads than any other occupational group in the West. Among them we find a considerable number of local adaptations of British broadsides. One of the best known of these is The Cowboy's Lament. It exists in England and America in numerous examples and under a variety of titles. In the Southwest it adopted the place name Laredo (probably suggested by the name Laden ~~of~~ WHICH APPEARS IN a Mississippi example) and a narrative situation involving a cowboy who fell in with bad company and was shot in the breast. Barry traces the ballad to an early example, The Unfortunate Rake, a ballad appearing in the year

[216] Pioneer Songs Compiled by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, op. cit., pp. 45, 90.

[217] A Bibliography of the Archives of the Utah Humanities Research Foundation, op. cit., p. 9.

1790 that deals with a ne'er-do-well career soldier who is dying and is asking for a military funeral.[218] The refrain that conveys this request has become a standard feature of the ballad in most of its variants:

> Oh beat the drum slowly, and play the fife lowly,
> Play the dead march as you carry me along;
> Take me to the graveyard and lay the sod o'er me,
> I'm only a _ _, and I know I've done wrong.

There are slight variations among the numerous examples of the ballad as to the place where burial is to take place. The principal change occurs in the last line when the singer gives his occupational classification. In this manner the ballad adapts itself to the predominant occupation in each area. Barry lists the following titles under which the ballad appears in England, Ireland, and America:

> The Unfortunate Rake
> The Bad Girl's Lament
> The Convict's Lament
> Norah McShane
> Lake Chemo
> The Wild Lumberjack [219]
> The Cowboy's Lament

[218] Barry, "Irish Folk-Songs," Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 24, op. cit., p. 341.

[219] Barry, Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the Northeast, no. 7, pp. 16-18.

In Sharp's collection it is listed as St. James's Hospital.[220] It is known in the Southwest as The Streets of Laredo and The Cowboy's Lament. Two examples discovered among miners of the Rocky Mountains show by their titles that the ballad adapted itself to that occupation: Only a Miner Killed in the Breast[221] and I Once Was a Carman in the Big Mountain Con.[222] The latter example and The Cowboy's Lament OF THE Southwest have both retained the narrative elements dealing with admission of waywardness on the part of the dying youth and the request for burial by companions, two principal elements of the broadside The Unfortunate Rake. The following stanzas from John A. Lomax's example of The Cowboy's Lament show the adaptation of such narrative elements to the Southwest:

> "It was once in the saddle I used to go dashing,
> It was once in the saddle I used to go gay;
> First to the dram-house and then to the card-house,
> Got shot in the breast and I am dying today.
>
> "Get six jolly cowboys to carry my coffin,
> Get six pretty maidens to bear up my pall;
> Put bunches of roses all over my coffin,
> Put roses to deaden the sods as they fall.[223]

[220]Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, vol. 2, p. 164.
[221]Emrich, op. cit., p. 220.
[222]Hand and others, op. cit., pp. 30-33.
[223]Lomax, op. cit., p. 419.

In the following stanzas from the ballad I Once Was a Carman in the Big Mountain Con the same elements appear as grim humor:

'Twas once in the saddle I used to go dashing,
'Twas once as a cowboy I used to be brave;
But ain't it a pity I came to Butte City
To work for Jim Brennan and now to my grave.

Get six jolly ladies to come and dance o'er me,
Get six husky carmen to carry me on;
Take me to The Flat, boys, and throw the soil o'er me,
For I once was a carman in the Big Mountain Con.[224]

The facts which we have noted above about the adaptation of the British broadside The Unfortunate Rake to occupational groups of the West could be observed about a number of other broadsides. Louise Pound lists a number of cowboy ballads which formerly were British broadsides. In the following quotation she shows the relationship between certain titles of cowboy songs and earlier broadsides:

> ...Bonnie Black Bess tells of the deeds of Dick Turpin, the highwayman, and is an Old World piece; and so are Fair Fannie More, Rosin the Bow, The Wars of Germanie, and Love in Disguise... Jack Donahoo tells of an Australian highwayman and is obviously imported. A Rambling Cowboy and Lackey Bill seem to be the same piece, and to be identical with E. C. Perrow's When I Became a Rover, also of Old World importation... Whoopee-Ti-Yi-Yo, Git Along

[224]Hand and others, op. cit., p. 31.

> _Little Dogies_ owes its melody and the opening lines to _The Cowboy's Lament_...which, as Mr. Phillips Barry has pointed out, is an Old World song adapted to plainsmen's conditions....[225]

The cowboy ballad _Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie_ is clearly a local adaptation of an earlier broadside, _The Ocean Burial_, as shown by the characteristic first stanza and refrain in each. In Jules Verne Allen's example of the former, we find the following stanzas:

> "Oh bury me not on the lone prairie,"
> These words came low and mournfully
> From the pallid lips of a youth who lay
> On his dying bed, at the close of day.
>
> "Oh bury me not on the lone prairie
> Where the wild cayotes will howl o'er me,
> In a narrow grave just six by three,
> Oh bury me not on the lone prairie."[226]

The following stanzas from _The Ocean Burial_ convey almost identical narrative elements but are adapted to a sailor who is dying:

[225] Pound, "New World Analogues of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads," _The Mid-West Quarterly_, _op. cit._, p. 181.

[226] Allen, _op. cit._, pp. 116-117.

"O bury me not in the deep, deep sea!"
Those words came slow and mournfully,
From the pallid lips of a youth who lay,
On his cabin couch at the close of day.

"O bury me not in the deep, deep sea,
Where the ocean billows will roll o'er me;
Where no light can break through those dark cold waves,
And no sunbeam rest upon my grave.[227]

Certain cowboy ballads may be identified with earlier broadsides only through single stanzas and refrains that appear in examples of both types. This is true of Goodbye Old Paint, which may be identified with The Wagoner's Lad by means of the following stanza taken from an example of the former in Allen's collection:

My horses ain't hungry,
They won't eat your hay;
My wagon is loaded
And rolling on its way.[228]

A similar stanza appears in an example of The Wagoner's Lad in Stout's collection from Iowa.

Associations similar to that shown above may be made between other cowboy ballads and earlier British broadsides. The Trail to Mexico contains narrative elements

[227]Cox, op. cit., p. 250.
[228]Allen, op. cit., p. 124.

which may be traced to the broadsides The Lover's Lament, The Butcher Boy, and The Rich Merchant. Although it does not have a western setting particularly, the ballad Sam Hall is common as a cowboy song, appearing in Lomax's collection. Its counterpart among the British broadsides is The Chimney Sweep. These two ballads are sung to a unique verse pattern that has migrated to other ballads having no relationship in subject matter with the former. It is an excellent example of migration of verse pattern without migration of narrative. It is used in the ballad Captain Kidd and also in a pornographic piece entitled The Eagles They Fly High in Siam.

It is difficult to say whether Sweet Betsy from Pike is a product of the western homesteader or the miner, since it has been found in numerous examples among both. Its relation to the British broadsides Willikins and Dinah and The Rich Merchant is unquestioned, and it represents a comic variation of the two serious British ballads.

The influence of the Irish laborer on the ballads of the West is quite pronounced. Not only did he introduce into the balladry of the cow camps and the mining camps a number

of pieces from the British Isles, but the unique style of narration characteristic of Irish ballads appears to have influenced ballads which are native to the West. The Irish ballad frequently delays the narrative while the singer identifies himself and often describes the situation in which he learned the story. This characteristic is present in the opening stanza of The Cowboy's Lament. Its prototype, The Unfortunate Rake, is said by Barry to be of Irish origin.[229] Another characteristic of the introduction to Irish ballads is the call to the listeners to assemble to hear the tale, called the "come-all-ye" style. It is also characteristic of ballads of this type to present, instead of a narrative of a past event, a summary of the present condition of things in the singer's life. In The Old Chisholm Trail, the introduction is first taken care of and then the singer proceeds to narrate a series of episodes that occurred on the trail. The first stanza shows the Irish influence:

> Come along, boys, and listen to my tale,
> I'll tell you of my troubles on the old Chisholm trail...[230]

[229]Barry, Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the Northeast, no. 7, op. cit., p. 17.

[230]Lomax, op. cit., p. 29.

Starving to Death on a Government Claim, a ballad of the homesteader on the plains, known also as The Lane County Bachelor, is an example of a narrative of the present condition of things. Its first stanza conveys the characteristically Irish introduction in which the singer presents himself to the audience:

> Frank Baker's my name, and a bachelor I am,
> I'm keeping old batch on an elegant plan,
> You'll find me out west in the county of Lane,
> A-starving to death on a government claim.[231]

The ballads which have been collected among the miners of California, Utah, and Montana are almost universally influenced by the Irish style of narrative. Probably the most popular of all ballads from this occupational group is The Days of Forty-Nine, which narrates the fate of the singer's comrades of the mining camp but does not convey a continuous narrative of a single event. Its first stanza shows the influence of the Irish ballad:

> You are gazing now on old Tom Moore,
> A relic of bygone days;
> 'Tis a bummer that they call me now,
> But what care I for praise?

[231] Pound, "Folk-Song of Nebraska," Nebraska Academy of Sciences Publications, vol. 9, op. cit., p. 114.

'Tis oft, says I, for the days gone by,
'Tis oft I do repine
For the days of old when we dug for gold
In the days of Forty-Nine.[232]

Among the songs of the miners there are a number of importations from Ireland, but their unique characteristics of narrative make their status as ballads questionable. They have been adapted to the working conditions of the miners of the western states, as, for example, Drill, Ye Terriers, Drill, which makes use of place names and NAMES OF mine foremen in the area. The old sea chantey What Shall We Do With the Drunken Sailor? has been transformed into What Shall We Do With the Drunken Miner?[233] Wayland Hand records three songs of Irish origin which in sequence represent a progression from a song OF present state of things to narrative in ballad style. The first deals with a summary of the miner's lot, entitled Irish Miner's Song. The second is a dialogue in the present tense between father and daughter entitled Don't Go Down in the Mine, Dad, and the third, My Father Was a Miner Down Below, is closer to true narrative.[234]

[232] Allen, op. cit., pp. 152-153.
[233] Hand and others, op. cit., pp. 38-46.
[234] Ibid., pp. 9-14.

The foregoing examples adequately illustrate the influence which Irish ballads exerted on balladry in the West. It is an influence of style more than of subject matter. Except for the importation from Ireland mentioned above, the subject matter of the pure narratives is native to America. Such ballads represent the westernmost point of survival of British ballads in America and are in a sense hybrids of the British broadside style and native American narratives.

CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION

The British ballad was brought to the east coast of America by immigrants from the British Isles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a time when the ballad was popular with the mass of unlettered folk on both sides of the Atlantic. There were two principal types of British ballads: the old traditional ballad, known generally as the Child ballad, and the broadside, a printed ballad of conscious authorship. Many of the latter were traditional ballads that had been re-written by professional ballad hacks in a style notable for its lack of imagery, flat figures, and stereotyped language. A certain number of ballads of broadside origin made their way into oral tradition.

The movement of civilization during the latter part of the colonial period in America carried the British ballad into the Appalachian Mountains and into the ~~western~~ NORTHERN portion of New England, areas which because of their cultural isolation from the main currents of civilization have preserved up to modern times a large number of both types of British ballads.

In the late eighteenth century, immigrants began to move in appreciable numbers into the region west of the Appalachian

Mountains. ~~It was~~ There ~~that~~ the British ballad was subjected to the influence of new forces in American civilization, principally a general feeling of separation from the East, rejection of eastern and European manners and institutions, and a rapidly expanding social order. In this mid-region of the United States, ~~the Middle-West and lower Mississippi Valley.~~ ONLY ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF THE CHILD BALLADS HAVE BEEN FOUND IN GENERAL SURVIVAL. The Child ballad ~~began its decline,~~ DECLINED, WHEREAS ~~while~~ the British broadside ballad continued to thrive and became the model for native American ballads.

The changes that occurred in the Child ballad in ~~this~~ THE mid-region of the United States were in part the changes which they underwent in England and America between the early nineteenth century and the present time. The increasing popular interest in science in the nineteenth century is reflected in a general rejection of the supernatural in the Child ballad. Ballads dealing with this subject failed to survive in the region in appreciable numbers, and among those that did survive the supernatural element was rationalized into normal human action. The emphasis placed on propriety of

human behavior during the Victorian era brought about a rejection on the part of English-speaking people generally of morally offensive elements in literature. Thus, the Child ballads which formerly dealt with incest and sexual promiscuity were rejected or were changed so that the offensive elements were omitted.

Other changes occurred in Child ballads that may be charged directly to the cultural traits of the region. The powerful imagery of the traditional English versions was exchanged for more matter-of-fact and unexcited description. Vocabulary was altered to conform to language of the mid-region. Verse patterns tended to be more flexible and to deviate from the relatively fixed four line stanza of the English versions. Such features show the Child ballad in the region migrating toward the broadside style. Another outstanding trend appears to have resulted from the distinctive cultural traits of the mid-region: the tendency to convert the tragic into comic. The folk of the region rejected tragedy as serious subject matter of their traditional literature. The great spirit of optimism that the frontier left as a heritage to the region is reflected

in the consistent refusal of the folk to take seriously the profoundly tragic narratives of certain Child ballads. As a result, the pure tragedy of Child ballads was changed to mock tragedy, or tragedy interwoven with grim humor.

The Child ballads of the mid-region show a general decline in average number of stanzas and an increase in number of ballad fragments encountered by collectors. Such factors together indicate a general trend toward fragmentation.

The broadside ballad style was popular in the East and mid-region of the United States. It emphasized vigorous rhythmic movement and narration of action rather than poetic imagery. The traditional BRITISH broadsides were more flexible in adapting themselves to local areas than was the Child ballad. ~~Accidents in the performance of work,~~ Murder and disappointed love were the principal types of subject matter. ~~A favorite subject of the broadsides introduced by Irish laborers was pride in occupational achievement. By changing place names and occupational titles in such ballads, it was a simple matter~~ FOR SINGERS to adapt it ~~to any locality.~~

The Child ballad failed to migrate to the plains or [redacted] to

the Far West in significant numbers, whereas broadside ballads, ~~particularly those of Irish origin,~~ migrated to the region and survived in local adaptations. The cowboy ballads were particularly influenced by traditional broadsides, such songs as The Cowboy's Lament and Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie being local adaptations of older ballads. A FAVORITE SUBJECT OF THE BROADSIDES INTRODUCED BY IRISH LABORERS WAS PRIDE IN OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT. BY CHANGING PLACENAMES AND OCCUPATIONAL titles, IT WAS A SIMPLE MATTER FOR SINGERS TO ADAPT SUCH BALLADS TO ANY LOCALITY.

~~Approximately one-third of the ballads in the Child collection have been recovered from oral tradition in the eastern states, but only about ten percent are found in general survival in the mid-region. A map of the distribution of Child ballads in the mid-region shows that the above ten percent are found in greatest numbers in areas where the self-sufficient small farm was the principal economic unit, existing up to a north-south line approximately at the ninety-eighth meridian. This fact suggests that the folk who lived close to the soil as their British ancestors had done, and who were blessed with adequate forests and rainfall, retained a certain amount of interest in the Child ballad. In the new civilization of the Plains and the Far West the folk were no longer enthusiastic about the Child ballads and turned more to ballads in the broadside style.~~

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V I T A

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