

The Wandering Jew's Chronicle: a textual history¹

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Introduction

Some time in the late 1680s, the historian John Aubrey set down in manuscript his account of the common knowledge, beliefs and customs of the English. Not published until the nineteenth century, Aubrey's work was an early example of the genre of historical writing that could, by then, be described as folklore: written knowledge's common counterpart. According to Aubrey, the common store of knowledge, of which he was an advocate and a mediator, was in need of preservation precisely because of the advance of written knowledge and, in particular, because of printing:

In the old ignorant times, before woomen were Readers, the history was handed downe from Mother to daughter [...] So my Nurse had the History from the Conquest down to Carl. I in ballad [...] Before Printing, Old-Wives Tales were ingeniose; and since Printing came into fashion [...] The ordinary sort of People were not taught to reade: now- a dayes Bookes are common, and most of the poor people understand Letters: and the many good Bookes [...] Have frighted away Robin-good-fellow and the Fayries.²

Aubrey's anecdote has become famous, a staple of histories of the time, cited as indicative of the period's growing sense of distance from a notionally communal oral past, exemplified by the erudite Aubrey's complicated nostalgia for his own pre-literate self. Nurses, prominent in folklore, are commonly sentimentalised as passive bearers of tradition or, at other times, castigated as superstitious, unreliable witnesses to what only becomes true folklore – or history – when written down. Aubrey's nurse stands somewhere between these extremes: between not only Aubrey and his childhood fancy (and by extension all our childhoods, before we learnt to read) but also between modern,

reliable historical knowledge and ‘old wives’ tales.³ The status of the popular ballad is not dissimilar. Aubrey elsewhere attests that ‘Antiquaries, when they cannot meet with better authority, will not disdaign to give an old ballad in evidence.’⁴ Another historian of the time, John Selden, famously described ballads as ‘straws in the wind’ that showed which way the wind of popular feeling was blowing.⁵ The ballad is not history, but it is evidence: testifying if not to what actually happened, then at least to what was generally felt.

We know a certain amount about Aubrey’s nurse. Katherine Bushell, of the village of Ford in Somerset, is often anonymised in re-tellings of Aubrey’s anecdote, turned proverbial to the detraction of her status as perhaps one of the more influential historians of her neighbourhood. The ballad also goes unnamed in most accounts of the anecdote, but the history of England from the Norman Conquest to Charles I may not have been a song passed down from mother to daughter since time immemorial, before the rise of print. According to Robert Shwiegler, it may itself have been a printed item – namely, a broadside ballad entitled *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle*, of which the only apparently surviving copy of the earliest surviving edition is reproduced below, a copy now in the Bodleian Library and previously owned by the Oxford antiquary Anthony Wood.⁶ Catalogued at the Bodleian as Wood 401(121), it is designated as A.2.(a) within the edition that this paper accompanies.

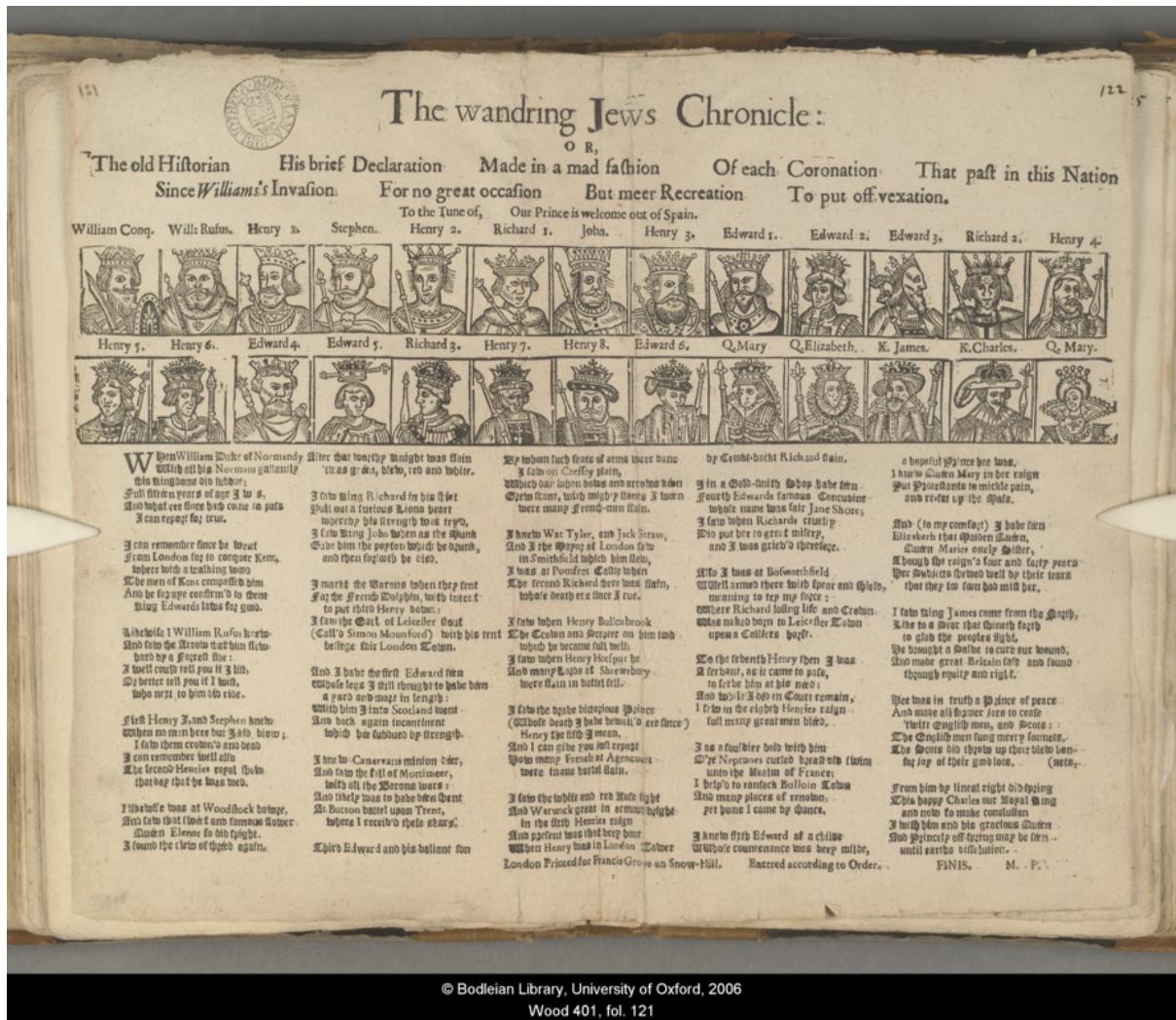


Fig. 1. *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* A.2. (Bodleian Wood 401 (121))

Shweger's attribution is probably correct. Although Wood's copy was printed around 1656 an earlier edition, perhaps the first, was published around 1634, at which time Aubrey would have been eight years old.⁷ No other ballad fits Aubrey's description, although Bushell may of course have been singing a composition of her own, or a sequence of topical ballads in chronological order, a form of historical narrative common among ballad collectors.⁸

Wood's copy of the *Wandering Jew's Chronicle* consists of a short text, printed in a mixture of antique 'blackletter' and Roman typefaces, headed by woodblock-printed portraits of monarchs. Both the illustrations and the text narrate the succession to the throne of England, from William I to Charles I and his queen, Henrietta Maria. The text

is attributed to ‘M. P’, or Martin Parker, one of the most popular balladeers of his time, best known for the royalist song ‘When the King Shall Enjoy his Own Again.’⁹ A tune accompanying the text is given as ‘Our Prince is Welcome Out of Spain’ – a reference to the abortive Spanish Match of 1623 in which the then Prince Charles, the future Charles I, returned to England following some efforts to marry into the royal family of Catholic Spain.¹⁰ Such a tune, at least under this name, now appears to be lost to traditional song scholarship.¹¹



Fig. 2. Tune of *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle* (A.2).

In truth, the history of *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle* contains little that is certain. Most of the evidence we have comes only from the ballad itself, of which I have located and inspected twenty-five copies of fourteen editions, published between approximately 1634 and 1825. Evidently a popular enough ballad to be worth reprinting, it has left few other traces in the historical record.¹² We have no figures for edition sizes, and no history of sale, performance, recital, reading or display, with the exception of Aubrey’s testimony and a handful of other references. This paper attempts to consolidate our knowledge of the *Chronicle*’s two centuries in print. It draws upon the methods of bibliography (the study of printed books as objects); book history (the study of the broader circumstances behind books’ publication and reception); and textual criticism, or scholarship (the study of the transmission of the information that the books contain), situating these empirical methods within the broader interpretive horizons of literary criticism and cultural history. One aim is to ask what we can learn from applying these methods, most of which are generally reserved for the most canonical of cultural forms, to a work that has been almost entirely forgotten, but whose eccentricities and complexities put those methods under considerable pressure. What can we learn about *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle* from book history, and vice-versa? This paper, and its accompanying edition, also contends that the Wandering Jew’s Chronicle is ‘good to think with’, in

particular about the history of media and of the relationships between media and various cultural and intellectual traditions. In this, it owes a debt to Roger Chartier's call for a history of print based on 'case studies and object studies', in which it is taken for granted that no one case can provide a comprehensive picture of the past, but that each case may test the completeness of any one model and provide incentives for carrying out further studies of printed objects and their contexts.¹³

The format of the ballad

Format is a fundamental concept in bibliography, which aims to describe books in strictly material terms. It is also an important concept in book history, in which a book's materiality may be related to trade practices, distribution methods, readerly expectations, and the wider context of a book's production and circulation. Textual scholarship, for its part, has rarely emphasised format, more concerned as it is with the book's content, abstracted from its material carrier. Literary scholarship pursued under the banner of material text criticism has recently called attention to how format can shape meaning, whether consciously chosen by an author, publisher or other agent, or as experienced by a reader or owner.¹⁴ Considered bibliographically, then, the earliest known edition of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* is printed in the broadside format, consisting of a single sheet printed on one side, perhaps the simplest of all print publications in its manufacture and certainly one of the oldest. Book history enlarges on this description by pointing out that broadsides were easy and quick to print and suitable for displaying on a wall, like a poster, and were therefore commonly used for public proclamations, news and broadside ballads like the *Chronicle*.¹⁵ Certainly, broadside ballads were printed, displayed, sung and sold in streets, fairs and other public places in immense numbers in Britain between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.¹⁶ Two surviving editions of the *Chronicle* are printed in another format, as short pamphlets often distributed by travelling pedlars, or chapmen, from which they are usually called chapbooks – a description that more closely resembles a trade format, referring to its method of production and distribution, than a format that can be specified with much bibliographical precision.¹⁷ One side of a printed

sheet imposed with four type-pages on each side, to be folded to produce an eight-page chapbook edition of the *Chronicle* is reproduced below:

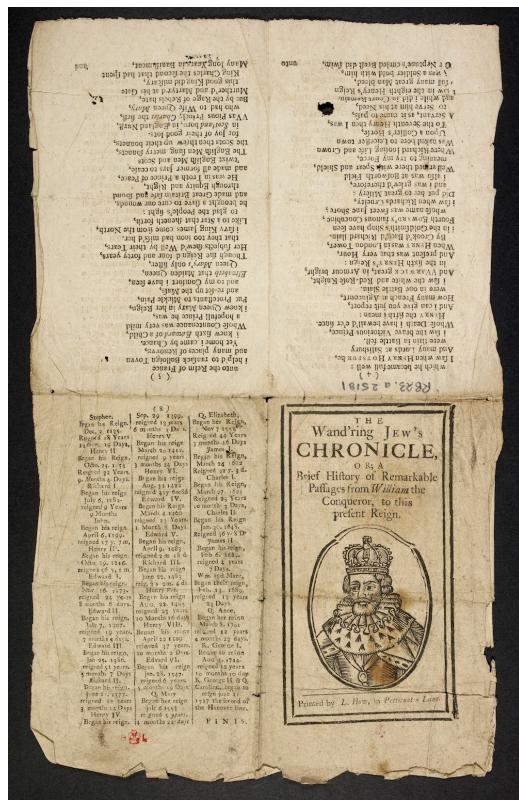


Fig. 3. *The Wand'ring Jew's Chronicle* (H.4).

In terms of the ballad's content, editions of the *Chronicle* are graphical representations of multiple media. All editions contain a text; most provide the name of a tune to which the text can be sung; and most include illustrations printed from wooden blocks, known as woodcuts.¹⁸ These elements, and the format that bears them, uniquely intersect within the *Chronicle* tradition while also possessing independent histories of their own. Those recurrent media-elements, or traditions as they might be described (without prejudice or mystification) by textual scholars, contain more complexity and ambiguity than can be described with textual scholarship's customary precision, and for which we might supplement it with the more evaluative methods of disciplines such as literary criticism or visual studies.

The ballad's narrative form: the Wandering Jew and royal succession-lists

As its title suggests, the ballad is narrated by the mythical Wandering Jew, a figure proverbially cursed with immortality for having insulting Christ and forced to wander until the end of time. Although a figure of considerable antiquity, the modern version of the myth can be dated to a German ‘volksbuch’ or folk-book (a concept similar to that a chapbook) that claims to have been printed at Leiden by an otherwise unrecorded printer, Christoff Crutzer, in 1602-3. This book was a publishing sensation across Europe, perhaps one of the first successes of the nascent popular press, and was reprinted in Germany in at least twelve editions in that year alone. Translated into English, it was registered (and presumably published) in 1612 as a pamphlet which no longer survives, but which seems likely to have been the source for a ballad, *The Wandering Jew or the Shoemaker of Jerusalem*, printed in at least sixteen English broadsides between 1620 and 1800 and anthologised in numerous collections of ballads, such as Thomas Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765).¹⁹

The use of the Wandering Jew as a chronicler is a specifically English variant of the myth: it descends from a story recorded in a 13th Century chronicle by Roger of Wendover, passed on to his continuator Matthew Paris and others, and revived in the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* opens with the narrator witnessing William of Normandy’s accession to the English throne by conquest in 1066:

WHen William Duke of Normandy
With all his Normans gallantly
this kingdome did subdue;
Full fifteen years of age I w[a]s,
And what ere since hath come to pass
I can report for true.

The ballad follows the custom of its time in dating the beginnings of the modern English state to the Conquest of 1066. In its second stanza however, the narrator reports an early challenge to William’s authority:

I can remember since he went
From *London* for to conquer *Kent*,
where with a walking wood
The men of *Kent* compassed him
And he for aye confirm'd to them
King *Edwards* laws for good.

Although the image of the ‘walking wood’ is best-known from Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, the source for this story of resistance to a king originates in the chronicle of Thomas Spotus of Canterbury, reprinted in the early-modern period in various antiquarian commentaries.²⁰ ‘King Edward’s Laws’ are those of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), a rhetorical keystone of the so-called ‘Ancient Constitution’ under which English common law was regarded as a single, unbroken tradition, descending not from the Roman law that Continental European regimes aligned themselves with, but from a corpus of Anglo-Saxon law handed down by oral tradition and custom since time immemorial.

Promulgated by early-modern historians and lawyers in search of a myth-history with which to underpin an insular, post-Reformation national history, the Ancient Constitution was one of the most furiously debated ideas of its day, invoked in particular in debates about the limitations of the monarch’s power and the extent of parliamentary sovereignty.²¹ A learned argument, its invocation in a cheap printed ballad, the very avatar and agent of popular oral tradition according to antiquaries such as John Aubrey, is surprising only if one thinks of learned and popular culture as respectively synonymous with literacy and orality, and as entirely separate spheres.²²

The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle, then, looks back to both the immemorial past and to more recent dynastic history. Its conceit is to adopt the Wandering Jew, a figure of mixed ancestries, as an historical witness over the centuries. There are no references to anglo-jewish historical experience in the text, although there is a resonance between the character’s proximity to the monarch and the royal protection, established by William the Conqueror, under which a Jewish community was said to have been first established in

England. Edward I's expulsion of the Jews in 1290 is not mentioned in the text, nor are the readmission debates that took place under Cromwell in 1656, after which a Jewish community was re-established. The Wandering Jew however is a convert to Christianity, although paradoxically still identified as a Jew: as a 'Living Letter of the Law' he bestows a providential dignity to the English monarchy and nation.²³

The Wandering Jew's song concludes with Charles on the throne, upholder to the death of the divine right of kings, following a stanza on his father, James I of England and VI of Scotland. He predicts the continuation of the Stuart lineage, by birth:

From him by lineal right did spring
This happy *Charles* our Royal King
and now to make conclusion
I wish him and his gracious Queen
And Princely off-spring may be seen
until earths dissolution.

Beginning and ending as it does with a king, *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* belongs to the basic genre of historical writing known to anthropologists and historiographers as a kinglist. A common form of oral history, as Aubrey's anecdote attests, the kinglist is also a fundamental structures for the organisation of English legal and other official documents.²⁴ As it is generally accompanied by woodcut portraits, the ballad also resembles a visual genre, that of the portrait gallery. Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, for example, possesses a long gallery which was, according to an inventory of 1601, lined with royal portraits in chronological order. Kenninghall in Norfolk had a similar gallery, as did Whitehall in London, while Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh still contains a sequence 110 portraits of Scottish monarchs – a competing lineage of the royal succession to that of England, although converging with the English line in 1601, with James.²⁵ Printed royal portrait-sequences likewise abound.²⁶ Thomas Talbot's *True Portraiture* of 1597 provided the models for the illustrations of John Taylor's verse

Memoriall of all the Monarchs, which in turn were closely copied (onto different blocks) for the illustrations for the *Wandering Jew's Chronicle*.²⁷



Thomas Talbot, *A booke, containing the true portraiture of the countenances and attires of the kings of England, from William Conqueror, vnto our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth now raigning* (1597)



John Taylor, *A memorial of all the English monarchs being in number 150. from Brute to King Iames. In heroycall verse* (1622).



Martin Parker, *The Wandring Jew's Chronicle* (1656)

Fig. 4. Iconographic chain of printed portraits of William I.

Although *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* seems a text of its time, with its theme of sacred kingship tinged with the fashionable anglo-saxonism and millenarian philosemitism of the seventeenth century, its subsequent history provides a wholly other dimension – that of tradition. Many printed ballads belonged wholly to their own time and were never reissued; some have remained in print since they were first composed; but *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* was not just reprinted over the next two centuries, but continually updated and revised to the present. The first revision, which takes in the deposition and execution of Charles by the English Parliament, was published by the partnership of Francis Coles, Thomas Vere and John Wright between 1663 and 1674: it again survives in only a single copy, designated here as C.1(a), also now in the Bodleian Library.²⁸

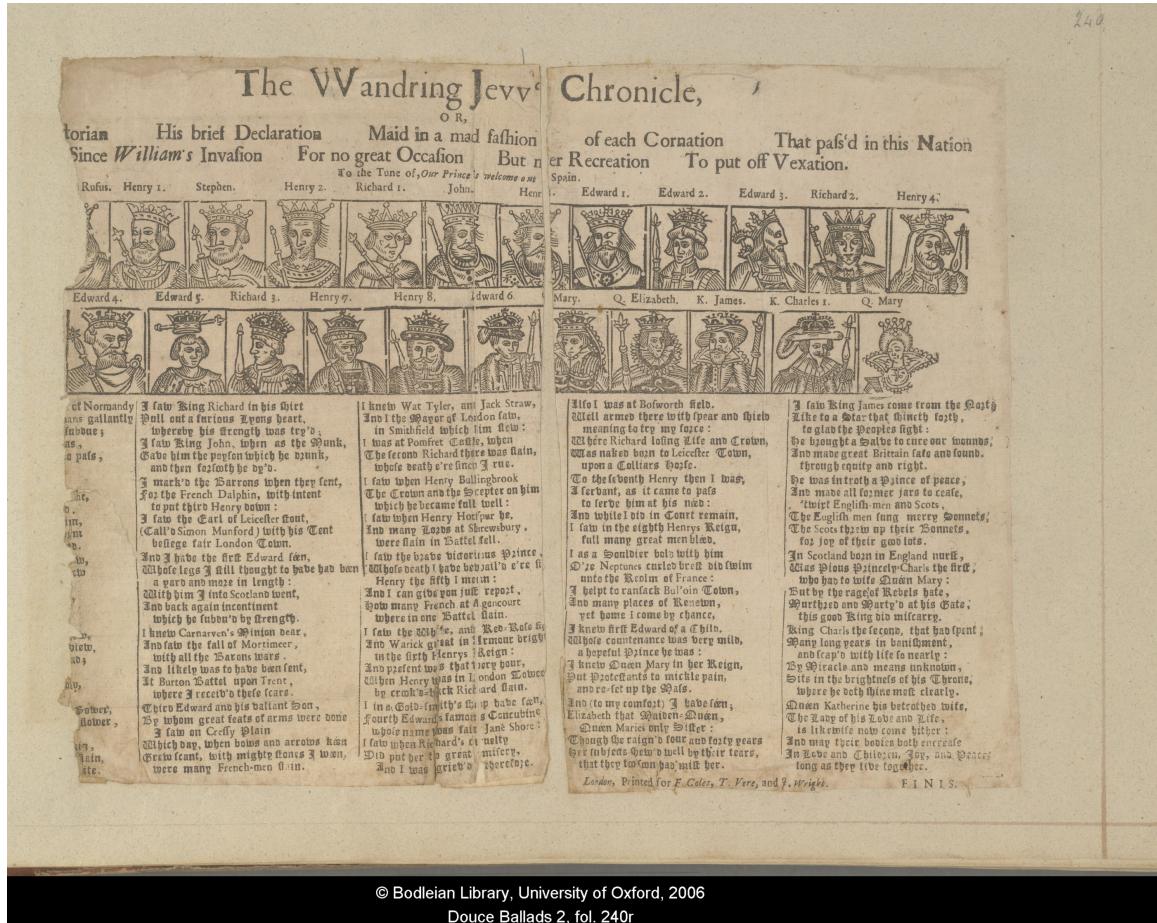


Fig. 5. *The VVAndring Jevv's Chronicle* (C.1.a)

Although damaged, the same woodblocks have clearly been employed and the ballad contains much the same text, apart from its ending which, anonymously revised some years after Parker's death, replaces the earlier conclusion with the following lines:

In *Scotland* born in *England* nurst,
Was Pious Princely *Charls* the first
who had to wife Queen *Mary*:
But by the rage of Rebels hate,
Murthred and Marty'd at his Gate
this good King did miscarry.

This updated version of the ballad makes no mention of the eleven-year Commonwealth period that followed Charles' execution, and ends with the Restoration of the monarchy in the form of Charles II:

King *Charls* the second, that had spent,
Many long years in banishment,
and scap'd with life so nearly:
By Miracle and means unknown,
Sits in the brightness of his Throne,
where he doth shine most clearly.

Queen *Katherine* his betrothed wife,
The Lady of his Love and Life,
is likewise now come hither:
And may their bodies both encrease
In Love and Children, Joy, and Peace,
long as they live together.

This ballad was reprinted twice, with the same woodcuts and an almost identical text: lone copies of each edition survive, now in the British Library as part of the Roxburghe Collection and in the Pepys Library in Magdalene College, Cambridge.²⁹ A pattern under which new monarchs generated new versions of the ballad was now set: it was to be followed by the ballad trade for almost two centuries. The edition of the *Chronicle* that this paper accompanies provides digital images and transcriptions of one copy of each edition of the ballad and a bibliography. A summary of editions of the ballad by monarchical version is provided below:

Charles I	1625–1649	[1] 1
Commonwealth	1649–1660	0
Charles II	1660–1685	3
James II	1685–1688	0
William and Mary	1688–1702	[1]
Anne	1702–1714	1
George I	1714–1727	1
George II	1727–1760	6
George III	1760–1820	2
George IV	1820–1830	1

Table 1. Editions of the *Chronicle* by regnal version.

Numbers in brackets in Table 1 denote editions known from external evidence to have been printed, but which are now lost. A first edition of the ballad is suggested by an entry in the Stationers' Register (the record of the right to print works maintained by the Stationers' Company of London) for 11 August 1634, which records that the London bookseller Thomas Lambert held the right to publish 'The wandring jewes cronicle'.³⁰ It is not surprising that no copy of the ballad published under Lambert's name appears to have survived, not uncommonly for a cheap broadside ballad, as only around 25% of registered ballad titles are now extant.³¹ Another edition that does not survive is shown by a record of two copies of an edition updated to the reign of William and Mary in a catalogue of the library of the antiquary Thomas Hearne.³²

Most editions of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* include an imprint, or an advertisement of production and sale by a bookseller – a publisher, in the modern sense. They may also list a printer, retailer or a combination of these trade functions, sometimes acting in partnership. Imprints provide only a glimpse of the process by which a ballad was brought to market. The usual supply chain was from the printer, acting under the entitlement and capital of a bookseller, through to wholesale distribution and on to retail sale by nameless small traders. It is largely for those small traders, or an intermediary supplier, that imprints are provided, advertising where more ballads can be obtained.

The lower end of the supply-chain - ballad singers and sellers - are among the least documented members of the trade, although there are some first-hand accounts, dating from the latter part of the *Chronicle* period, by sellers such as Dougal Graham, David Love and John Magee.³³ Although locally-important bearers of news and entertainment, ballad sellers' status was generally precarious. While Graham and Love were artisans retailing their own productions, other vendors barely subsisted within the authorised economy and were at one remove from begging. Ballad sellers might come under suspicion for both their itinerant patterns of trading (an occupation which was at various times officially licenced and taxed)³⁴ and, on occasion, for the content of their wares. Tessa Watt reports instances, at the beginning of the *Chronicle* period, of ballad-singers and sellers arrested for vagrancy, or for singing 'libellous and scandalous ballades'.³⁵ Paula McDowell similarly quotes a 1735 letter to *The Grub-street Journal* in which 'Democritus' excoriates the 'scandalous practice of ballad-singing' as 'the bane of all good manners and morals . . . a continual nursery for idlers, whores, and pick-pockets'.³⁶ If ballad sellers were objects of suspicion, then singing and selling the *Wandering Jew's Chronicle* could have served as an oath of loyalty, particularly during politically unstable times.³⁷ The *Chronicle* might even have granted the singer a certain dignity by association with the Wandering Jew, pleading for protection from the robbery, violence or suspicion of criminality that all travelling tradespeople risked.³⁸

While sparse records of economic and social history, the imprints do at least help in establishing dates of publication. Although the regnal date of the monarch with which a version ends clearly provides the earliest possible date for a ballad's composition

(otherwise it would be a prophecy, not a history), it does not necessarily indicate a latest possible date. The Grove edition (A.2) for example, is retrospective, concluding as it does with Charles I on the throne (presumably as given on the lost 1634 edition): but it was published around 1656, some seven years after Charles' execution, following a fresh registration with the Stationers' Company, and certainly printed after 1650, based on evidence from its woodcuts, which will be explored later.³⁹ While the Grove edition seems to be almost a defiance of Commonwealth-period history, all the other Chronicles were probably published during the reign with which they conclude, otherwise they would have been of little value in the market. A listing of the imprints, combined with external information on their corresponding dates, is given in Table 2.⁴⁰

A.2	London: Printed for Francis Grove on Snow-Hill.	1660-1662
C.1	London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright.	1665-1674
C.2	Print[ed for] F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright. and J. Clark.	1674-1679
C.3	Printed for I. C[larke]. W. T[hackeray]. and T. P[assinger].	1684-1686
F.1	London: Printed by and for C. Brown, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of Pye-corner and London-bridge.	1702-1707
G1.1	London: Printed by and for [C. Brown?] and T. Norris and sold by [J. Walter?] at the Golden [Ball in Pye-corner].	1714-1716
G1.2	London: Printed by <i>T. Norris</i> , at the Looking-glass on London-bridge. And sold by J. Walter.	1716-1727
H.1	[No imprint]	1727-1737
H.2	Printed for WILLIAM and CLUER DICEY, in <i>Bow-Church-Yard</i> .	1727-1737
H.3	Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and sold by J. WHITE, where Chapmen and others may be furnished with small Histories, Sermons, &c.	1737-1760
H.4	Printed by <i>L. How</i> , in <i>Petticoat-lane</i> .	1737-1760

H.5	Printed and Sold in <i>Bow Church-yard</i> . Where are sold the greatest Choice of OLD BALLADS, NEW SONGS, HISTORIES, &c. better printed than any where else, also the best Maps, Royals, Lotteries, &c.	1737-1760
I.1	[No imprint]	1760-1775
I.2	[No imprint]	1760-1800
J.1	J. Pitts, Printer, Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials.	1821-1830

Table 2. *Chronicle* imprints, with conjectured trade dates.

This table is in conjectured chronological order, of which much of what follows is a justification. While the A and C versions can be sequenced through the regnal dates of their concluding monarchs (Charles I and II respectively) an order for the editions of each version can be established from the dates in trade of the personnel named in the imprints. The C imprint names belong to the publishing consortium known as the Ballad Partners, a body first formed in 1624 that jointly owned and exercised the exclusive rights to publish a large number of ballads.⁴¹ To understand how these rights worked and how they may help in dating editions, it is necessary to give an account of how the book trade as a whole was organised in this period.

For almost all of the seventeenth century, printing in England and Wales was restricted by law to London, the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge and the archdiocese of York, with most commercial work done in London overseen by the Stationers' Company. Ownership of the right to reproduce a work – known as a 'copy' – was initially vested in a physical document, typically a manuscript belonging to an author, and could be bought and sold outright. Booksellers held the right to issue only publications not covered by existing rights: it is those rights (other than certain categories of publication covered by special privileges such as Royal patents) which were registered for a fee by the Stationers, and entered, for another fee, in their Register, in some cases following prepublication censorship, or Licensing.⁴² Although it presided over a small, mostly centralised trade, the Company's power was not absolute; its rights and

permissions were not always universally understood or respected; and its mission as charged by the state was ambiguous and subject to change. How consistently the Company regulated the printing trade on behalf of its members, while also discharging its duties towards the state during a period of immense political upheaval, remains a subject of debate.⁴³

The Wandering Jew's Chronicle was entered in the Stationers' Register on four occasions, made out to various individuals or partnerships:

a. 11 August 1634, to Thomas Lambert.

b. 3 July 1656, to Francis Grove.

c. 1 March 1675, to Francis Coles, Master Tho.[mas] Veere, Master John Wright and Master John Clark.

d. 20 September 1712, to Charles Brown and Thomas Norris.

Table 3. Entries of the *Chronicle* in the Stationers' Register.

The history of the ballad's entry in the Register can readily be aligned with the history of its actual publication, subject to the caveats that time might pass between entrance and publication; that an entrance may correspond to more than one published edition; and that an edition may appear under a different name from that entered in the Register. Exceptionally, a work that was entered may not have been published at all, having been entered on a speculative or defensive basis. This is potentially an issue with entry *a*, since (as has been said) no edition with the imprint of Thomas Lambert survives.⁴⁴ However, Lambert certainly published other Parker ballads, among them *The Two Inseparable Brothers*, entered in 1637 and published as 'to the tune of "The wandring Iewes chronicle"', demonstrating that the ballad was already known to the public.⁴⁵ Entry *b* in the name of Francis Grove can be associated with the publication of A.2 under Grove's imprint, which it probably preceded.⁴⁶ Entry *c* came as part of a block of 196 titles, many

others of which were also previously owned by Francis Grove, by the Ballad Partners Francis Coles, Thomas Vere, John Wright and John Clarke: it was however preceded by an edition published by the first three individuals named in the imprint sometime between 1665 and 1674.⁴⁷ The transfer of ownership of the title from Grove to Coles, Vere and Wright was likely a private arrangement, with entrance in the Register affirming the sale of the copy in public, as a defence against infringement.

Ownership of subsequent editions of the ballad is less clear. Although a very large number of ballads were licensed and entered in the Stationers' Register during the short and troubled reign of James II (1685–88), *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* is not among them, nor is there a trace in the Register of a William and Mary version: that is, the lost *E*, of which two copies were owned by Thomas Hearne. Hearne does not record the imprint of this edition, but it probably included the name of William Thackeray, in whose trade-catalogue the *Chronicle* was advertised around 1689 and who had earlier published ballads with Coles, Vere, Wright, Clarke and other Ballad Partners.⁴⁸ The content of *E* may perhaps be glimpsed from F.1, which lauds William and Mary's successor Anne, last of the Stuarts, in three terse lines that seem to have been hastily added to a longer and more lyrical section on William and Mary's revolutionary ascent, preceded by, as presumably was *E*, two stanzas excoriating the deposed James II and his son.

Moving into the eighteenth century, entry *d.* corresponds with the Brown-Norris partnership given in the imprint of G.1.1, but this entry was preceded by the printing of F.1, under whose name Brown appears as sole proprietor and as both printer and publisher. It is not apparent when Brown acquired the right to publish the *Chronicle*, presumably from Thackeray or his heirs. According to Leslie Shepard, Brown 'does not seem to have printed after 1707', indicating that F.1. was published before 1707 but after Anne's coronation in 1702.⁴⁹ Brown and Norris's entry of the *Chronicle* in 1712 was as one of a block of 71 'old ballads' – much of the historic stock of the Ballad Partners, now entered in the Stationers' Register for the last time. Since the previous entrance of the *Chronicle*, radical changes to the laws governing publishing had occurred: so, too, had changes to the status of the institution that was the subject of the ballad.

The Revolution of 1688 and its aftermath decisively rewrote the English constitution: subsequent legal developments were to do the same for the regulatory framework of the book trade. The 1689 *Bill of Rights* redefined the relationship between Parliament and the sovereign who, following the *Act of Settlement* of 1701, was henceforth required to be a Protestant, leading to the accession of the Hanoverian George I, instead of James Francis Stuart, Catholic son of James II. The Revolution also led to the replacement of much of the apparatus for the governance of printing. In particular, due to a lapse of legislation in 1695 (the Printing Act, or so-called ‘Licencing Act’) printers in England and Wales were no longer required to licence their publications, and became free to set up presses anywhere within the nation. A system of time-limited exclusive rights to make copies – ‘copy rights’, as they became known – was instituted in the *Act for the Encouragement of Learning* of 1710. Aimed at replacing a situation in which ownership of works was often considered by their owners to be perpetual, the Act declared that new literary works could enjoy copyright protection for fourteen years, renewable for another term of the same length. Existing works would remain in the possession of their owners for twenty-one years. This system was tested and contested in law and trade practice for the remainder of the eighteenth century: many London booksellers claimed that they possessed perpetual copyright in literary works under English common law regardless of what the Act of 1710 stated. Holders of ancestral rights were challenged by rivals claiming that copyrights under the 1710 Act had expired, in particular in Scotland, where the writ of English common law had never run. An evolving body of case law culminated in a House of Lords decision of 1774 that concluded that copyrights were not analogous to other forms of property and could not be owned in perpetuity.⁵⁰

These developments can be only obliquely glimpsed in the *Chronicle* tradition. While continuing to treat the regnal succession as unbroken, it was nonetheless obliged to follow the new regime in publishing and was, as has been said, statutorily entered in the Register, amended and published in a new edition (G.1) celebrating the accession of George I. This edition consists of two ‘issues’, distinct releases of what was substantially the same setting of type, with alterations to the imprint, title and tune.⁵¹ The imprint of

the surviving copy of G.1.1 is damaged, but can be reconstructed by comparison with undamaged imprints.

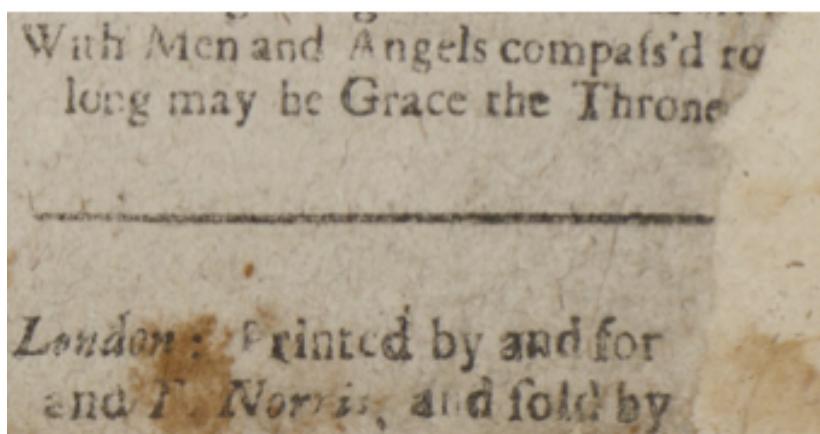


Fig. 6. Imprint of G.1.1.

The imprint seems to have been 'London: Printed by and for [C. Brown] and T. Norris and sold by [J. Walter] at the Golden [Ball in Pye-corner].'⁵² This imprint can be dated to the very beginning of George's reign, between his accession in 1714 and Charles Brown's death not long after (his probate was proven in 1716). For the second issue (G.1.2), Norris's and Walter's names alone are given.

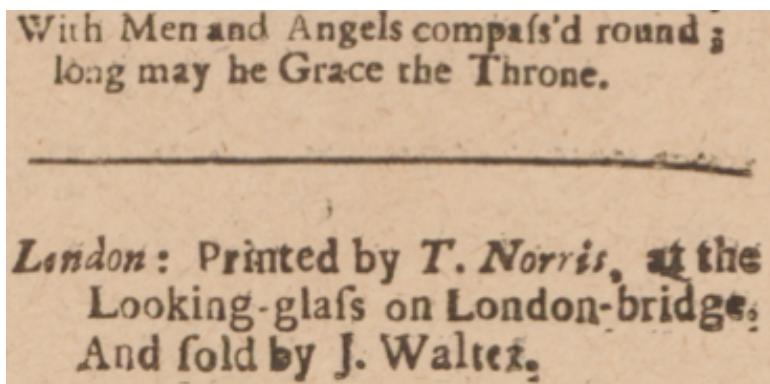


Fig. 7. Imprint of G.1.2.

For the G.1.2. issue, the main text block of G.1.1 was reprinted from an invariant setting of 'standing type' for G.1.2., with the title reset and the tune and imprint additionally revised. It is not clear what period of time separates the two issues, but the fact that the type was kept standing rather than employed on other jobs indicates that the

ballad's proprietors expected a continuing public demand.⁵³ The tune's alteration, from G.1.1's 'Our Prince Is Welcome Out of Spain' to G.1.2.'s 'The Wandering Jew's Chronicle', is also revealing.

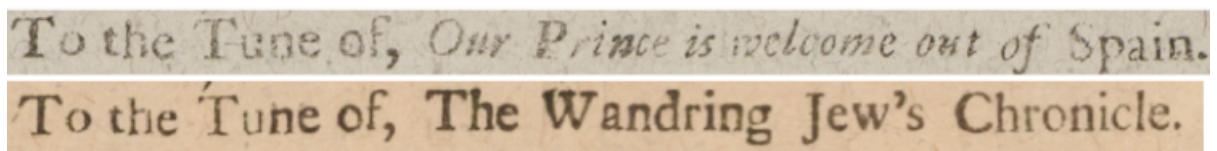


Fig. 8. Tune-titles of G.1.1 and G.1.2.

While this revision is further evidence that the ballad and its tune were well known, there may have been a political motivation for the revision – to distance the ballad, now a celebration of the Hanoverian accession, from the ballads of Martin Parker, author of the Stuart loyalist anthem 'When the King Enjoys His Own Again'. This interpretation is supported by the ballad text itself, which in both issues includes an interpolated stanza in the section of the ballad inherited from F.1, which is otherwise scrupulously faithful to its source. The following screenshot comparing the two texts in the JUXTA text-collation software programme highlights the G.1. text's inserted stanza along with a single, politically-charged revision from F.1.⁵⁴

F.1.txt

I saw his Royal Brother James,
Who was led on to such Extreams,
which made the Nation weep;
I saw his Coronntion-day,
And how he did the Scepter sway,
which long he could not keep.

I present was that very Morn
When as the Prince of Wales was born,
being the Tenth of June
In Sixteen Hundred Eighty Eight,
But this day prov'd Unfortunate,
it put all out of Tune.

I saw King William cross the Seas,
To give the Land and Nation Ease,
with a most glorious Fleet;
I saw him cross to Ireland,
With a right valiant armed Band,
making his Foes retreat.

I have his Royal Consort seen,
Mary our most Religious Queen,
in all her courtly Train;
I saw her Royal Funeral,

G.1.txt

I saw his Royal Brother James,
Who was led on to such Extreams,
which made the Nation weep;
I saw his Coronation-day,
And how he did the Scepter sway,
which long he could not keep.

Lord Chancellor I saw likewise
When he did Rule and Tyranize
by Arbitrary Power:
And I was in the Council-room,
When Peter's he was pleas'd to doom
the Bishops to the Tower.

I present was that very Morn
When the Pretender he was born,
being the Tenth of June,
In Sixteen Hundred Eighty Eight,
But this Day prov'd Unfortunate,
it put all out of Tune.

I saw King William cross the Seas,
To give the Land and Nation Ease,
with a most glorious Fleet;
I saw him cross to Ireland,

Fig. 9. Comparison of the texts of F.1 and G.1 in JUXTA.

G.1's anonymous reviser has interpolated the highlighted stanza: it retrospectively casts doubt on the constitutionality of James II's brief reign by recounting events preceding his deposition, namely the so-called Trial of the Seven Bishops and other abuses of Anglican prerogative.⁵⁵ To avoid any doubt about where the revised ballad's loyalties lay, James's son and heir, referred to in F.1 as 'The Prince of Wales', is in G.1 renamed 'The Pretender.'

Moving further into the eighteenth century, the accession of George II sees a sharp increase in the rate of publication: no fewer than five editions of the *Chronicle* were produced concluding with him on the throne. Several explanations for this spike are plausible. The period was one of continuous foreign conflict and internecine warfare, and was accompanied by various kinds of patriotic print issuing from the deregulated presses of the nation.⁵⁶ The legitimacy of the Hanoverian dynasty was twice militarily challenged at home by rival Stuart candidates: James Stuart's rebellion (that of the 'Prince of Wales/Pretender' of the *Chronicle*) in 1715 was followed by the more determined attempt of Charles Stuart ('The Young Pretender') in 1745. While the royal succession appeared

to have been settled by the defeat of the Jacobites in 1746, Jacobitism was to occupy an enduring imaginative life in fiction, poetry, prints and ballads including the *Chronicle*.⁵⁷ Frank Felsenstein has argued persuasively that an increase in the number of representations of the Wandering Jew in art, literature, on stage – and in ballads - may be related to an increase in the number of Jews migrating from Eastern Europe, many of whom became pedlars.⁵⁸ The text of the ballad, for its part, remains uninterested in Anglo-Jewish history, ignoring such events as the Jewish Naturalisation Act of 1753, which ameliorated legal measures against Jews following assistance rendered to the British government during the Jacobite crisis, but was swiftly withdrawn following anti-semitic campaigning.⁵⁹

Another explanation for the spike in publication lies in the print trade itself.⁶⁰ In contrast with the dynastic succession of editions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, editions of the *Chronicle* were now, following the reforms of 1695 and 1710, produced concurrently and competitively, by several publishers in various formats. There is an anonymously-published edition in an unusual portrait orientation with a unique set of woodcuts captioned with regnal dates (H.1); an eight-page chapbook (H.4); two editions (H.2 and H.5) from the press of William Dicey and partners, the leading ballad and chapbook producer of the period; and the first edition (H.3) known to have been printed outside of London, by John White in Newcastle.

H.1	[No imprint]	1727-1737
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H.2	Printed for WILLIAM and CLUER DICEY, in <i>Bow-Church-Yard.</i>	1727-1737
H.3	Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and sold by J. WHITE, where Chapmen and others may be furnished with small Histories, Sermons, &c.	1737-1760
H.4	Printed by L. How, in <i>Petticoat-lane.</i>	1737-1760
H.5	Printed and Sold in <i>Bow Church-yard.</i> Where are sold the greatest Choice of OLD BALLADS, NEW SONGS, HISTORIES, &c. better printed than any where else, also the best Maps, Royals, Lotteries, &c.	1737-1760

Table 4. Imprints of the H-version (George II) editions.

Although William St. Clair claims that ballads and chapbooks remained the property of a London-based bookselling cartel throughout this period, no certain lineage of the ballad as an officially- registered intellectual property or trade venture can encompass the H group. John White is mentioned as an agent in the imprint of a single Dicey ballad publication,⁶¹ but there are no apparent relationships between either of them and Larkin How. It may have been unclear where *The Chronicle*, which combined old and new material, stood in relation to the copyright Act of 1710. The entrance of 1712 seems to constitute a claim that it was a new work: certainly, any rights of ownership under the Act would have expired during George II's reign.

The order of publication of some (but not all) of the H editions can be attributed with confidence. The Dicey press's H.5 edition certainly came after its H.2 edition: the firm's proprietors, William and Cluer Dicey, are named in H.2's imprint, but not in that of H.5, which is common for the firm's latter-day operations.⁶² H.5 also post-dates H.3. and H.4, as H.5 records the death of queen Caroline in 1737 in the dates accompanying the woodcuts, whereas the former editions, and H.2, report her as alive and reigning. To go further in determining the facts of publication, we might look more closely at the ballad's illustrations and its text.

The ballad's illustrations

Most editions of the *Chronicle* include woodcut illustrations portraying the monarchs and occasionally their consorts.⁶³ For A.2, the sequence of illustrations corresponds with the narrative of the text: it begins with a portrait of William I and concludes with Charles I and Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France, printed in two woodblock rows. While as has been seen the C editions update their text to the present, the existing blocks are recycled without the addition of an illustration of the current monarch, Charles II. Whether from economy or piety towards the living king's countenance, the omission of the reigning monarch was to become an occasional tradition within the *Chronicle*'s publishing history.⁶⁴

The recycling of blocks can be useful to the historian of the *Chronicle* and other printed texts. Tracking the recurrence of woodblocks (or other printing materials such as ornaments, rules or pieces of type) can reveal printers, uncover forgeries and help date editions.⁶⁵ Bibliographers have long employed similar technical aids to identify common blocks, using strobes, stereoscopic arrangements of mirrors, or the overlaying of transparencies on film or on screen.⁶⁶ Recently, systems employing digital image-recognition have been developed: these include the University of Oxford's ImageMatch tools, commissioned to assist in the study of the woodcuts of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* and other ballads.⁶⁷

[See list view](#) | [No text](#)

Query Image

name: 4o Rawl. 566(11)



Search Results 1 to 20

Navigation: [Next](#)

4o Rawl. 566(11) Douce Ballads 2(268a) Douce Ballads 1(134a) Douce Ballads 1(120b)



[Detailed matches](#)



[Detailed matches](#)



[Detailed matches](#)



[Detailed matches](#)

arch?docID=5

Fig.10. Content-based image-recognition of ballad woodcuts: the Bodleian Library's ImageMatch tool.

The Illustrations tab of the edition that this paper accompanies has a feature for comparing woodcuts: by layering and adjusting the transparency, users can readily see if the same block or a copy was used.



Fig. 11. The Illustrations section's variable opacity feature shown with images of two printings from the same block overlaid.

All of these technical aids are necessarily used in combination with a knowledge of printing. There are many circumstances that can influence how a block is printed, such as condition of the impression and the condition of the block, which may also be copied more closely than either human or computer vision can readily distinguish. Deterioration or other distinctive features of the block can help: cracks and chips to blocks, and the appearance of wormholes made by burrowing insects which show up as white circles within the impressions, are particularly useful in identifying a reused block, as is shown by their appearance in the second of these two *Chronicle* woodcuts, and their recurrence in the latter two.⁶⁸



Fig. 12. four images of Henry II from successive editions of the ballad, each printed from the same woodblock (wjc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/illustrations.html).

Ballad woodblocks of the period were used to destruction, often appearing on multiple ballads, but the *Chronicle* blocks seem to have been reserved almost exclusively as accompaniments to this particular ballad, perhaps due to their size or their close association with the text. The one exception I am aware of is a ballad dated 1650, *A Watch for a Wise-mans observation*, on which the bottom row of the A-C edition blocks is awkwardly placed: evidently in better condition here than it was when used on Francis Grove's A.2 edition, it indicates a publication date for A.2 around the registration date of 1656.⁶⁹

While all the C-editions employ these same blocks (absenting the image of Henry V, which seems to have broken off the end of its block before C.1 was printed)⁷⁰ subsequent editions adopt either copies or new versions.



Fig. 13. Five views of Henry II from various later editions of the ballad.

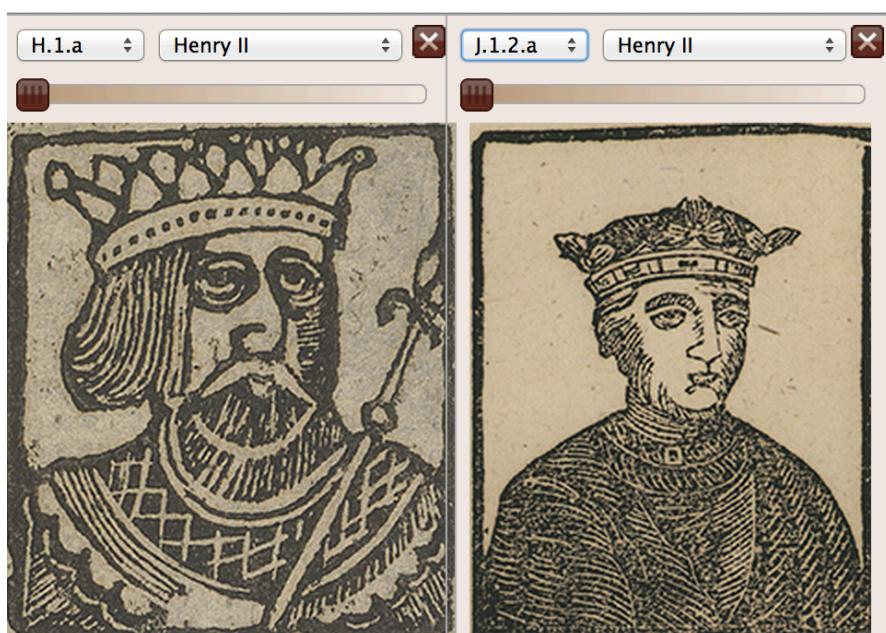


Fig. 14. Two late views of Henry II.

One edition (H.3) lacks any illustrations, while two editions (H.4 and I.1) are illustrated with single woodcuts of monarchs.⁷¹ A distinctive visual genealogy, made up of the descent of the ballad's bibliographical elements (the blocks, which confirm the order of publishing indicated by the imprints) and iconographic elements (the subject of those blocks) can therefore be added to the publication timeline.

The ballad's textual descent

The text of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* also descends in distinctive ways. The *Chronicle* edition includes a transcription of one copy of each edition, which can be displayed individually and in parallel with other transcriptions, together with a critical apparatus function showing variations across the tradition, invoked by clicking a line or a word. For example, the apparatus can show how Line 9 originally reading in A.2 as 'where with a walking wood' – Thomas Spottus' story about the men of Kent – is repeated and amended in later editions:

9 where with a walking wood

A.2.a: where with a walking wood

- C.1.a: [...]d,
C.2.a: where with a walking Wood,
C.3.a: where in a walking Wood,
F.1.a: where in a walking Wood,
G.1.1.a: where in a walking Wood,
G.1.2.a: where in a walking Wood,
H.1.a: Where in a Walking Wood.
H.2.a: Where in a Walking Wood,
H.3.f: Where in a walking Wood,
H.4.a: Where in a Walking Wood,
H.5.a: Where walking in a Wood
I.1.a: Where in a walking Wood;
I.2.b.a: Where in a walking wood,
J.1.2.a: Where in a walking wood,

Fig. 15. Line 9 across all editions of the *Chronicle*.

The amended forms ‘in a walking wood’ and more so ‘walking in a wood’ were perhaps prompted by the loss of contextual knowledge in the mind of a reviser, or an expectation that the same knowledge was no longer widespread among readers, and that the reference to a walking wood was liable to confuse a public more familiar with *Macbeth* than the Chronicle of Thomas Spot.

As the reader looks across the editions line by line, certain patterns become evident. The discovery and analysis of these patterns is the work of textual scholarship, which is most commonly carried out for the purposes of editing, but is also of use for book history. From the perspective of textual scholarship (or criticism, as it is traditionally known) all versions of *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle* are witnesses to acts of copying, carried out with variable degrees of accuracy. Distinctive variations – errors, in particular

- transmitted between versions of the text can indicate how they are related. This set of relations can then be visualised in a tree-diagram or ‘stemma’, an emblem of traditional textual criticism.

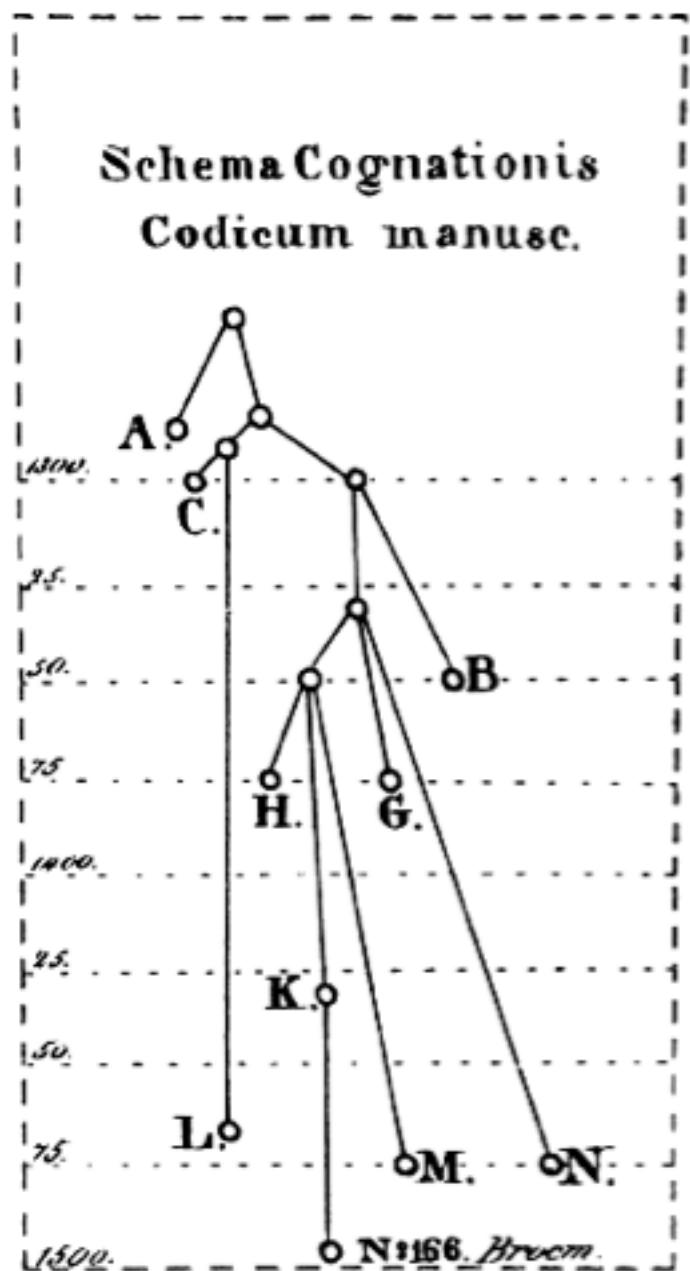


Fig. 16. The earliest-known *stemma* diagram, from Carl Schlyter’s *Corpus Iuris Sueogotorum Antiqui* (1827).

Although the stemma’s emergence in the early nineteenth century places it within the *Chronicle* period, the genealogical metaphor that it embodies has a longer history.⁷²

Recently, the humanistic discipline of drawing up a stemma has converged (or more accurately, has been reunited with) the discipline within evolutionary biology known as phylogenetics. The stemma of the *Wandering Jew's Chronicle* presented below combines a manual analysis of textual variations with a phylogenetic analysis performed in collaboration with Heather Windram and Chris Howe.⁷³

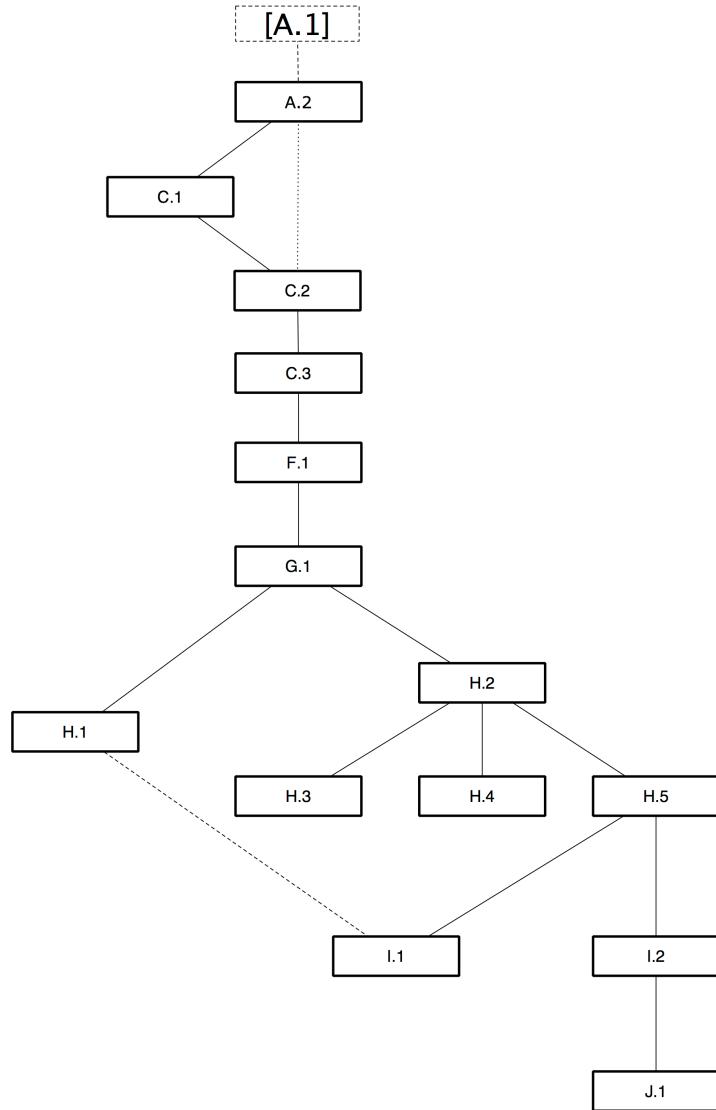


Fig. 17. Stemma of the *Chronicle's* textual descent.

While a stemma may be used as an aid to the reconstruction of an original text (its classical function) it is in itself simply a visualisation of relationships between texts.⁷⁴ The *Chronicle* stemma shows only how the verbal text was copied: it does not show the descent of the ballad's illustrations, title, imprint or tune; nor does it trace the ballad's

increasingly multiple sources; or its reception. It is, however, bonded to the ballad's broader external history in that it was drawn up with the occasional help of regnal history and, more conclusively, the trade-dates of the ballad's printers and publishers. Indeed, one of the major findings of the phylogenetic analysis was that the internal evidence proved at one point insufficient to determine the descent, and that textual scholarship should incorporate external evidence where it is available - in short, stemmatologists must be book historians.⁷⁵

This finding also applies in the opposite direction, as the stemma can be seen to visualise some of the historical processes that shaped its textual descent. Patterns and trends within the book trade, and even the technology of the book, show up in the descent. The A-G editions, for example, descend in a linear, dynastic pattern that is characteristic of the centralised book trade of late-seventeenth-century London, in which copyrights were jealously guarded and descended only through patrimony or direct sale. Stemmatia of manuscript traditions tend not to contain repeated, linear sequences: they are branchier, reflecting the dynamics of making copies from a manuscript, copies then travelling elsewhere to be copied in turn.⁷⁶ The divergent pattern of the lower half of the stemma reflects the radical diversification of production within the print trade after the reforms of 1695 and 1710, as revising and reprinting of the ballad took place concurrently and over a larger area. The stemma's tracing of the ballad's textual history therefore also traces the broader spatial and economic history of the book trade.

The stemma is also useful for establishing the relative dating of some of the H editions. It can be seen that all the H editions are descendants of G.1, in two branches (headed by H.1 and H.2) and that H.3, H.4 and H.5 are descendants of H.2. Evidence for H.1 and H.2.'s divergent descents comes from the fact that their endings (shown below, left and right) are quite different: each inherits G.1's text, but provides a new continuation:

190 I saw King George pass thro' the Town, 191 For to possess the Royal Crown, 192 And govern in her Room. 193 I likewise saw the First George Crown'd 194 With Men and Angels compast round, 195 A joyful happy Day; 196 I present was before his Death, 197 And saw likewise his latest Breath, 198 When in Death's Arms he lay, 199 I saw King George the Second crown'd, 200 Likewise his Queen, encircl'd round, 201 The like scarce e'er was known. 202 I saw their Royal Issue Fair, 203 While Acclamations fill'd the Air, 204 Long may they Grace the Throne.	190 I saw King <i>George</i> pass thro' the Town, 191 All to possess the Royal Crown, 192 and govern in her Room. 193 I saw King <i>George</i> the Second come, 194 With loud Huzza's to <i>Britain's</i> Throne, 195 and glorious <i>Caroline</i> ; 196 Like bright Aurora, sweet and gay, 197 That chases all dim Clouds away, 198 the Joy of Women-kind. 199 I saw their numerous Progeny, 200 The Pledges of Prosperity, 201 for many Years to come: 202 I saw the King and Queen when crown'd, 203 With Men and Angels compass'd round: 204 long may they Grace the Throne.
--	--

Fig. 18. The endings of H.1 and H.2.

A naïvely ‘internalist’ reading of the concluding line ‘Long may they grace the throne’ would see it as strong evidence of a textual relationship between the two witnesses: however, as a common blessing for royalty (moreover, which is used in the conclusion of other *Chronicle* versions) there is no reason why it could not have been separately arrived at.

The origins of H.1 are something of a mystery. Its position within the sequence of publication is conjectural, as no date can be assigned with certainty, nor can it be sequenced except as a descendant of G.1. Its unusual portrait format and idiosyncratic woodcuts (which were not apparently employed on other ballads, nor are they stylistically very similar to others) suggest that it was not the work of a mainstream ballad printer. It adds the innovation of dates underneath the royal portraits, although these are not always accurate, as the dates for William II (1087-1100) show.



Fig. 19. The regnal dates of William II according to H.2.

In contrast with H.1, the extremely similar endings (lines 202-3) of H.3, H.4 and H.5 point to a common descent from H.2.

202 I saw the King and Queen when crown'd	202 i see the King and Queen when Crown'd,	202 I saw the king and queen when crown'd,
203 With Men and Angels compass'd round;	203 with Men and angels compass'd round	203 With men and angels compass'd round,
204 Long may they Grace the Throne.	204 long may they grace the throne.	204 Long may he grace the throne.

Fig. 20. The endings of H.3, H.4 and H.5.

H.3, H.4 and H.5 contain only a few variants from H.2 held in common, indicating that they are independent descendants. The reliance of the publisher of H.3, John White, on the text of Dicey's H.2 is paralleled by other ballads (both texts and images) that White appears to have copied from Dicey publications, either under a licence, as William St. Clair conjectures, or in violation of a putative Dicey copyright, as Gilles Duval claims.⁷⁷

In contrast to the reign of George II, only a chapbook and a single broadside edition conclude during the reign of George III. This drop-off is surprising given George III's lengthy reign (1760–1820) but, as has been suggested in relation to the spike in publication for George II, many factors are at work in the popularity or survival rate of ballads.⁷⁸ Statutory constraints and market forces were not always heeded by publishers,

as is shown by their notoriously high levels of bankruptcy.⁷⁹ Despite its status as a well-established title, the decision to publish *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* was always speculative. Business logic did not always determine whether to print a text about which ballad publishers might have felt sentimental or, in a period that sees the rise of a radical print culture, repelled.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, publishers were hardly immune from commercial pressure: some conjectures can therefore be made about the economic context of the decline.

The major event in the regulation of the book trade in this period was the House of Lords' 1774 decision in *Donaldson v. Beckett* which ruled that there was no perpetual copyright under English common law and that the Act of 1710, through its system of time-limited copyrights, was the principal mechanism for governing the ownership of literary works.⁸¹ This landmark decision, following decades of legal proceedings, pamphlet debates and trade agitation, theoretically allowed anyone to reprint the *Chronicle* and other traditional ballads, but it may also have diminished the market value of traditional ballads to the extent that only the most popular were worth keeping in print. Many ballads formerly published as broadsides were increasingly available in upmarket anthologies such as Percy's *Reliques*.⁸² At the cheaper end of the market, the illustrated broadside was supplemented by new formats, including sheets bearing several songs; so-called 'slip songs' carrying shorter texts and fewer illustrations; garlands, chapbooks and other cheap codex formats; and cheap prints.⁸³ The dominant position of the Dicey firm and its successors from the middle decades of the century may also have dissuaded competitive publication.⁸⁴

Although few, the George III publications are some of the most interesting members of the tradition. The chapbook I.2 has no imprint, but as it appears to share woodcuts with the broadsides H.3 and H.6, printed by the Dicey firm at Bow Churchyard in London, it is almost certainly the eight-page 'merry patter' of 'The Wandering Jews Chronicle' listed for sale in a 1764 trade catalogue issued by that firm's successor from its later address at Aldermanry Churchyard.⁸⁵ It can now be found in two significantly variant states: I.2.a exhibits numerous errors, in response to which the text of I.2.b has been reset and corrected, and a missing line supplied.⁸⁶ Regnal dates

accompanying the woodcuts are unaltered settings, indicating that the two states were probably made and printed off close together in time. Due to the high cost of paper, both were probably issued for sale rather than being suppressed: I.2 is extant in more than one copy, therefore was not a proof.⁸⁷

The order of the two I.2 states can in this case be determined, but a striking corollary finding is that even two states of an edition within a single-sheet format has the potential to complicate the work of the stemmatologist. A larger population of bibliographical variants within an edition composed, like most early printed books, of multiple combinations of corrected and uncorrected sheets would be virtually impossible to represent within an orthodox stemma.⁸⁸ This may provide an insight into the rationale behind the ‘eclectic method’ of editing developed in the twentieth century precisely to editorially manage typographic variations between editions of early printed texts.⁸⁹

Whereas I.2 is of technical interest, I.1 is noteworthy for literary and historical reasons. Perhaps the most textually innovative member of the *Chronicle* tradition, I.1 is critically astute and sensitive to rhythm, sound and sense in a way that most other revisions, whether faithful or wayward in relation to their sources, are not. Its anonymous reviser was historically literate, as is shown by some of its emendations.

71 And many Lords at Shrewsbury,

- A.2.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*
- C.1.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- C.2.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- C.3.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- F.1.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- G.1.1.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- G.1.2.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- H.1.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,
- H.2.a: And many Lords at *Salisbury*,
- H.3.f: And many Lords at *Salisbury*,
- H.4.a: And many Lords at *Salisbury*
- H.5.a: And many lords at *Salisbury*,
- I.1.a: And many Lords at *Shrewsbury*,**
- I.2.b.a: And many lord at *Salisbury*.
- J.1.2.a: And many Lord at *Salisbury*,

Fig. 21. Line 71 across the tradition.

While a mechanical textual analysis might see I.1's reading of 'Shrewsbury' rather than 'Salisbury' as further evidence of a descent from H.1, the revisionist editor of I.1 need not necessarily have had access to any other earlier text of the ballad: since the battle in question was historically fought at Shrewsbury and not Salisbury, a knowledge of any of numerous historical or literary sources (such as Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part I*) would have provided sufficient authority for the emendation. This shows the need for textual criticism to be informed by a knowledge of text 'outside' as well as 'inside' the tradition.

Whereas the Shrewsbury]Salisbury'Shrewsbury emendation restores, others overthrow. I.1 has been revised in several places to indicate Jacobite sympathies. For example, the 'Pretender' (earlier altered, it will be recalled, from 'The Prince of Wales'), has been replaced with 'Chevalier', a title for both James Stuart and his son Charles, used in many well-known Jacobite songs.⁹⁰

H.3.f; H.2.a; : **Pretender he was born,**
 H.1.a; H.4.a; G.1.2.a; J.1.2.a; H.5.a; G.1.1.a; :
Pretender he was born,
 I.1.a; : **Chevalier he was born,**
 I.2.b.a; : **pretender he was born**

Fig. 22. Pro- and anti-Jacobite descriptions of James Stuart, son of James II.

Evidently a counter to the earlier Whig appropriation of the *Chronicle*, these emendations, in an age of increasing toleration for Jacobitism in verse, might be interpreted as heartfelt, nostalgic or mischievous.⁹¹ Textual collation is helpful for revealing the literary innovation and possible political sympathies of this edition, but a full appreciation of its liveliness in relation to some of its more mechanistic predecessors can come only from a sympathetic and outward-looking reading of the text as a whole.

Textual criticism is also only a negative guide to the historical sequence of the I editions: due to their very different endings, a direct relationship (and hence a sequence) is not indicated. The evidence instead points to each of the I editions having descended from H.5. There is also strong evidence that I.1, while primarily descended from H.5, also took readings from H.1, as shown by the following stemma detail (the dotted line indicates a less influential relationship):

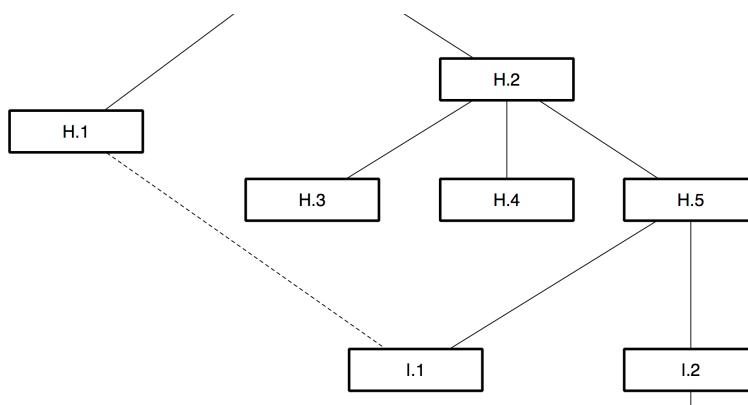


Fig. 23. Partial conflation of the texts of H.1 and H.5 in the text of I.1.

This phenomenon, in which multiple lines of descent converge on a single exemplar, is a subject of equally intense debate in textual scholarship and evolutionary biology. Known to biologists as lateral or horizontal transfer, it is sometimes known to textual scholars as contamination.⁹² This essay will use the term conflation, which is more descriptive of the phenomenon at hand, and a less pejorative term for a mundane cultural process with which (for example) any traditional musician would be familiar. Conflation is a problem for orthodox textual criticism because it multiplies the number of possible pathways of descent while simultaneously reducing the set of unique variables that may indicate which pathways were actually taken. Trees turn into forests. Conflation occurs within oral, literate and other communications in ways that are specific to each medium, but particularly at the intersection of documentary traditions and oral cultures, where the printed ballad stands.⁹³ Its occurrence within the *Chronicle* tradition is not greatly significant on a technical level: its tendency to blur the pathways of descent is mitigated due to the clues provided by royal chronology and book trade history (as it also is in the case of the earlier conflation between A.2 and C.2 and C.3). The greater intensity of publication together with some cross-fertilisation between witnesses is of more interest from the perspective of cultural and intellectual history, linking as it does an insular English ballad to some of the widest-ranging debates of European Romanticism.

Romanticism (a retrospective term) was a phenomenon that sought to uncover, conceal, renew or reinvent the relationships between local and transnational traditions through linguistic research, historical narration, literary production and political activism. Although concerned with all forms of expression – including language as a whole – particularly energetic scholarly debate accompanied the collection and editing of texts. Those texts that appeared to have vernacular roots within a conjectured nation or ethnic population were of particular interest, but so too were those that appeared to have multiple, overlapping, overdetermined origins, similar to those that can be observed in conflated textual traditions. What constituted local or vernacular forms, as opposed to the transnational or the cosmopolitan, was precisely the issue at stake. This aspect of romantic-period scholarship followed older projects, including the reconstruction of biblical or ancient classical traditions such as the text of Homer, or the linguistic family

tree of Europe and Asia. The fragmented nature of the cultural record drove scholarship ranging from reconstructive critical editions to collections of oral fragments, but also prompted poetic reimagination of the relationship between those fragments and their world. The emergence in the early nineteenth century of the stemma diagram was the literalisation of an older tendency to think in terms of family resemblances and lineages as the organising principle between fragments of all sorts.

More or less at the same time as the stemma emerged came a counter-argument: that the conflation of traditions was central to all cultural process. It was increasingly understood by editors that traditions, regardless of any ideological prioritisation of distinct lineages, in fact overlapped, or were co-authored, promiscuously revised, adapted and reused. This structural complexity was observable in comparative study and in close analysis of traditions themselves, including oral verse epics such as those of Homer; complex documentary traditions such as the Greek New Testament; and vernacular folk tales and ballads. The practical problem that conflation posed to editors of individual traditions led to larger, theoretical questions: was it ever possible to establish a line of descent that arranged variant branches within a single hierarchy?⁹⁴ Which way up was the tree of tradition? Was it even a tree at all, or would it be better represented by some other structural figure? How distinct were traditions from each other? Did orality differ from writing? Was what was observed at a textual level an indication of larger linguistic or cultural structures? These debates, in which ballads, oral traditions and folktales have always been central, continue.⁹⁴

Romanticism's reinvention of tradition was arguably related to the explosion of print afforded by the end of the *ancien régime* of perpetual copyright, at least in Britain as the nation's literary heritage – including 'old ballads' - became simultaneously usable and commercially almost valueless.⁹⁵ *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* of old can hardly be said to be a product of Romanticism: nor was it a beneficiary of the Romantic rediscovery of ballads, as it was precisely at this time that the ballad's life in print came to an end.

The ballad concludes

The last contemporary edition of the *Chronicle* was printed and published by John Pitts, about whom more is known than any other publisher of the ballad. Apprenticed to John Marshall in Aldermury Churchyard, he was somewhat imaginatively described by R.S. Thomson as descending in ‘a direct line [...] from the Ballad Partners who established a warehouse stock in 1625.⁹⁶ However, by Pitts’ time the kingdom had long been divided. He never ruled his market as did the Ballad Partners or the Diceys, competing famously fiercely in London with James Catnach, and against scores of other producers across the British Isles.⁹⁷ J.1 is a characteristic Pitts broadside: somewhat larger and squarer than the broadsides of the preceding two centuries, it is printed with headlines set in a new-style typeface and illustrated with wood-engravings, a finer and more robust method of relief-printing than woodcuts.⁹⁸

WANDERING JEW's CHRONICLE.

Or a Brief History of the Remarkable Passages from William the Conqueror, to this present King's Reign: 22

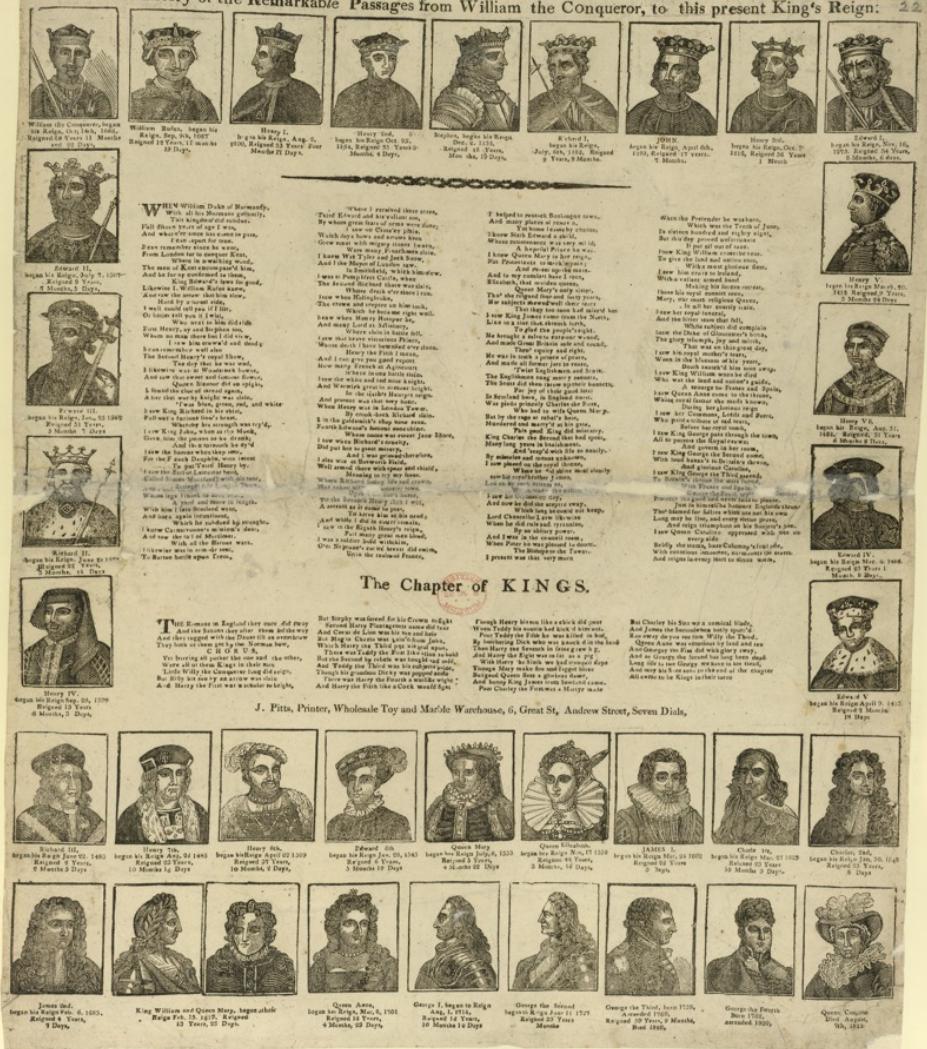


Fig. 24. *Wandering Jew's Chronicle* (J.1.2)



Fig. 25. A wood-engraving, from J.1.2

Pitts' text concludes with George IV while John Collins' 'The Chapter of Kings', a brisker narrative of the English monarchy than the now-elongated *Chronicle*, is also printed on the sheet.⁹⁹ The ballad exists in two bibliographical states that differ only marginally: the headlines are separate settings of the same text; there is some superfluous spacing in the imprint of J.1.2; and a printer's ornament has been substituted. These states may also be separate issues that, like the two G.1 issues, were printed from standing type or possibly from a stereotype plate cast from a setting of the type, but separate issue is not indicated, as it is in the case of G.1, by an altered imprint.¹⁰⁰ Stemmatically, the text of the ballad's descent from the corrected (b-state) of I.2 is readily apparent from numerous agreements in each text when compared against I.1.

Why did the *Chronicle* tradition come to an end at this moment? As with the earlier peaks and troughs in publication, there are several possible explanations. New, topical ballads from the presses of Pitts and Catnach somewhat eclipsed the traditional songs in which no publisher could now hold a monopoly. Ballads had shifted towards compact, economical formats such as slips, long-songs and songsters while more substantial texts for the learning of British history had also become available. *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle*, now competing with history-books in larger formats and with

colour-printed games and toys, may have looked dowdy, a meagre curriculum and a ponderous entertainment.¹⁰¹ The figure of the Wandering Jew would have seemed not so much miraculous as a staple, even hackneyed character. The Jews of England themselves were more numerous and progressively less discriminated against in law: their stereotypes gradually turned away from sacred history and, following developments in the new historical sciences of philology, anthropology and biology, towards racial theory while still retaining ancestral traces of otherness and enmity.¹⁰²

There remained a tiny antiquarian market for old ballads. Ballad printers were long accustomed to inquiries from collectors and scholarly editors such as James Boswell and Thomas Percy, and knew that old ballads were of interest to an educated market, but broadside texts were increasingly available in anthologies – indeed, those anthologies were sometimes used as sources by the broadside presses.¹⁰³ Percy's *Reliques* (1765) had differentiated the balladry of the past from that of the present – according to Percy, it had been in the keeping of successive minstrels within noble households – but this was also a social distinction, between those readers able to afford this and other upmarket anthologies and the much larger market for broadsides and other cheap formats.¹⁰⁴ The hugely successful historical romances of Walter Scott, an enthusiastic collector of ballads, are one example of this transmutation of elements of traditional songs into more rarefied and profitable consumer goods within the modern literary marketplace.¹⁰⁵ A more ambiguous example is presented by John Clare, the labouring-class poet who recalled his childhood reading of ballads and chapbooks with mingled affection and shame, but who also delighted in their availability in the distinguished, antiquarian dress of the *Reliques*.¹⁰⁶

The Wandering Jew's Chronicle is largely unmentioned within the privately-printed reference sources for the new sciences of folklore, linguistics, literature and history. The appeal of ballads for many antiquarians was purely retrospective, as historical sources. A relatively modern product of print that dealt largely in mundane historical facts (notwithstanding its fantastical narrator) *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* was, at best, a primary source only of its own time. It was consequently of less interest than ballads of ancient or indeterminate origin to the period's collectors, antiquaries and other nostalgics. It is cited in an 1839 scholarly edition of an English chronicle by the pioneering

bibliographer and ballad-collector James Halliwell, but it was not reprinted until the Ballad Society's 1886 edition of the Roxburghe ballads, which were by then part of the national collection held by the British Museum.¹⁰⁷ This contains the first bibliography, as well as the first retrospective edition of the *Chronicle*: it reproduces the texts of C.2.(a) and H.6.(a) and noted the existence of H.4.(c), also in the Roxburghe collection; A.2.(a) and C.2.(a) in the Bodleian; and C.3.(a) in the Pepys Library. The text is sparsely annotated with historical notes by the editor J. W. Ebsworth, who asserted that the ballad was 'wholly devoid of all romantic interest, but once popular among the rabble.'¹⁰⁸

His disdain apart, Ebsworth's belief that *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* was popular is worth taking seriously. As has been said, almost nothing is known about the *Chronicle*'s reception other than through its collectors and revisers. Its wider public is unknown, outside of the information already presented about the ballad's publication and descent, from which only the banal conclusion can be drawn that it was considered sufficiently popular by the ballad trade to reprint at certain times. Apart from Aubrey's anecdote, there is no performance history of the ballad, or evidence of oral transmission within the tradition itself. Admittedly, bibliography and textual scholarship are often blind to orality: bibliography is concerned with books, not realisations in other media, while the orthodox stemmatic method tends to weigh small textual errors more heavily than oral or literary improvisations. The stemma given in this commentary is based on a wider range of evidence than the propagation of errors alone, but it is not a map of the tradition as a whole in either its sources or onward circulation, nor does it define any units of communication other than a finished printed copy, which might include a printer's manuscript copy, or a compositor's memory of that or another copy. A strictly documentary history is inevitably incomplete, but if bibliography and textual scholarship can conjure the existence of lost versions, they might also conjecture that, since it was hardly published solely for the benefit of its future editors and printers, oral performance of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* must have taken place.¹⁰⁹ So too might communication events such as scribal circulation, scrapbooking of the illustrations, reading or viewing. The bibliographical history provided in this edition is therefore only a partial (and possibly misleading) outline of a much larger pattern of transmission and reception,

traffic and trade, appropriation and counter-appropriation – the ‘sociology of the text’, to adopt D.F. McKenzie’s influential terminology.¹¹⁰ Aubrey’s positioning of Katherine Bushell’s recitation of the *Chronicle* as the mother of only an obsolete model of history might be read alongside Susan Stewart’s insight that ‘Modern literary scholarship, with its tasks of genealogy –the establishment of paternity and lines of influence – and its role in the legislation of originality and authenticity, depended upon the articulation of a “folk” literature that “literature” was not.’¹¹¹

No more literal task of genealogy exists than that embodied by the stemma diagram, about which its most vigorous twentieth-century advocate Paul Maas wrote that ‘The image is taken from genealogy: the witnesses are related to the original somewhat as the descendants of a man are related to their ancestor. One might perhaps illustrate the transmission of errors along the same lines by treating all females as sources of error.’¹¹²

By contrast, R.S. Thomson’s characterisation of the ballad over time is of a kind of sustained reaction within and between traditions:

‘A geometric progression of great complexity which is complicated by constant accretions from outside in the form of newly created songs starting their process of re-creation and the persistent reinforcement of standardised broadside texts. The possibilities are bewildering.’¹¹³

Thomson’s striking description, which eschews either origins or destinations, is a manifesto for ballad history to be preferred over a primordial origin-myth of balladry whose later manifestations require purification from the contamination of female gossip, old wives’ tales and the promiscuous hybridisation of communications themselves. The same might be said of English history, for which the *Chronicle* offers a poor guide, but a revealing mythography.

9. Afterthoughts

This commentary has sought to document the remains of *The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle* while speculating about some of the telling absences in its history. The value of a largely documentary study is in part as a corrective to some of the persistent myths

around ballads: that they were faultless embodiments of a national, linguistic or other traditional mentality; are meaningful only within the context of the time and place of their emergence; or were handed down through mysterious processes rather than through coherent actions by individuals, partnerships and trades who were jointly and severally motivated by profit, ideology and art. Randomness has also been a theme. The *Chronicle* is sufficiently distinctive to deserve a history of its own, but while the lineages and dependencies of this or any other tradition may certainly be clarified, they cannot, as Thomson realised, ever be definitively drawn. It is towards a discussion about the implications of this basic feature of human communications, in no way confined to ballads, that this commentary is directed.

¹ This article may be cited as: Giles Bergel, ‘The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle; a textual history’,

² John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, edited by James Britten, (Folklore Society, 1881), 67-68.

³ D. R. Woolf, ‘The “Common Voice”: history, folklore and oral tradition in early-modern England’, *Past and Present*, 120, (1988), 26-52; ‘A feminine past? Gender, genre, and historical knowledge in England, 1500-1800’, *American Historical Review*, 102:3 (1997), 645-79; and *Reading history in early-modern England*, (Cambridge: 2000); Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England, 1500-1700*, (Oxford University Press, 2002). On ballad transmission and gender, see Susan Stewart, ‘Scandals of the ballad’, *Representations*, 32, (1990), 134-56; Henk Dragstra ““Before woomen were readers”: how John Aubrey wrote female oral history”, in *Oral traditions and gender in early-modern literary texts*, edited by Karen Bamford and Mary Ellen Lamb (Ashgate, 2007), 41-53; Sigrid Rieuwerts, ‘Women as the chief preservers of traditional ballad poetry’, in *Folk ballads, ethics, moral issues*, edited by Gábor Barna and Ildikó Kriza, (kadémiai Kiadó, 2002), 149-59; and Ann Wierda Rowland, ““The fause nourice sang”: childhood, child murder, and the formalism of the Scottish ballad revival”, in *Scotland and the borders of romanticism*, edited by Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen, (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 225-44.

⁴ Quoted in Adam Fox, ‘Remembering the past in early-modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Sixth Series), 9, (1999), pp 233-256, 253

⁵ This famous saying of John Selden is first recorded in a compilation of his discourse assembled by Richard Milward - *Table-talk being the discourses of John Selden, Esq.*, (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1689), 31. It is inscribed on the front of Volume One of Samuel Pepys’ collection of ballads, which are ballads are now in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College and are available online through EBBA (<http://www.ebba.english.ucsb.edu>, accessed 26/9/14). On Selden’s ballads within the Pepys collection, See Leba M. Goldstein, ‘The Pepys ballads’, *The Library*, (5.4), (1966): 282-292 and John C. Hirsh, ‘Samuel Pepys as a collector and student of ballads’, *Modern Language Review*, 106:1 (2011), 47-62.

⁶ Robert A. Schwegler, ‘Oral tradition and print: domestic performance in renaissance England’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 93:370 (1980), 435-441. On Anthony Wood, see <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collection/wood>(accessed 5/12/13).

⁷ Henk Dragstra suggests that Aubrey, who suffered from illness as a child and did not go away to school until he was twelve, might have been cared for by Bushell, who had been his wet-nurse: Dragstra, ““Before woomen were readers””, 46; see also his acute commentary on the *Chronicle*, ‘The politics of holiness: royalty for the masses in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*’, in *Transforming holiness: representations of holiness in English and American literary texts* (Peeters, 2006), 61-80). In both publications Dragstra suggests that the A.2 edition was published in 1634, based on an entry of that date in the Stationers’ Register. This dating is however contradicted by publishing history and, more conclusively, woodcut evidence (for which, see the section of this paper entitled ‘The Ballad’s Illustrations’).

⁸ Examples include Thomas Percy, who transcribed ballads in a manuscript book now in the Houghton Library, Harvard entitled ‘A Series of Ballads on English History’, (Houghton bMS Eng, 893 (20A); Charles Firth, Regius Professor of History at Oxford and a collector and scholar of ballads (see

<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collection/firth> [accessed 15/12/13] and Roy Palmer, in his *A ballad history of England from 1588 to the present day*, (Batsford, 1979).

⁹ SA Newman, ‘The broadside ballads of Martin Parker: a bibliographical and critical study’, (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1975); Hyder Rollins, ‘Martin Parker, ballad-monger’, *Modern Philology*, 16:9, (1919), 449-474 and ‘Martin Parker: additional notes’, *Modern Philology*, 19:1, (1921), 77-81; and Angela McShane, ‘Parker, Martin’, in *The encyclopedia of English renaissance literature*, edited by Garrett A. Sullivan and Alan Stewart (Blackwell, 2012): http://www.academia.edu/4079656/Martin_Parker_Balladeer (accessed 5/12/13).

¹⁰ Alexander Samson (ed.), *The Spanish match: Prince Charles's journey to Madrid, 1623*, (Ashgate, 2006)

¹¹ It is not recorded in, for example, Claude M. Simpson, *The British broadside ballad and its music*, (Rutgers University Press, 1966), or William Chappell, *Popular music of the olden time*, (London: Cramer, Beale, & Chappell, 1859).

¹² Copies and editions are described in Giles Bergel, ‘Bibliography of the Wandering Jew's Chronicle’, (2015) at <http://wjc.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/HTML/bibliography.html> for which the author would be grateful for any additions.

¹³ Roger Chartier, ‘General Introduction: print culture’, in *The culture of print: power and the uses of print in early modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p.3.

¹⁴ See e.g. Katherine O' Brien O Keeffe, ‘Editing and the material text’, in *The editing of Old English: papers from the 1990 Manchester conference*, ed. by D.G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach, 147-154; Janine Barchas, *Graphic design, print culture, and the eighteenth-century novel*, (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the writing arts of early-modern England*, (Penn Press, 2001); and Zachary Lesser, ‘Typographic nostalgia: playreading, popularity and the meanings of black letter’, in *The book of the play: playwrights, stationers, and readers in early-modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicki, (University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 99-126; Randall McLeod, ‘Un "editing" Shak-speare’, *SubStance*, 10:4, Issue 33-34, (1981 - 1982), 26-55

¹⁵ Peter Stallybrass, ““Little Jobs”: broadsides and the printing revolution”, in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of change: print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 2007)

¹⁶ Leslie Shepard, *The broadside ballad: a study in origins and development*, (Herbert Jenkins, 1962).

¹⁷ Victor E. Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A guide to reference material on English, Scottish and American chapbook literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (Woburn Press, 1972).

¹⁸ For ballads as literature, see David C. Fowler, *A literary history of the popular ballad*, (Duke University Press, 1968); as illustrated visual works, see Alexandra Franklin, ‘The art of illustration in Bodleian broadside ballads before 1820’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 17, (2002), 327-352; and as songs see Claude M. Simpson, *The British broadside ballad and its music*, (Rutgers University Press, 1966) and Christopher Marsh, ‘The sound of print in early-modern England: the broadside ballad as song’, in *The uses of script and print, 1300-1700*, edited by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171-190.

¹⁹ See George K. Anderson, *The legend of the Wandering Jew*, Brown University Press, 1965); and *The Wandering Jew: essays in the interpretation of a Christian legend*, edited by Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, (Indiana University Press, 1986).

²⁰ The story is told in a ballad by Thomas Deloney in ‘The Kentish-men with Long tayles’, published in his *Strange Histories* (1602), evidently a direct influence on Parker for *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* (compare Deloney’s opening line ‘When as the Duke of Normandie’ with Parker’s ‘When William Duke of Normandy’). Although Spotus’ story (on which, see Holt, ‘The Ancient Constitution’, p.68) is given in Holinshed’s *Chronicle* well-known as one of Shakespeare’s sources, a ‘walking wood’ is also given in a well-known Scottish source, the Buik of Alexander, and subsequent histories and folktales. As with so many aspects of the *Chronicle*, there are multiple lines of descent – what literary scholars call ‘overdetermination’. For other instances of the Spotus story, see J.C. Holt, ‘The Ancient Constitution in medieval England’, in *The roots of liberty: Magna Carta, Ancient Constitution, and the Anglo-American tradition of rule of law*, ed. by Ellis Sandoz, (Liberty Fund, 2008), http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2180 - lfSandoz1470_110 [accessed 11/9/2014].

²¹ J. G. A. Pocock, *The ancient constitution and the feudal law: a study of English historical thought in the seventeenth century*, (Cambridge University Press, 1957); Janelle Greenberg, *The radical face of the ancient constitution: St. Edward's 'laws' in early-modern political thought*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²² For counters to this assumption see Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England*; Daniel Woolf, *The idea of history in Stuart England*, (University of Toronto Press, 1990); and Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, 3rd edition, (Ashgate, 2009).

²³ Cecil Roth, *A history of the Jews in England*, 3rd. edition, (Oxford University Press, 1964); David Katz, *Philosemitism and the readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655*, (Oxford University Press, 1982); Eliane Glaser, *Judaism without Jews: philosemitism and Christian polemic in early-modern England*, (Palgrave: 2007); Jeremy Cohen, *Living letters of the law: ideas of the Jew in medieval Christianity*, (University of California

Press, 1999); Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish solution: experiment and expulsion, 1262-1290*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²⁴ See e.g. Jan Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and David N. Dumville, 'Kingship, genealogies and regnal lists', in *Early medieval kingship*, ed. by P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood, (Leeds University Press, 1977), 72-104.

²⁵ Roy Strong, *The English icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean portraiture*, (Routledge, 1969).

²⁶ e.g. John Rastell's *Pastyme of the People* (1530), Giles Godehed' wood-engravings from Noah to Philip and Mary (c.1555-58)

²⁷ John Taylor, *A memorial of all the English monarchs, being in number 150. from Brute to King James. In heroyicall verse*, Printed at London: [by Nicholas Okes], 1622, (ESTC S118223), revised and updated to Charles I in an edition of 1630. (ESTCS118225). There are some differences between the Chronicle woodcuts and the comparable sequence of those in Taylor's larger work - A.2 and its subsequent copies substitute the likenesses of John, Edward I, Edward II and Edward IV with each other while A.2 adds a likeness of Henrietta Maria. The woodcuts in Taylor's book (not to be confused with his *A Briefe Remembrance of all the English Monarchs*, a work with similar illustrations printed in various editions between 1618 and 1622) are themselves loose copies of the engravings in Thomas Talbot's *A booke, containing the true portraiture of the countenances and attires of the kings of England, from William Conqueror, vnto our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth now raigning: together with a briefe report of some of the principall acts of the same kings, especially such as haue bene least mentioned in our late writers. Diligently collected by T.T.*, Printed by [R. Field for] Iohn de Beauchesne dwelling in the Blacke Fryers, 1597 (ESTC S100225).

²⁸ See <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collection/douce>(accessed 5/12/13).

²⁹ The Roxburghe and Pepys ballad collections are available through the English Broadside Ballad Archive at <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>[accessed 11/9/2014].

³⁰ Hyder Rollins, 'An analytical index to the ballad-entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London', *Studies in Philology*, 21, (1924), 1-324, p.245 (no. 2836).

³¹ Rollins, 'Analytical index.'

³² Hearne's catalogue is Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. D 1177.

³³ See John A. Fairley, *Dougal Graham and the chap-books by and attributed to him, with a bibliography*, (John Archibald: 1914; Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The experiences of a flying stationer in the eighteenth century', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 83-108; and Oskar Cox Jensen, 'The travels of John Magee: tracing the geographies of Britain's itinerant print-sellers, 1789-1815', *Cultural and Social History*, 11:2 (2014), 195-216.

³⁴ Pedlars, including ballad-singers, were licensed in 1697-8: see Margaret Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England*, (Methuen, 1981).

³⁵ Tessa Watt, 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: the changing character of the broadside trade, 1550-1640', in *Spreading the word: the distribution networks of print, 1550-1850*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 61-81, esp. 69-71.

³⁶ Quoted Paula McDowell, 'The manufacture and lingua-facture of ballad-making': broadside ballads in long eighteenth-century ballad discourse', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 47, (2006), 149-76; McDowell p. 152

³⁷ McDowell, 'Manufacture'; Rocco Lawrence Capraro, 'Political broadside ballads in early Hanoverian London', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 11, (1987), 12-21.

³⁸ See note 33 above, and Betty Naggar, *Jewish Pedlars and Hawkers 1740-1940*, (Porphyryogenitus, 1992), esp. 35-40.

³⁹ Some catalogues provide a conjectural publication date of 1660 for this ballad, perhaps following the belief of Sir Charles Firth that ballads were 'under as rigid a censorship as the press' at this time, and that an avowedly Royalist ballad was therefore unlikely to have been printed before the Restoration (see C.H. Firth, *The last years of the Protectorate, 1656-1658*, (Longmans & Green, 1909), p.153). Hyder Rollins contrastingly testifies to a flourishing royalist ballad culture throughout much of the Commonwealth period, in particular after 1656 when the *Chronicle* was one of several anti-parliamentarian ballads entered in the Stationers' Register. See 'Introduction: an historical sketch of the broadside ballad 1640-1660', 3-74 in Hyder Rollins, *Cavalier and puritan: ballads and broadsides illustrating the period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660*, (New York University Press, 1923).

⁴⁰ Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the ballad market in the second half of the seventeenth century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6, (1953), 161-180; W. Bruce Olson, 'Broadside Ballad Index', <http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/Olson/BRDNDRD.HTM> [accessed 21/11/2016; Olsen; Robert S. Thomson, 'The development of the broadside ballad and its influence upon the transmission of English folksongs',

(unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1974); ‘The British Book Trade Index’, (<http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>).

⁴¹ The formation of the ballad partners is dated by W.A. Jackson to an agreement between the Company and Thomas Pavier of 6 November 1624 - *Records of the court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640*, (The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 171 fn.1 See also Blagden, ‘Notes on the ballad market’.

⁴² Peter Blayney, ‘The publication of playbooks’, in *A new history of early English drama*, edited by John D. Cox and David S. Kastan, (Columbia University Press, 1997), 383-422.

⁴³ D. F. McKenzie, ‘Printing and publishing 1557–1700: constraints on the London book trades 1557–1695’ and Michael Treadwell, ‘The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the end of the seventeenth century’, 551-67 and 753-776 in *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁴ Only about 25 percent of all registered ballad titles survive in any edition – the apparently high rate of survival of WJC edition may suggest perhaps large edition sizes, although that of course is not the only factor that governs survival, given the secondary uses of unwanted paper, for example Ben Jonson famously once lit his pipe with a ballad; Sir William Cornwallis claimed to have used them as toilet paper, uses that some owners of the Wandering Jew’s Chronicle may have considered irreverent, even seditious or blasphemous, and this therefore may have contributed to a higher rate of survival than we see of, for example, more strictly topical texts.

⁴⁵ *The Two inseparable Brothers* (ESTC S1205070) can be seen at <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30865/album>. ‘Our prince is welcome out of Spain’ is given as the tune on A.2, C.1, C.2, C.3, F.1 and G.1.1. ‘The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle’ (with spelling variants) is given as the tune on G.1.2, H.2 and H.3. No tune is given on H.1, H.4, H.5, I.1, I.2 or J.1. Variants of ‘The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle’ are given as the tune on the broadside ballads *The Coblers New Prophesie* (ESTC R174000), *The two inseparable brothers* (ESTC S120570) and *The Cuckoo of the Times* (ESTC R228098); and as a tune for ‘A song for Easter’ in the 1688 collection *A Cabinet of choice jewels, or, The Christians joy and gladness set forth in sundry pleasant new Christmas-carols*, (ESTC R37456), reprinted around 1701 (ESTC T124657) and in 1705 (ESTC N14844).

⁴⁶ The *Early English Books* microfilm incorrectly dates this edition to 1634.

⁴⁷ Cyprian Blagden gives a date for this partnership of between 1663 and 1674 (see his ‘Notes on the ballad market in the second half of the seventeenth century’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 6, (1953), 161-180. These dates are partially revised by W. Bruce Olson in his Broadside Ballad Index, <http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/Olson/BRDNDRD.HTM> [accessed 11/9/2014].

⁴⁸ For Thackeray’s advertisement, see R.S. Thomson, ‘Publisher’s introduction: Madden ballads from Cambridge University Library’, (1987)

<http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/30330FM.htm> (accessed 28/11/2013); and Cyprian Blagden, ‘Notes on the ballad market in the second half of the seventeenth century’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 6, (1953), 161-180, p.175.

⁴⁹ Shepard, *Pitts*, p.22

⁵⁰ Raymond Astbury, ‘The renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its lapse in 1695’, *The Library*, 33:4, (1978), 296-322; Treadwell, ‘The Stationers and the Printing Acts’; Ronan Deazley, *On the origin of the right to copy: charting the movement of copyright law in Eighteenth Century Britain (1695-1775)*, (Hart Publishing, 2004); John Feather, *Publishing, piracy and politics: an historical study of copyright in Britain*, (Mansell, 1994); Mark Rose, *Authors and owners: the invention of copyright*, (Cambridge University Press, 1999); and William St. Clair, *The reading nation in the Romantic period*, (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵¹ For discussions of the concepts of ‘edition’, ‘issue’ and the related term ‘state’, see e.g. Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*, (Oxford University Press, 1972), 311-21; Fredson Bowers, *Principles of bibliographical description*, (Princeton University Press, 1949); and Thomas Tanselle, ‘The bibliographical concepts of issue and state’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 69, (1975), 17-66.

⁵² See for example *The Kind Mistress*, <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/23483>.

⁵³ Fredson Bowers, ‘Notes on standing type in Elizabethan printing’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 40, (1946), 205-24; William B. Todd, ‘Recurrent printing’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 12, (1959), 189-198.

⁵⁴ Juxta (<http://www.juxtasoftware.org> [accessed 5/10/15]) has been invaluable for comparing multiple versions of the text.

⁵⁵ See William Gibson, *James II and the trial of the seven bishops*, (Palgrave, 2009).

⁵⁶ Kathleen Wilson, *The sense of the people: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-1785*, (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

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- ⁵⁷ William Donaldson, *The Jacobite song: political myth and national identity*, (Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite politics in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- ⁵⁸ Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-semitic stereotypes: a paradigm of otherness in English popular culture, 1660-1830*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), especially Chapter 4, 'Wandering Jew, vagabond Jews', 58-89); Naggar, *Jewish Pedlars and Hawkers, 1740-1940*; Michael Ragussis, 'Jews and other "outlandish Englishmen": ethnic performance and invention of British identity under the Georges', *Critical Inquiry*, 26:4 (2000), 773-97.
- ⁵⁹ Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830: tradition and change in a liberal society*, 2nd edition, (University of Michigan Press: 1999); Thomas Perry, *Public opinion, propaganda, and politics in eighteenth-century England: a study of the Jew Bill of 1753*, (Harvard University Press, 1962).
- ⁶⁰ Terry Belanger, 'Publishers and writers in eighteenth-century England', in *Books and their readers in eighteenth-century England*, edited by Isabel Rivers, (Leicester University Press, 1982), 5-25.
- ⁶¹ *The birds lamentation. To the tune of, The bird-catcher's delight* (ESTC N15639).
- ⁶² David Stoker, 'Another look at the Dicey-Marshall publications: 1736–1806', *The Library*, 15:2, (2014), 111-157; R.S. Thomson, The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Ballads, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University of Cambridge, 1974)
- ⁶³ See Franklin, 'Art of illustration'; Bamber Gascoigne, *How to identify prints*, (Thames and Hudson, 1995)
- ⁶⁴ Of the editions illustrated with the heads of all the monarchs, C.1, C.2, C.3, F.1, G.1 and I.2 lack an illustration for the monarch with which the text concludes, whereas the illustrations on H.1, H.2, H.5 and J.1 are up to date with the texts. The depiction of the royal consorts is yet more uneven: whereas A.2, H.2 and J.1 provide illustrations of the consorts of the kings with which the text concludes, C.1, C.2, C.3, H.5 and I.1. retain the consorts of either, in the case of the C editions and I.1 the deceased monarch or, in the case of H.5, the deceased consort of the reigning monarch.
- ⁶⁵ Charlton Hinman, *The printing and proof-reading of the First Folio*, (Clarendon Press, 1963); Adrian Weiss, 'Bibliographical methods for identifying unknown printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books', *Studies in Bibliography*, 44 (1991), 183-228.
- ⁶⁶ Stephen Escar Smith, "'The eternal verities verified": Charlton Hinman and The roots of mechanical collation', *Studies in Bibliography*, 53, (2000), 129-61; Alexandra Franklin, 'Library machines: The Mcleod collator', <http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/2010/09/03/library-machines-the-mcleod-collator>; (see also http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/files/2010/09/mcleod_collator_guide.pdf [both accessed 15/12/13]).
- ⁶⁷ Giles Bergel, 'Bodleian Ballads ImageMatch demonstrator now online', <http://balladsblog.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/blog/570>[accessed 15/12/13] and Giles Bergel, Alexandra Franklin, Michael Heaney, Relja Arandjelovic, Andrew Zisserman and Donata Funke, 'Content-based image recognition on printed broadside ballads: The Bodleian Libraries' ImageMatch Tool', *Proceedings of the IFLA World Library and Information Congress*, 2013, <http://library.ifla.org/id/eprint/209>, [accessed 15/12/13].
- ⁶⁸ Giles Bergel, 'Of ballads and worms', <http://balladsblog.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/blog/584> [accessed 15/12/13]; Barry McKay, 'Cumbrian chapbook cuts: some sources and other versions', in *The reach of print: making, selling and using books*, (St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 65-83.
- ⁶⁹ *A Watch for a Wise-mans observation* (ESTC R171940), see <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/34570/image> (accessed 8/11/2016), brought to my attention by Joyce King.
- ⁷⁰ A number of woodblocks inherited by the Newcastle printer John White from his father were employed by him and his successors for over a century: see Charles Heppner, 'A collection of woodblocks and related material at McGill University', *The Book Collector*, 35, (1986), 53-66.
- ⁷¹ The woodcut on I.1 is an adaptation of the illustration on *The life and death of the great Duke of Buckingham*, printed in Northampton by William Dicey (ESTC N4235), a copy of which may be seen at <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/18635> [accessed 15/12/13].
- ⁷² Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The genesis of Lachmann's method*, translated by Glenn Most, (University of Chicago Press, 2005); William Robins, 'Editing and evolution', *Literature Compass*, 4:1, (2007), 89-120; David Greetham, 'Phylum-tree-rhizome', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1996), 99-126.
- ⁷³ The methodology used to establish the stemma is described in G. Bergel, C.J. Howe and H.F. Windram, 'Lines of succession in an English ballad tradition: the publishing history and textual descent of 'The Wandering Jew's Chronicle'', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, (2015), DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/lhc/fqv003>. In addition, see e.g. H. F. Windram, P. Shaw, P. Robinson and C.J. Howe, 'Dante's *Monarchia* as a test case for the use of phylogenetic methods in stemmatic analysis', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 23, (2008), 443-463; C. J. Howe, A. Barbrook, B. Bordalejo, L. Mooney, M. Spencer and P. Robinson, 'Manuscript evolution', *Trends in Genetics*, 17:3, (2001), 147-152; L. R. Mooney, A. C. Barbrook, C.J. Howe, and P. Robinson, 'Parallels between stemmatology and phylogenetics', in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, edited by Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander and Margot van Mulken, (John Benjamins, 2004), 3-15.

⁷⁴ For criticisms of the limits and assumptions of textual genealogy, see Timpanaro, 2005 and Bernard Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant: a critical history of philology*, translated by Betsy Wing, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

⁷⁵ Giles Bergel, C.J. Howe, H.F. Windram, ‘Lines of succession in an English ballad tradition: the publishing history and textual descent of The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle’, *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, (DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/lhc/fqv003>), especially fn. 69.

⁷⁶ See e.g. Greetham, ‘Phylum-Tree-Rhizome’.

⁷⁷ St. Clair, (*Reading Nation*), 341; Duval, ‘The Diceys revisited’, *Factotum*, 35, (1992), 9-11). St. Clair argues that there was a *de facto* monopoly on the old stock of ballads before 1774, after which they vanished from the marketplace to be replaced by new titles. This argument is discussed by David Atkinson in ‘Was there really a “Mass Extinction of Old Ballads” in the Romantic Period?’, in *Street ballads in nineteenth-century Britain, Ireland, and North America: the interface between print and oral cultures*, edited by David Atkinson and Steve Roud, (Ashgate: 2014), 19-36.

⁷⁸ Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, ‘What is print popularity? A map of the Elizabethan book trade’, in *The Elizabethan top ten*, edited by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith, (Ashgate, 2013), 19-54.

⁷⁹ Patricia Hernlund, ‘Three bankruptcies in the London book trade, 1746–61: Rivington, Knapton, and Osborn’, in *Writers, books and trade: an eighteenth-century miscellany for William B. Todd*, edited by O.M. Brack, (AMS Press, 1994), 77-122; see also forthcoming work by Christine Ferdinand on bankruptcy in the book trade.

⁸⁰ Jon Mee, ‘Examples of safe printing’: censorship and popular radical literature in the 1790s’, *Literature and Censorship*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 81-1995; Kate Horgan, *The politics of songs in eighteenth-century Britain*, (Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

⁸¹ See Deazley, *On the origin of the right to copy* (2004) and Rose, *Authors and owners* (1999).

⁸² Thomas Percy, *Reliques of ancient English poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets, (chiefly of the lyric kind.) Together with some few of later date*, (Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1765); Nick Groom, *The making of Percy's 'Reliques'*, (Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁸³ Samuel Pepys noted as early as 1700 that ballads seemed to be carrying fewer illustrations from that date (Goldstein, p.288). See Shepard, Pitts, p.22 on chapbooks’ eclipse of broadsides; on the cheap prints trade, see Sheila O’Connell, *The popular print in England*, (British Museum Press, 1999).

⁸⁴ Stoker, ‘Another look at the Dicey-Marshall publications, 1736-1806.’

⁸⁵ *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copybooks, Drawing-Books, Histories, Old Ballads, Patters, Collections &c.*, (Printed and sold by Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall, at the Printing-Office, in Aldermanry Church-Yard, London. 1764) ESTCT162594. Glasgow University Library shelfmark Mu34-g.4, of which there is a transcription by R. C. Simmons at <http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 19/11/2016].

⁸⁶ For example, line 35 in I.2.b ‘Gave him the poison as he drank’ is missing entirely in I.2.a (this line and other corrections have been added in pen in the National Library of Scotland’s copy (L.C.2733 (17), recorded as I.2.a.b. in the Bibliography in this edition.

⁸⁷ According to Philip Gaskell, paper formed majority of the production costs of printed books: “often about 75 per cent of the total in the sixteenth century, dropping to about 50 percent by the eighteenth”, *A new introduction to bibliography*, (Clarendon Press, 1972), 177, although these figures may overstate the costs for broadside ballads, which were generally printed on the cheapest papers.

⁸⁸ See e.g. Fredson Bowers - ‘only rarely does any one copy of an early book contain all corrected or uncorrected formes’, in ‘The problem of the variant forme in a facsimile edition’, *The Library* 5:4, (1952), 262-272, 262.

⁸⁹ The classic formulation of the eclectic method is given in W.W. Greg, ‘The rationale of copy-text’, *Studies in bibliography*, 3, (1951), 19-37. See also Fredson Bowers, ‘Remarks on eclectic texts’, *Proof*, 4 (1975), 13-58.

⁹⁰ See the ballad ‘The Battle of Preston’ (Donaldson, p.26) in respect of James Stuart (who was entitled the Chevalier de Saint George); or the well-known ballad of the 1745 rebellion Charly is My Darling, <http://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/ballads/FSWB140A.html>[accessed 15/11/2014].

⁹¹ A work like James Hogg’s *Jacobite relics of Scotland*, published by the mainstream Edinburgh firm of Blackwoods in 1819, was not considered subversive when it appeared.

⁹² W. Ford Doolittle, ‘Phylogenetic classification and the universal tree’, *Science*, 284:5423, 25 June 1999, 2124-2128; Carl R. Woese, ‘Interpreting the universal phylogenetic tree’, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 97:15, (2000); 8392–8396; William Robins, ‘Editing and evolution’, *Literature compass*, 4:1, (2007), 89-120; David Greetham, *The pleasures of contamination: evidence, text, and voice in textual studies*, (Indiana University Press, 2010).

⁹³ *Street ballads in nineteenth-century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The interface between print and oral cultures*, edited by David Atkinson and Steve Roud, (Ashgate: 2014); Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England 1500-1700*, (Oxford University Press, 2000); D. R. Woolf, ‘The “Common Voice”: history, folklore and oral tradition in early-modern England’, *Past and Present*, 120, (1998), 26-52; David Atkinson, ‘The Ballad

Revival and National Literature: Textual Authority and the Invention of Tradition’, in David Hopkin and Tim Baycroft (eds.), *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*, (Brill, 2012), 275-300. For another account of a single ballad tradition across various media and formats, including the printed broadside, see Robert S. Thomson, ‘The Frightful Foggy Dew’, *Folk Music Journal*, 4.1 (1980), 35– 61.

⁹⁴ Tom Cheesman and Sigrid Rieuwerts argue that ‘The modern study of culture begins with the study of ballads. The eighteenth-century “discovery” of ballads in popular tradition (that is, the putting of ballads into scholarly books) began an enduring debate which was crucial in defining what came to be called Romanticism. All modern theories of culture and poetics trace their ancestry to this debate’: Preface, *Ballads into books: the legacies of Francis James Child*, edited by Tom Cheesman and Sigrid Rieuwerts, selected papers from the 26th International Ballad Conference (SIEF Ballad Commission), Swansea, Wales, 19-24 July 1996, (Peter Lang, 1997), p.5. David Atkinson provides a valuable overview of the history and politics of ballad editing in his ‘The ballad revival and national literature.’ See also Nigel Leask and Philip Connell, ‘Introduction: what is the people?’ in Leask and Connell (eds.), *Romanticism and popular culture in Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009) 3-48; Maureen McLane, ‘Mediating antiquarians in Britain, 1760-1830: The invention of oral tradition, or, close reading before Coleridge’, in *This is Enlightenment*, edited by Clifford Siskin and William Warner (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 247-264; Susan Manning, ‘Antiquarianism, balladry, and the rehabilitation of romance’, in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, edited by James Chandler (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 45-70; E. David Gregory, *Victorian songhunters: the recovery and editing of English vernacular ballads and folk lyrics*, 1820-1883 (Scarecrow Press, 2006); Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, 3rd edition, (Ashgate, 2009); Giuseppe Cocchiara, *The history of folklore in Europe*, translated by John McDaniel, (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981); Anthony Grafton, ‘Prolegomena to Friedrich August Wolf’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44, (1981), 101-129; Dirk van Hulle and Joep Leerssen (eds.), *Editing the nation’s memory: textual scholarship and nation-building in nineteenth-century Europe*, (Rodopi, 2008); and John Miles Foley, ‘Folk literature’, in *Scholarly editing: a guide to research*, edited by David Greetham, (Modern Language Association, 1995), 600-626.

⁹⁵ This is the argument of St. Clair’s *Reading Nation*: however, many ballads, like the *Chronicle*, were competitively reprinted before *Donaldson v. Beckett*. St. Clair’s reasoning that ballad anthologies, such as the 1723-5 *Collection of Old Ballads* and (initially) Percy’s 1765 *Reliques*, constituted copyright claims is without any apparent foundation.

⁹⁶ R.S. Thomson, ‘Publisher’s introduction: Madden Ballads from Cambridge University Library’, (Gale, 1987), <http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/30330FM.htm>[accessed 28 November 2013].

⁹⁷ Charles Hindley, *The life and times of James Catnach, (Late of Seven Dials)*, Ballad Monger, (Reeves and Turner, 1878): digitised copy at <http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/600017451.pdf>[accessed 22/9/2014].

⁹⁸ On the wood-engraving process, see Bamber Gascoigne, *How to identify prints*, (Thames and Hudson, 1995).

⁹⁹ *The Chapter of Kings* was published in many editions, including at least one by Pitts - see <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/5691>[accessed 22/9/2014].

¹⁰⁰ See p.42 in Shepard, *Pitts* on the latter’s use of stereotype plates, including of ballads already issued by other printers, ‘to which his own name and address were added’.

¹⁰¹ F.J. Harvey Darton, *Children’s books in England: five centuries of social life*, revised edition by Brian Alderson, (British Library, 1999); Jill Shefrin, ‘Make it a pleasure and not a task’: educational games for children in Georgian England’, *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 60:2, (1999), 251-75. For an educational toy (a jigsaw) that incorporates copies of the Dicey *Chronicle* illustrations, see John Wallis’, *Chronological Tables of English History for the Instruction of Youth*, (1788), reproduced at <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26986/chronological-tables-of-english-history-dissected-puzzle-wallis-john> [accessed 23/9/2014]. I am grateful to Angela McShane for bringing this puzzle to my attention.

¹⁰² Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656-2000*, (University of California Press, 2002); Edward Beasley, *The Victorian reinvention of race*, (Routledge, 2010); Colin Kidd, *The forging of races: race and scripture in the protestant Atlantic world, 1600-2000*, (Cambridge University Press, 2006); David Hopkin and Tim Baycroft (eds), *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*, (Brill, 2012).

¹⁰³ Dianne Dugaw, ‘The popular marketing of “old ballads”: The ballad revival and eighteenth-century antiquarianism reconsidered’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 21:1, (1987), 71-90.

¹⁰⁴ A theory strongly challenged by Joseph Ritson in several publications: see (e.g.) Joseph Ritson, *A select collection of English songs*, (J. Johnson, 1783); Bertrand Bronson, *Joseph Ritson, scholar-at-arms*, 2 vols., (University of California Press, 1938); and Groom, *The making of Percy’s Reliques*.

¹⁰⁵ Yuri Cowan and Marysa Demoor, ‘Walter Scott and Victorian ballad anthologies: authorship, editing and authority’, *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 60:1, (2012), 47-63.

¹⁰⁶ David Blamires ‘Chapbooks, fairytales and children’s books in the writings of John Clare’, *The John Clare Society Journal*, 15 and 16, (1996-7), 26-53; 43-70; Bridget Keegan, ‘Broadsides, ballads and books: The landscape of cultural literacy in The Village Minstrel’, *The John Clare Society Journal*, 15, (1996), 11-19.

¹⁰⁷ *A chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, by John Warkworth, D.D.*, edited by James Orchard Halliwell, (Camden Society, 1839). The same reference appears in Halliwell’s edition of *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger*, also published by the Camden Society, in 1840. For the history of the Roxburghe ballads, see *North British Review*, 6, (1846), 25-58. I am grateful to Patricia Fumerton for a copy of this article.

¹⁰⁸ *The Roxburghe Ballads: illustrating the last years of the Stuarts*, edited by J. Woodfall Ebsworth, Vol. 6, (The Ballad Society, 1889), 690.

¹⁰⁹ One solution lies in the unification of bibliography and performance history provided by Steve Roud’s Roud Numbers, implemented in [Bodleian Ballads Online](http://www.vwml.org/search/search-roud-indexes) and widely used in traditional music scholarship: see <http://www.vwml.org/search/search-roud-indexes>.

¹¹⁰ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*, (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹¹¹ Susan Stewart, ‘Scandals of the ballad’, *Representations*, 32, (1990), 134-156, 134.

¹¹² Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, translated by Barbara Flower, (Oxford University Press, 1958), 20.

¹¹³ Robert S. Thomson, ‘The development of the broadside ballad and its influence upon the transmission of English folksongs’, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1974), p.18.