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Article abstract

This article examines the possible influences of Ireland, through the waves of eighteenth and nineteenth century immigrants, in current Newfoundland folksong repertoire. While much of the findings must remain speculative, given all the limitations surrounding sources on both sides of the Atlantic, the research revealed that 143 songs collected in field-recordings in Newfoundland this century could have originated in, or have passed through and been influenced by, the Irish folksong tradition. Newfoundland has developed its own strong native song tradition, but in repertoire and style the Irish roots of many of its people still have life and vibrancy.

A DROP OF THE IRISH: THE INFLUENCE OF IRISH FOLKSONG ON NEWFOUNDLAND'S SONG TRADITION¹

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The successful transference of Irish folk and popular culture across the Atlantic to North America, and its continued popularity, is a point which surely needs little argument, so readily is it apparent in so many aspects of North American life and culture, the razzmatazz of the St. Patrick's Day parades being only one of the most colourful and public examples. Because enormous numbers of Irish emigrated to North America in the past two centuries, almost every Irish family today seems to have relatives or friends somewhere in Canada or the USA. However, comparatively few people in Ireland are aware of the strong historical and cultural connections with Newfoundland, except perhaps in the southeast counties whence the majority of emigrants to Newfoundland appear to have come,² and as yet few Irish folklorists or anthropologists have gone to the island to examine these cultural links.

Any visitor to Newfoundland becomes quickly aware of the Irish ancestry of many of the island's people — linguistically, by means of dialect and accent, and culturally, by means of humour, music, and song. It was to examine the common heritage of song and ballad that I visited the island in the summers of 1988 and 1989. This paper sets out the findings of an investigation into the singing of songs and ballads in Newfoundland communities that have also been sung in Ireland; it results from an examination of collected Newfoundland sources (both published and archival material), cross-referenced to my own unpublished catalogue of Irish broadside ballads and to

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1. My thanks to the British Academy for the award of Research Grants to visit the archives in Newfoundland in the summers of 1988 and 1989. My thanks also to the staff of the Department of Folklore and MUNFLA at the Memorial University of Newfoundland for their help and kindness.
 2. See below and John Mannion, "The Irish Migrations to Newfoundland", 1973 (unpublished summary of a paper delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Society); John Mannion, "The Impact of Newfoundland on Waterford and its Hinterland in the Eighteenth Century", 1977a (paper delivered at the Annual Conference of Irish Geographers); and John Mannion, "The Peopling of Newfoundland", 1977b (transcripts of CBC Radio Education Broadcasts). Copies of the above works by John Mannion are held by the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

published twentieth-century collections of Irish oral song tradition.³ I do not suggest that this comparison is either exhaustive or definitive, but I hope that it will at least lay the groundwork for future research. The paper is concerned only with the existence of songs and ballads in the Newfoundland song repertoire which could have originated in or been inherited from Ireland. It is hoped that at a future date a study of the textual variations which arose within these Newfoundland communities can be undertaken and compared with patterns of variation in the same songs in Ireland.

The Historical Background

The links between Ireland and Newfoundland are many centuries old, dating back at least to the seventeenth century (earlier still if the legends of the exploratory voyages of St. Brendan are to be believed), and were originally associated with the salt cod industry.⁴ Newfoundland has always had rich reserves of cod on the banks off its coast that, since their discovery, have been exploited by fishing fleets from various European countries. The British cod fleet was primarily based in the West Country, with its principal ports lying along the Bristol Channel. When heading out to the Newfoundland banks, the fleet would stop for supplies and for crewmen in various ports along the southeastern coast of Ireland and up the rivers Suir and Barrow. Initially, these expeditions were purely seasonal, the men signing on with the West Country ships for just a single season; while it seems that some did winter on Newfoundland, for the most part they returned home at the end of this period. However, as the eighteenth century progressed and the island grew to be something other than a temporary shelter for the fishermen, becoming more what could be considered a colony, and as various skills and professions auxiliary to the fishing industry came increasingly in demand, Irish and English settlers began slowly, and still in quite small numbers, to put down roots along the island's coast.⁵ The Irish, in particular,

3. Peter Kennedy, ed., *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*, London, Oak Publications, 1975; Robin Morton, ed., *Folksongs Sung in Ulster*, Cork, Mercier Press, 1970; Robin Morton, collator, *Come Day, Go Day, God Send Sunday*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973; John Moulden, ed., *Songs of the People*, Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1979; Hugh Shields, "Some Songs and Ballads in use in the Province of Ulster... 1845'", *Ulster Folklife* 17 (1971), p. 3-24; Hugh Shields, *Shamrock, Rose and Thistle*, Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1981; Hugh and Lisa Shields, "Irish Folk-Song Recordings 1966-1972", *Ulster Folklife* 21 (1975), p. 25-54; and Paddy Tunney, *The Stone Fiddle*, Dublin, Gilbert Dalton, 1979. *Sam Henry's Songs of the People* (ed. Gale Huntington and Lani Hermann, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1990) was unavailable at the time of writing.

4. See footnote 2.

5. See Mannion, 1977a; the numbers of Irish on the island reached the 5 000 mark only in the 1780s.

settled in the southern Avalon peninsula (an area which was to continue to attract Irish settlers) and later also in the north-facing bays, particularly around Harbour Grace and Trinity — a settlement pattern which still accords with the ethnic distribution found on the island today.

As the census figures show, the numbers of Irish settlers continued to grow steadily throughout the eighteenth century, but it was in the period during and immediately after the Napoleonic Wars that truly large numbers emigrated to Newfoundland. John Mannion, the leading scholar on the Irish in Newfoundland, puts the figures at 16 000 between 1811 and 1816, with a further 8 000 arriving between 1825 and 1831. Not all of these proved to be permanent immigrants to the island, many preferring to ship on to other parts of North America, but "by 1836 there were roughly 38 000 Irish living there, more than five times the number in 1800. They now comprised roughly 50% of the total population of the island".⁶ With this dramatic increase in the island's population, the British government began for the first time actively to encourage agricultural settlement, in order to make some attempt to meet the growing demands for foodstuffs; while coastal settlements continued to rely on fish as their commercial crop, these measures ensured that the fishing industry no longer remained the sole provider of employment on the island. Agriculture, nonetheless, frequently provided sufficient produce for local consumption only, or for very localised markets. This pattern of settlement, combining fishing and agriculture as the chief means of subsistence, has largely continued into the present century, especially in the more isolated coastal communities.

It is important to realise that communications between settlements in Newfoundland have always been extremely poor, even more so than in, for example, nineteenth-century Ireland, and there was very little improvement until comparatively recently, even in the areas lying quite close to the capital, St. John's. Most of the outports relied on transport by sea for any contact with neighbouring settlements, as is evidenced by descriptions furnished by the song collectors Greenleaf and Karpeles,⁷ who visited the island early this century. The settlements, therefore, had to be largely self-reliant, both economically and culturally.

It has probably been this isolation,⁸ perhaps coupled with a strong and continuing identification with the homeland and its culture, which has

6. Mannion, 1973, p. 1.

7. Elizabeth Greenleaf, *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*, Concord, Harvard University Press, 1933; Maud Karpeles, *Folk Songs from Newfoundland*, Connecticut, Archon Books, 1970.

8. I do not mean to suggest that the isolation of these settlements was absolute, since the sea acted as a highway linking neighbouring outports, and along the southern coast there was regular trade with Boston and other parts of the northeastern seaboard.

contributed most to the continuation of various cultural artefacts and expressive forms such as song; as Mannion says, speaking of one particular area of Irish settlement, "it is likely that many of these Cape Shore immigrants and their descendants lived out their lives without any contact with members of another ethnic group".⁹ Even in larger settlement areas, such as St. John's, the Irish proved slow to lose or dilute their specific cultural traditions, even though there was some inevitable merger with their English neighbours. So it is that, today, the Irish or British folklorist can travel hundreds of miles across the Atlantic and readily encounter many familiar songs, stories, customs, and speech patterns, in both large and small communities all over Newfoundland.

The Research

Over the past sixty years or so, Newfoundland has attracted various eminent folksong collectors, and an impressive assemblage of published material is readily available. These collectors have included Elizabeth Greenleaf (working in the 1920s), Maud Karpeles (late 1920s and early 1930s), MacEdward Leach (Newfoundland in the early 1950s [unpublished]¹⁰ and Labrador in 1960),¹¹ Kenneth Peacock (1950s and early 1960s), Kenneth S. Goldstein (late 1970s and 1980s [this collection is yet to be published]),¹² and Genevieve Lehr and Anita Best (1980s).¹³ In addition to these collections compiled by individuals, the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) houses many hundreds of tape collections made from the early 1960s onwards by a miscellany of scholars and students attached to the Folklore Department at the University and which, at the time of this research, were catalogued in full up until 1977, more sporadically thereafter.

In this investigation, I first cross-referenced these sources of Newfoundland song, both published and unpublished, using the working catalogue of Irish broadside ballads of over 2 300 entries which I have been assembling since 1983. Although I do not suggest that these broadsides be taken as wholly representative of the nineteenth-century singing tradition in

9. John Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974, p. 23.

10. My thanks to Professor Kenneth S. Goldstein, literary executor, for access to the Leach archives in MUNFLA.

11. MacEdward Leach, *Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast*, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 1965.

12. My thanks, again, to Professor Goldstein for access to his personal archive of Newfoundland and Labrador recordings.

13. Genevieve Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, St. John's, Breakwater Press, 1985.

Ireland, they do provide the largest available source for the cross-referencing. Since the relationship between broadside ballads and oral song traditions has always been two-way, this collection is likely to contain elements of an older, or at least contemporary, oral repertoire. Also, as the majority of Irish broadside ballads were produced in the nineteenth century, and as the greatest concentration of Irish emigration to Newfoundland came in the early part of that period, it seems reasonable to assume that some proportion of the song tradition that these men and women brought with them to the new land had their source in, or were influenced by broadsides. By the time of the heaviest emigrations, during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, broadsides had been popular in Ireland for at least three to four decades, having attained true popularity in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Wishing to broaden the parameters of the research to include the oral Irish song tradition, as well as the "literary" tradition of the broadsides, and having to work without the availability of a comprehensive catalogue or listing, I also cross-referenced the Newfoundland material with twentieth-century published collections from Ireland.¹⁴ The resulting index, appended below, attempts the first listing of Newfoundland songs whose immediate source may have been Ireland.

Of course, the discovery of a song in the Newfoundland repertoire with an equivalent nineteenth-century Irish broadside, or which is a version or variant of a song collected in twentieth-century Ireland, does not of itself prove that the song was originally Irish, or that it was brought to Newfoundland by Irish emigrants. It is entirely possible that a number of the songs which I have identified in this research were of English origin, or found their way to Newfoundland from England, Scotland, the U.S., or Canada. Such uncertainties are endemic in the study of British or English-language folksongs, since a common tongue facilitates easy passage of all kinds of lore and traditions between interacting nations. What this present study *can* show is essentially what material the singing traditions of these two islands, Ireland and Newfoundland, have, or have had, in common.¹⁵

Another important source of external influences on Newfoundland song was the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, a newspaper published in Montreal but popular throughout Canada. In *Joe Scott: the Woodsman Songmaker*, Edward D. Ives says,

14. See footnote 3.

15. A future project will be a comparative study of those broadside ballads which have survived in Ireland and those transported to and extant in Newfoundland, which, it is hoped, might provide insights into the aesthetic perceptions of culturally similar, if geographically distant, communities and also reveal whether these aesthetics have remained similar or have developed differently over the years.

In short, the Family Herald 'Old Favourites' column acted as a kind of folksong clearinghouse for all of Canada... The impact that this column has had on Canadian folksong tradition has yet to be measured, but it clearly was an important institution.¹⁶

The "Old Favourites" column, which ran weekly from 1895 to 1968, was a regular feature in which readers would exchange information about, and texts of, songs, recitations, and poems. Edith Fowke¹⁷ has assembled an index of the material published in this column (not all of which would have been song *per se*) which amounts to some 30 000 separate titles. Fowke estimates that "about 15% are song; the rest are verses which probably never were sung"¹⁸; from this 15% she assembled a selective listing.¹⁹ Cross-referencing of my Irish-Newfoundland listing with Fowke's revealed that over a quarter of these songs appeared at some time in the *Family Herald*, some songs appearing on a number of occasions. Just how many of these songs were introduced into the Newfoundland repertoire through this medium is difficult to say, but further comparison of the song texts with the *Herald's* versions could help reveal the extent of the column's impact. Kenneth Peacock²⁰ notes that the Henneys of Stock Cove said that they learned "The Irish Emigrant" (sometimes titled "I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary") from an old copy of *The Family Herald*; this is the only published reference that I have found of the influence of this newspaper on Newfoundland singers.

Probably of greater significance and influence on the present-day Newfoundland repertoire are commercial recordings and the radio. These industries, realising the local market potential for folk music, have made available not only local artists and their repertoires, but also material from other parts of North America, and, of particular relevance to this article, from Britain and Ireland. Other than acknowledging these sources, however, I have not found it possible to assess their influence on my final listing.

16. Edward D. Ives, *Joe Scott: the Woodsman Songmaker*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1978, p. 104.

17. Edith Fowke, "'Old Favourites': a Selective Index", *Canadian Folk Music Journal* 7 (1979), p. 29-56.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

19. "From the vast list I have culled all the Child, broadside and native American ballads, and all the songs that have appeared in Canadian collections as well as in such extensive American collections as Randolph's *Ozark Folksongs* and the Brown collection of *North Carolina Folklore*. To these have been added any items that I think might have been sung, and any verses with a Canadian theme". (*Ibid.*, p. 30).

20. Kenneth Peacock, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (3 vols), Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 1965, p. 462.

The Songs

As outlined above, the existing evidence suggests that most of the Irish emigration to Newfoundland had taken place by the mid-nineteenth century. This being so, it might be supposed that a high proportion of the extant Irish-Newfoundland song tradition would also have arrived on the island by that time. Dating folksongs is generally a difficult process, as source material from previous centuries, and indeed from the twentieth century too, are fairly sparse. In attempting to date the songs listed below, I employed two different sources: first, the internal evidence of persons or events mentioned within the songs themselves (although this cannot be an infallible indicator, as songs could often be written well after the date of an event, it does suggest the earliest possible date of composition); and second, collections of folksong and folk music compiled before 1850, although these are regrettably few.

The written sources I have used in this research are Edward Bunting's collection of folk tunes²¹; George Petrie's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* (1855); and "Songs and Ballads in Use in the Province of Ulster... 1845" compiled by John and Abraham Hume.²² Since the first two are collections of tunes to which the lyrics are not attached, the evidence for identification may seem a little shaky, but on the whole airs are much more likely to gain titles from the songs in which they are employed than vice versa; so, for instance, knowing from broadside productions that a song entitled "The Banks of Claudy" existed in the nineteenth century and from Bunting that a tune with the same title existed in 1792, we can infer a history for the song going back to at least the eighteenth century. The propensity of folksongs to acquire many and varied names over the years is an additional problem in this task, as is the not uncommon practice of giving the same title to different songs. From Bunting, Petrie and the Humes the following eighteen songs emerge as likely to have been in existence in Ireland prior to 1855: "The Banks of Claudy", "Black-eyed Susan", "The Bonny Light Horseman", "The Dawning of the Day", "The Foggy Dew", "Glencoe", "Green Bushes", "The Green Mossy Banks of the Lee", "Johnny Doyle", "The Maid of Sweet Gurteen", "Matt Hyland", "Molly Brown", "Napoleon the Exile", "The Nobleman's Wedding", "A Sailor Courted a Farmer's Daughter", "Van Dieman's Land", "Willie Leonard", and "Willie Riley". Despite a certain fallibility inherent in all cross-referencing of traditional materials, this evidence is a degree stronger than a dating based on clues within the texts.

21. Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, Dublin, Walton, 1969 (reprint) incorporates all Bunting's published collections, originally published in 1796, 1809, and 1840.

22. See the reference to Hugh Shields (1971) in footnote 3.

As for textual evidence, historical ballads hold the slightly firmer ground in that the events or persons in these can be given definite dates. Hence, if we take 1855 as the limiting date once again to keep in line with the cross-referencing method above, it is possible that all the songs on the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath, and also on the Crimean War, had been written by this date, all these events having passed. It is also likely that ballads using these events as setting would have been composed in this period, when such contexts would be most topical. This would suggest the following ballads: "The Bonnie Bunch of Roses", "The Bonny Light Horsemen", "The Green Linnet", "The Mantle So Green", "Napoleon the Exile", "Napoleon's Farewell to Paris", "Pat McCarthy", "Patrick Sheehan", "The Plains of Waterloo", and "The Victory". A number of other ballads can also be tentatively dated through their subject matter: "Glencoe" is based on events post-dating 1692 and is known to have been popular throughout the nineteenth century in Britain; "The Banks of Ayr", or "Burns and his Highland Mary", refers to the death of Robert Burns's lover, Mary Campbell, in 1786, so the song was probably written shortly thereafter; Patrick Brady and General Munroe were executed for their parts in the 1798 uprising, which is also the setting for "The Boys of Wexford"; the ballad of "The Lady of the Lake" refers to an 1833 shipwreck, and the broadside is likely to have been written immediately afterwards; the arrest of John Mitchel occurred in 1848; "Skibbereen" is set during the Great Famine, 1845-1848.

Thanks to the notes of Peacock and Leach, six other songs from this cross-referencing can be dated to the period prior to 1855. These are "The Banks of Sweet Dundee", "Bryan O'Lynn", "Canada-i-o", "The Cruel Ship's Carpenter", "The Lass of Glenshee", and "On Board of the Man of War".

Merging the findings from these various sources, and adding the six Child or classical ballads which are known to have a sufficiently long history to be included, we arrive at a total of forty-five songs (see Appendix 1) which could have been current at the time of greatest emigration to Newfoundland and which therefore may have a history of 150 years or more on the island. This works out to a percentage of 31,48% of the total number of songs (143) identified in this research.

The Themes

The range of songs in the listing given in Appendix 2 is quite varied, though it seems that the majority are songs with strong narrative content. It could well be that this has been an important factor in determining the survival of a song. It is interesting to note that there are very few lyrical songs

in the listing below. Are these intrinsically shorter-lived than narrative folk-songs? Or did strong narrative content act as a criterion for the adoption of a broadside into oral tradition? Amongst the narrative songs are six Child, or classical, ballads — “Barbara Allen”, “Young Beichan”, “The Gypsy Laddie”, “John of Hazelgreen”, “Lamkin”, and “Willie O Winsbury” — of which only “The Gypsy Laddie” is known to have appeared in Ireland in broadside form. Versions of “Barbara Allen”, “Young Beichan”, and “The Gypsy Laddie” have been collected throughout North America, but the other three examples of Child ballads are more rare on that continent: why this should be so and whether it could be claimed to be linked in any way to Newfoundland’s Irish connection is difficult to say.

Many more of the broadsides identified in this cross-referencing are recognisable through the classification of G. Malcolm Laws.²³ In the appendices I give the Laws reference for each. These particular songs seem to have exhibited an appeal which has caused them to survive over a wider geographical area than the island of Newfoundland.

There are actually very few songs of an Irish political nature to be found among the Newfoundland examples, despite the fact that they seem to form the largest thematic grouping amongst Irish broadside ballads.²⁴ As well as being interesting for their relative scarcity, which raises questions as to political identification and even interest in the homeland on the part of the Irish settlers in Newfoundland, the songs show “omissions” regarding such prominent Irish political heroes as O’Connell and Parnell, and skip from 1798 (“Pat Brady” and “General Munro”) to the latter part of the nineteenth century (“Pat O’Donnel” and “Burke’s Dream”) before briefly touching on the twentieth century with “Kevin Barry” (although this last song has been recorded only from a popular folk group and not from any traditional singers in Newfoundland and may well have had no history on the island). The presence of the earlier ballads can be explained by the large numbers of emigrants to Newfoundland in the early nineteenth century who were likely to have known these songs and hence have made them a part of Newfoundland’s tradition for 150 years or more. The other political songs, and no doubt songs on other themes as well, could have been brought across by later emigrants, could have been “imported” through the continued trade links between Newfoundland and Britain and Ireland, or could have come more circuitously from Boston, another “Irish colony” in North America, with which Newfoundland carried on quite extensive trade.

23. G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *American Balladry from British Broad-sides*, Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1957, and *Native American Ballads*, rev. ed., Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1964.

24. See Colin Neilands, *Irish Broadside Ballads in their Social and Historical Contexts*, unpublished PhD thesis, Queen’s University of Belfast, 1987.

Irish communities in the USA may have retained more political songs than Newfoundland did because of their greater numbers, because of more continuous immigration from Ireland, and because of the development of Irish-American political power. Relating to this last point, Irish immigrants in the United States were faced with many more challenges to their ethnic identity and as a result were more eager to retain, if not indeed emphasise and exaggerate, their "Irishness" — the affirmation of ethnic identity being closely linked with political, social, and economic power in the USA. The Newfoundland settlers did not face such challenges to their identity, and because of the settlement patterns on the island, only those in and around the capital of St. John's were likely to develop political ambitions and to have a more regular communication with the "old country". It was the regularity of emigration to cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, for example, which was likely to keep Irish issues alive amongst those living in the States, and having utilised their cultural identity to gain power at home, immigrants would really be expected to take at least a nominal interest in matters in Ireland. Consequently, Irish political folksongs might continue to serve a function amongst the politically active in North America, but in more isolated and secure communities, such as those in Newfoundland, such songs would likely survive only if they could appeal to some overriding aesthetic or to some other values.

Political ballads of a more international subject matter which appear in this listing deal with the period of the Napoleonic Wars ("Napoleon the Exile", "Napoleon's Farewell to Paris", "The Plains of Waterloo", and "The Victory"), a period which was also a popular setting for some of the love ballads found in this cross-referencing — for example, "The Mantle so Green". The period of the Napoleonic Wars was one of great productivity for ballad-writers in Britain and Ireland. Indeed, Douglas Jerrold claimed that the ballad singer (the salesperson of the broadsides), having enjoyed such great success in this period, thereafter fell into rapid decline:

During the war it was his peculiar province to vend halfpenny historical abridgements of his country's glory; recommending the short poetic chronicle by some familiar household air that fixed it in the memory of the purchaser, who thus easily got hatred of the French by heart, with a new assurance of his own invulnerability. No battle was fought, no vessel taken or sunk, that the triumph was not published, proclaimed in the national gazette of our Ballad-singer.²⁵

25. Writing in 1840 in *The Heads of the People*, quoted in W. Henderson, ed., *Victorian Street Ballads*, London, Country Life, 1937, p. 9-10.

Since these songs were so popular in the home countries, it is not hard to imagine that they were well-known to the waves of emigrants who left Ireland for Newfoundland during or immediately after this period. Although these songs have not been widely collected, they obviously contain some appeal to have continued on the island down to the present day. One of the differences which we must bear in mind when discussing ballads on such international issues, rather than on purely Irish ones, is that the songs would have had meaning and appeal to the English settlers in Newfoundland also and so, existing in all probability in communities of both major ethnic groups, would then have had a greater chance of survival.

The majority of ballads in this cross-referencing fall under the general thematic heading of love. They deal with courtship, separation, reunion, and elopement — all popular topics in English-language balladry. It is probable that songs dealing with such themes would survive better than those of a political or topical nature in that they deal with universals, situations and circumstances which would not alter greatly through a change of location. Given the circumstances of the settlers from Ireland in Newfoundland, in particular their isolation and immediate economic hardship, it seems understandable that the political, or very localised (within Ireland) ballads would lose significance and not survive after the first or second generation, whereas interpersonal relations and sexual mores would have continued to be relevant and unlikely to alter in the new land, there being no reason for change, nor a challenge from any significantly differing culture. A love ballad can easily pass from community to community, particularly within the same or similar cultures, in that the circumstantial details can be readily altered to fit the new location without fundamentally changing the core narrative or its dramatic or didactic function, the crucial elements being universally recognisable.

A significant percentage of the identified songs are of a humorous nature — songs such as “Dinny Byrne the Piper”, “The Black Devil”, and “The Crocodile Song”. Again, this would seem to indicate the greater inherent aptitude for survival of songs evoking universal experiences and responses. These are songs which do not have essentially localised settings or depend on specific, previously-held knowledge on the part of the audience — they are not, for example, satirical ballads for which the audience must have prior knowledge of the persons or events under humorous attack — but rather tend to depend on farce and the fantastical to evoke humour. The songs may well have a great deal of particularised detail — “Dinny Byrne the Piper”, for instance, places the events in a specific historical period and even makes passing political statements — but this is very much peripheral to the central comic action and intent of the song.

What are not found amongst the ballads listed below are examples of those comic broadside ballads, produced particularly in the latter half of

the nineteenth century, which were heavily influenced in material and approach by the music hall. Perhaps this lack indicates that the period of greatest influence of Ireland on Newfoundland song tradition was the first half of the nineteenth century, which would tie in with the evidence of major Irish immigration. Moreover St. John's was not as rich in such entertainment as Dublin or London, so this humour perhaps did not have a strong tradition to help establish and maintain it; and these songs usually had an urban setting which would have been alien to all but the citizens of St. John's. But it is more likely that these songs do not appear in Newfoundland anthologies because they fell outside the aesthetic parameters of fieldworkers such as Karpeles who did not consider such material pure enough to be included in their collections. Their absence therefore is probably more indicative of professional tastes rather than folk values.

The hardships and trials of emigration from Ireland to North America do not actually appear as a popular theme in these songs, although the fact of emigration or the circumstances leading to emigration do provide the backdrop for several, such as "The Irish Emigrant", "The Lovely Irish Maid", and other ballads of separations enforced or voluntary. One ballad on the perils of emigration which has survived, presumably because of its local Newfoundland connections, perhaps because it is similar to a favourite Newfoundland type — the disaster (at sea) song — is "The Lady of the Lake", which tells of the sinking of the ship of this name, bound from Belfast to Quebec when it hit an iceberg off the coast of Newfoundland in 1833, with the loss of over two hundred lives. The event does not seem to have inspired any local Newfoundland songs — at least not one which has been recorded — but appears on both sides of the Atlantic following the form of the broadside ballads, which were produced in both Ireland and Britain.

Given that supernatural ballads form a very small group in Irish broadside ballads in general,²⁶ it is interesting to note that five of the ballads below feature supernatural elements in their narratives — "Molly Bawn", "The Cruel Ship's Carpenter", "The Constant Farmer's Son", "The Old Oak Tree", and "Pat O'Brien". However, the supernatural broadsides have strong narratives which, as has been suggested, could be a determining factor in song survival and account for their seemingly disproportionate occurrence. Moreover, the theme of ghosts or revenants is widespread in English-language balladry, featuring, of course, in many of the Child ballads, and so would have been familiar to more Newfoundlanders than just those of Irish descent (only two of these songs have strong Irish connections). Also, as a

26. Neilands (1987) found only nineteen broadside ballads which could come under a general heading of the supernatural — three on aspects of magic and fairylore, and sixteen relating tales of revenants.

folk tradition, indigenous ghost stories are commonly found in both Ireland and Newfoundland, in both song and prose forms.

It should be stressed that the present findings seek to identify the possible influence of Irish song sources on Newfoundland tradition from a present-day perspective and cannot be taken to represent all Irish song which has ever been known and sung on the island. The processes of tradition make it inevitable that there would have been a larger number of Irish songs in past repertoires than that indicated by the present listing, but this body of song will have been subjected, over the past 150 years or more, to the selection processes of successive generations for whom some of the songs are likely to have lost their relevance or other inherent worth and therefore to have been dropped from the tradition. Gradually over the years a native Newfoundland song tradition also grew up and would probably have generally replaced the Irish songs in areas such as topicality — this being a tradition essentially founded in the local environment and its utilisation and therefore often dealing with circumstances and occupations less common or less dominant back in Ireland (topics such as fishing, sealing, whaling, and, generally, experiences closely associated with the sea around Newfoundland and its dangers). It is not for want of local song that the Irish material has continued to form part of Newfoundland's living tradition, and therefore other reasons for the continued popularity of such songs must be sought. With the exception of the relatively small number of political songs, most would seem to have endured because, as Laws says, "they are concerned with those fundamental qualities of human nature which remain constant in an otherwise changing world".²⁷ It is because these songs have retained their social relevance, as well as providing good and valuable entertainment, that they will continue to be appreciated by the communities of Newfoundland, regardless of their ethnic ancestry.

27. Laws, *American Balladry from British Broad-sides*, p. 30.

APPENDIX 1**Songs in the Newfoundland Repertoire
Probably Current in Ireland prior to 1855**

Listed below are the forty-five songs which appear to have been current in Ireland during the period of greatest migration to Newfoundland (i.e., the period up to 1855) and which therefore may have a history of 150 years or more on the island.

Barbara Allen (Child 84)
 The Banks of the Ayr (Laws 034)
 Molly Bawn (Laws 036)
 Young Beichan (Child 53)
 Pat Brady
 The Bonny Bunch of Roses (Laws J5)
 The Green Bushes (Laws P2)
 Canada-i-o
 The Banks of Claudy
 The Dawning of the Day (Laws P16)
 The Foggy Dew (Laws 03)
 Johnny Doyle (Laws M2)
 The Banks of Sweet Dundee (Laws M25)
 Glencoe (Laws N39)
 The Lass of Glenshee (Laws 06)
 The Maid of Sweet Gurteen
 The Gypsy Laddie (Child 200)
 John of Hazelgreen (Child 293)
 Bonny Light Horseman
 Matt Hyland
 The Lady of the Lake (Laws N41)
 Lamkin (Child 93)
 The Green Mossy Banks of the Lee (Laws 015)
 Willie Leonard (Laws Q33)
 The Green Linnet
 Pat McCarthy
 On Board of the Man of War
 The Mantle so Green (Laws N38)
 John Mitchell
 General Munroe
 Napoleon the Exile
 Napoleon's Farewell to Paris
 The Nobleman's Wedding (Laws P31)
 Bryan O'Lynn
 Willy Riley (Laws M10)
 A Sailor Courted a Farmer's Daughter
 Patrick Sheenan (Laws J11)
 The Cruel Ship's Carpenter (Laws P36A, P36B)
 Skibereen
 Black-eyed Susan (Laws 028)
 Van Dieman's Land (Laws L18)
 The Victory
 The Plains of Waterloo (Laws N32)
 The Boys of Wexford
 Willie O Winsbury (Child 100)

APPENDIX 2

Newfoundland Songs with Irish Connections

The title above needs a little qualification in that some of the 143 songs listed in this Appendix carry a stronger probability of an Irish link than others. However, as explained above, they are given because there exists the possibility of an historical connection.

The songs are arranged alphabetically according to the first significant noun, or proper name in the title — the latter always taking precedence over the former (when both Christian name and surname are given, the song is listed according to the surname). The song title given in bold print is usually that to be found in the Newfoundland tradition; the alternative titles are from either the Irish oral or written (i.e. broadside) traditions. Then follows the relevant Child or Laws classification.

The references for sound-recordings and/or texts of the songs are divided into five sections:

- Section 1:* sources in published Newfoundland collections.
- Section 2:* sound archive sources for the Newfoundland oral tradition; MUNFLA refers to the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive; *Leach* refers to the archive of Prof. MacEdward Leach, held by MUNFLA; *Goldstein* refers to the archive of Prof. Kenneth S. Goldstein, copies of which are held by MUNFLA.
- Section 3:* library and archive sources for Irish broadside ballads; the acronym refers to the library and is followed by details from the library's catalogue. The libraries referred to are as follows:
Castle — Dublin Castle Records Office;
CRL — Central Reference Library, Belfast;
NLI — National Library of Ireland, Dublin;
Pearse — Pearse Street Public Library, Dublin;
RIA — Royal Irish Academy, Dublin;
TCD — Trinity College Dublin
- Section 4:* sources of published anthologies of Irish broadside texts:
Healy — James Healy, *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads*, 4 vols., Cork, Mercier Press, 1967-1969;
O'Lochlainn (1939) — Colm O'Lochlainn, *Irish Street Ballads*, Dublin, Three Candles, 1939;
O'Lochlainn (1965) — Colm O'Lochlainn, *More Irish Street Ballads*, Dublin, Three Candles, 1965;
Zimmermann — Georges-Denis Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion*, Dublin, Allen Figgis, 1967.
- Section 5:* for sources in published collections from the Irish oral tradition, see footnote 3 (but note that in this appendix Maguire is used to refer to Morton [1973]).

BARBARA ALLEN (Child 84)

1/ Greenleaf, p. 26; Peacock, p. 649

2/ Leach Nfld 178-054 222 Tape 5:6; Goldstein KG/DG 2:1, KG/WW 1:5

5/ Shields (1975), p. 35; Shields (1981), p. 8

LOVELY ANNIE: Gentle Annie

1/ Greenleaf, p. 203

2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C469

3/ TCD 189x2 225

5/ Tunney, p.163

THE BANKS OF THE AYR: Burns and His Highland Mary (Laws O34)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 427
- 2/ Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 19A:2
- 3/ CRL Bigger J
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 67

KEVIN BARRY

- 2/ MUNFLA 76-304 C2879; Leach Nfld 2 file 7-10A Tape 8:8
- 3/ CRL Bigger J

MOLLY BAWN: Shooting of His Dear; Polly Vaughan (Laws O36)

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 113
- 2/ Goldstein KG/MB 7:1; KG/LN 6:7
- 3/ RIA 3c38, p. 4; RIA Moyne, p. 70; TCD 189t3 226; NLI file D
- 5/ Maguire, p. 1; Kennedy, p. 717; Shields (1971); Shields (1975), p. 272

YOUNG BEICHAN: Lord Bateman (Child 53)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 17; Karpeles, p. 42; Peacock, p. 210
- 2/ MUNFLA 69-4 C569, 72-195 C1348, 74-45 C1994; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 482 Tape 12A:3, 78-054 529 Tape 14:3; Goldstein KG/WW c13:6, KG/WW 6:2, KG C5:6
- 5/ Moulden, p. 92

THE BLACKWATER SIDE (Laws O1)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 503
- 2/ MUNFLA 73-89 C1838, 76-323 C2899; Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 17:3; Goldstein KG/AO 3:8, KG/SS 2:6, KG/WWC 1:6, KG/WW 85 12:4
- 3/ TCD 189t1 248; RIA 3c39, p. 1
- 5/ Moulden, p. 21; Tunney, p. 109

PAT BRADY

- 2/ MUNFLA 69-36 C586
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p.4; NLI file B
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 4, p. 69; Zimmermann p. 192

THE BONNY BUNCH OF ROSES (Laws J5)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 170; Peacock, p. 988
- 2/ MUNFLA 65-21 C442, 68-40 C547; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 669 Tape 17A:7; Goldstein KG/AO 9:8, KG/AO 10:2, KG/LN 3:3, KG/81 13:3, KG/WWC 10:11, KG/LS 13:8, KG/WW 85 5:1
- 3/ CRL Bigger J
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 32; Zimmermann, p. 188
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 45

BOSTON BURGLAR (Laws L16B)

- 2/ MUNFLA 66-23 C231, 68-40 C522, 72-111 C1304, 74-87 F1366-1367; Goldstein KG/AO 3:3, KG/AO 6:2, KG/AO 14:1, KG/EW 11:1, KG 7:1, KG/WW 8:1, KG/WW 20:12, KG/WW 86 2:7, KG 86 C-13:10
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 54

GREEN BROOM

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 230
- 2/ MUNFLA 74-178 C1996
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 503

THE BROWN GIRL (Laws O2)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 355
- 3/ NLI file B
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 32

BURKE'S DREAM: General Burke's Dream (Laws J16)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 146
- 3/ Castle CSORP 4120; Castle FP 4681R; Castle FP 4202R; RIA Moyne, p. 34; NLI file B; Pearse Gilbert, p. 197
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 2, p. 46; Zimmermann, p. 262

THE GREEN BUSHES (Laws P2)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 67; Karpeles, p. 244
- 2/ Goldstein KG 3:8, KG-C 5:2, KG/WW 2:3
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 356

BUTTER AND CHEESE: Butter and Cheese and All; The Greasy Cook

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 216; Peacock, p. 251
- 2/ MUNFLA 64-17 C129, 66-24 C282, 71-50 C967; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 633 Tape 17:6
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 305

DINNY BYRNE THE PIPER: The Cow with the Piper

- 2/ Leach Nfld 1 78-054 473 Tape 12:3
- 3/ TCD 189t2 6; RIA Moyne, p. 13
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1965), p. 74

THE HANDSOME CABIN BOY: Female Cabin Boy (Laws N13)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 280
- 3/ Castle CSORP.OR 19/233; NLI file C

CANADA HEIGHO!: Canadee-i-o; The Wearing of the Blue

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 169; Leach, p. 230
- 2/ Goldstein KG/DG 83 21:7
- 3/ NLI file C
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 74

CAROLINE AND HER YOUNG SAILOR BOLD (Laws N17)

- 1/ Leach, p. 94; Peacock, p. 329
- 2/ MUNFLA 64-17 C130, 69-28 C?, 74-76 C1641; Goldstein KG/82 27:7, KG/82 28:1, KG/84 12:6, KG/WW 85 6:4
- 3/ TCD 189t2 68; RIA Moyne, p. 127
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1965), p. 78

CAROLINE OF EDINBURGH TOWN (Laws P27)

- 1/ Lehr, p. 27
- 2/ Leach Nfld 1 file 17-23 Tape 18:2
- 3/ CRL Bigger W10; NLI JLB 39988, vol. 1; TCD 189t3 257&258; Pearse Gilbert, p. 73
- 5/ Maguire, p. 70

LOVELY CAROLINE: Pretty Caroline

- 1/ Lehr, p. 155
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-34 C475
- 3/ TCD 189t2 209

BANKS OF CLAUDY: Claudy's Banks (Laws N40)

- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C522, 71-94 C1028, 74-178 C1996, 73-46 C1958; Leach Nfld 2 file 7-10A
Tape 8:6, file 17-23 Tape 21:8
- 3/ CRL Bigger J; RIA Moyne, p. 106
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 116
- 5/ Maguire, p. 134; Morton, p. 3; Shields (1975), p. 27

BANKS OF THE CLYDE: The Scotch Brigade

- 1/ Leach, p. 320
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C248&249, 69-34 C555, 69-36 C586, 76-323 C2899; Leach Nfld 1 78-054
48 Tape 1:3, 78-054 446 Tape 11:6
- 3/ CRL Bigger J

JOHNNY COUGHLIN: Johnny Golicher

- 1/ Peacock, p. 469
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C273
- 3/ NLI file G
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 91
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 315; Shields (1981), p. 58

THE COUNCILLOR'S DAUGHTER: The Lawyer Outwitted (Laws N26)

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 146
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-23 C242
- 3/ NLI J39988, Vol. 3, p. 32; Pearse Gilbert, p. 58

COURTING IN THE KITCHEN

- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 11:7
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 56
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 64

IN COURTSHIP THERE LIES PLEASURE: Going to Mass Last Sunday

- 1/ Peacock, p. 465
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 355

CROCKERY WARE

- 1/ Peacock, p. 257
- 2/ MUNFLA 70-8 C670, 72-6 C1078, 73-180 C1624; Goldstein KG/AO 12:9, KG/EW 11:2,
KG/DG 13:3, KG 12:2
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 95; Shields (1981), p. 19

CROCODILE SONG

- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C252, 66-24 C257, 66-24 C259, 66-24 C265, 66-24 C266, 68-43 C529, 71-
50 C979; KG 86 C-12:B8; Leach Nfld 2file 17-23 Tape 17:1
- 3/ NLI file C
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 646; Moulden, p. 39

DAWNING OF THE DAY(Laws P16)

- 2/ Goldstein KG/WW 85 20:2
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 144

THE DEVIL HE COME TO MY DOOR: The Devil and Mike

- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C282
- 3/ NLI Davis, p. 39

THE BLACK DEVIL: The Doctor Outwitted by the Black

- 1/ Peacock, p. 857
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-23 C231, 66-23 C236, 67-31 C359, 69-36 C583, 69-36 C589, 73-89 C?; Leach Nfld 2 file 1-6A Tape 6:1
- 3/ NLI J39988, Vol. 1, p. 17; TCD 189t3 268; Pearse Gilbert, p. 49

FOGGY DEW: The Bugaboo (Laws O3)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 518, 520
 - 2/ MUNFLA 64-17 C132, 66-24 C282, 72-195 C1349, 72-208 C1159, 74-45 C1993; Golstein KG/HR 3:10, KG/EW 3:7, KG-C 6:10, KG/WW C 11:11, KG 21:2
 - 5/ Kennedy, p. 400; Shields (1975), p. 151
- DORAN'S ASS (Laws Q19)
- 1/ Peacock, p. 50
 - 3/ TCD 189t1 47
 - 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 166
 - 5/ Shields (1975), p. 118

JOHNNY DOYLE (Laws M2)

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 212; Leach, p. 64; Peacock, p. 687
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C548, 73-153 C1618/1620; Goldstein KG/AO 7:1, KG/WW 78 7:4, KG/LN 2:5, KG/82 29:1, KG C 6:3, KG/AB C-5:8; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 526 Tape 14:2
- 3/ TCD 189t3 5; NLI file D
- 5/ Shields (1971); Shields (1975), p. 224; Shields (1981), p. 43

THE BANKS OF SWEET DUNDEE: The Ploughboy on the Banks of Dundee (Laws M25)

- 1/ Leach, p. 60; Lehr, p. 12
- 2/ MUNFLA 65-2 C444, 65-21 C444, 68-40 C521, 71-48 C890; Goldstein KG/MB 2:5, KG-C 1:3, KG-C 13:6, KG/82 30:3
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 64; TCD 189t2 295; NLI file D
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 30

MICHAEL DWYER

- 2/ Leach Nfld 1 78-054 449 Tape 11:7
- 3/ NLI McCall, Vol. 11; NLI file D

THE IRISH EMIGRANT: I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary

- 1/ Peacock, p. 462
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-26 C509, 70-8 C685, 73-89 C?, 74-59 C2168; Leach Nfld 1 Tape 17:2; Goldstein KG/84 5:4, KG/WW 85 10:1
- 3/ CRL Bigger J

ERIN'S GREEN SHORE (Laws Q27)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 142; Peacock, p. 362
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C267, 68-40 C521, 68-40 C534, 72-111 C1301; Goldstein KG/WW 2:3, KG-C 9:2, KG/WW 23:5, KG/AB C-25:10
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1965), p. 262
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 132

ERIN'S LOVELY HOME (Laws M6)

- 1/ Leach, p. 48
- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 11:6, KG/AO 13:1, KG/WW 84 1:9, KG/84 4:3, KG/84 6:2; Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 19:1
- 3/ TCD 189t2 69; RIA Moyne, p. 62; NLI file E-F; NLI J39988, Vol. 1, p. 23; CRL Bigger J

4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 202

5/ Shields (1975), p. 133; Shields (1981), p. 25

THE FALSE MAIDEN/BRIDE

1/ Karpeles, p. 126; Peacock, p. 441

2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C265, 71-2 C799, 72-4 C1072, 72-6 C1080

5/ Kennedy, p. 352

THE CONSTANT FARMER'S SON (Laws M33)

1/ Lehr, p. 42

2/ Goldstein KG/81 17:8, KG/WW 83 4:10, KG/WW 85 26:7, KG/AB C-12:B5

3/ RIA Moyne, p. 130; TCD 189t1 240

5/ Maguire, p. 40

THE POOR FISHERMAN'S BOY (Laws Q29)

1/ Greenleaf, p. 200

2/ Goldstein KG/WW 85 31:8, KG/WW c9:11, KG/WW 5:4

3/ NLI file P; TCD 189t2 81; RIA 3c39, p. 9

FLORO: The Shepherd and Flora

1/ Karpeles, p. 191

2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C280, 68-40 C538, 76-323 C2899; Goldstein KG/81 6:4; Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 19:5

3/ TCD 189t1 212; NLI file E-F

THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME (Laws P1A)

2/ MUNFLA 70-8 C687, 71-48 C890, 74-45 C1991

5/ Shields (1975), p. 158

GLENCOE: M'Donald's Return to Glencoe; Donald's Return to Glencoe; The Pride of Glencoe (Laws N39)

1/ Greenleaf, p. 174; Karpeles, p. 186; Leach, p. 310; Peacock, p. 579

2/ MUNFLA 69-36 C590, 76-323 C2899; Goldstein KG/AO 13:2, KG/WW 80 3:10, KG/81 12:9, KG/82 11:6, KG/82 28:8, KG/LN 4:5

3/ TCD 189t2 166; RIA Moyne, p. 116; NLI file L-Mac

5/ Shields (1975), p. 325

LASS OF GLENSHEE: Maid of Glenshee; Hills of Glenshee (Laws O6)

1/ Leach, p. 98

2/ MUNFLA 75-75 C2159; Goldstein KG/LS 13:13, KG 18:10, KG 20:10; Nfld 1 78-054 106 Tape 2:8

5/ Moulden, p. 85; Shields (1975), p. 163

THE GOLDEN GLOVE (Laws N20)

1/ Peacock, p. 340

2/ MUNFLA 68-43 C531, 70-1 C786?

3/ TCD 189t4 23; NLI file G

GRAGAL MACHREE

1/ Leach, p. 324

2/ Goldstein KG/LS 14:1, KG/WW 85 5:8

3/ TCD 189t1 226; NLI file G

GREENWOOD LADDIE

2/ MUNFLA 65-40 C534

5/ Kennedy, p. 306; Tunney, p. 137

THE MAID OF THE SWEET GURTEEN

1/ Peacock, p. 375

2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C539; Goldstein KG/WW 85 26:2

3/ Castle CSORP.OR 19/233; RIA Moyne, p. 104; NLI file G; TCD 189t1 181

4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 44

5/ Shields (1975), p. 257

THE GYPSY LADDIE: The Dark-Clothed Gypsy; Gypsy Laddie-O; Dark-eyed Gypsy O (Child 200)

1/ Greenleaf, p. 38; Karpeles, p. 81; Peacock, p. 194

2/ MUNFLA 69-4 C569, 69-39 C622

3/ RIA Moyne, p. 66; TCD 189t2 188; NLI file G

5/ Shields (1975), p. 108; Shields (1981), p. 20

JOHNNY FROM HAZELGREEN (Child 293)

1/ Peacock, p. 537

2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C273, 69-4 C569

3/ TCD 189t3 121; TCD 189t3 177

HE'S YOUNG BUT HE'S DAILY GROWING: Still Growing (Laws O35)

1/ Karpeles, p. 122; Peacock, p. 677

2/ MUNFLA 72-4 C1060

5/ Kennedy, p. 473

HENRY AND MARYANN

2/ Goldstein KG/AO 1:10

3/ TCD 189t2 153

THE BONNY LIGHT HORSEMAN

2/ MUNFLA 65-17 C156

3/ NLI file B; TCD 189t2 33

GALLANT HUSSAR

2/ Goldstein KG/AO 15:2

3/ NLI file G

MATT HYLAND: Young M'Tyre; Matt Ireland

1/ Karpeles, p. 220

2/ MUNFLA 69-36 C590; Leach Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 10:10, file 11-16A Tape 12A:1

3/ RIA Moyne, p. 80; TCD 189t3 63

5/ Morton, p. 1; Shields (1971)

I LONG TO BE WEDDING: Chimney Sweeper's Wedding

1/ Peacock, p. 461

2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C285, 73-145 C1867

3/ CRL Bigger W10; NLI JLB39988, vol. 1; NLI LO2206, p. 20; TCD 189t4 9; Pearse Gilbert, p. 108

5/ Shields (1975), p. 192

THE BONNY IRISH BOY: The Bonny Young Irish Boy (Laws P26)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 192; Peacock, p. 562
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C269, 68-27 C500, 68-43 C531, 70-5 C639, 72-3 C1048, 74-45 C1993; Goldstein KG/AO 7:2, KG/LN 3:9, KG-C 4:3, KG/WW 83 7:3, KG/84 10:7, KG/WW 85 7:7, KG/WW 85 16:3, KG/WW 85 30:13, KG 86 C-20:15, KG/AB C-27:2; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 478 Tape 12A:1
- 3/ TCD 189:2 247; CRL Bigger J; NLI Davis, p.39
- 5/ Maguire, p. 128; Shields (1975), p. 47; Shields (1981), p. 10

THE LOVELY IRISH MAID

- 1/ Peacock, p. 551
- 2/ MUNFLA 70-5 C540, 70-5 C670; Goldstein KG/AO 11:5
- 3/ TCD 189:2 101

IRON DOOR: Since Love Can Enter an Iron Door (Laws M15)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 590
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C288, 68-40 C542; Goldstein KG/WW 1:14, KG 16:9, KG-C 2:9; Leach Nfld 2 file 1-6A Tape 2:11, file 1-6A Tape 4A:6
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 361

THE JACKET SO BLUE: The Jacket of Blue

- 2/ Goldstein KG/DG 3:4, KG/LS 14:11, KG/WW 16:1, KG/WW 27:10; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 495 Tape 13:3
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 218

JOHNNY I HARDLY KNEW YOU

- 2/ Goldstein KG/WW 78 2:2, KG/WW 78 2:3, KG/WW 78 8:2
- 3/ CRL Bigger J; NLI J39988, Vol. 2, p. 16; Pearse Gilbert, p. 162, 186
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 111

JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE MOTHER

- 2/ MUNFLA 73-134 C1504
- 3/ NLI J39988, Vol. 2, p. 17

THE KNIGHT AND THE LABOURMAN'S DAUGHTER: The Labouring Man's Daughter

- 1/ Peacock, p. 540
- 2/ Goldstein KG/MB 1:5, KG 86 C-14:3
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 308

THE BONNY LABOURING BOY (Laws M14)

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 216; Peacock, p. 564
- 2/ MUNFLA 70-8 C673; Goldstein KG/WWC 14:10; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 560 Tape 15:3
- 3/ NLI file B; NLI file M; RIA Moyne, p. 18
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 18
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 347

THE LADY AND THE SAILOR

- 1/ Leach, p. 106
- 2/ MUNFLA 65-21 C435, 68-43 C527, 70-8 C777, 74-87 F1366-7; Goldstein KG/82 16:9, KG/82 31:3, KG/DG 83 21:2; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 206 Tape 5:1
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 129; CRL Bigger J

LADY LEROY (Laws N5)

- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 220; Leach, p. 86; Peacock, p. 208
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-26 C510, 70-8 C688, 70-8 C780, 71-48 C889/890; Goldstein KG/HR 4:1, KG/WW 6:2, KG/MB 1:1
- 5/ Moulden, p. 78

THE LADY OF THE LAKE: Liza Gray (Laws N41)

- 1/ Peacock, p. 928
- 2/ MUNFLA 69-36 C583, 71-50 C976; Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 17A:1
- 3/ RIA 3c37, p. 17
- 5/ Moulden, p. 79

LAMKIN (Child 93)

- 1/ Karpeles, p. 69; Leach, p. 36; Peacock, p. 806
- 2/ MUNFLA 71-50 C979, 72-4 C1050; Goldstein KG/HR 3:1, KG/AB C-7:3; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 685 Tape 18:6
- 5/ Moulden, p. 81

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 454
- 2/ MUNFLA 71-48 C891; Goldstein KG 5:8
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 358

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 71
- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 4:13, KG/LN 5:4, KG-C 1:4, KG-C 4:5, KG/WW 9:5
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 56
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 214; Healy, Vol. 3, p. 132
- 5/ Maguire, p. 123

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- 1/ Lehr, p. 83; Peacock, p. 523
- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 4:11, KG/AO 14:3, KG/WWC 84 1:2, KG/WW 84 3:7, KG/WW 84 4:2, KG/84 5:11, KG/LN 1:5, KG/WW 1:1
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1965), p. 194
- 3/ TCD 189t3 285; TCD 189t1 127; TCD 189t3 132; NLI file L-Mac

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- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C534, 73-134 C1504; Goldstein KG/WW 28:10; Leach Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 12A:2
- 3/ TCD 189t3 27; RIA Moyne, p. 94
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 708; Shields (1975), p. 435

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- 1/ Karpeles, p. 140
- 2/ Leach Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 12:8
- 3/ RIA 3c39, p. 14; TCD 189t1 85
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 309; Shields (1975), p. 138; Shields (1981), p. 26

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 473
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C280; Goldstein KG/WWC 9:7
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 53; NLI file D
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 184

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 458
- 2/ MUNFLA 72-266 C1393; Goldstein KG/LN 4:9
- 3/ Castle CSORP. OR 165
- 4/ Zimmermann, p. 184

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 475
- 5/ Shields (1981), p. 70

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- 2/ Goldstein KG/WW 78 1:6, KG/WW 78 2:1, KG C 9:8
- 3/ NLI file L-Mac; TCD 189t3 45
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 106

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 622
- 3/ NLI file L-Mac; NLI McCall 5
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 62

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 181
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-2 C725, 68-34 C474; Goldstein KG/WW 84 1:7, KG-C 4:6, KG/AB C-10:5
- 3/ NLI file M

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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 175; Karpeles, p. 312; Peacock, p. 555
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C539, 74-76 C1642, 76-323 C2899, 78-6 C3319; Goldstein KG-C 5:3, KG/82 16:2, KG/82 17:6, KG/82 29:6, KG/82 32:8, KG/WWC 6:3, KG/WW 86 5:5, KG 86 C-17:5, KG/AB C-10:B3; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 352 Tape 8A:4
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 46; TCD 189t1 228
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 284; O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 14

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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 59; Peacock, p. 278
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-16 C495; Goldstein KG/WW 4:1; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 253 Tape 6:4, 78-054 354 Tape 8A:5
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 179

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 261
- 2/ Goldstein KG 9:8, KG 16:10, KG 24:7
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 208; Maguire, p. 89

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- 1/ Lehr, p. 32
- 2/ MUNFLA 78-6 C3320; Goldstein KG/81 5:1, KG/82 27:8, KG/82 28:2
- 3/ TCD 189t1 266; RIA 3c39, p. 1; RIA Moyne, p. 42; NLI file M

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- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C545; Goldstein KG/DG 1:2, KG 15:9, KG 21:1, KG-C 2:1, KG/WW 1:7,

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 3/TCD 189t2 42; RIA 3c38, p. 10; NLI file C
 5/Moulden, p. 123

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1/ Peacock, p. 478
 2/ Goldstein KG/DG C 14:5
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 2/ MUNFLA 66-25 C303, 68-26 C510, 70-8 C776, 71-26 C888; Goldstein KG/WW 1:1,
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1/ Leach, p. 114
 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 8:5, KG/EW 2:4, KG/82 31:5, KG 86 C-12:10, KG/AB C-7:B3; Leach
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1/ Greenleaf, p. 167; Peacock, p. 1009
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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 186; Peacock, p. 216
- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 6:15, KG/DG 1:3
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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 155; Peacock, p. 691
- 2/ MUNFLA 64-16 C126, 68-40 C521, 68-40 C538, 70-8 C690, 72-195 C1349, 78-6 C3319; Goldstein KG/WW 5:2, KG/EW 5:4, KG/WWC 6:4, KG/AB C-9:B5
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 364; Shields (1975), p. 302; Shields (1981), p. 3

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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 116; Leach, p. 52; Peacock, p. 628
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-16 C498, 68-39 C499, 68-40 C470; Goldstein KG/82 30:2, KG/WWC 16:7; Leach Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 12A:5
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 147; NLI file O; TCD 189t3 3
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- 2/ MUNFLA 65-21 C433, 65-21 C435; Goldstein KG 13:2, KG/WW 1:2, KG 86 C-15:5, KG/AB C-8:3; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 116 Tape 2A:4, Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 21A:1
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- 1/ Leach, p. 122
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-23 C232, 68-40 C472; Goldstein KG/82 31:7, KG/DG 83 21:9, KG/DG 84 13:2
- 3/ NLI file O
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 210; Zimmermann, p. 284
- 5/ Maguire, p. 150; Shields (1975), p. 316

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- 1/ Leach, p. 272
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- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 30
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 644; Shields (1975), p. 58

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 312
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- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C545, 73-180 C1627; Goldstein KG/81 15:5, KG/WW 85 18:3, KG/WW 85 20:7, KG/WW 11:10; KG/WW 86 2:1
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 47; TCD 189t3 77; CRL Bigger J; NLI file O
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 144

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- 2/ MUNFLA 64-17 C131
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- 4/ Healy, Vol. 1, p. 105; O'Lochlainn (1939), p. 2
- 5/ Shields (1981), p. 72

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- 2/ MUNFLA 65-21 C444, 66-24 C260, 66-24 C268, 69-34 C554, 69-36 C590, 72-195 C1349; Goldstein KG/DG 21:11, KG-C 10:8
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 204; Shields (1981), p. 37

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- 2/ Leach Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 21:3
- 3/ NLI file P; RIA 3c37, p. 25

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- 2/ Leach Nfld 1 78-054 278 Tape 6A:7
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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 214; Peacock, p. 575
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C263, 69-12 C571, 69-36 C583; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 169 Tape 4:2, Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 21:1
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 528

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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 182; Karpeles, p. 163; Leach, p. 58; Lehr, p. 149; Peacock, p. 608
- 2/ MUNFLA 74-83 C8548; Goldstein KG/LN 2:6, KG 10:8, KG 23:4, KG 86 C-11:5; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 359 Tape 8A:7, 78-054 505 Tape 13A:2
- 3/ TCD 189t1 234
- 4/ O'Lochlainn (1965), p. 14

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- 1/ Leach, p. 328
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C542; Goldstein KG/82 10:7; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 521 Tape 13A:8, Nfld 2 file 1-6A Tape 4:5, Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 15:4
- 3/ NLI J39988, Vol. 3, p. 8; CRL Bigger J; Pearse Gilbert, p. 21, 91; RIA Moyne, p. 17
- 5/ Shields (1971); Shields (1975), p. 437; Tunney, p. 40

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- 1/ Lehr, p. 164
- 2/ MUNFLA 74-45 C1994; Goldstein KG/AB c-4:5; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 301 Tape 7:5, 78-054 143 Tape 3:8
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- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 7:10, KG/LN 3:1
- 5/ Shields (1981), p. 45

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- 2/ MUNFLA 64-17 C129, 66-24 C261, 68-16 C491, 69-4 C568, 71-48 C883
- 3/ TCD 189t2 46
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1/ Peacock, p. 284

2/ MUNFLA 70-15 C?

5/ Kennedy, p. 197; Shields (1975), p. 357

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1/ Peacock, p. 630

2/ MUNFLA 69-28 C?

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2/ Goldstein KG/82 23:10

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2/ MUNFLA 74-59 C2168; Goldstein KG 1:4

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5/ Shields (1975), p. 429

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2/ MUNFLA 71-50 C976, 71-50 C977

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1/ Greenleaf, p. 212

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2/ Goldstein KG/AO 2:2

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1/ Leach, p. 74; Peacock, p. 404

2/ MUNFLA 72-266 C1393; Goldstein KG/DG 13:9, KG/WW C4:1, KG/WW 9:6, KG 14:2, KG 86 C-15:B1

5/ Shields (1975), p. 273; Shields (1981), p. 52

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2/ MUNFLA 68-40 C470; Goldstein KG/WW 85 7:1, KG/EW 4:5, KG/EW 13b:1, KG/WW 86 3:3, KG/WW 86 6:4; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 323 7A:5

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5/ Shields (1975), p. 368

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1/ Karpeles, p. 234

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- 1/ Leach, p. 240; Peacock, p. 499
- 2/ Goldstein KG/AO 5:1, KG/WW 2:4, KG/LN 1:6
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 56; Shields (1981), p. 12

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- 1/ Lehr, p. 47
- 2/ MUNFLA 73-87 C1838; Goldstein KG/WW 83 5:5, KG/WW 83 6:4, KG/84 12:1
- 3/ TCD 189t2 167; TCD 189t3 161

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- 2/ Goldstein KG/DG 80 2:9, KG/81 3:3, KG/WWC 14:2
- 3/ CRL Bigger J

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 592
- 2/ MUNFLA 68-34 C475, 73-89 C?; Goldstein KG/AO 4:2, KG/EW 6:4, KG/LN 8:2, KG/WW 86 C-10:B2, KG 86 C-14:6; Leach Nfld 1 78-054 329 Tape 7A:7, Nfld 2 file 17-23 Tape 17:8
- 3/ NLI file TUV

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- 1/ Karpeles, p. 237
- 2/ MUNFLA 69-34 C554; Goldstein KG/81 16:3
- 3/ NLI file TUV
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 409; Shields (1981), p. 67

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- 2/ MUNFLA 66-23 C237; Goldstein KG/WW 85 25:1, KG-C 1:16
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 113; CRL Bigger J
- 5/ Shields (1981), p. 153

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- 1/ Karpeles, p. 138
- 2/ MUNFLA 66-24 C268; KG 1986 C-18:B2
- 3/ TCD 189t3 29

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- 2/ MUNFLA 68-43 C531, 72-266 C1393; KG 86 C-18:7; Leach Nfld 2 file 11-16A Tape 16:5
- 5/ Tunney, p. 94

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- 1/ Leach, p. 708
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- 1/ Leach, p. 120; Peacock, p. 484
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- 2/ MUNFLA 71-26 C1024
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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 172; Leach, p. 304
- 2/ KG/WW 86 C-10:2; Leach Nfld 2 file 1-6A Tape 5A:3
- 5/ Maguire, p. 137; Moulden, p. 118

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- 2/ MUNFLA 70-5 C?
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- 1/ Karpeles, p. 194
- 2/ MUNFLA 64-10 C34
- 5/ Kennedy, p. 320; Shields (1975), p. 427; Shields (1981), p. 71; Tunney, p. 96

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- 2/ Goldstein KG/WW 84 5:9
- 3/ CRL Bigger W10; NLI J39988, Vol. 3; NLI LO2206, p. 46; TCD 189t4 58; Pearse Gilbert, p. 44

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 253
- 3/ NLI file S
- 4/ Healy, Vol. 4, p. 137
- 5/ Shields (1975), p. 362; Shields (1981), p. 62

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- 1/ Peacock, p. 348
- 2/ MUNFLA 71-54 C988, 71-94 C1028, 74-161 C?; Goldstein KG/AO 1:5, KG/AO 14:8, KG/DG 80 4:10, KG/LS 11:5, KG/JA 17:11, KG/EW 11:7
- 3/ RIA Moyne, p. 66; NLI file E-F

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- 1/ Greenleaf, p. 28; Karpeles, p. 73; Leach, p. 40; Peacock, p. 534
- 2/ MUNFLA 65-11 C?, 66-24 C263, 70-8 C687, 70-8 C776; Goldstein KG/WW 6:1, KG 16:5
- 5/ Moulden, p. 124