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‘The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe’

Four New Ealand Manuscripts and the Transmission of a West Yorkshire Legend

Sharon Hubbs Wright¹

Introduction

Somewhere between a deadly fourteenth-century arrow and a sixteenth-century pen, the demise of Sir John de Ealand was transformed from court record into legend. Remembered even now as a local ghost story, the late medieval tale of the West Riding Ealand murders recounted the exploits of young outlaws who dwelt in the forest and exacted bloody vengeance upon the sheriff Ealand. The tale was sufficiently well known to survive in eight manuscripts before the middle of the seventeenth century. Whereas a great deal of ink has been spilled on the question of the origins of the Robin Hood stories, the Ealand legend, although much less well known, provides an important contemporary example of events that began as an act of violence, became a matter of law, and eventually grew into something rather more fabulous in the retelling. This article discusses the discovery of four new manuscripts of the Ealand story; it provides a history of the lost and extant Ealand manuscripts, many of which survive due to the seventeenth-century antiquarian John Hopkinson’s interest in the tale; and it includes semi-diplomatic transcriptions of two of the newly discovered variants of the ballad (Additional 56076 and Bradford, Hopkinson 32D86/12 ff. 11 v–18 r).

Four new Ealand manuscripts, containing three ballad variants and two prose narrative variants, have come to light since J. M. Kaye’s reexamination of the legend in 1979. Of the three manuscripts which I have identified (Bradford, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Hopkinson 32D86/12; London British Library, Additional 26739; London, British Library, Additional 56076), Additional 56076 (transcribed below) is especially interesting since it appears to have been prepared for recitation: unlike the other newly identified manuscripts, it is not bound as part of a book, but contains two loose folios which were once bound along the top. The fourth manuscript, found by Marotti and May (London, British Library, Additional

¹ Research for this project was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

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MS 82370) is discussed at length in their recent book *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth*.²

Before discussing in detail the individual manuscripts, both lost and extant, a general overview of the manuscripts' context will be useful. To begin with, we know the Ealand story, which I have examined at length elsewhere, cannot pre-date the events of the 1340s and 1350s.³ We know of Sir John, who met his fate on the Ealand road in October of 1350, from his lengthy service to the crown. At various points in his career, Sir John was Steward of the Manor of Wakefield for the Earl of Warrene;⁴ Justice of Oyer and Terminer in the years 1327, 1330, and 1333; a commissioner of Array in 1325 and 1335; High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1341; aid collector for the Black Prince's knighting in 1347; and finally, justice of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire in the late 1340s until his murder in 1350.⁵ John de Ealand was the sort of knight who would easily have gathered enemies as a result of performing his official duties, including those whose names still appear in the Ealand legend: William Quarmby, William of Lockwood, and Adam de Beaumont son of Sir John de Beaumont. Beaumont senior was feared throughout the county for threatening, beating, and extorting chattels and payments from county men.⁶ During his short stint as sheriff (1341), Ealand heard and indicted several cases of felony and trespass against members of the Beaumont and Lockwood families.⁷ In 1344 Thomas de Ealand, Sir John's elder son from his first marriage, was murdered at the Ealand estates in Tankersley by Hugh of Tankersley, who had ties to the Beaumont family.⁸ Within eight years of Thomas de Ealand's killing, Sir John and all the Ealand men were dead, murdered in ambushes in the high street. The whole affair has the odor of feud about it, and the survival of a ballad and a longer prose narrative suggests a depth to the story which the legal records do not convey.

The legal records tell a version of events quite different from those recorded by the ballad and the prose narrative, which was most likely composed later than the ballad as it contains

² Steven W. May and Arthur F. Marotti, *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014). See also Arthur F. Marotti and Steven W. May's book concerning Additional 82370 is forthcoming with Cornell University Press. See also Arthur F. Marotti and Steven W. May, 'Two Lost Ballads of the Armada Thanksgiving Celebration [with Texts and Illustration]', *English Literary Renaissance*, 41 (2011), 31–63; Steven W. May, 'Matching Hands: The Search for the Scribe of the "Stanhope" Manuscript', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), pp. 345–75. The authors generously shared with me their transcription of the ballad before publication of their book.

³ Sharon Wright and Michael Cichon, 'Fiction After Felony: Innovation and Transformation in the Ealand Outlaw Narratives', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 45 (2014) 71–86.

⁴ Sir John de Ealand held lands from Warrene and Lancaster and he was lord of Ealand, Tankersley, Fulridge, Hinchfield and Ratchdale. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 145, f. 107, of which there is a nineteenth-century transcription in an appendix to Joseph Hunter, 'Antiquarian Notices of Clay House in Greet Land', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 2 (1873), 129–70 (p. 163). See Wakefield Court Rolls, CXI, 58 for the licence for Ealand Market.

⁵ Philip Ahier, *The Legends and Traditions of Huddersfield and its District*, 2 vols (Huddersfield: The Advertiser Press, 1940–45), ii 110.

⁶ Wright and Cichon, 'Fiction After Felony'. See also J. M. Kaye, 'The Ealand Murders, 1350–1: A Study of the Legend of the Ealand Feud', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 51 (1979), 61–79 (pp. 64–65).

⁷ Kaye, p. 71.

⁸ Although it is not entirely clear how Sir John de Ealand's offspring were ordered, it seems he had been married twice. He had at least two sons from his first marriage, Thomas and Hugh, and a third son, John Jr., from his second marriage. It's possible that Thomas was killed because he was the sheriff's son. The office of sheriff, because it was a royal office, included paid protection. It would have been difficult for robber knights like Beaumont to murder the sheriff, but extended family were vulnerable, as was Sir John himself after his tenure of sheriff was over. Royal protection did not extend to the office of Keeper of the Peace. See C. T. Clay, 'The Family of Ealand',

a much expanded and embellished version of the tale including references to the Knights of Malta. By the time the story emerges in writing, Sir John de Eland is the villain, the Beaumonts and Lockwoods the persecuted outlaws. All the fourteenth-century records are legal in nature, and there is no physical evidence of gests, ballads, or narratives before the late sixteenth century, which is the date of the earliest extant manuscripts (Additional 82370 and 56076 both date between 1580 and c. 1600).

Filling in the gap from the fourteenth century to these early extant manuscripts must involve some speculation. Without question, the ballads of the earliest extant manuscripts were being copied from earlier written sources. This is clear from standard copying errors. For example, the scribes of Additional 56076 have corrected skipped lines in stanzas 29 and 105 and also made interlinear additions of dropped words in stanzas 76 and 89. On two occasions, the first scribe dropped a whole stanza, only to realize the error and insert the stanza back in to the ballad at the moment the error was detected, placing the dropped stanza in the wrong place entirely, viz. stanzas 30 and 49. Additional 82370 has corrections to skipped lines in stanza 105 and miscopied lines in stanza 29, as well as a tangle with stanza numbering from that point on. These are clear signs of copying rather than the encoding of oral tradition.

The extant ballad manuscripts are all written in Early Modern English with some late Middle English terms present throughout. Discussed more fully under the entry for Additional 56076, linguistic evidence points to an early to mid-sixteenth-century capturing of the ballad in writing. Internal references in all but one of the texts to one Savile, possibly Sir Henry Savile (d. 1558), add weight to a date of recording prior to his death.

Comparison with other legends recorded by Child or Percy is also helpful. Leaving aside the well known example of the *Gests of Robin Hood*, there are other late medieval West Yorkshire and Lancashire legends which offer a comparable trajectory to Eland. The Cumbrian legend of the outlaws Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudeley was known before 1435. These names were enrolled in a parliamentary return for Wiltshire along with those of Robin Hood, Little John, and Much the Miller's son. Knight and Ohlgren suggest this was done in the 'spirit of satire'; although, given the political climate at the time, defiance seems a likely motive as well.⁹ Whether satire or defiance, the point would be lost without common understanding of the message, which of necessity locates the stories attached to these names further back in time. Like the Eland legend, the first ballads concerning Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough and William of Cloudeley appear in the sixteenth century; but in this case—unlike Eland—there are written fragments surviving from 1510.¹⁰

A Lancashire ballad, recorded in the Percy folios, relating to the murder of Sir John Butler of Bewsey (d. 1430) is also of interest when thinking about the transformation of the Eland murders into ballad form.¹¹ As with Eland, the legend of Butler of Bewsey recalls the murder of a local knight and landholder.¹² The Butlers were an established family residing primarily in

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 27 (1913), 225–48 (p. 245).

⁹ Stephen Knight and Thomas H. Ohlgren, 'Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudeley: Introduction', in *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales*, ed. by Stephen Knight and Thomas H. Ohlgren, TEAMS, Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), <<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/adam-bell-clim-of-the-clough-william-of-cloudeley-introduction>> [accessed 18 November 2014].

¹⁰ Roger Chambers, *Outlaws of Inglewood: A Cumbrian Legend* (Liskeard: Exposure, 2007), pp. 93–94.

¹¹ Thomas Percy, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. by John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall, 3 vols (London: Trubner, 1868), iii 205–14.

¹² John Harland, 'The Bewsey Tragedy and its Legend', in *Ballads and Songs of Lancashire* (London: Routledge,

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the parish of Poulton-le-Fylde, Lancaster.¹³ In their ballad Butler's hall is breached and he is murdered in front of his daughter Ellen in the middle of the night. As with Eland again, there are surviving legal records which anchor the ballad to recorded violent events, including the abduction, rape and forced marriage of Sir John Butler's widow Isabelle.¹⁴ The surviving heir married into the Savile clan. John's heir, also John Butler (d. 1462), married Anne Savile.¹⁵

The preservation and memorialization of these tragic stories served a larger purpose than simply telling a good tale. However different the later preserved form of the tales, which perforce changed with the passage of time, their first composition was undoubtedly significant for the family and networks of the people involved, possibly serving to maintain family cohesion or to speak their truth to the wider community. This may explain why the Eland legend is so altered from the fourteenth-century legal narrative. It may well have been composed to tell the Beaumont clan's side of the events. For whomever it was composed, the Eland legend remained relevant into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because so many descendants of the original feuding parties were still living in the West Riding. Stories like Sir John Butler's and Sir John de Eland's also remained relevant in a West Riding whose social conditions had changed very little from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.¹⁶

The lost manuscripts, arranged by last recorded date of viewing

The lost Kirklees Hall MS, last seen 1621

In 1629, the Yorkshire antiquarian Roger Dodsworth summarized a version of the tale of the murders of the Elands and Beaumonts, which he says he saw some years earlier in 1621 among the papers and pedigrees of Sir John Armitage of Kirklees Hall. Dodsworth provides no physical description of the documents that he saw. Significantly, he did record that 'they have a Play and Song thereof in the country still', demonstrating a longer local tradition for the story.¹⁷ Dodsworth understood that the Eland feud with the Beaumonts was the result of a 'hurly-burly' between the retainers of the region's two great lords of the mid-fourteenth century, the Earl John de Warren and the Earl of Lancaster.

The lost Broomhead Hall MS, last seen 1743

According to J. H. Turner, a version of the Eland legend was seen by the Rev. Joseph Hunter when he catalogued the collection of Mr. Wilson of Broomhead Hall, Sheffield, at the time of

1875), pp. 14–22. It is also number 165 of the Child Ballads: *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. by Francis James Child, 5 vols (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, [1882–98]).

¹³ Henry Fishwick, *History of the Parish of Poulton-le-Fylde in the County of Lancaster*, Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, new series, 8 ([Manchester]: Chetham Society, 1885), pp. 10, 68.

¹⁴ National Archives, Special Collections, 8/27/1305; *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, third series, 3 (1875), 123; *Index to the Rolls of Parliament, Comprising the Petitions, Pleas, and Proceedings of Parliament from ann. 6 Edw. 1 to ann. 19 Hen. VII (A.D. 1278.–A. D. 1503.)*, ed. by John Strachey, John Pridden, and Edward Upham (London: [n. pub.], 1832), p. 28.

¹⁵ John Pilkington, *The History of the Lancashire Family of Pilkington and its Branches from 1066 to 1600* (Liverpool: Brakell, 1894), p. 18, accessed from <<https://archive.org/stream/thehistoryoflanc00pilk#page/n47/mode/2up/search/Butler>>.

¹⁶ Wright and Cichon, 'Fiction After Felony', pp. 85–86.

¹⁷ MS Dodsworth 145, f. 107.

the hall's sale to Sir Thomas Phillips, in 1743.¹⁸ The sale of Wilson's collection and Hunter's list of its contents were noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1843.¹⁹ Hunter's complete hand list of the manuscripts may be among his notes on the Wilson family.²⁰

The lost Hopkinson MS transcribed by Watson in 1775

A ballad of 124 stanzas.

In 1775, the Reverend John Watson transcribed and published a variant of the ballad, which he titled the 'History of Sir John Eland, of Eland, and his Antagonists'.²¹ This is the first printed version of the ballad and the one most copied by other authors, including Whitaker, Ingledewe and Turner.²² Based on Watson's discussion of the ballad, it appears that he copied it from among the papers of John Hopkinson (1612–81), which he writes were at North Bierley when he saw them.²³ Forty years on, Thomas Whitaker, who in 1815 copied Watson's transcription into his history of Leeds and environs, states that Watson copied the ballad from Hopkinson's manuscripts, which were in the library of Frances Mary Richardson Currer (1785–1861) of Eshton Hall.²⁴ Whitaker, however, must have used Watson's 1775 transcription and never carefully compared it with the ballad he says was in the library at Eshton Hall because it is impossible that the variant of the ballad transcribed by Watson is one and the same Eshton Hall variant which found its way to its current location in the Bradford Library Archives (see the discussion of Hopkinson 32D86/12 below).²⁵ In the first place, Watson's transcription possesses 124 stanzas while the former Eshton Hall Hopkinson has only 120 stanzas; second, when compared with Watson's transcription, the Hopkinson 32D86/12 variant uses different words, word order or whole phrases on more than 100 occasions.

How may we account for such a difference? It is clear that there were Hopkinson papers at Bierley for Watson to consult in the 1770s. In the Eshton Hall Library catalogue entry which describes the 41 Hopkinson volumes held there, the cataloguer records correspondence of June of 1753 from a Mr Wilson to a Mr Richardson of Bierley: 'I have sent you your ancestor

¹⁸ *The Elland Tragedies, Viz: the MURDERS of Sir ROBERT BEAUMONT, of CROSLAND; HUGH DE QUARMBY, of QUARBY, Esquire; JOHN DE LOCKWOOD, of LOCKWOOD, Esquire; Sir JOHN ELAND, Senior, at BRIGHOUSE; Sir JOHN ELAND, junior, AND HIS SON, at ELAND; And others. With the exploits of Wilkin de Lockwood, at Cannon Hall, and of Adam de Beaumont, at Honley, and in Rhodes and Hungary, as Recorded in Ancient Manuscripts in Prose and Verse, with Notes, Pedigrees, and Evidences Recently Brought to Light*, ed. by J. Horsfall Turner (Bingley: Harrison, 1890), p. 6.

¹⁹ 'The Wilson Manuscripts', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, 20 (1843), 185–86 (p. 185).

²⁰ London, British Library, Additional 24467. See also Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield in the County of York: with Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Parishes of Ecclesfield, Hansworth, Treeton, and Whiston, and of the Chapelry of Bradfield* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, and Jones, 1819), pp. 275–79.

²¹ John Watson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire* (London: Lowndes, 1775), pp. 170–76.

²² Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete; or an Attempt to Illustrate the Districts Described in those Words by Bede and Supposed to Embrace the Lower Portions of Airedale and Wharfedale, together with the Entire Vale of the Calder, in the County of York* (Leeds: Robinson, son, and Holdsworth, 1816), pp. 396–401; C. J. Davison Ingledewe, *The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1860), pp. 66–86; Turner, *The Elland Tragedies*, pp. 59–82.

²³ Watson, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax*, p. 178.

²⁴ Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 395.

²⁵ Whitaker's copy of Watson's transcription has dropped Watson's verse 116, probably a typesetting error since in every other respect the copy is exact.

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Hopkinson's MSS. Out of respect to Mr Hopkinson, I took a walk to Rothwell; and in the church choir, on the left hand of the door, pretty high on the wall, is a neat white marble monument, with a Latin inscription, being an encomium of his learning in history, antiquities, and heraldry'.²⁶ Hence, it is probable that Watson transcribed the 'History of Sir John Ealand, of Ealand, and his Antagonists' from a manuscript in Hopkinson's hand that was still in Bierley in 1775.

The Mr Richardson in Bierley of 1753 to which the cataloguer referred was Dr Richard Richardson, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., of Bierley, a botanist, antiquary, and classical scholar, whose grandmother was John Hopkinson's sister Jane Hopkinson Richardson.²⁷ Richard Richardson's son was the Rev. Henry Richardson (1758–84), Rector at Thornton in Craven, who in 1783 married Margaret Wilson of Eshton Hall, the seat of the Wilson family since the mid-seventeenth century. Their bibliophile daughter and sole heir, born posthumously to Richardson, was Frances Mary Richardson Curren.²⁸ The Hopkinson manuscripts must have come into her possession through the Richardsons of Bierley.

Although this solves the problem of where some of Hopkinson's manuscripts travelled, it does not sufficiently explain the differences between Watson's transcription of Hopkinson's 'History of Sir John Ealand, of Ealand, and his Antagonists' and the variant found in Hopkinson 32D86/12 which bears so many differences including the title 'The death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand & his Sonne in old rymthe'. A search of the estate papers of Eshton Hall, which have been housed since 1976 at the Leeds University Library, Special Collections, MS 417, has not revealed any papers in Hopkinson's hand. It may be that the Lost Hopkinson-Watson variant was among the portion of the Hopkinson papers that went to J. G. F. Smyth of Heath, near Wakefield, who was also descended from Jane Hopkinson.²⁹ This is perhaps the most likely explanation since Additional 26739 (discussed below), which contains a previously unknown variant of the prose narrative, was acquired by the British Library from the collections of John Smyth of Heath House. The journey of the Hopkinson papers from Richardson Curren's library to the Bradford Archives is discussed below in the entry for Bradford, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Hopkinson 32D86/12 ff. 12–18.

The lost Holroyd–Exley MSS transcribed by Turner in 1890, last seen 1943

A ballad of 111 stanzas and a prose narrative.

In 1887, John Horsfall Turner found and transcribed a variant of the ballad accompanied by the longer prose narrative among the papers of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield (1735–1821), both of which he published in 1890 as part of *The Elland Tragedies* in a comparative edition with the variant transcribed by Watson in 1775.³⁰ Turner dated the manuscript to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and argued for a date before

²⁶ C. J. Stewart, *A Catalogue of the Library Collected by Miss Richardson Curren, at Eshton Hall, Craven, Yorkshire* (London: Moyes, 1833), p. 432, <<https://archive.org/details/catalogueoffibra00rich>> [accessed 18 November 2014].

²⁷ Edwin Butterworth, *Historical Sketches of Oldham* (Oldham: Hirst, 1856), p. 33.

²⁸ Colin Lee, 'Curren, Frances Mary Richardson (1785–1861)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), s. v., <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6951>> [accessed 1 April 2014].

²⁹ William Arthur Jobson Archbold, 'Hopkinson, John (1610–1680)', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols (London: Smith, Elder, and Co, 1885–1900), XXVII, 340–41.

³⁰ Turner, *The Elland Tragedies*, pp. 59–82.

1620. The manuscript of the ballad was last seen in the private collection of Arthur Exley of Gerrards Cross in 1943. There is a picture of the manuscript, unfortunately of rather poor quality, in Philip Ahier's *Legends and Traditions of Huddersfield*.³¹ Judging from the picture, the hand is clearly seventeenth-century secretary. According to Ahier, Exley purchased the manuscript at Sotheby's in 1938. The fate of the manuscript is currently unknown. Arthur Exley of Queden Cottage, Marsham Way, Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire, died in 1944 and his widow Margaret Exley died in 1952.³² The manuscript may still be in private hands.

Assuming that Turner's transcription is accurate, the most interesting feature of the lost Holroyd-Exley MS is the stanzas which it does *not* possess. At 111 stanzas long, it is the shortest variant of the ballad. Hopkinson 32D86/12 (transcribed below) is second shortest with 120 stanzas. Additional 56076 (also transcribed below) has 123 stanzas and Additional 82370 (transcribed by Marotti and May) is longest with 126 stanzas. In general, the stanzas that are absent from the lost Holroyd-Exley MS are those which depart from the action of the tale, shifting to a didactic explanation. For example, Holroyd-Exley does not have the didactic stanzas 4, 5 or 6, present in all other variants of the ballad, which sequence begins 'for pride it is that prickes the hearte | & moves men to mischief'. It does not have some of the stanzas which use the authorial voice, such as stanzas 12 and 13 in Additional 56076:

But now I blushe to singe for dreade
skowing my owne Country
soe stoutly stanid with Caines bloud
there springe in plentiouslie

Alas such store of wittie men
as art now in these dayes
were then unborne ungotten both
to staye such wicked wayes.

Nor does it contain stanzas, such as those just quoted, which directly link the actions of the characters with demonic forces. It lacks Additional 56076's stanza 30 ('They had a guide that guided them [...] the verie Devil of Hell') and stanzas 67 to 69 which theatrically invoke 'curell Mars' and 'Cains seed'. Most significantly it does not have the warning to Savile to show 'charitye' lest he come to 'misirye' that is present in all other variants of the ballad. This warning to Savile has been used by Kaye to date the antecedents of the extant manuscripts to the early portion of the sixteenth century.³³

Although Additional 82370 has fifteen more stanzas (126 in total) than the Lost Holroyd-Exley variant (111 stanzas), in terms of spelling and word usage, Holroyd-Exley more closely resembles Additional 82370 (next entry below) than any of the other variants of the ballad. Both ballads begin 'What wealthy wights can here attaine' ('what welthe wyghtes can here attain' in Additional 82370), using the word 'wealthy' where all the other variants use 'worldly'. Both manuscripts use the older term 'esquire' where the others use 'squire' in the third stanza and the archaic word 'appay'd' (last line of stanza 13 in Lost Holroyd-Exley and stanza 18 in Add 82370) to mean 'satisfied' where the others use the word 'afraid' to complete the rhyme.

³¹ Ahier, II, pt. 1, p. 5.

³² 'Deaths', *The Times* [London, England], 29 May 1944: 1; 'Deaths', *The Times* [London, England] 4 Nov. 1952: 1. <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive>> [accessed 30 June 2014].

³³ Kaye, pp. 77–78.

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Without seeing the manuscript, it is difficult to say what all this means in terms of locating its antecedent. It could be evidence of a late medieval variant not yet expanded as a cautionary tale to the Saviles—making it a very early version of the legend—or could be evidence of a seventeenth-century copyist excising the stanzas that seemed too Catholic.

The extant manuscripts, arranged by date

London, British Library, Additional MS 82370

The 'Stanhope' Manuscript of John Hanson, circa 1580s–1590s: 126-stanza ballad, ff. 33r–42r, and a prose narrative ff. 12r–18v.

Additional 82370, described as a commonplace book, is the focus of a study by Arthur F. Marotti and Steven W. May. At 126 stanzas, Additional 82370 is the longest of the ballad variants. The manuscript was found among the Spencer-Stanhope family's papers acquired by the British library in 2005. In addition to the Eland legend, Additional MS 82370 contains several unrelated texts including two ballads concerning the Armada defeat, which Marotti and May published in 2011.³⁴ In 2013, May also published a study of the Stanhope MS identifying the scribe as John Hanson, as had been suggested by A. M. W. Stirling in 1910.³⁵ May provides a detailed description of the dating of the manuscript and its attribution to John Hanson, who was a descendant of the West Riding Saviles.³⁶ Prior to being purchased by the BL, the Hanson manuscript of the ballad was last noted in 1910 in the possession of J. Montague Stanhope of Cannon Hall by Stirling, who wrote in her *Annals of a Yorkshire House* that the manuscript was kept together with a second copy of the prose narrative.³⁷ John Hanson (d. 1621) was the grandson of John Hanson de Woodhouse, buried in Eland in 1599, and whose mother was Agnes Saville (eldest daughter of John Saville of Eland).³⁸ Moreover, members of John Hanson's family were under-stewards to the Saviles and had access to all their family papers.³⁹ Personal interest in the tale may go some way to explaining why there were two copies of the prose narrative and a ballad all kept together. Stirling transcribed a portion of the narrative (the third chapter relating to Canon Hall) and a picture of the manuscript is included at the end of the transcription.⁴⁰

³⁴ Marotti and May, 'Two Lost Ballads of the Armada Thanksgiving Celebration'.

³⁵ May, 'Matching Hands', pp. 345–75.

³⁶ J. Horsfal Turner, *Biographia Halifaxiensis. Or, Halifax Families and Worthies: A Biographical and Genealogical History of Halifax Parish* (Bingley: Harrison, 1883), p. 230.

³⁷ A. M. W. Stirling, *Annals of a Yorkshire House: From the Papers of a Macaroni & His Kindred*, 2 vols (London: Bodley Head, 1911), i, 7: 'For a dark legend hangs over the old house, the story of which is still preserved among the muniments there in an ancient manuscript in the handwriting of John Hanson; while kept with the original document is a copy of it, together with a less accurate ballad version, contained under the same cover and evidently dating from some generations later.' Stirling provides no explanation for her dating of the ballad.

³⁸ Turner, *Biographia Halifaxiensis*, p. 230.

³⁹ J. Horsfal Turner, *Halifax Books and Authors: A Series of Articles on the Books Written by Natives and Residents, Ancient and Modern, of the Parish of Halifax (Stretching from Todmorden to Brighouse), with Notices of their Authors and of the Local Printers; Comprising Materials for the Local and Literary History of the Parish, Including Antiquity, Genealogy, Biography, Topography, Natural History, Scientific Research, Political and Economic Progress, Parliamentary and Municipal Matter, Theology, Romanism, Anglicanism, Congregationalism, Quakerism, Unitarianism, Methodism, Moravianism, Baptist Denominationalism, Poetry, Hymnology, Law and Ethics, Fiction, &c.; Lists of Vicars, Nonconformist Ministers, Portraits, &c.* (Brighouse: The 'News' Office, 1906), p. 148.

⁴⁰ Stirling, pp. 15–19.

London, British Library, Additional 56076

Ballad only, 123 stanzas, circa 1600.

Till now Additional 56076 was unknown to scholars, having been acquired at auction from Dawsons of Pall Mall in the fall of 1969 and not foliated until 1984.⁴¹ It was evidently unknown to Kaye, who does not cite it. This new variant of the Eland ballad is quite interesting because it is not part of a larger codex but is unbound. It bears the title 'Sir John Eland' and is copied out in two mid-seventeenth-century secretary hands with the first scribe ending at stanza 85 and the second copying for 37 more stanzas to finish at stanza 123. There is no evidence that the leaves were ever bound into a codex. The ballad was copied onto three loose leaves of eight-by-twelve-inch paper that were at some point folded to half width at four inches and then folded along the length at three, six and nine inches, which would fit nicely into a pocket, envelope or book board. There is no address or seal to suggest it was posted. On the verso of folio three, in the location of the third fold, 'Verses about Beaumonts of Crosland Elland of Elland etc.' is written in an eighteenth-century hand. The three leaves are currently bound along the top; however, this binding is not the original one. The leaves appear to have been bound at the top in the centre of the page by two thongs approximately two centimeters spaced.

The text was clearly meant to be opened toward its head because the verso text is reversed 160 degrees to the recto, making it easy to flip the pages vertically and continue reading. This is worth noting because, quite unlike the other versions of the ballad, Additional 56076 provides headings at transition points in the ballad in addition to using the verse to signal a change. Between its stanzas 34 and 35, Additional 56076 has the heading 'The first fraye endid | Murder | The Second Fraye Begineth' with the word *Murder* underlined several times. The ending of the second 'fraye' is similarly indicated between stanzas 65 and 66. For all these reasons, it seems quite reasonable to infer that the MS was intended for recitation.

An interesting difference between Additional 56076 and the other versions of the ballad is the date offered for the letters patent to Eland for a market. Additional 56076 (st. 11) says that the market was granted under Edward III's seal, whereas both Watson's transcription of the lost Hopkinson MS (st. 11) and Turner's transcription of the lost Holroyd-Exley MS (st. 8) give the date of Edward I. In the margin of Additional 56076 in a later hand is written '15° E: 3'. This is a regnal date which signifies the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward III (1341/1342), which is actually quite close to the date of the Eland legal case in 1350.

The assessors at Dawson's compared this manuscript with Watson's and Turner's transcriptions and declared it 'more interesting than either of these versions in that it is the longer version in old spelling and, though closer in text to Turner's shorter version, it shows many different readings'.⁴² As for dating the source text, the assessors caution that 'old spelling' leaves much room for evaluation. Yin Liu notes that several features of the rhyme suggest a date of composition after 1500 and probably before 1600.⁴³ Stanzas 6 (*peare : where*) and 39 (*were : appeare*) both use a rhyme on /ɛ:/ which has been lowered from Middle English /e:/ by the /r/ which follows. Lowering in this way began in the fifteenth century, but was more common in the sixteenth century and becomes less common the further one moves into

⁴¹ London, British Library, Archives and Manuscript Catalogue, Additional 56076, 'Ballad of Sir John Elland'.

⁴² Dawson's of Pall Mall, *Catalogue 200* (London: Dawson, 1969), p. 35.

⁴³ I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Yin Liu, Department of English, University of Saskatchewan for her advice and evaluation of the language of the ballad.

'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'

the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ Stanza 61 appears to use a rhyme on /o:/ (*loe* : *to*) which could only occur in the 1500s at the earliest, after the raising of Middle English /ɔ:/ to /o:/ as in *lo*. According to Dobson, this use of /o:/ is attested into the last half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ The rhyme in stanza 118 (*backe* : *betake*) works in *back* on the fronted vowel /æ/ and in *betake* on the vowel /a:/, which began fronting in northern dialects around 1400⁴⁶ (although this shift was more commonly found after 1500).⁴⁷

Significant items in the lexis are highly unlikely much after 1600; whereas a seventeenth-century scribe might admit them as archaisms, a poet writing after 1600 is quite unlikely to have used them spontaneously. The term *vail* (st. 57) meaning 'avail, help' is attested in the *OED* from 1300–1608; it tended to be replaced by *avail* after 1600. *Kind* (st. 64) in *OED*'s sense 3a 'character or quality derived from birth or native constitution; natural disposition, nature', as it is used in the ballad, is well attested only c. 1600. *Slo* for *slay* (confirmed by rhyme in st. 64) is attested only to c. 1585. The earliest known use of *extreme* (st. 68) is c. 1460. Use of the term *Palmison* (st. 76) is more frequent in the North but becomes rarer after c. 1600. Although revived by Sir Walter Scott, the term *boun* (st. 83) was obsolete c. 1600. The phrase *brim as boares* (st. 101) follows *OED* *breme* sense 5b, where the idiom (*brim* meaning 'fierce') is attested c. 1400–c. 1600. *Ride* (st. 114) is probably 'rid'; both the Lost Hopkinson-Watson MS and the transcription of the Holroyd-Exley MS have *dispatched*, which is attested in this sense from 1530. Without further internal dating evidence, these features of rhyme and word use seem to point to a date of c. 1600, possibly a little earlier.

Bradford, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Hopkinson 32D86/12.

A 120-stanza ballad (ff. 11v–18r, transcribed below) and a prose narrative (ff. 41r–45r).

As with Additional 56076, Hopkinson 32D86/12 contains a previously unidentified and untranscribed variant of the Eland ballad. It also contains a previously unidentified variant of the prose narrative. The ballad variant (below) is presented below following the transcription of Additional 56076, and is also compared through the apparatus with the previously published transcription of the lost Hopkinson-Watson MS.

In 1986, forty-one volumes of Hopkinson's papers came to WYAS Bradford from the Bradford Reference Library where they had been since 1920. Held at one time in the collection of the antiquarian William Cudworth (fl. 1874–99), the volumes were donated to the Bradford Reference Library in 1920 by Dr J. Hambly Rowe who was their last private owner.⁴⁸ At present, it is not clear how the volumes, which match their description in the catalogue of Richardson Curren's library, came into Cudworth's collection.⁴⁹ With an exact match to Richardson Curren's catalogue, there is no question that they are one and the same volumes. As described above, many of Hopkinson's papers came to Richardson Curren

⁴⁴ E. J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500–1700*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), ii, 201.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 4.

⁴⁶ Dobson, ii, 98.

⁴⁷ Richard Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, trans. and rev. by Eugene J. Crook (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 276.

⁴⁸ *Bradford Archives 1974–1995: An Illustrated Guide to Bradford District Archives* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Joint Services Committee/West Yorkshire Archive Service, 1996).

⁴⁹ Stewart, p. 432.

through her father, Henry Richardson (1758–84), who was John Hopkinson’s great grand-nephew.⁵⁰

Hopkinson must have copied out the ballad around 1650 into his larger collection of West Yorkshire pedigrees, more or less at the same time as the Lost Hopkinson-Watson variant. He either gave or copied the title “The death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand & his Sonne in old rymthe.” Hopkinson’s use of the word *rymthe* in his title is a puzzle. Possibly he meant to write *rythme*, for, spelled as it is, it would be a very late use of the Middle English term meaning a measure, a space of time or leisure time, which is not attested after the early sixteenth century.⁵¹ It is curious, though, that the word *rymthe* is attested in the north, particularly in Norfolk, and we know that Hopkinson was asked by Henry, Duke of Norfolk, to examine the great collection of papers and documents belonging to his estate, which included holdings in Yorkshire.⁵²

Turner, commenting on the Lost Hopkinson-Watson ballad, says that Hopkinson regularized the language in his version of the ballad for his mid-seventeenth-century audience.⁵³ In some cases, this seems to be true of Hopkinson 32D86/12 as well—for example, the word *squire* instead of *esquire* (stanza 3), or *bridge* rather than *brigg* (stanza 19). However, there are some places where Hopkinson 32D86/12 continues to use the older forms: *murther* instead of *murder* (stanza 31). What this suggests about the relative dates at which the two Hopkinson MSS were copied is very difficult to say, especially with only one of them surviving.

The prose narrative in Hopkinson 32D86/12 will be discussed along with other prose narrative variants in the entry for Additional 26739 below.

London, British Library, Additional 26739, ff. 78v–82r

Prose narrative only.

Additional 26739 came to the British Library with other volumes from the library of John Smyth, of Heath House, near Wakefield.⁵⁴ Smyth was a descendant of John Hopkinson and evidently some of Hopkinson’s papers went to him instead of traveling to Hopkinson’s other descendant Frances Mary Richardson Currer, whose library at Eshton Hall has been described above. Additional 26739 is a bound volume of Yorkshire West Riding pedigrees in John Hopkinson’s hand. It contains only a prose narrative.

Hopkinson recorded three variants of the Eland prose narrative: the newly identified variant in Additional 26739, the narrative in Hopkinson 32D86/12 and the variant printed by Turner from the Lost Hopkinson-Watson MS. All these manuscripts would seem to be linked to the same exemplar, perhaps separated by one iteration of copies. Although all the texts do vary, their variations are not significant in terms of changes to the story line. A few

⁵⁰ Butterworth, p. 33.

⁵¹ *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), s.v. rimth(e), <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>> [accessed 30 May 2015].

⁵² See Joseph Stevenson, ‘Preface’, in *Selections: Unpublished Manuscripts in College of Arms and the British Museum Illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, MDXLIII–MDLXVIII* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1837), pp. ix–xvi, <<http://www.archive.org/details/selectionsfromu00stevgoog>> [accessed 18 November 2014].

⁵³ Turner, *The Eland Tragedies*, p. 15.

⁵⁴ On the Smyths of Heath Hall see Wakefield, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Smyth of Heath, Family & Estate Records, C547: <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=201-c547&cid=0#0>> [accessed 18 November 2014].

comparative passages will suffice to demonstrate the nature of the variations between the two newly identified manuscripts.⁵⁵

Additional 26739

[...] afterward coming to Crosland hall & finding noe waye to gitt in there they hidd them selves in bushes untill such tyme as they perceived a mayde of the house litt downe the drawbride to passe over & doe some houshold busnies; and forthwith they came to the bridge & passed over into the hall where Sir Robert Beaumond & his family being in bedd nothing suspected them [...] (f. 78v)

After all these thinges itt chanced that Lockwood fell in love & was enamored of a woman dwelling {als: abbrev} Camell ate Canon Hall nere Cawthorne, & according to the appointment bitwixt them; they often mett in Emley parke, at a great hollowe oak, which the keeper observing, betrayed & discovered their doeing. (f. 81r)

(Discussing the fate of Lockwode)

[...] perceiving they culd not have their will of him, threatned to burne the house over his head, which Lockwood feared not; his woman seeing him very busy in defending hiselfe (he having most trust & confidence in her) she sodainely fell upon him & with her knife cutt his bowstringe, & runne away from him: then said Lockwood, ffye on the whore, that ever thou wase ordained to be the distuction of mans blood, for by the & such like may all men take example. (f. 81r)

Hopkinson 32D86/12

[...] & afterward came to Croslandhall & finding noe waye to gitt in, they hidd themselves in bushes until such tyme as they perceived a maide of the house did lett downe the drawebridge to passe over to doe some houshold busines and therewith they came to ye bridge & passed over into the hall where Sir Robert Beaumont & his familye being in bedd nothinge suspected the matter [...] (f. 41r)

Afte all these thinges itt chanced that Lockwood was enamored of a woman dwelling at Camell {als: abbrev} Canon-hall nere Cawthorne and according to the appointment betwixt them they mett often in Emley parke at a great hollowed oake, which the keeper seeing, betrayed & discovered their doeing. (ff. 43v-44r)

(Discussing the fate of Lockwode)

[...] perceiveng they culd not have their will of him, threatned to burne the house over his head, which Lockwood nothinge feared, his woman perceiving him most busye in defending himselfe (he having most truste in her) she sodainely leaped upon him & with her knife she cutt his bowstringe, & runne away fast from him: Then said Lockwood flye on the whore that ever thou wast ordained to be the distruction of mens blood, for by the & such like may all men take example. (f. 44v)

⁵⁵ Additional 26739 has two sets of foliation numbers, which suggests rebinding or reassembly of the codex. The most recent foliation is the one cited here.

(Discussing the fate of Beaumont)

And at the last partly for this cause & partly because there came downe from London diverse proces to attache him, being of himselfe out of quietness, & his friends fearfull of him nor durse entertain him, he was constrained to flee into France, soe went forwards & continued amonge the Knights of the Rhodes & in Hungare, where his valiant acts were had in good estimation, & was appointed to serve & fight against the Heathens, from whence he directed his letters into Yorkshire. (f. 82r)

(Discussing the fate of Beaumont)

And at the last partly for this cause & partly for as much as there came downe from London divers proces directed to the sheriffe & divers other noblemen for to attache him & being out of quietnes of himselfe & his frends he was constrained to flee into ffrance, & soe continued amongst the knights of the Rhodes & in Hungarie where his valiant Acts were had in estimacoun & was appointed to fight with the Heathens, from whence he directed his letters into Yorkshire [...] (ff. 44v–45r)

As popular tales go, the Eland legend in both its ballad and embellished prose form are not the most compositionally exciting examples of the late medieval outlaw genre. The *Gests of Robin Hood* are much better known and more appealing as a narrative. What makes the Eland story compelling is exactly what Robin Hood lacks. It has a beginning that we can pinpoint in time and a trajectory that illustrates well how popular tales may tell some truth. For cultural historians such a window into the past is invaluable and quite rare.

The ballad transcriptions: conventions and collation

The transcriptions of Additional 56076 and Hopkinson 32D86/12 are semi-diplomatic. Scribal contractions are expanded and supplied letters have been italicised. Scribal insertions are indicated with \.../, editorial insertions with [...], and expunged text <...>. Brevigraphs have been preserved. Lineation and indentation of the ballad stanzas have been preserved. In the case of Hopkinson 32D86/12 lineation has been inserted by the editor. Text in engrossing hand has been emboldened.

Hopkinson 32D86/12 has been collated with the Lost Hopkinson Manuscript that was published in 1775 by John Watson in *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*.⁵⁶ The Watson transcription is discussed above.

⁵⁶ Watson, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax*, pp. 170–76.

London, British Library, Additional 56076

[Folio 1r]

Sir John Eland

[Column 1]

- 1 No worldly wight can here attaine
allwayes to have their will
Sometime in ioye sometime in paine
their course they must fullfill
- 2 for when men walke in worldly wealth
full few can have that grace
long in the same to keepe themselves
contentted with their place
- 3 The Squire he must become a Knight
the Knight a Lord must be
Soe shall yow see no worldlie wight
content with his degree
- 4 ffor pride it is that prickes the hearte
& moves men to mischiefe
all kinde of pittie sett aparte
without any grudge or greive
- 5 Some cannott suffer for to see
& know their neighbours thrive
like to themsleves in good degree
but rather seeke their lives
- 6 for some must needs be putte⁵⁷ alone
and such must have no peare
like to themselves the would have none
dwell nigh them any where
- 7 where pride doth reigne within the heart
& wickednes in will
the feare of God then sett aparte
themselves they must be ill
- 8 with such foule faults was sore infecte
one Sir John Eland Knight
his doeinges makes him sore suspecte
in that to have delight

⁵⁷ *puste* (looks like *st* ligature corrected).

Sharon Hubbs Wright

- 9 Sometimes there dwelt at Croslandhall
a kinde & Curtious Knight
it was well knowne that he with all
Sir Roberte Beaumont height
- 10 Att Eland Sir John Eland dwelt
within the mannor hall
the Towne his owne the *parishe* held
most parte upon him all
- 11 The markett towne was Eland then
the Patent hath been seene
under kinge Edward Seale certeyne⁵⁸
the third Edward I weene
- 12 But now I blushe to singe for dreade
knowinge my owne Countrye
soe stoutly stand with Caines bloud
there springe \in/ plentiouslie
- [Column 2]
- 13 Alas such store of wittie men
as art now in theise dayes
were then unborne ungotten both
to staye such wicked wayes
- 14 Some saye that Eland Sheriffe was
by Beaumont disobeyed
which made him for the same trespasse
to be the worse apaid
- 15 Hee raised the Countrie round aboute
his friends & tenants all
men for that purpose picked out
stoute sturdie men & tall
- 16 To Quarmbye hall they came by night
& there the Lord they slue
That time Quarmby of Quarmby hight
before the Countrie knowe
- 17 To Lockwood then the selffe same night
thei came & there they slewe
Lockwood of Lockwood that wylie wight
which stirred the strife anewe
- 18 When they had slaine thus suddenly

⁵⁸ '15° E: 3:' is written in left margin. This corrects the Holroyd (Watson) text which says the first Edward.

'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'

Sir Roberte Beaumonts aide
they came to Crosland craftyly
of nought were they afraide

19 The hall was wattered well aboute
no wight coulde enter in
till time the bridge were well laid out
they durst not enter in

20 Before the hall they could invade
in Bushment they did ligge
& watched a mayde wylie trade
till she litt downe the brigge

21 They laid a seege asalt they made
traiterously to the hall
the Knights Chamber they did invade
& slue the knight withall

22 Yet have I reade most certainly
that slaine before he was
he fought against them manfully
Unarmed yea alas

23 His servants stroake & still withstood
& fought with might & maine
in his defence they shed their blood
yet all was but in vaine

24 The Ladie skreakte & cryed withall
from her when as they ledd
her deare husband into the hall
& there stroke of his heade

[Folio 1v]

[Column 1]

25 But all in vaine the more pittye
that pittie had no place
for craftie mischeife & crueltie
these men did most imbrace

26 See here in what uncyrteyntie
this wretched life is ledd
att night in his prosperitie
tomorrow slaine in bedd

Sharon Hubbs Wright

- 27 I wis a woefull house there was
the Lord laye slaine & deade
their foes did eate before thier face
their meate all wine & breade
- 28 Twoe Boyes Sir Robert Beaumont had
then lefte alone unslaine
Sir John of Eland he then bad
come eate with me certeyne
- 29 The one did eate with him [exp: I thinke] \truily/
the younger it was I thinke
Adam the other sturdily
would neither eate nor drinke
- 30 They had a guide that guided them
that in their hearts did dwell
which hereunto had movid them
the verie Devil of Hell
- 31 See how this boy said Eland see
his fathers death can take
if any be it wilbe hee
his death can venge or wrake
- 32 But if that he may wild anon
I shall for him foresee
and cutt them of by one & one
as time shall then serve me [exp: me]
- 33 The first fraye here now have yow heard
The second shall ensue
& how much mischeife afterwards
upon this murder grewe
- 34 And how the mischeife afterwards
their wicked hearts *within*
light on themselves shalbe discribed
marke now for I begin

The first fraye endid

murder [Underlined many times decoratively.]

[Column 2]

The Second Fraye Begineth

'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'

- 35 The same morning a messenger
was sent to Lancashire
To Mr. Townley of Brackton hall
his help for to require
- 36 Unto the mount beneath Marsden
Now came they there indeed
but hearing that their friends were slaine
they turned again with speed
- 37 when Ealand in his willfull ire
thus Beaumont bloud had sheade
into the coasts of Lancashire
the Ladie Beaumont fledd
- 38 With her shee tooke her children
att Brearton to remaine
sometime also at Towneley hall
they sojourned certeyne
- 39 Breareton & Townley frends they were
to her & of her bloud
as presently it did appeare
they fought to doe her good
- 40 They kepte the boyes till they increast
in person & in age
their fathers death to have redresse
still kindled their courage
- 41 Lacye & Lockwood were with them
brought up at Brearton greene
& Quermby kinsman unto them
at home durst not be seene
- 42 The feates of fence they practized
to weald their weapons well
till 15 yeares were finished
and then so it befelle
- 43 Lockwood as eldest unto them
said frends I thinke it good
wee went into our owne Countrye
to venge our fathers bloud
- 44 If Ealand have this for well done
he will slaye more indeed
best were it then wee slewe him soone

Sharon Hubbs Wright

& cutt of Caines his seede

- 45 O Lord this was a cruel deed
who could their hands refraine
for to finde out such wicked weed
though it were to their paine
- 46 To this the rest then all agreed
deviseinge all a daye
of this their purpose how to speed
which was the readiest waye
- [Folio 2r]
- [Column 1]
- 47 Two men that time from Quermby came
Dawson & Haigh indeed
with them consulted on the same
in this how to proceed
- 48 These countriemen of course onely
said Eland keepes allwaye
the Turne of Brighthouse certeynly
& yow shall know the daye
- 49 I saw my father Lockwood slaine
& Quermbye in the night
& last of all they slew certeyne
Sir Roberte Beaumont Knight
- 50 The day was sett the Turne was kept
at Brighthouse by Sir John
little wist he was besett
then at his cominge home
- 51 Dawson & Haighe had plaid their *\partes/*
& brought from Brearton greene
yonge gentlemen *with* hardye heartes
as well were knowne & seene
- 52 Adam Beaumont there was laid
Lacy *with* him also
& Lockwood who was nought afraid
to fight against his foe
- 53 In Crombwelbothom wood they laye
a number *with* them moe
arayed they were in good aray

'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'

a spye they had alsoe

54 To spye the time when Eland came
from Brighthouse Turne that daye
who plaide their *partes* & shewd the same
to them whereas they laye

55 Beneath Brookfoote there was a hill
to Brighthouse in the waye
forth came they to the topp of this
there pryeynge for their [exp: pey] prey

56 from the lane end came Eland then
& spyed theise Gentlemen
sore wondred hee who they should be
& vayled his Bonnett then

57 Thy Curtisie vailes thee nought sir *Knight*
thou slewe my father deare
sometime Sir *Roberte* Beaumont height
& slaine thou shalt be here

[Column 2]

58 Said Adam Beaumont with the rest
thou has our ffathers slaine
whose bloud we hope shalbe redrest
on thee & thine certeyne

59 To strike at him still did they strive
but Eland still withstood
with might & maine to save his life
but still they shedd his bloud

60 They cutt him from his companie
belike at the lane [exp: heade] end
& there they slewe him certeynlie
& thus he made his end

61 Marke here the end of Crueltie
such end has falsehood loe
such end himselffe loe here hath he
who brought others to

62 Yet Beaumont here was much to blame
though here he plaid the man
his *parte* he plaid yet in the same
of a right Christian man

Sharon Hubbs Wright

63 A pure conscience could men finde
an heart to doe that deed
though he himselfe had bene assigned
his owne hearts bloud to bleed

64 But kinde in these younge gentlemen
crept where it could not goe
& in such sorte inforced them
theire fathers bane to sloe

65 The second fraye lo here yow have
the third now shall yow heare
of your kindnes no more I crave
but still for to give eare
here endeth the second fraye

~~~~

The third fray

66 When Sir John Eland thus was slaine  
indeed the storie tells  
both Beaumont & his [exp: freants] friends certeyne  
fledd all t[exp: he]o fournes ffells

67 O cruell Mars why art thou nought  
contented yet with this  
to sheade more bloud but still thou fought  
for such thy nature is

68 Thy [exp: yonge] owne conscinece corruptid thee  
indeed could never staye  
till unto extreame miserye  
it run the ready waye

69 ffor Cains seed on every side  
with wicked hearts disgract  
for to shew mercie hath denied  
*which* needs must be displaste

[Folio 3v]

[Column 1]

70 In fournes ffells longe time they were  
boastinge of their misdeed  
more mischeife still contriveinge there  
how yet they might proceed

71 They had their spyes in this countrie

*'The Death of Sir John Eland of Eland and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

- ny Eland than whoe dwelt  
where Sir John Eland dwelt truely  
& there his muse he held
- 72 Mo gentleman then was yet there  
in Eland *parishe* dwelte  
save Savile halffe *parte* of the yeare  
his house at Rishmouth helt
- 73 Hee kept himselfe from such debate  
removinge there *withall*  
twice in the yeare in Savills gate  
unto the Bothomhall
- 74 Adam of Beaumont then truelye  
Lacye & Lockwood eeke  
& Quermby came to this Countrey  
theire purpose for to seeke
- 75 To Crombwelbothom hall they came  
there kept them secretly  
by fond deceipte there did they frame  
their craftie cruelty
- 76 This was the end the soothe to saye  
on Palmison even at night  
to Eland \halle/ they tooke the waye  
about the darke midnight
- 77 Into the Milnehouse then they brast  
they kepte them secretly  
thus by deceipte there did they frame  
their craftie cruelty
- 78 The morninge came the milner sent  
his wife for corne in haste  
these gentlemen in hand her hent  
& bound her very fast
- 79 The miller said shee should repent  
her stayinge there so longe  
a good cudgell in hand he hent  
to chastice her *with* wronge
- 80 With haste into the milne came he  
& most with her to strive  
but they him bound ymedyatly  
& laid him by his wife

Sharon Hubbs Wright

- 81 The yonge *Knicht* [exp: hean] dreaminge the selffe same \night/  
with foes he was bested  
that secretly fetled him to fight  
against them in his bedd  
  
[Column 2]
- 82 he shewed his Lady soone of this  
but as a thinge most vaine  
shee weighed it light & said I wis  
to Church wee must certeyne
- 83 And serve God this *present* daye  
the knight he made him boune  
and by the milnehouse laye the waye  
that leadis unto the Towne
- 84 The drought had made the water small  
the stakes appeared drye  
the knight his wife & servants all  
came downe the dame therebye
- 85 When Adam Baumont this beheld  
out of the milne came hee  
his bowe with him in hand he held  
& shott at him sharplie  
  
[Hand changes here]
- 86 He shot the knight over the breast plat  
wherewith the shaft did slide  
William of Lockwood wroth thereat  
saide Cozen yow shoot wide
- 87 He shot himselfe & hit the knight  
but nought was hurt with this  
whereat the knight had great delight <sup>59</sup>  
& had not yet bene slaine
- 88 In case my father had bene clad  
in such armor certeyne  
your wicked hands escapid he had  
& had not yet bene slaine
- 89 O Eland town alacke saide he  
if thou but knew of this  
these foees of myne full soone \would/ flee

<sup>59</sup> 'X' in the left hand margin of this column, closer to the right hand column than the left. No other significant marks.



*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

& of their purpose misse

- 90 By stealth to worke needs must they goe  
else had it bene too much  
the towne knowinge their lord bene \sloe/  
for them & twentye such
- 91 William of Lockwood was a dread  
the towne should rise indeed  
he shot the knight quiet through the \heade/  
& slue him quiet with speed
- 92 his sonne & heire was wounded then  
& yet not deade at all  
into the howse convayed he was  
& died in Ealand hall
- 93 A full sister forsooth had he  
an halfe brother alsoe  
his full sister his heire must be  
his halfe brother not soe
- [Folio 3r]
- [Column 1]
- 94 His full sister heire she was  
& Savile wed the same  
thus lord of Ealand Savile was  
& since in Saviles name
- 95 Looe here the end of all mischeife  
Ealand Elands name  
displaced was to their great greif  
well worthy of the same
- 96 But as for Beaumont & the rest  
undone were utterly  
thus simple virtue is the best  
& cheife ffelicitye
- 97 What time these men such fraye did frame  
died have I redd & heard  
that Ealand came to Saviles name  
in Edward dayes the third
- 98 By Whittell lane end they tooke their \flight/  
and soo to the ould earth yate  
then take they wood as well they might

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& spied a privie gate

- 99 Themselves convayeinge craftilye  
to aneley wood that waye  
the Towne of Eland manfully  
pursued them that daye
- 100 The Lords servants throughout the towne  
had cried *with might & maine*  
up gentle yeomen get *your* bowne  
this daye your Lord is slaine
- 101 Whittle Smith & Rymington  
Burney *with many more*  
as brim as boares they made them bowne  
their Lords enemies to slooe
- 102 And to be short the people rose  
through all the towne about  
theane secretly followinge on their \fooes/  
*with hue & crie & shoute*
- 103 All sort of men shou'd their good will  
some bowes some stavies did beare  
some brought forth clubes & rusty bills  
that sawe no sunes that yeare
- 104 To church now as the *parish* came  
they ioyned *with the towne*  
like hardye men to stand all same  
to fight now were they bowne
- 105 Beaumont & Lockwood saw all this  
[exp: they fetled them to bowe I wis  
& shote as they were wood.]  
& Quermby where they stood  
they fetled them to bowe I wis  
& shote as they were wood.
- [Column 2]
- 106 Till time that all their shaftes were \spent/  
of force needs must they fly  
they had dispatched their intent  
& lost the victorie
- 107 The hardiest man of them that was  
was Quermby that is true

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

- for he would never turne his face  
til Ealand men him slue
- 108 Lockwoode he bore him on his backe  
& laide him in Aneley wood  
to whome his purse he did betake  
of gould & silver good
- 109 Take here this gould to *yow* saide he  
& to my cozen deare  
& in your mirth remember me  
yet when *yow* make good cheare
- 110 Give place with speed & fare *yow* well  
god sheilde *yow* from mischance  
in case it otherwise befell  
it would be my greivance
- 111 Their foes soe fearcely followed on  
it was no bideinge there  
Lockwood with speed he went away  
to his freinds where they weare
- 112 With hast they toward Huddersfield  
did take the readiest waye  
Adam of Beaumont the way he \held/  
[exp: h] To Croslandhall that daye
- 113 When Ealand men returned home  
through Aneley wood that waye  
there found they Quermby then alive  
scarse dead as some men saye
- 114 But then they slue him out of hand  
& ride him out of paine  
the late death of their Lord Ealand  
inforced them certeyne
- 115 learne Savile heare I *yow* beseech  
teach your posteritye  
to shewe [exp: she] such meanes that Ealand us'd  
& be full of charitye
- 116 ffor by good meanes *youre* eldres came  
to knightly dignitye  
where Ealand first forsooke the same  
& came to misirye

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117 mark here the breach of charitye  
how wretchedly they end  
makre heare how cheife felicity  
doth charity attend

[Folio 3v]

[Column 1]

118 A wesh it is to *every* wight  
please god that maye we can  
it wins allwayes *with* great delight  
the harte of many a man

119 O wrathull ire o worst the  
then wrought this wretchedness  
these gentlemen brought here onely  
to greife & great distresse

120 Wheare charitye *withdrawes* the heart  
from sorrow & sighinge deep  
right heavey makes it many a \man/  
& many an eye to weep

[Column 2]

121 yow gentlemen love one another  
love well the yeomanrye  
let *every* christian love his brother  
& dwell in charitye

122 So shall it come to pas truly  
that good men shall us love  
& after death soe shall *yow* be  
in life *with* god above

123 To whome allwayes of *every* wight  
through all yeares & dayes  
in heaven & earth both daye & night  
be honoure laud and praise.

Finis ./.

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- [Folio 11v]      **The death of Sir John Ealand of  
Ealand & his sonne in old rymthe**
- [1]      noe worldly wight cann here attayne  
          alwayes to have his<sup>60</sup> will  
          sometymes in ioye<sup>61</sup>, someteyes in paine  
          his<sup>62</sup> course he must fullfill.
- [2]      ffor when that menn doe growe in wealth<sup>63</sup>  
          full few can have that grace  
          long in the same to keepe themselves  
          contented with their place
- [3]      But the Squire must<sup>64</sup> become a Knight  
          the Knight a Lord wold bee  
          Thus shall yow have<sup>65</sup> noe worldly wight  
          content with his degree.
- [4]      But pride itt is that pricks menns hearts<sup>66</sup>  
          & moves them<sup>67</sup> to mischeife  
          All kind of pittye sett apart  
          without all grace or greife.<sup>68</sup>
- [5]      Some cannot suffer for to see  
          & knowe their neighbours thrive  
          Like to themselves in good degree  
          but rather seekes their lives.
- [6]      And some muste be possest alone,  
          and such wold have noe peere  
          Like to themselves they wold have none  
          dwell nighe them any where.
- [7]      With such like faults fouly<sup>69</sup> infect  
          was<sup>70</sup> Sir John Eland Knight

<sup>60</sup> his ] Watson *their*

<sup>61</sup> sometymes in ioye ] Watson *But now in grief,*

<sup>62</sup> his ] Watson *their*

<sup>63</sup> ffor when that menn doe growe in wealth ] Watson *For when men live in worldly wealth*

<sup>64</sup> But the Squire must ] Watson *The Squire must needs*

<sup>65</sup> have ] Watson *see*

<sup>66</sup> But pride itt is that pricks menns hearts ] Watson *For pride it is that pricks the heart*

<sup>67</sup> them ] Watson *men*

<sup>68</sup> Watson 1775 has another stanza: *Where pride doth reighn within the heart, \And wickedness in will, \The fear of  
God quite set apart, \Their fruits must needs be ill.*

<sup>69</sup> faults fouly ] Watson *faults was foul*

<sup>70</sup> was ] Watson *one*

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His doings make menn<sup>71</sup> much suspect  
therein he tooke delight

- [8] Sometyes there dwelt at Crosland hall  
a kind & curteous knight  
Itt was well knowne that he withall  
Sir Robert Beau-mont<sup>72</sup> hight

[Folio 12r] **The murder of Eland, Beaumont etc**

- [9] Att Eland Sir John Eland dwelt  
within the mannor hall  
The towne his owne, & parish halfe<sup>73</sup>  
the greater part, were all<sup>74</sup>
- [10] The markt towne was Ealand then  
the patent hath beene seene  
Under Kinge Edwards seale certaine  
The first Edward I weene.
- [11] But now I blushe to sing for dread  
knoweing mine owne Countrye  
Soe basely stor'd with Caines seed  
there springing plenteouslye.
- [12] Alacke such store of wittye menn,  
as now are in these dayes  
were both unborne & gotten then  
to staye such wicked wayes.
- [13] Some say that Ealand sherrife was  
by Beau-mont disobeyed  
which might to<sup>75</sup> him for that trespasse  
make<sup>76</sup> him the worse appayd.
- [14] He raised the Country round about  
his freinds<sup>77</sup> & tennants all  
menn<sup>78</sup> for the purpose picked out  
stout, sturdy, strong,<sup>79</sup> & tall.
- [15] To Quarmby hall they came by night

<sup>71</sup> menn ] Watson *it*

<sup>72</sup> Hopkinson seems to have inserted a hyphen between *Beau* and *mont*. Perhaps a slip of the pen?

<sup>73</sup> & parish halfe ] Watson *the parish held*

<sup>74</sup> the greater part, were all ] Watson *Most part upon him all*

<sup>75</sup> to him for that ] Watson *him make for that*

<sup>76</sup> make ] Watson *with*

<sup>77</sup> Hopkinson wrote *freinds* for *friends*

<sup>78</sup> menn ] Watson *and*

<sup>79</sup> strong ] Watson *men*

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

and there they Lord they slewe  
All that tyme hugh of Quarmby height  
before the Countrye knewe.

[16] To Lockwood then the selfe same night  
they came & there they slewe  
Lockwood of Lockwood that wilye wight  
which spread<sup>80</sup> the strife anew

[Folio 12v] **The murther of Ealand, Beau-mont &ct.**

[17] when they had slayne thus sudainely  
Sir Robert Beau-monts ayde  
To Crosland they came craftilye  
of naught they were afraid.

[18] The hall was watered well about  
noe wight cold enter there<sup>81</sup>  
untill the bridge was letten downe<sup>82</sup>  
they durst not venture nere<sup>83</sup>

[19] Before the house they cold invade  
in ambushe they did lodge  
They watch'd a wench with wilye trade  
till she lett downe the bridge.

[20] A seige they sett, assault they made  
most stoutly<sup>84</sup> to the hall  
The knights chamber they did invade  
and tooke the knight withall

[21] And this is for most certaintye  
before that slaine<sup>85</sup> he was  
he fought amongst<sup>86</sup> them manfully  
unarmed as he was.

[22] His servants rose & still withstood  
and stricke with might & maine  
in his defence they shedd their blood  
yett<sup>87</sup> all this was in vaine

<sup>80</sup> which spread ] Watson *That stirr'd*

<sup>81</sup> culd enter there ] Watson *might enter in*

<sup>82</sup> unittl the bridge was

letten downe ] Watson *till that the bridge was well laid out,*

<sup>83</sup> nere ] Watson *in*

<sup>84</sup> most stoutly ] Watson *Heinously*

<sup>85</sup> before that slaine ] Watson *That slain before*

<sup>86</sup> amongst ] Watson *against*

<sup>87</sup> yett ] Waton *But*

- [23] The Ladye cride & sreacht withall  
from her when<sup>88</sup> as they ledd  
her deare husband<sup>89</sup> into the hall  
and there straike<sup>90</sup> of his head
- [24] But all in vaine, the more pitye  
for pitye had noe place  
But crafte, mischeife & crueltye  
These menn did most imbrace
- [Folio 13r] **The murders of Ealand Beau-mont &c**
- [25] They had a guide which guided them  
and in their hearts did dwell  
The which to that had<sup>91</sup> moved them  
the very devile of<sup>92</sup> hell<sup>93</sup>
- [26] I wisse a wofull house there was  
the Lord laye slaine & dead  
Their foes then eate before their face  
their meate, ale, wine, & bread.
- [27] Two boyes Sir Robert Beaumont had  
ther lefte alive unslaine  
Sir John of Ealand he them bade  
come<sup>94</sup> eate with him certaine
- [28] The one did eate with him trulye  
the younger itt was I thinke  
Adam thelder sturdilye  
wold nether eate nor drinke
- [29] See how this boye said Eland, see  
his fathers death doth take  
If any be itt wilbe hee  
that will revengement make
- [30] Bit if he doe waxe<sup>95</sup> wild anone  
I shall him oversee<sup>96</sup>

<sup>88</sup> from her when ] Watson *When as from her*

<sup>89</sup> Her deare husband ] Watson *Her dearest knight*

<sup>90</sup> straike ] Watson *cut*

<sup>91</sup> to that had ] Watson *to this that*

<sup>92</sup> of ] Watson *in*

<sup>93</sup> Watson has another full stanza here: *See here in what uncertainty \This wretched world is led \At night in his prosperity, \At morning slain, and dead,*

<sup>94</sup> come ] Watson *to*

<sup>95</sup> if he doe waxe ] Watson *if that he wax*

<sup>96</sup> oversee ] Watson *soon foresee*



*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

And cutt them of by one & one  
as time shall then serve mee

[31] The first fray now here yow have heard  
and<sup>97</sup> the second shall ensue  
And how much mischeife afterward  
upon this murther<sup>98</sup> grewe

[32] And how the mischeife he contriv'd  
his wicked heart within  
Light on himselfe, must<sup>99</sup> be discrib'd  
marke now for I beginne

[Folio 13v] **The murther of Ealand Beau-mont &c**

[33] The same morning two messingers  
were sent to Lancashire  
To Townley & Brearton there<sup>100</sup>  
their helpe for to require

[34] unto the mount beneath marsden  
then were they comed with speed  
But heareing that their frends were<sup>101</sup> slaine  
they turnd againe indeed.

[35] when Ealand thus with<sup>102</sup> wilfull ire  
now<sup>103</sup> Beaumonts blood had shedd  
Into the coaste of Lancashire  
the Lady Beaumont flegg

[36] With her she tooke her children all  
att Brearton to remaine  
Sometimes also at Townley hall  
they sojourned certaine

[37] Brearton & Townley freinds they were  
to her & of her blood  
And presently itt did appeare  
they sought to doe her good.

[38] They kept there still<sup>104</sup> till they increast

<sup>97</sup> and ] Watson omitted

<sup>98</sup> this murther ] Watson *these murders*

<sup>99</sup> must ] Watson *shall*

<sup>100</sup> Townley & Brearton there ] Watson *Mr. Townley and Brereton*

<sup>101</sup> frendes were ] Watson *friend was*

<sup>102</sup> thus with ] Watson *with his*

<sup>103</sup> now ] Watson *thus*

<sup>104</sup> there still ] Watson *the boys*

in person & in age  
Their fathers blood to have redrest  
Still kindled their courage.

[39] Lacye & Lockwood was with them  
brought up at Brearton greene  
And Quarmbye kinsman unto them  
att home durst not be seene.

[40] The feats of fence they practised  
to weald their weapons well  
Till fiftene yeares were finished  
and then soe itt befell

[Folio 14r] **The murthrs of Ealand Beaumont &c**

[41] Lockwood the eldest of them all  
said freinds I thinke itt good  
wee went into our Country all  
to avenge<sup>105</sup> our fathers blood

[42] If Ealand have this for well done  
he will slaye more<sup>106</sup> indeed  
Best where itt then see slew him soone  
and soe cutt of Cains seed<sup>107</sup>

[43] I sawe my father Lockwood slaine  
and Quarmbye in the night  
And last of all they slew certaine  
Sir Robert Beau-mont knight

[44] O now<sup>108</sup> this was a cruell deed  
who cold his<sup>109</sup> hands refraine  
But to cutt of<sup>110</sup> such wicked weed.  
Thoughe itt were to their paine

[45] To this then<sup>111</sup> all the rest agreed  
deviseing day by day  
of this their purpose how to speed  
what was the readiest waye.

[46] Two menn that tyme from Quarmby came

<sup>105</sup> avenge ] Watson *venge*

<sup>106</sup> more ] Watson *mo*

<sup>107</sup> soe cutt of Cains seed ] Watson *cutt off Cain his seed*

<sup>108</sup> now ] Watson *Lord*

<sup>109</sup> his ] Watson *their*

<sup>110</sup> But to cutt of ] Watson *For to pluck out*

<sup>111</sup> this then all the rest ] Watson *this the rest then all*

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

Dawson & Haighe indeed  
who then consulted of the same  
of this how to proceed

[47] These Countrymenn of course onely  
Said Ealand kept alway  
The Turne at Brighthouse certainly  
and yow shall knowe the daye.

[48] To Cromwelbothome yow must then<sup>112</sup> come  
in the wood there for them<sup>113</sup> wayte  
soe yow may have them all & some  
and take them in a straitte.

[49] The day was sett, the turne was kept  
att righthouse by Sir John

[Folio 14v] **The murthrs of Ealand Beaumont &c**

But litle wiste he, how he was besett<sup>114</sup>  
then att his comeing home.

[50] Dawson & Haighe had playd their parts  
and Brought from Brererton greene  
yonge Gentlemenn with hardye hearts  
as well was<sup>115</sup> knowne & scene.

[51] Adam of Beaumont there was layd  
and Lacye with him also  
And Lockwood who was naught afeard  
to fight against his foe.

[52] In Cromwelbothom woods there<sup>116</sup> laye  
a number with them more  
Armed they were in good arraye  
a spye they had also.

[53] To spye the tyme when Ealand came  
from Brighthouse turne that day  
who playde his part & shewd the same  
to them where as they laye.

[54] Beneath Brookfoote a hill there is  
to Brighthouse in the waye

<sup>112</sup> then ] Watson ommitted

<sup>113</sup> for them wayte ] Watson *to wait*

<sup>114</sup> But litle wise he, how he was besett ] Watson *Full litle wist he was beset,*

<sup>115</sup> was ] Watson *were*

<sup>116</sup> there ] Watson *they*

forth \came/ they to the topp of this  
there spyeing<sup>117</sup> for their prey.

[55] And<sup>118</sup> from the Lane end came Ealand then<sup>119</sup>  
and spyed these Gentlemenn  
Sore woundred he who they should<sup>120</sup> be  
and vayld his bonnett then.

[56] Thy curtesie avayles the naught Sir knight  
thou slew my father [exp: dead] deare  
Sometymes Sir Robert Beaumont knight  
& slaine thou shalt be here.

[57] Said Adam Beau-mont with the rest  
thou hast our father slaine  
whose death wee weane<sup>121</sup> shalbe redrest  
of the & thine certaine.

[Folio 15r] **The murthur of Ealand Beau-mont &c**

[58] To strike at him they all did<sup>122</sup> strive  
and<sup>123</sup> Ealand still withstood  
with might & maine to save his life  
but yet they shedd his blood.

[59] They cutt him from his companie  
belike at the lane end  
And there they slewe him certainly  
even<sup>124</sup> thus he made his end.

[60] marke here the end of all mischeife<sup>125</sup>  
such seeds hath false seed loe<sup>126</sup>  
Unto such end himselfe forsooth<sup>127</sup>  
as he brought others to;

[61] yett Beaumont he<sup>128</sup> was much to blame  
though there<sup>129</sup> he playd the man

<sup>117</sup> spyeing ] Watson *prying*

<sup>118</sup> And ] Watson *omitted*

<sup>119</sup> then ] Watson *then Ealand came,*

<sup>120</sup> should ] Watson *could*

<sup>121</sup> weane ] Watson *mind*

<sup>122</sup> they all did ] Watson *still did they*

<sup>123</sup> and ] Watson *but*

<sup>124</sup> even ] Watson *and*

<sup>125</sup> of all mischeife ] Watson *of cruelty*

<sup>126</sup> seeds hath false seed ] Watson *fine hath falshood*

<sup>127</sup> Unto such end himself forsooth ] Watson *Such end forsooth himself had he*

<sup>128</sup> yett Beaumont he ] Watson *But Beaumont yet*

<sup>129</sup> though there ] Watson *Tho' here*

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

this partye cold not playe the part<sup>130</sup>  
of a true<sup>131</sup> christian.

[62] A pure conscience cold never find  
in<sup>132</sup> heart to doe this deed  
Though he this day shold be assign'd  
hos owne hearts blood to bleed.

[63] But kind in thise yonge Gentlemenn  
crept where it cold not goe  
and in such sort inforced them  
their fathers bane to sloe.

[64] The second fraye now here yow have  
the third now shall yow heare  
of your kindnes noe more I crave  
but onely to give eare.

[65] When Sir John Ealand thus was slane  
indeed the storye tells  
Both Beau-mont & his fellowes eke<sup>133</sup>  
fledd downe<sup>134</sup> to ffournes fells.

[Folio 15v] **The murthr of Ealand Beaumont &c**

[66] O cruell mars why was thou not  
contented yet with this  
But yett did looke to shedd more blood<sup>135</sup>  
for such thy nature is

[67] Their yonge conscience corrupt by the  
indeed cold never staye  
Till into extreame miserie  
itt came the rediest waye.<sup>136</sup>

[68] In ffournes fells long tyme they were  
boasting of their misdeeds  
In more mischeife contreiveing there  
how yett they might proceed.

[69] They had their pies in this Countrye

<sup>130</sup> this partye cold not playe the part ] Watson *The part he play'd not in the same*

<sup>131</sup> true ] Watson *right*

<sup>132</sup> in ] Watson *an*

<sup>133</sup> eke ] Watson *then*

<sup>134</sup> downe ] Watson *into*

<sup>135</sup> But yett did looke to shedd more blood ] Watson *To shed moe blood, but still thou sought,*

<sup>136</sup> Watson has a stanza here: *For Cain his seed on ev'ry side | With wicked hearts disgrac'd | Which to shew mercy hath denied, | Must needs be now displac'd*

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nighe Ealand then who dwelt<sup>137</sup>  
where Sir John Ealand dwelt<sup>138</sup> truly  
& there his household held

[70] Moe Gentlemen then was not there  
in Ealand parishe dwelt  
Save Savile halfe part of thie yeare  
his house at Rishworth held.

[71] He kept himselfe from such debate  
removeing thence withall  
Twice in the yeare by Saviles gate  
utno the Bothom hall.

[72] Adam of Beau-mont then truly  
Lacye & Lockwood eke  
And Quarmbye came to this Countrye  
their purpose for to seeke

[73] To Cromwellbothome woods they came  
there kept them secretlye  
By fond deceite there did they frame  
their craftye crueltye

[Folio 16r] **The murthur of Ealand & Beau-mont &c**

[74] This is the end in soothe to saye  
on Palmison Even at night  
To Ealand milne they tooke their<sup>139</sup> waye  
about the murke midnight

[75] Into the millhouse then<sup>140</sup> they brake  
& there kept<sup>141</sup> secretlye  
Thus by deceite there<sup>142</sup> did they seeke  
the yonge knight for to slaye

[76] The morneing came the miller sent  
his wife for corne in haft  
These Gentlemenn in band her bent<sup>143</sup>  
& bound her hard & fast.

[77] The miller said<sup>144</sup> she shold repent

<sup>137</sup> then who dwelt ] Watson *who then dwell'd*

<sup>138</sup> dwelt ] Watson *liv'd*

<sup>139</sup> their ] Watson *the*

<sup>140</sup> then ] Watson *there*

<sup>141</sup> Watson omits *them*

<sup>142</sup> Thus by deceite there ] Watson *By subtilty thus*

<sup>143</sup> band her bent ] Watson *hands her hent*

<sup>144</sup> said ] Watson *sware*

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

she stayed<sup>145</sup> there soo long  
A good cudgell in hand he tooke<sup>146</sup>  
to chastice her, though<sup>147</sup> wrong.

[78] Into the milne with hast came he<sup>148</sup>  
& ment with her to strive  
But they him bound<sup>149</sup> imediately  
& layd him by his wife

[79] The yonge knight dreamed ye selfe saime night  
with foes he was bested  
who secretly settled<sup>150</sup> them to fight  
against him in his bedd

[80] He told his Ladye soone of this  
but as a thinge most vaine  
she weighd itt light & said I wis  
wee must to church \cer/[exp ag]taine

[81] And serve the Lord<sup>151</sup> this *present* day  
the knight now<sup>152</sup> made him bowne  
And by the miln house laye the way  
that leads into<sup>153</sup> the towne.

[Folio 16v] **The murthur of Ealand & Beau-mont &c**

[82] The drought had made the water small  
the stakes appeared drye  
The knight his wife & servants all  
came downe the dame thereby

[83] When Adam Beau-mont this beheld  
out<sup>154</sup> of the mill came he  
And there his bowe in hand he held<sup>155</sup>  
& shott at him sharpely

[84] He hitt the knight upon the breast

<sup>145</sup> stayed ] Watson *tarried*

<sup>146</sup> tooke ] Watson *hent*

<sup>147</sup> though ] Watson *with*

<sup>148</sup> Into the milne with hast came he ] Watson *With haste into the miln came he,*

<sup>149</sup> him bound ] Watson *bound him*

<sup>150</sup> secretly settled ] Watson *fiuely fetled*

<sup>151</sup> the Lord ] Watson *God there*

<sup>152</sup> now ] Watson *then*

<sup>153</sup> leads into ] Watson *leadeth to*

<sup>154</sup> out ] Watson *forth*

<sup>155</sup> And there his bowe in hand he held ] Watson *His bow in hand with him he held,*

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- wherewith<sup>156</sup> the shott did glide  
William of Lockwood wrothe thereat  
\sade/ Cosen you shoote wide
- [85] Himselfe did shoote but yet<sup>157</sup> the knight  
was nothing<sup>158</sup> hurt with this  
wherewith<sup>159</sup> the knight had great delight  
& said to them I wis.
- [86] If that my father had beene cloathd<sup>160</sup>  
in armor as I<sup>161</sup> certaine  
your wicked hands escap'd he had  
and had not soo beene slaine.
- [87] O Ealand towne alacke said he  
if thou but knewe of this  
These foes of mine full fast would flee  
and of their purpose mis<sup>162</sup>
- [88] William of Lockwood was affrayd<sup>163</sup>  
the towne shold rise indeed  
He shott the knight quite through the head  
& slewe him there with speed.
- [89] His sone & heire wounded there was<sup>164</sup>  
but yett not dead withall<sup>165</sup>  
Into the house conveyed he was<sup>166</sup>  
he<sup>167</sup> dyed in Ealand hall
- [Folio 17r] **The fight and murder of Ealand Beau-mont &c**
- [90] A full sister forsooth had he  
and<sup>168</sup> a halfe brother also  
The full sister his heire must me<sup>169</sup>  
the halfe brother not soe.

<sup>156</sup> wherewith ] Watson *whereat*

<sup>157</sup> but yet ] Watson *and hit*

<sup>158</sup> was nothing ] Watson *Who nought was*

<sup>159</sup> wherewith ] Watson *Whereat*

<sup>160</sup> cloathd ] Watson *clad*

<sup>161</sup> in armor as I ] Watson *With such armour*

<sup>162</sup> Watson has a stanza here: *By stealth to work needs must they go, \For it had been too much, \The town knowing, the lord to slo \For them, and twenty such,*

<sup>163</sup> affrayd ] Watson *adread*

<sup>164</sup> wounded there was ] Watson *was wounded there,*

<sup>165</sup> withall ] Watson *at all*

<sup>166</sup> was ] Watson *were*

<sup>167</sup> he ] Watson *and*

<sup>168</sup> omitted by Watson

<sup>169</sup> Hopkinson copied *m* instead of *b* here.



*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

- [91] The full sister his heire she was  
and Savile wedde the same  
Thus Lord of Ealand Savile was  
and since in Saviles name.
- [92] Loe here the end of all mischeife  
from Ealand, Ealands name  
dispatcht itt was unto their greife<sup>170</sup>  
well worthy of the same.
- [93] what tyme these men such frayes did feed<sup>171</sup>  
deeds have I heard & read<sup>172</sup>  
That Ealand came to Saviles name  
in Edwards dayes the third
- [94] But as for Beau-mont & the rest  
they were undone utterly  
thus simple vertue is the best  
& cheife felicitye.
- [95] By whittell lane end they tooke their flight  
& soo the old earth yate  
Then tooke the wood as well they might  
& spied a privye gate.
- [96] Themselves conveying craftilye  
Through<sup>173</sup> Aneley woods that way  
The towne of Ealand manfully  
pursued them that daye
- [97] They Lords servants they had cried<sup>174</sup>  
through the towne<sup>175</sup> with might & maine  
up Gentlemen<sup>176</sup> & make your bowne  
this daye your Lord is slaine
- [Folio 17v] **The murthur of Ealand & Beau-mont &c**
- [98] Whitell, Savile,<sup>177</sup> & Remington  
and Bunnyr, with others more<sup>178</sup>

<sup>170</sup> unto their greife ] Watson *to their great grief,*

<sup>171</sup> feed ] Watson *frame*

<sup>172</sup> deed have I heard & read ] Watson *Deeds have I read, and heard*

<sup>173</sup> through ] Watson *to*

<sup>174</sup> They Lords servants they had cried ] Watson *The lord's servants throughout the town,*

<sup>175</sup> through the towne ] Watson *Had cry'd*

<sup>176</sup> gentlemen ] Watson *gentle yeomen*

<sup>177</sup> Savile ] Watson *Smith*

<sup>178</sup> and Bunmyr, with others more ] Watson *Bury with many mo;*

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Att Brimmas bowers<sup>179</sup> they made them bound  
their Lords enemies to sloe.

[99] And to be short the people rose  
throughout the towne about  
There furiously following<sup>180</sup> their foes  
with hue & crye, & shoute.

[100] All sorts of menn shows their good will  
some bowes & arrowes<sup>181</sup> did beare  
some brought forth clubbs & rusty bills  
which had seene noe sune seven<sup>182</sup> yeres

[101] To church when<sup>183</sup> as the parish came  
they ioyned with the towne  
Like hardy menn to stand all thinges<sup>184</sup>  
to fight now were they bound.

[102] Beau-mont & Quarmby sawe all this  
and Lockwood where they stood  
who setled them to fight<sup>185</sup> I wis  
and shott as they were wood.

[103] Till all their shaftes were<sup>186</sup> spent  
of force then must they flee  
dispatcht they had<sup>187</sup> all their intent  
and lost noe victorye

[104] The stoutest<sup>188</sup> men of them that was  
was Quarmbye that is true  
ffor he wold never turne his face  
till Ealand menn him slewe.

[105] Lockwood he bare him on backe  
and hyd him in Aneley wood  
to whom his purse he did betake  
of gold & silver good,

[Folio 18r] **The murthur of Ealand & Beau-mont &c**

<sup>179</sup> Att Brimmas bowers ] Watson *As brim as boars*  
<sup>180</sup> There furiously following ] Watson *Then fiercely following on*  
<sup>181</sup> arrowes ] Watson *shafts*  
<sup>182</sup> seven ] Watson *that*  
<sup>183</sup> when ] Watson *now*  
<sup>184</sup> thinges ] Watson *sam,*  
<sup>185</sup> who setled them to fight ] Watson *They settled them to fence*  
<sup>186</sup> were spent ] Watson *were gone and spent*  
<sup>187</sup> dispatcht they had ] Watson *They had dispatch'd*  
<sup>188</sup> stoutest ] Watson *hardiest*

*'The Death of Sir John Ealand of Ealand and his sonne in olde rymthe'*

- [106] Take here this gold to yow said he<sup>189</sup>  
and to my cosens all<sup>190</sup> here  
And in your mirth remember me  
and when yow<sup>191</sup> make good cheere.
- [107] If that my foes shold this possesse  
itt were a greife to me  
my friends wellfare is my riches  
and cheife felicitye.
- [108] Giue place with speed & fare yow well  
Christ sheild yow from mischeife  
If that itt otherwise befall  
itt wold be my great greife
- [109] Their foes soe furiously followed on  
itt was now biding there  
Lockwood with speed he went anon  
unto his freinds where they were
- [110] with haste then towards Shoters field<sup>192</sup>  
they held their ready waye  
Adam of Beaumont the way he held  
to Crosland hall that day
- [111] When Ealand men retorned home  
through Aneley wood that waye  
There found they Quarmby layd alone  
Scarce dead as some menn saye.
- [112] And then they slewe him out of hand  
dispatchd him of his paine  
The late death of their foresaid Lords  
inforced them certaine.
- [113] Learne Savile here I yow beseech  
that in prosperitie  
yow be not prous, but mild & meeke  
and dwell in charitie.
- [Folio 18v] **The murthur of Ealand & Beau-mont &c**
- [114] ffor by such meanes, your elders came  
to knightly dignitie  
where Ealand then forsooke the same  
& came to miserie

<sup>189</sup> Take here this gold he yow said he ] Watson *Here take you this to said he,*

<sup>190</sup> all ] omitted in Watson

<sup>191</sup> and when yow ] Watson *When you do*

<sup>192</sup> Shoters field ] Watson *Huddersfield*. Possibly a reference to the place known as Shooters Nab above Marsden.

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- [115] marke here the breach of charitye  
how wretchedly itt ends  
marke here the huge<sup>193</sup> felicitye  
on charitye depends.
- [116] A speech itt is to *every* wight  
please God who may &<sup>194</sup> can  
Itt winnes alwayes with great delight  
the heart of every man.
- [117] Where charitye withdrawes the heart  
from sorrowe & sighes deepe  
right heavy makes itt many a heart  
& many an eye to weepe
- [118] yow Gentlemenn love one another  
love well the yeomanrye  
And<sup>195</sup> every christian man his brother  
& dwell in charitye
- [119] Then shall it come to pass truly  
that all menn yow shall love  
Then after death shall yow onely  
be in heaven with God above.
- [120] To whom alwayes of every wight  
throughout all yeares & dayes  
In heaven & earth both day & night  
be honor, laud, & prayse.

<sup>193</sup> The huge ] Watson *how much*

<sup>194</sup> & ] Watson *or*

<sup>195</sup> And ] Watson *Count*