A Mirror Brought by Truth: A Study and Comparison of the Folklore of the Wandering Jew and the Folklore of the Three Nephites

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A MIRROR BROUGHT BY TRUTH:
A STUDY AND COMPARISON OF THE FOLKLORE OF
THE WANDERING JEW AND THE FOLKLORE OF THE THREE NEPHITES

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of English
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Marilynne Rich Smith
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Explanation of the Project</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Limitations of the Project</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Classification of the Wanderer Legends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. FOLKLORE OF THE WANDERING JEW</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Legendary Form</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Origin and Development</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Different Versions and Names and Additional Appearances</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. General Appearance, Characteristics, and Miscellaneous Details</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Art Form</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Iberian Peninsula, France, and Germany</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. England</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. America and Miscellaneous Countries</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Summary</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. FOLKLORE OF THE THREE NEPHITES</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Legendary Form</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Origin and Development</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Different Versions and Motifs of the Legend</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. General Appearance, Characteristics, and Miscellaneous Details</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Art Form</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Summary</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. A COMPARISON OF THE TWO CYCLES OF FOLKLORE</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix: A CHRONOLOGY OF THE APPEARANCES OF THE WANDERING JEW</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The folk-tale may sometimes be a mirror brought by Truth from the bottom of her well—the heart of a childlike world—wherewith may be seen the reflection of things that few eyes can look upon directly . . . . Children, fools, and folklore speak the truth.

Moncure Daniel Conway
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the present time, there are many legends known throughout the world based on various figures who have been given blessings or curses which seemingly cause them to wander the earth eternally. Some of these legends are well known the world over, with many countries contributing to the legendary aura that surrounds them. Others are known only to specific communities, states, or cultures.

As an example of the type of legend known throughout the world, there is that of the Wandering Jew. This legend is known by one version or another in almost every country of the world. An example of the type of legend known only to a specific group of people is found in the stories of the Three Nephites, three eternal wanderers who are known only in Mormon culture.

Scholars attempting to make a comparison between these two sets of legends find themselves faced with several problems. One is that of determining the origin of the legends. The Mormons are capable of pointing to their book of scriptures, the Book of Mormon; there, written down in what they believe to be an accurate historical record is found the beginning of the legend of the Three Nephites. Those who have long heard the stories of the Wandering Jew, however, are not so explicit about pointing out records of historical origin. Although the tale was apparently told in oral tradition throughout Europe sometime earlier, the first written records of the
Wandering Jew do not appear until 1228 A.D. Therefore, the origin of one legend can be quite accurately pinpointed; that of the other cannot.

Another problem arises from the forms in which the legends exist. Tales of the Wandering Jew have been circulating orally for several hundred years (in fact, 1900 years, if one is willing to believe that the legend is based on fact). In spite of this, however, there are a relatively small number of traditional versions of the tale. (By traditional, I mean anything that is not in a literary, art form.) It is in the art form of the legend that the tale has become so widely known. The opposite is true of the Nephite legend. The oral tradition of the Three Nephites has been in circulation only a little over one hundred years, yet Mormon culture abounds with these tales. In contrast, though, the art form of this legend is virtually non-existent.

With the great abundance of Wandering Jew tales in the art form, an additional problem is created. Where does one draw the line between traditional and art forms? In some tales, the distinction is very clear. In others (i.e., Giovanni's Turkish Spy), the line of distinction is gone and one can only speculate as to which classification applies to a particular work. And the problem of drawing lines does not end here. What of impostors? Some stories tell of obvious impostors; a few writers insist that all tales of the Wandering Jew are based on the appearance of impostors. One can only speculate.

An additional problem in working with this subject is that of the availability of material. Much of the material was published
in previous centuries and is difficult to locate in the original source. Thus, it was often necessary to use secondary sources. The scope of this thesis is necessarily limited as a result of this. The materials used were those available at Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, the University of California at Berkeley, Stanford University, and La Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France. A great wealth of additional material exists which is unavailable for this work.

I am also faced with a problem of language, for this is a subject discussed more in foreign languages than in English. Thus, this study is further limited in scope. I have relied principally on material available in English and French. Probably more has been written in German than in any other language, but an extensive study of the material available in German will remain for another to undertake. The same is true of material in other languages, for the subject has been studied as far north as the Scandinavian countries, as far south as Southern Italy and Spain, and as far east as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as in many other countries. Some of these works will be mentioned, but a thorough study of them will remain for another scholar or another time.

Much more work could also be done in a study of the Three Nephite legends, for their abundance in the oral tradition of today would delight any collector. However, for the sake of time and space, only a representative group of the many legends will be used. Although there are many stories available directly from informants, this study will refer principally to those stories which are readily available to the public.
The final problem facing those who study the legends of the eternal wanderers is that some writers have chosen to treat the wandering Jew as an entire "genre" of folklore, while others have chosen to treat it as a particular legend among many in the general category of "wanderer legends." As a result of this difference in treatment, the reader can easily become confused until he is able to sort out in his own mind and clearly determine some sort of reasonable classification for the legends. Then the remaining problem is to determine whether a particular legend is another version of the Wandering Jew story, or if it is another wanderer legend entirely separate from that of the ancient Jew.

There are, at present, many other "wanderer" legends throughout the world. One well-known one is that of the wild Huntsman, a spectral hunter of medieval times. He travels with a pack of dogs, frequents certain forests, and is said to have actually appeared to mortals. The story goes that he is a Jew who would not allow Jesus to drink out of a horse trough, but instead he pointed to some water in a hoof-print and stated that it was good enough for the "enemy of Moses." As punishment for this affront, he has been wandering the earth for nearly two thousand years.

A curse similar to that inflicted upon the Wandering Jew is that which, according to some, belongs to the gypsies for their refusal to shelter the Virgin and her Child in the flight to Egypt. Another legend sometimes considered a version of the traditional Wandering Jew is the following:
One evening, a few years ago, when crossing one of our Lancashire moors, in company with an intelligent old man, we were suddenly startled by the whistling overhead of a covy of plovers. My companion remarked that when a boy the old people considered such a circumstance a bad omen, "as a person who heard the Wandering Jews"—as he called the plovers—"was sure to be overtaken with some ill luck." On questioning my friend on the names given to the birds, he said, "There is a tradition that they contain the souls of those Jews who assisted at the Crucifixion, and in consequence were doomed to float in the air forever."

M. D. Conway classifies many such legends in the general category of the Wandering Jew legends. Some, he is willing to admit, may be of isolated origin; but he adds that they are "ethnically related." He lists the Iranian Yima, King of the Golden Age in Persia; Yam, the Vedic King of the Dead; Cain; Enoch; Lamech; Esau; Elijah; and he even feels that possibly Moses could fit into this category because of the popular belief that he did not die in the ordinary sense. He goes on to add that some people believe that Al Sameri made the golden calf and was then exiled to an island in the Red Sea, where his descendants were doomed to wander, crying "Touch me not!" to all who ventured near. This, Conway feels, may have suggested one traditional idea about the Wandering Jew: that he carried a plague from city to city. Another wanderer he mentions is Elias; then he adds the seven ravens (probably another version of the covy of plovers) to the list. But even this does not end the list of what he considers to be various versions of the Wandering Jew legends. He adds King Arthur, Frederick Barbarossa, Thomas

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1James Pearson, "The Seven Whistlers," Notes and Queries, Fourth Series, VIII (September 30, 1871), 288.
the Rhymer, and Rip Van Winkle.² Perhaps the best-known of all
the wanderers is John the Beloved, whose story is told in the gos-
pel of John:

21. Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what
shall this man do?
22. Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry
till I come, what is that to thee?
23. Then went this saying abroad among the breth-
ren that the disciple should not die.³

This story is so closely associated with the Wandering Jew legends
that many people, when hearing of the Wandering Jew, will reply,
"Oh, I guess you mean John the Beloved, don't you? After all,
isn't he the Wandering Jew?"

To add this last name does not exhaust the list of wanderers
who are frequently forced into the category of the Wandering Jew.
In commenting upon the situation, Professor George K. Anderson once
wrote to Hector Lee:

The devil of it is, of course, that legends will
blend so unceremoniously and unexpectedly. I think there
has been a tendency to refer all perpetual wanderers to
the Wandering Jew, whereas it ought to be the other way
around—there is a genus Perpetual Wanderer, of which the
Wandering Jew is perhaps the most famous species. Analog­
ous legends like the Flying Dutchman, Peter Rugg the
Bostonian, Pindola the Brahman, Cain are other species.
So are various unfortunate ladies in Greek mythology, for
instance. The common denominator in most of these lies
in the fact that perpetual wandering seems to be a stock
punishment for blasphemy or otherwise offending deity.⁴

²Moncure Daniel Conway, The Wandering Jew (London: Chatto and
Windus, 1881), pp. 29-50.
³John, XXI: 21-23.
⁴Hector Lee, The Three Nephites: The Substance and Signifi-
cance of the Legend in Folklore (Albuquerque, New Mexico: The Uni-
My approach will be comparable to that of Mr. Anderson. The Wandering Jew will be considered simply one species of the wanderer legends. The Three Nephites will be considered another species in the same genus. Other legends, although they may be briefly mentioned in relation to these two legends, will not generally be included in this study.
CHAPTER II
FOLKLORE OF THE WANDERING JEW

The Legendary Form

Origin and Development

For many centuries, man has been intrigued by the idea of eternal life. Dreams have been dreamed, tales have been told, and stories have been written of mortals who have in some way managed to escape the bonds of death to become immortal. It has been a dream of mankind to conquer death; and these legends, folk tales, and writings have served as an outlet for this dream. How strange it is, therefore, that so often these people gifted with eternal life seem to regard it as a curse rather than as a blessing. How odd it is that they should travel through life seeking escape from that which others seek so desperately to obtain. One would think that these stories would rise and quickly die out, yet the tales of some of these men have spread throughout the world for many hundreds of years. One of these immortals is the Wandering Jew, a man who dared to personally offend Christ, thereby bringing upon himself a curse dooming him to more than two thousand years of wandering in which he could contemplate his grievous sin.

Just who was the Wandering Jew? What was his offense that brought such serious repercussions? The answers cannot be given in a few words, for the story of the Wandering Jew varies from country to country, from century to century. Yet, while the variants are
many, the essential forms of the story are few. According to one
group of stories, he was Cartaphilus, a Roman who attended the
trial of Christ and (1) pushed or struck him, or (2) insisted that
Barabbas be set free and that Christ be crucified. According to an­
other group of stories, he was Malchus, who struck Christ and angered
Peter. According to a third and more prolific group, he was Ahasu­
erus, a Jewish shoemaker who lived along the route to Calvary. His
offense was his refusal to allow Christ to stop in the doorway of
his shop and rest from bearing the burden of the cross. Whatever
the beginning of the legend, the ending is always the same. When
Christ was offended, he turned, looked at his assailant, and replied
that he would hurry on, but the offender would be cursed to wander
the earth until he (Christ) returned a second time. Thus, the Wan­
dering Jew has been traveling the earth for about two thousand years.
In some versions of the folktale, he is repentant; in some he has
even become a baptized Christian; and in some he represents the anti-
Christ. The literary allusions to him have taken an even greater
liberty. As the motives vary, so do the motifs, and he is molded to
suit the purpose of each story teller or writer.

There are few theories that point to the origin of this leg­
end. Many devout believers go directly to Christ's speech in the
Bible (Matthew 16:28): "Verily I say unto you, there be some stand­
ing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of
Man coming in his Kingdom." This scriptural passage leaves open the
loophole by which people are able to account for the possibility
that there might be some people who are capable of eternally wander­
ing the earth, never tasting of death. And for many of the believers,
this is the origin of the legend of the Wandering Jew. Paul Lacroix suggests that the legend actually began in a grand and beautiful allegory in which the Hebrew race was personified under the figure of the Everlasting Wanderer.\(^1\) According to another account, the legend is supposed to have been first spread about at the beginning of the fourth century, where it may have originated in the "gloomy fancy of monkish superstition."\(^2\) Some feel that it originated in the two scriptural passages already referred to and passed from the apostles to the early Christian converts, until it "gradually came to form a part of the unwritten creed of the church."\(^3\)

The same source suggests that it is more likely to have begun much further back in time, in the Greek myths. Some suggest that the legend was introduced by the crusaders from the East. Others feel that it originated in the year 1000 A.D. because of a misinterpretation of a scripture. According to some, it was prophesied in the Bible that at this date a terrible event would take place: the coming of the Anti-christ and the Last Judgment. This source adds:

> The occurrence of famine and pestilence strengthened the delusive dread, while the crisis, favorable to impostors, was improved by them to their profit, through personating the part of Anti-christ, and thus collecting alms, which weakness and ignorance liberally awarded. The year, however, in spite of omens, came to an ordinary termination; but the appearance of the pretended Anti-christ in different places led to the supposition that it was the Wandering Jew, whose melancholy fate rendered it impossible for him to rest, and

\(^1\)Conway, p. 193.

\(^2\)Mrs. Bushby, "Ahasuerus, the Ever-Living Jew," The Living Age, XLIV (March, 1855), 774.

\(^3\)"The Wandering Jew," Dublin University Magazine, LXXXVIII (November, 1876), 584. Hereafter references to this source will be given as Dublin University Magazine.
who was transported rapidly from quarter to quarter. Then arose discussions among theologians to certify his personality. Some sought to prove that the wanderer was no other than Malthus, against whom Peter had drawn the sword, some maintained that he was the unrepentant thief, and others, that he was Pilate."

Most scholars seem to agree that the legend developed sometime during the Middle Ages; but as to its place of origin, they disagree. G. K. Anderson states that he believes that the legend is based on a combination of older legends which were current in many religions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East; but he adds that it did not take independent shape until the later Middle Ages, probably during the time of the later crusades. This particular study suggests that the legend began in Italy for the purpose of glorifying God through an example of the miraculous nature of his work.5

In an earlier article, however, Anderson assigns the legend to the early crusades, saying that it later spread and developed in Italy.6 The Catholic Encyclopedia suggests an Oriental origin for the legend.7 The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia states, however, "The story of the Wandering Jew is not, as has been

4"The Wandering Jew," The Eclectic Magazine, XLI (June, 1857), 222-223. Hereafter references to this source will be given as The Eclectic Magazine.


7"The Wandering Jew," The Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, 1940, 126. Hereafter references to this source will be given as The Catholic Encyclopedia.
plausibly supposed, a primitive Christian legend, but a literary product in the guise of a romance," first appearing in Germany in 1602.  

As can be seen, sources differ widely in their accounts. Actually, scattered allusions to the Wandering Jew have survived from the thirteenth century on. Most of these come either from Italy or from the Iberian peninsula; there are a few from France. However, the first appearance of the Wandering Jew in extant literature seems to be in England. There, at St. Albans Abbey, the monks kept what was, for the time, a careful historical account of all that happened. Two of the most important of the chroniclers, particularly in relation to this story, were Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. Of them, V. H. Galbraith said: "The history of the thirteenth century, as we know it, is inconceivable without [their] works." But he continues, "No one who is studying the history of the friars will look for the truth in the St. Albans chronicle. The jealousy of the monks, and a certain sense of inferiority show themselves in . . . constant misrepresentations . . . ." Roger of Wendover began his account in the year 1215 with Flores Historiarum; he continued as chronicler until 1235, when he died and Matthew Paris replaced him. According to some, he simply began where Wendover left off; according to others, he went back over the


10 Ibid., p. 7.
earlier history and carefully edited it. His account is known as the Historia Major. The entry to which we refer is sometimes said to be written by one author, sometimes the other. Often people writing of the Wanderino Jew confuse the two historians and blend them together. However, the authorship is incidental; it is the entry that is important, for in the year 1228 we find one of the earliest recorded accounts of the Wanderino Jew. At this time, an Armenian archbishop was visiting the monks of St. Albans. He was asked if he knew anything of “Joseph, a man of whom there was much talk in the world, who, when our Lord suffered, was present and spoke to him, and who is still alive in evidence of Christian faith.” He replied, through an interpreter, that he had actually seen him in Armenia, where he frequently dined with the Archbishop. He added that his name had been Cartaphilus, that he had been a porter in Pilate’s service at the time of the trial of Jesus Christ, and that, "as Jesus was going out of the door, impiously struck him on the back with his hand, and said in mockery, 'Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker, why do you loiter?' And Jesus looking back on him with a severe countenance said to him, 'I am going, and you will wait till I return.'" The archbishop added that since this time, the Jew had wandered the earth. He explained his eternal life by saying, "At the time of our Lord’s suffering he was thirty years old, and when he attains the age of a hundred years, he always returns to the same age as he was when our Lord suffered." He added that he had been baptized by Ananias and had since been called Joseph.

He was now a holy man who helped clear up matters of doubt, refused all gifts except food and clothing, and always prayed for his enemies with the Lord’s words, “Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.”¹² Later versions and explanations of this account vary. Both Conway and Stocker claim that the interviews took place through the French interpreter, Henri Spigurnel, a native of Antioch and servant of the bishop.¹³ Stocker goes on to point out that since everything was said through the intermediary of the servant, the whole account should be discredited. He seems to feel that the frequent conversations between the bishop and the Wandering Jew were more likely to have been simply boasting on the part of the servant rather than actual happenings.

The writer in The Dublin University Magazine insists that the event took place in 1226, even though it was not recorded until the 1228 entry. However, no proof is offered.¹⁴ Another author mistakenly dates the entry as 1215.¹⁵ A later entry of interest appears in the chronicle in 1252, at which time the Armenian bishop, accompanied by several others, returned to England and insisted that Joseph was still alive. A French translation of the account says, “La pâleur de leur visage... la longueur de leur barbe, l’austérité de leur vie, témoignaient de leur santé et de leurs mœurs sévères. Or ces Arméniens.

¹²Ibid., p. 154.


¹⁴The Dublin University Magazine, p. 505.

qui parassaient tous gens dignes de foi, répondirent veridiquement aux questions qui leur furent faites . . . Ils assuraient savoir n'en pas douter, que ce Joseph, qui avait vu le Christ sur le point d'être crucifié, et qui attendait le jour où il doit nous juger tous, vivait encore selon son habitude."16.

The history kept by the monks of St. Albans was not published until 1571, when an Archbishop Parker supervised it. The next English publications were in 1640 and 1646. The latter edition apparently was illustrated. It was translated and published in Zurich in 1589 and 1606 and in Paris in 1644.17 Thus the spreading of the tale throughout Europe was officially begun as people were now presented with concrete evidence of the existence of this eternal wanderer.

Secondary sources, in referring to the tale, often make their own minor variations. A good example of this is found in Percy's Reliques. According to the introduction to the ballad, "The Wandering Jew,"

"He lives forever, but at the end of every hundred years he falls into an incurable illness, and at length into a fit or ecstasy, out of which when he recovers, he returns to the same state of youth he was in when Jesus suffered, being then about thirty years of age."

Many sources refer to this tale. However, attitudes toward it vary. Some scholars insist that the archbishop was an impostor;


17. Stocker, p. 108.

some, like Stocker, insist that it was the translator who was the impostor. In answer to the first charge, The Catholic Encyclopedia states that the tale was known in the thirteenth century in Italy and must have, therefore, existed a long time before that.  

The next written account of the legend appeared in 1242 or 1243 (sources vary), in the Chronique Armée, written by the Flemish chronicler, Phillipe de Mousket (or Mouskes), Bishop of Tournai. This same Armenian archbishop is said to have appeared to him and told the story earlier recorded in England. Conway's report of the account would seem to indicate that additional variations had crept in by this point, for he says:

When the Jews were leading Jesus to execution, this man (no name is given) said, "Wait for me: I also am going to see the false prophet fastened to the cross." Jesus turned upon him and said, "They will not wait for thee, but thou shalt wait for me." This man would seem to have been a Jew, whereas Cartaphilus was a Roman.

Some scholars feel that this is the version upon which the subsequent chap-books were based.

The next recorded account is found in Libre de Forme de Plaid (c. 1250), written by Philip of Novara, a famous jurist. In this account, he refers to a man called Jehan Boute Dieu, known to be long lived. Some scholars feel that this helps pinpoint the origin of the legend, for:

Philip resided for a long time in Jerusalem and Cyprus; this, together with the fact that the account in the English chronicles also localizes Cartaphilus in Armenia,

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19 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126.  20 Conway, p. 5.

21 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126.
seems to point to an Oriental origin for the legend. Probably it was part of a local cycle that sprang up in Jerusalem in connection with the Passion, and was brought to Europe by crusaders or pilgrims. A legend of a surviving witness of the Crucifixion, who is represented as the victim of a curse, was certainly current in Jerusalem, and is repeatedly referred to in accounts of travels to the Holy Land.22

The astrologer Guido Bonatti, mentioned by Dante, claims to have seen him in 122323 and further states that the Wanderer passed through Forli in 1267. His name is generally given as Johannes Buttadæus (in Italian, Bottadio), because of his having struck God.24 He apparently was well known in Italy, for one authority on the subject writes: "Virtually all subsequent allusions [after 1228] are either in Italian writings or with an Italian background. Furthermore, these allusions are of a nature to suggest that the legend was then well established in Italy. But the final touch of proof is admittedly lacking."25

S. Morpurgo, who has studied the legend extensively, shows that it was current throughout Italy from 1310-1320.26

Next, we find references to the legend in later Middle English. One is found in two different manuscripts: The Rawlinson Manuscript, which dates from about 1350, and a British Museum Additional Manuscript, which dates from about 1450. Both contain a

22Ibid.
24The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126.
poem (c. 1300) entitled *Northern Passion*, written to instruct the layman in religious matters and containing allusions to the Wandering Jew. The first refers to him as John Putteadoe, who had witnessed the suffering of Christ. This is a variation of a name common to the Wandering Jew in the Middle Ages. The second manuscript tells the story in more detail, using the traditional form of the legend.  

Near the end of the fourteenth century, a guide for pilgrims was printed. Discovered at Evreux by Count Paul Riant, it carried the following notice, according to Alice Killan:

Aussitôt après l'église du Spasme, la Station de Simon Cyrénien et la maison de Judas on lit: Itam magis ultra per eandem viam est locus a vulgo (il manque évidement dic-tus at un nom) ubi Johannes Buttadeus impellit (lire impulit) Christum Dominum quando iba: ligatus ad mortem, insultando dicens Dominus: Vade ultra, vade ad mortem! Qui respondit Dominus: Ego Vado ad mortem, ne tu usque ad diem: ad diem iudicii non. Et, tu quidam dicunt simplices, visum est aliquando multis; sed hoc asseritur a sapientibus quia dicitus Johannes, qui corrupto nomine dicitur Johannes Buttadeus, anno voci: ulo appellatur Johannes Devotus Deo, qui fut scutifer Karoli Magni et vixit CCL annis.  

During this same period of time (c. 1400) the wanderer was discussed in Italy by the historian Tizio. In 1886, a fourteenth century Czech manuscript was published at Prague. Svatvitsky Rukopis contains a translation from Latin of the Dialogos Beate Mariae et Anselni de Pasziione Domini. Woven into it is an account of the Wandering Jew which is "based apparently

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28 Killan, p. 15.
on Matthew Paris. Using the name Johanness Buttadewus, he appeared at Mugello in 1413 and at Florence in 1415.\textsuperscript{30}

Another tale from Italy is found in the manuscript of S. Morouroo, recounting events said to have taken place from 1411 to 1416, although the date of the manuscript itself may be as much as one hundred years later. The tale is that of Antonio di Francesco di Andrea. The story tells us that Antonio and his two brothers, Andrea and Bartolomees, lived at Borgo, in San Lorenzo. One day they left Borgo with a horse which carried two baskets, in which were two boys: Duccio, age twelve, and Giovanni, age eight. Andrea guided the horses, and the boy's father, Giano, followed behind with another horse. When they reached the Alps, they met a severe snowstorm. They were worried about the safety of the children.

When they stopped to rest, Giovanni Bottadew appeared on the scene. Andrea asked him to accompany them in order to help with the children. He was dressed like a monk, but he was wearing no cloak and had on only one shoe. He accepted the invitation and helped balance the baskets while Andrea led the horse. They continued like this in spite of the grave danger. Then Giovanni turned to Giano and said, "Would you like me to take the children to safety?" When Giano replied that he would, the wanderer inquired of their destination that evening. It was Scaracalasin. He put one child on each shoulder and told them to grab his hair and hold on. He threw off his one shoe and started out; he was soon out of sight. He


\textsuperscript{31}The Wandering Jew," The Jewish Encyclopedia, XII, 462. Hereafter all references to this source will be given as The Jewish Encyclopedia.
arrived at the inn, owned by a Mr. Capecchio, set the children down before the fire, and ordered supper. They were already eating when their father arrived, certain that he had lost his sons. Andrea arrived a short time later.

During supper, Giano asked the host how business was. He replied that business was so bad that he had no way of providing a dowry for each of his two daughters. At this, Giovanni, the Servant of God, laughed aloud. He said that his laughter was because of the innkeeper's answer, for he knew that from Bologna to Florence, this inn made more than any other. And he added that the innkeeper had 240 gold florins hidden in the wall, but he refused to marry his daughters off only because of his greed. A brief argument resulted between the wanderer and the innkeeper as a result of these words.

That night Giano asked Giovanni if it were true. Giovanni insisted that he could even show the money if Giano wanted to see it. However, Giano declined. The next morning, the innkeeper pulled Giovanni aside and asked him for advice. He was told that if he did not marry off his daughters, they would turn out bad. He promised to do so, and he did just that shortly after.

At this point in his narration, Antonio recounted many of the prophecies made by Giovanni.

The next year, in response to an invitation by Andrea, he traveled to Florence, where he visited for three hours. The following year, on May 3, he returned; this time "everyone" came and listened to him.
The next year he visited again at Mugello. There they attempted to imprison him, but they found the cell empty the next morning. Morelli, the man behind it all, was humiliated; but he found comfort in the promise of the wanderer that his barren wife would soon give him a son.

The Jew returned three more times to Florence. On the second visit, they discussed his curse; and on the third, Antonio's wife was ill, and he prophesied her recovery. She was healed. Found in the Strozzi family papers in Florence, the tale now makes up section two of the book L'Ebreo Errante in Italia, published in 1891. Morpurgo adds to the story of Antonia a second account that confirms it. According to his witness, on June 23, 1416, Salvestro Mannini saw Giovanni Servi de Dio and asked him questions concerning the future. He reported the answers and they were carefully recorded. Another source gives the witness' full name as Salvestro di Giovanni Mannini, adds that he was from Florence, and states that all of this is recorded in his diary. Paris points out that in the diary, after a prediction (which seem mostly to be of a political nature) he has often written notes in the margin stating whether the prediction turned out to be true. The fact that most of them turned out to be incorrect did not seem to disillusion the people at all.
We next hear of the wanderer in 1505 in Bohemia, where he appears at the Royal Palace to assist a weaver named Kokot. He had been present sixty years earlier when the weaver's great grandfather, also named Kokot, had hidden a treasure; now he is helping the young weaver to locate it. According to the account, he appeared to be about seventy years old at the time he helped locate the treasure.\[36\]

In 1506 he appears among a list of villains as Puttidew in Dunbar's *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, in England. While the scholar reporting this event feels that this man is the same man as the one mentioned in the poem *Northern Passion*, he thinks that the work is more likely to have been influenced by a French Passion.

In a fifteenth century Provençal play, he appears as another minor character, this time under the name Boutedieu.\[37\]

There have been many arguments presented that he appears in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* (721ff). Andersen feels that the legend was not sufficiently well known in England to have aided Chaucer;\[36\] however, it was known in Italy by that time, and Chaucer drew much of his material from Italian literature. Nevertheless, the evidence is so circumstantial that one is hardly justified in referring to the passage as one containing allusions to the Wandering Jew.

The legend does not seem to be confined merely to the Christian nations, for in the early 1500's, he apparently is seen

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in Arabia. After capturing the Arabian city of Elban, Fadhilah prays to Allah and Mohammed, only to hear his words repeated. When he insists upon knowing who is repeating them, an old man appears and tells him, "I am here by command of the Lord Jesus, who has left me in this world, that I may live therein until he comes a second time to Earth." However, the only two sources that mention this account give no evidence that would support the Wandering Jew theory any more than that of John the Beloved or one of the other eternal wanderers.

About 1525 he appeared in Florence, Italy, where he is believed to have visited the famous occult scientist, Dr. Cornelius Henrich Agrippa. The purpose of his visit seems to have been to ask about a "marvellous mirror" which was said to be able to see into the "far distant" as well as into the "long dead," for he wished to look at Rebecca, daughter of Rabbi Eben Ezra. Agrippa waved his wand 151 times before the vision appeared in the mirror. When Agrippa begged to know his identity, his visitor replied:

"My name thou already hast; but that reveals me not unto thee, as it seemeth. But now behold! I pray thee, that exquisite painting suspended on the walls, upon the left: doth it not represent the SAVIOUR bearing his Cross?--and look further upon thy right; yea, at that portrait and then upon me!" . . . "That portrait, O mysterious man!" said Agrippa, "is the faithful representation of that wretched infidel who smote the Saviour and urged Him on when groaning under the weight of his Cross." "'Tis I--'tis CARTAPHILUS, the miserable Wanderer now before thee!" exclaimed the Stranger, and instantly rushed from the chamber.


Apparently he was known in Spain during the early sixteenth century, for Gillet says that as early as 1528 he was known there as Juan de Espera en Dios. The first explanation for his name, however, is not found until much later, when Fernan Caballero inserts in her La Estrella de Vandalalia (c. 1700+) an Andalusian folk tale which talks of him as one who has sincerely repented and sees Calvary every Good Friday, where he gains enough consolation to give him strength to wander for another year.\(^\text{41}\)

The earliest extended account of the Wandering Jew in Spain occurs in Alexo Venegas' treatise on death, Agonia del Transito de la Muerte, in 1537. This account indicates that he was in Spain many years before his reported visits there in 1575 and 1599.\(^\text{42}\)

The next account appears in a miscellany entitled Silva de Vario Leccion (1541), by Pero Mexia. The book is considered the first of its kind in Spanish and was translated into several foreign languages, including English, French, and German. It is interesting to note that at this point we begin to have a blending of the Wandering Jew (Juan de Espera en Dios) with one of Charlemagne's scutifer (a soldier of his body guard), known as Juan de los Tiempos, even though Mexia himself is rather skeptical. Gillet adds cautiously, "It cannot be said that there has been in Spain any identification of the Wandering Jew with Juan de Los Tiempos, the French Jean des Temps, or the Dutch Jan Van der Tyden. Confusions are easy."\(^\text{43}\)


\(^{42}\)Ibid., p. 23.

\(^{43}\)Ibid., pp. 23-24 and fn. 32.
It is recorded that in 1547 a man named Antonio Ruiz was attempting to pass himself off to the credulous people in the area of Toledo, Spain, as Juan Espera en Dios. He was sentenced to a public flogging for his deception.\(^4^4\)

By the early 1550's the legend was well known throughout Portugal and Spain.\(^4^5\) Even more convincing evidence of the popularity of the legend can be seen in the great number of casual literary allusions to it during this time; these will be discussed later.

In the year 1575, the Wanderer's visit to Brussels was recorded in the Brabantine Chronicle. According to the account, he was rather shabbily dressed, but he evidenced a superior education and spoke excellent Spanish, superior to that of some noblemen. His story was well known in the area prior to this time, and his name had undergone a drastic change: it had become Isaac Lackadem or Lackédion.\(^4^6\)

Killan reports a pamphlet published at Turin, Italy, near the end of the sixteenth century entitled Relation d'un Gentil-homme Arrivé de Jerusalem, dans laquelle on apprend où est le Malheureux qui donna le Soufflet à Jésus-Christ et la Pénitence qu'il y fait.\(^4^7\)

Another entry in the chronicle kept at St. Albans Abbey states:


\(^{4^6}\) Sartorius, p. 51.

\(^{4^7}\) Killan, p. 20.
Anno 1599. In Christ's month, a very trustworthy person wrote from Brunswick to Strasburg that this wonderful man was then in Vienna, in Austria, and that he intended to go from thence into Poland and Danzig, after that to Moscow. This Ahasuerus has been in Lubeck in 1601. And also at Raffel in Leffland, and in Cracow, Poland. He was seen and spoken to by many people in Moscow.48

G. K. Anderson states that the legend was not particularly well known in Medieval Germany, but in the sixteenth century an Italian religious and political refugee, Giovanni Bonifacio, Marquis d'Oria (1517-1597), arrived in Danzig. There, he became the leader of a literary group which included Jacob Rhode, a local printer of some prominence. Shortly after the death of the Marquis, Rhode printed the anonymous pamphlet, Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von Einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus Welcher bei der Kreuzigung Christi selbst Personlish Gewesen, auch das Crucifiqe uber Christum hab Helfen Schreien und um Barrabam Bitten, 1602. The story is told on the authority of a Lutheran clergyman, Paulus von Eitzen, who died in 1598, four years before the work was published. He claimed to have met this wanderer in person in Hamburg in 1542 and to have talked with him at that time. Although the author of the legend is unknown, it is assumed that it was a member of this literary group. Anderson proposes that it is quite possible that the Marquis himself was the one who produced the legend, bringing it from his native Italy, where the story was already widely known.49 If this is correct, the legend was thereby transplanted from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Germanic countries, undergoing several changes.

48 Conway, pp. 11-12.
in the process. It is interesting to note, however, that in another article, Anderson takes a different stand concerning the original source of the tale told in this pamphlet, for he writes:

The account found in the Ahasuerus-Book is closer to Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover than it is to the legend-mongers of Southern Europe. Indeed, Matthew Paris' chronicle had been printed at Zurich in 1586 and was probably the source of much of the Kurtze Beschreibung. In both versions the Jew is sincerely repentant, serious of mien, never smiling, waiting as hopefully as he can for the return of Christ, sober, abstemious, not speaking unless spoken to, and then only answering questions put by men of spiritual authority. On the other hand, the author of Kurtze Beschreibung has made some changes. The unkempt white hair and beard and some details of the Jew's raggedly clothed figure may have been suggested by the similar appearance of Jurgen, a character in Lithuanian legendry. The Jew is now a shoemaker—a detail which has never been explained except on the ground that the shoemakers are notably independent, skeptical, and even atheistical; besides, the Wandering Jew must wander incessantly and so wear out more shoes than his very own occupation can supply him—an ironic touch. He has taken the name Ahasuerus, a stock name probably suggested in Germany by the Ahasuerus-plays of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries attending the feast of Purim. He now has a family. All in all, it is reasonably clear that the author of the Kurtze Beschreibung was building upon adventitious material which goes well back into the sixteenth century.

Another scholar points out that, although another 1602 edition makes no reference to any earlier versions of the legend, the Danzig edition does contain on the title-page a statement that:

the same Jew was named earlier by an Italian author Johannes Buttadeus . . . . In the narrative of 1602, however, there is no mention of a blow given by Ahasuerus to Jesus . . . . and I am myself of the opinion that the absolute independence which clothes the Ahasuerus figure of the 1602 narrative renders it scarcely possible to suppose that it was evolved from earlier fables.


51 Edward Konig, "The Wandering Jew," The Nineteenth Century and After, LXI (June, 1907), 971.
Some of its features, however, bear marked resemblance to the earlier narratives. For example, the story of Cartaphilus, Pilate's doorkeeper, as first related by Roger of Wendover (d. 1237) in his Flores Historiarum unquestionably has much in common with the story of the Wandering Jew, while still other common traits occur in the legends of "Deathless John," etc. Yet in its main outline, the story of the Wandering Jew is so distinctive that it must be regarded as the independent invention of an individual. Had the author had any inkling of those earlier tales, he would have referred to them in some way, as later editors expressly did. The object of the story is undoubtedly apologetic. How the author happened to designate the well-known theologian Paul Von Eitzen as the man who saw the Wandering Jew can not be determined.

In any case, the most interesting and convincing arguments are those presented for both the Mediterranean origin and the St. Albans origin. And perhaps all accounts of this German version are to some extent correct. Perhaps the legend was brought from Italy and then blended with the account in the 1586 translation of the chronicle, with an independent writer adding and subtracting as he deemed necessary. Whatever the case, the story took firm root in German soil and adapted itself to new motifs.

Both Anderson's account and that in The Jewish Encyclopedia mention the pamphlet by title but state that it was purported to


have been printed at Leyden by Christoff Crutzer. The latter adds that no printer of that name has been discovered, and it goes on to say that the real place and printer cannot be determined. In 1602 there was also printed at Leyden a work entitled *Strange Report of a Jew Born at Jerusalem, named Ahasuerus, who Pretends he was Present at the Crucifixion of Christ, Newly Printed at Leyden, Leipzig, 1602.*

Apparently nine different editions of the pamphlet appeared in 1602. One was published at Leyden, one at Dantzig, and seven at Bautzen. Although some credit the Leyden pamphlet as being the earliest of the group, most scholars seem to feel that the one published at Dantzig was probably the original. Probably the Leyden and Bautzen imprints were fictitious. Anderson states that "there seems to have been at this time a common practice of forging imprints in order to create the impression that a pamphlet had wide circulation and was therefore a worthwhile investment." Neuber states that within a comparatively short time, the pamphlet had been published in forty-six editions in Germany, nineteen in Sweden, ten in France, four in Denmark, three in the Flemish language as well as in editions in Polish, English, Czech, and other languages.

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55 Conway, p. 6.
58 Gaer, p. 44.
One of the later editions was entitled *Wunderbarlicher Bericht von Einen Juden Ahasver*. Supposedly written in 1602, it probably dates from 1613 or 1614. Because the work was signed by a pseudonym, Chrysostomys Dudulaeus Westphalus, this particular edition and those springing from it are known as the Dudulaeus version. The date of the meeting has been changed from 1542 to 1547, and an appendix has been added in order to moralize upon the fate of the Jew as a warning to Christian readers.  

Many of the statements in the earlier editions are found in what seems to be the most complete account. Published in 1613, it is entitled *Neue Zeitung von Einen Juden von Jerusalem, Ahasverus Genannt, Welcher die Creutzigung unsern Herrn Jhesu Christi gesehen, und hoch am leben ist, aus Dantzig an einem guten Freund Geschrieben*. This edition, like many others, is signed by "Herr Chrysostomus Dudulaeus Westphalus." From the same source (or sources, if one is to count all of the varying editions) came *True Likeness of the Whole Form of a Jew, Seen by All, from Jerusalem, who Pretends, etc.* First Printed at Augsburg, 1619. At Revel, in 1634, there appeared *Relation von Einen Juden von Jerusalem Ahasverus Genannt*. In 1645 another edition was published at Augsburg, this time entitled *Strange Report of a Jew who Claims to have been Present at the Crucifixion, and to have been kept alive from that Time. A Theological Warning to the Christian Reader, Illustrated and En*

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59 Ibid., p. 238; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 126.
60 Conway, p. 6.
The legend of the Wandering Jew, growing up out of the Christian oral traditions about John and Malchus, and crystallizing in such stories as that of Cartaphilus Joseph related by Roger of Wendover in his *Flores Historiarum*, and incorporated by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora* gained impetus throughout the Middle Ages, until some ingenious ecclesiastic, realizing its value as a weapon for the Protestant church, wrote the pamphlet in 1602, which, because of the inflammable state of mind of the Germany of that time, spread like wildfire through the land, experiencing edition after edition.

Thus, the original German chap-book on the subject, *Kurtze Beschreibung*, continued to be revised and reprinted and adapted for nearly half a century, until the various versions became so interrelated that a study of them is rather confusing. The title and date often changed, but the basic story remained the same. However, later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the text changed drastically. For example, the name "von Eitzen" became corrupted to "Litz."

Andersen feels that the three main pamphlets—*Kurtze Beschreibung*, the *Dudulaeus* version, and the *Relation Von Einem Juden*—might, together, be called the Book of the Wandering Jew, or the Ahasuerus-Book, "comparable in nature and importance of influence on the legend it celebrates to the famous Faust Book of "

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62 Conway, p. 22.


only a few years earlier. 65

Essentially, the story is that of Paul Von Eitzen, a student at Wittenburg, who returned home on Easter Sunday to visit his family in Hamburg. While there, he attended the sermon; according to most versions, he was accompanied by another German student. The Wandering Jew, who appeared to be then about fifty, was seen in the audience paying close attention to the sermon, always bowing his head whenever the name of Christ was spoken. After the sermon, he was interviewed by Von Eitzen (and presumably his friend). He told them that he was Ahasuerus, a Jewish shoemaker who had resided in Jerusalem at the time of Christ. Some versions add here that he was one who cried for the release of Barabbas, asked for the crucifixion of Christ, and then hurried to his home near Calvary in order to give his wife and children a chance to see the false prophet. All versions seem to agree that, as the procession went by, Christ attempted to stop and rest in front of his shop. Ahasuerus told him to be on his way. (Here, some versions add the motif of a blow.) Christ replied that he would continue on, but that Ahasuerus would be destined to wait his turn. Thus, he has been wandering the earth ever since. In the interview, Von Eitzen tested him by asking questions about the history of the last 1500 years, and he apparently answered satisfactorily. Some versions add such statements as: "Many of the nobility and gentry who saw him recognized him as one whom they had already seen in various places—England, France, Italy, Hungary, Persia, Spain, Poland, Moscow, Moscow, Moscow."

Lieffland, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, &c." Some add that he spoke the language of all the countries that he visited. The report is dated "Sleswick, June 9, 1594." One source adds an appendix that mentions that he was seen in Spain in 1575 or shortly before.

Anderson points out that this pamphlet (The Ahasuerus Book) stands as a landmark in the history of the legend because it established the Jew as a contrite sinner, with the patriarchal appearance, ragged and unkept, super solemn, with a distinctive name not previously used... [from this] spring both the anti-Semitism (which is not at all a feature of the medieval treatment of the protagonist) and the varied symbolism of the Jew as a representative of sin, omniscience, political liberty, social unconventionality, and Jewish nationalism which characterized the art form of the legend of the Wandering Jew in later years.

He adds that "it was intended in part... to call attention to the wicked nature of the Jews, who as followers of Anti-Christ were persecutors and murderers of the Saviour." The Catholic Encyclopedia goes so far as to state that the entire legend "owes its fame and popularity to the... German chap-book which appeared anonymously in 1602." And most scholars credit this book with the beginning of the many subsequent books on the subject published in Germany and other countries.

Several chroniclers have recorded his appearance in the

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66 Stocker, p. 112.
70 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 125.
early seventeenth century. Nicolas Heldvaler wrote of it in Sylva
Chronol. Circuli Baltici, published in Hamburg in 1625:

This year (1604) there has appeared a fable of a Jew
who is said to have been a shoemaker in Jerusalem in the
time of Christ, and having on Good Friday struck Jesus with
his shoe-last, cannot die, but must wander about the world
till the last day.71

Another mention of his appearance in 1604 is made by Rodolphe
Bouthrays (Botereius), Parliamentary advocate of Paris, in his Com-
mentarri de Rebus Historicis in Gallia et toto pene Orbe Gestis,
Lib. XI, 1604. He writes:

I am afraid that some may charge me with anile trif­
ling, if I insert in this page the story which is told in
the whole of Europe, concerning a Jew, a contemporary of the
Saviour Christ. Nothing, however, is more widely-spread,
and the vernacular history of our own countrymen has not
blushed to declare it. Thus I have, as witnesses, those
who formerly wrote our annals ... that he, not in one
century only had been seen and recognized in Spain, Italy,
and Germany, but that this year it was he himself who was
seen at Hamburg, anno 1564. Many other things the vulgar
imagine about him, as it is prone to rumours; which I re­
late, lest anything should remain untold.72

In 1619 an account appeared in Latin in Leyden. In his work
Historiarium sui Temporis Libri, Julius Caeser Bulenger wrote of a
Jew who had lived at the time of Christ and was still wandering
"without meat and drink." This account refers to the wanderer as
having been a mechanic. In referring to the Hamburg visit of 1564,
he says that he was away in Paris at the time and so did not see him
himself and the reports that he received were not sufficiently trust­
worthy for him.73

In 1620 a Flemish pamphlet appeared in Antwerp: *Afbee-leinghe van den dolenden Jode*, by L. Bayerlinck. 74

In 1644 a work appeared at Lubeck entitled *Commentatio de ortu vita et excessu Coleri Jurisconsulti Lubecensia*. Written by S. H. Bangert, it mentions that Coler had recorded a visit at Lubeck on January 14, 1603. 75

At Ulm, in 1653 Martin Zeiler wrote in his *Historici Chronologi et Geographi Celebres Collecti* of a letter written to a friend of Westphalus telling of his encounter with the wanderer. It is essentially the same story as that told in the 1613 account. 76 In 1668, two important dissertations were written discrediting the entire story. The first was *De Duobus Testibus Vivis Passionis Christi*, published at Jena, by S. Niemano; the second was *Meletea Historia de Judaeo Immortalis*, by J. Freutzel. 77 In 1681 Pastor J. George Hadeck wrote *Nathanieli Christiano*, *Relation Concerning a Hermit named Ahasuerus, a Jew who was Present at the Crucifixion, etc.* 78

Eight years later, on January 26, 1689, there appeared another important work discrediting the supposed legend. It bears the title *Dissertatio Historica de Judaeo no Mortali*. . . . *Certaminis publ. argum f. Prages. Schultz Regiom. Pruss.* Written by Martin Schmidt, it contains an interesting story of the twelve tribes, sent by a Jewish doctor to friends in Mantua. According to the account, there is a copy of the judgment Christ received from Pilate, stating

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76 Ibid., pp. 14-15.
77 Ibid., p. 25.
78 Ibid., p. 22.
the motives involved. It says that it was "found in a marble rock in the city of Aquila."\textsuperscript{79}

Probably the work on the legend bearing the longest title was one which appeared in 1697 at Wolffenbuttel, entitled \textit{Description of a Hermit, a Jew ..., who brings near the evidence of Joseph concerning Christ; the History of the Death of Christ; the Letter of Lentulus to the Roman Council; the Condemnation of Christ; History of the Broken Stone; Letter of Pilate to the Emperor Tiberias; or Pilate's punishment said to have been Inflicted on the Twelve Tribes of Israel for the Crucifixion of Christ. With an Addition concerning a Jew, a Sorcerer, who gave himself out for the Messias. Collected out of Respectable Histories and most Trustworthy Testimonies.}\textsuperscript{80}

Several years later, an anonymous pamphlet appeared in Frankfort and Leipzig which took an obvious stand against the whole affair: \textit{Concerning the Immortal Jew, in which it is Shown Throughout that in the Nature of Things he Never Existed}.\textsuperscript{81}

A rather casual reference is found to him in a work by Leonard Doldius, a Nurenberg Physician, written against the quackery of Paracelsus. It was translated into Latin and augmented by Andreas Libavius, a doctor and physician of Rotenberg. It was published as \textit{Praxis Alchymine} at Frankfort in 1604. In it, he refers to a report that Paracelus was not really dead but was only asleep in his sepulchre at Strasburg, where he was preserved from death. Libavius

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid., p. 25. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{80}Ibid., p. 25.

\textsuperscript{81}Ibid.
He wore on his head a bloody crown; his clothing was neither sewn nor patched, neither of linen, wool, silk, or net; he drank no wine, only water; he satisfied himself with little food, cared nothing for money, wore neither girdle nor sword, but went about boldly under the very noses of his enemies. He argued with no one, left a man's religion to himself, complained about the Protestants, preferring the Catholics because of their fasting; rested little day or night; found fault with various Roman bishops who had expressed no faith in him; cared nothing for beds, rather slept on hard wood; called out with loud voice and outstretched arms announcing the latter Day of the Lord. He was expert in all tongues, so that he could be understood everywhere. He was a particular lover of beautiful gardens; the most distinguished people often had him in to visit them; he greeted no one of his own accord and conversed with very few. Many believed that his tribe would endure until the end of the world. He said that he had been in the ark with Noah; he prophesied concerning himself that he would die no natural death, rather that this wicked world would try unsuccessfully to destroy him. He had been present at the crucifixion, yet he believed in no resurrection of the flesh nor in eternal life.

During the next hundred years, three other important publications appeared in Germany discussing the Wandering Jew. They were (1) Diss. in qua lepidam Fabulum de Judaeo Immortali Examinet, Baring-Gould, pp. 16-17.

82 An extremely rare pamphlet (c. 1710-1720) entitled Nach- denkliche Prophezeyungen, Visionen, und Traume speaks of the "prophet" as having stopped in London. There he boasted that his family was famous even before Adam and Eve. It contains some other rather interesting comments on him:

He wore on his head a bloody crown; his clothing was neither sewn nor patched, neither of linen, wool, silk, or net; he drank no wine, only water; he satisfied himself with little food, cared nothing for money, wore neither girdle nor sword, but went about boldly under the very noses of his enemies. He argued with no one, left a man's religion to himself, complained about the Protestants, preferring the Catholics because of their fasting; rested little day or night; found fault with various Roman bishops who had expressed no faith in him; cared nothing for beds, rather slept on hard wood; called out with loud voice and outstretched arms announcing the latter Day of the Lord. He was expert in all tongues, so that he could be understood everywhere. He was a particular lover of beautiful gardens; the most distinguished people often had him in to visit them; he greeted no one of his own accord and conversed with very few. Many believed that his tribe would endure until the end of the world. He said that he had been in the ark with Noah; he prophesied concerning himself that he would die no natural death, rather that this wicked world would try unsuccessfully to destroy him. He had been present at the crucifixion, yet he believed in no resurrection of the flesh nor in eternal life.

published in 1756 by C. Anton, (2) An Alewife's Letter to Anton, that there is a Wandering Jew, published in 1756, by Halle, and (3) Die Sage von Ewigen Juden, Historische Entwickelt mit Vervandter Mythen Verglichen und Beleuchtet, published in 1844 in Dresden and Leipzig, by Von Dr. J. G. Th. Grasse. The last one is of particular importance because of the excellent bibliography that is included with it. 84

Nearly half a century later another series of works was published on the subject. In 1884 L. Neubar published Die Sage von Ewigen Juden. This work, revised in 1893, is of particular value because of its excellent bibliography. 85 In 1904 Johann Prost published Die Sage von Ewigen Juden in der Neuren Deutschen Literatur. 86 In 1905 this was followed by Albert Soergel's Ahasver-dichtungen seit Goethe, which discusses the art form of the legend in various countries, with the emphasis on German and Austrian literature. 87 Another study of particular value was made by Theodor Kappstein and published in 1906. Entitled Ahasver in der Weltpoesie, it contains a chronological list of modern works on the subject. 88 One of the most complete bibliographical works on the subject was prepared by Werner Zirus. It was issued in 1929 under the title Die Ewige Jude

86 The Encyclopedia Britannica, p. 32.
88 Ibid.; König, p. 976.
in der Dichtung, vornehmlich in der Englischen und Deutschen. In 1930 he brought his study up to date and published Ahasverus, Der Ewige Jude, containing 242 bibliographic entries. 89

From the various German editions of the Ahasuerus Book, the legend was quickly carried to other lands. Shortly after the Kurtze Beschreibung of 1602, Correas points out that even in Spain the pamphlet had become known. However, Gillet feels that the influence of the pamphlet on the Spanish version of the legend "was probably negligible." 90

In 1611 in Spain, the lexicographer, Covarrubias Y Orozco, made a reference to the wanderer and the five magic coins that he carried in his purse. He tended to discount the whole affair. His account is found in his famous dictionary, Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana under the entry "Ivan." 91

In 1617 Christobel Suarez de Figueroa, a poet and novelist, published his best-known work, El Pasanero. The work is the conversation of four travellers who comment on the various aspects of seventeenth century life. In it, a rather skeptical comment is made about the wanderer and his supposed magic cinco blancas. 92

Also early in the seventeenth century there appeared a work that is still considered to be a very important source of folklore material: Vocabulario de Refranes de Gonzalo Correas. In his work Correas mentions a motif that is to reappear in later works: the fact that the Wandering Jew rejuvenates himself by bathing in the

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89 Zirus, p. 73; Lee, p. 80.
91 Ibid., p. 19.
92 Ibid.
River Jordan—a motif that recalls the biblical instructions about bathing seven times in the Jordan in order to be cured of leprosy. In addition, Correas refers to his ability to become invisible and to the five magic coins.93

The critic and scholar, Feyjoo, apparently made a study of the legend around 1750. In his Cartes Eruditas y Curiosas (1742-1760), Carta XXV, he discusses the legend and tries to give a rational explanation. However, he warns that the whole thing could be nothing more than imagination. It is in this work that Spanish translations of the Wanderer's names in other countries first appear. Unfortunately, the work itself seems to rely more on foreign sources than on Spanish ones.94

In 1788 a work appeared in Madrid entitled Zumbas con que al famoso Juan de Espera en Dios, hijo de Millan y sobrino de Juan de Buen Alma, acude a dar Vayas Gregas, ye chuscos . . . . The work was at first credited to a Gonzalez, but an edition in 1799 credited Joseph and Santias Santos Cepuano as the authors.95

About 1374, another important work appeared in Spain which mentioned the Jew: the Diccionario de Refranes by Jose Marie Sbarbi y Osuna, who made contributions to proverb folklore in Spain.96

Mrs. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos apparently made a scholarly study of the legend at the end of the nineteenth century. Her work appears in "O Judeu Errante em Portugal," in Revista

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53 Inid., p. 20. 93 Ibid., p. 17 and fn. 4.
95 Ibid., p. 26, fn. 38. 96 Ibid., p. 27, fn. 71.
Another Portuguese account of the legend appeared in 1892 in Porto. There Th. (or Teofilo) Braga published "As Lendas de Judeo Errant," in the book As Lendas Christas. This account, however, appears to be only a Portuguese paraphrase of an account written by Gaston Paris in his Légendes du Moyen Age.

At least one other study has been made on the subject in Spanish and Portuguese literature, this time by a Father Xeniola or Zeniola. Unfortunately, only casual references are made to his work, and it does not appear to be generally well known.

As the legend gained popularity, it spread to Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and France. The Kurtze Beschreibung had its first French translation in 1605, when Pierre Victor Palma Cayet published his Chronologie Septenaire, volume seven. This very close word-for-word translation was re-issued in 1607. This work appeared four years before the one most authorities consider to be the first translation in France, Discours Veritable d'un Juif Errant, Bordeaux, 1608 or 1609; the two are said to be identical.

The legend continued to spread, and the Wandering Jew's "Complaint" became a popular ballad during this time in France.

Another important account of the wanderer appears in Histoire et Antiquités du Diocèse de Beauvais. There, in 1604, on a Sunday,

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97 Ibid., p. 16, fn. 1. 98 Ibid.
100 Sartorius, p. 52. 101 Killen, p. 26.
he was seen coming from mass, surrounded by many women and children who listened attentively as he told of Christ's passion,

in so affecting a manner as to draw tears from the most obstinate eyes and to unloose the strings of the tightest purses. On this occasion, he asked for alms with a lofty tone of superiority, as if he was conferring instead of receiving a favor. His appearance excited great emotion throughout France, some being alarmed at such portentous apparition and others affecting to be edified by the instructive narrative he related. ¹⁰²

During this same year (1604), he is said to have appeared in Paris. ¹⁰³ About the later part of the sixteenth century or the early part of the seventeenth century, the Tablettes du Juif Errant, by Mr. Richard, appeared. ¹⁰⁴ In either 1613 or 1614, Les Rencontres Faist Ces Jours Passez du Juif Errant was published. ¹⁰⁵ In 1615 what was probably no more than another variation of the work appeared: La Rencontre faicte ces jours Passez du Juif Errant par Monsieur le Prince, ensemble les Discours Tenus Entre 'Eux. It was published in Paris and signed by a Mr. Anth. Du Breuil. ¹⁰⁶

Killan reports a 1623 work published in Paris by Frère Dominique Auberton entitled Récit véritable et miraculeux de ce qui a esté veu en Hierusalem, par un Religieux de l'Ordre S. Francois et Autres Personnes de Qualité. In it, the author claims to have seen the shoemaker in Jerusalem in 1507. The same story was later

¹⁰²Sartorius, p. 52. ¹⁰³Baring-Gould, p. 15.
¹⁰⁴Champfleury, p. 27.
¹⁰⁶Champfleury, p. 44.
reprinted as *Voyage à Jerusalem de Philippe de Voisins, seigneur de Montaut*. This time the author’s name is Dauterlin and the date of the visit to Jerusalem has been changed to 1547.\textsuperscript{107}

In 1650, a French chap-book, the *Histoire Admirable d’un Juif Errant* (Belgium), which was reprinted many times, followed Ahasuerus all over Western Europe, over to America, and back again. Apparently it was printed on the basis of the many different versions of the *Kurtze Beschreibung* as well as "independent treatment of similar extra-scriptural legendary material."\textsuperscript{108} This became the most well-known French version and was reprinted many times as the legend spread in ballad and story form. In this version, a tragic touch is added by reciting the dangers which the Jew faces in the vain hope of finding death.\textsuperscript{109} Two other contributions of this version are the fact that he is now identified as being of the tribe of Naphtali and also as being a carpenter, rather than the traditional shoemaker. However, another account of the same work says that it was his father who was either a carpenter or a cordwainer.\textsuperscript{110} Just as with the German chap-book, titles and motifs varied, but perhaps not quite so extensively this time. The usual title was somewhat the same but was extended to varying lengths, as seen in *L’Histoire Véritable du Juif Errant, Qui Depuis l’An 33*

\textsuperscript{107} Killan, p. 20.


\textsuperscript{109} The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 127.

Another edition, unfortunately not dated, carries the following title: *Histoire Admirable du Juif Errant qui se Promène en Portant sa Croix et qui depuis l'an 33 jusqu'à l'heure présent n'a fait que Marcher. Nouvelle Edition, corrigée et augmentée de la Complainte du Juif Errant.* It was printed in Avignon. According to this account, the Bishop of Slewik travelled in Wittenberg to go to Hamburg to visit one of his friends, Franciscus Eysen. It mentions that he was born 3,992 years after the creation of the world and 3 years before King Herod had had his two sons, Alexandre and Aristobule, killed by order of Emperor Augustus. He tells the story of his life before he was cursed by Christ. He tells us that he had married a girl from the tribe of Benjamin and had three children. One very interesting motif is that his father and Joseph had worked together on a building as carpenters. Because of this, he knew Christ personally as a child, for they had worked with their fathers. They had often talked and eaten together.

Probably late in the seventeenth century, Mr. F. M. Luzel translated *Le Guerz du Juif Errant.* Consisting of 180 verses, it was sung to the tune *Guerz, Santa Anna.*

In 1684 or 1696 there appeared in Paris a popular series of essays entitled *The Turkish Spy,* by Giovanni Maranna. While some

111 "Ahasuerus, the Shoemaker of Jerusalem," *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, XXII* (December 15, 1854), 391.


113 Champfleury, p. 82.
scholars consider the authorship to be rather doubtful, the elder D'Israeli has shown the author to be John Paul Marian, an Italian who resided in Paris from 1650-1700. The essays are in a fictitious form, but they describe real events. In these essays, the spy wrote from Paris about a man who claimed to have lived for 1600 years, calling himself the Wandering Jew. He stated that the Jew admitted acquaintance with Nero, Mohammed, and others. In French it was published as L'Espion de Grand Seigneur de Cour des Princes Chrétiens. Some assume that the work was probably originally written in Italian, but if so, the original manuscript has been lost. The English translations appeared from 1686-1748.\textsuperscript{114}

The historian Basnage discusses the wanderer briefly in 1716 in his Histoire des Juifs Depuis Jesus Christ Jusqu'a Present. He insists that there are actually three wandering Jews. The first is Cartaphilus, the pagan doorkeeper who served Pilate; the second is the young Israelite who built the golden calf and was exiled to an island in the Red Sea; the third is the shoemaker Ahasuerus.\textsuperscript{115}

The next French account of the wanderer tells of an appearance that he is said to have made in England late in the seventeenth century. It is interesting, however, that the English have no such record of this visit. The account is entered in the Dictionnaire du Sainte Bible (1732) by Augustin Calmet, under the title "Dissertation sur le Juif Errant." Part of the account is quoted here:


I have a letter . . . written from London by Madame de Mazarin to Madame de Bouillon, in which we read that in that country there was a man who pretended to have lived more than seventeen hundred years. He claimed to be an officer of the Divan of Jerusalem at the time that Jesus Christ was sentenced by Pontius Pilate; that he harshly pushed the Savior outside the Praetorium, saying to Him: "Go, get out; why are you staying here?" He remembers having seen the apostles, the features of their countenances, their hair, their clothing. He has travelled through all the countries of the world, and must wander until the end of time; he has given an account of all that has happened during the ages, so accurate that those who hear him do not know what to think of it. The two universities have sent their learned men to converse with him; but with all their learning they have not been able to surprise or confute him.  

Calmet quotes more of the letter, showing that he is believed "only by the stupid." He considers the stranger to be "un personnage de theatre." The letter, itself, is not dated. However, Mme de Mazarin is known to have lived in London during the last part of the seventeenth century. 

Another account, practically identical, of the same story appeared in 1702 in Theatrum Europaeum; this one specifically stated that the date of the London appearance was 1694. It further identified the two universities that sent men to interview Ahasuerus as being Oxford and Cambridge. Here, Anderson adds a footnote to his account showing that research has been done to prove that Oxford and Cambridge had no records of any such interviews.  

These two accounts are both felt to be derived from the Turkish Spy version of the wanderer's tale. Even though the original did not mention a visit to England, it is felt that the same

117 Ibid.; see also fn. 49.
material was used; the locale was simply changed to England. 118

Another account also appeared about this time which seems to be equally indebted to the Turkish Spy. A German broadside tract, *Wahre Eigentliche Abildung des Unsterblichen Heydens, Joseph Krantz*, was published, possibly in 1684. No place or date of publication is given. It mentions the English visit, but discredits it while using the same story. Of it, Anderson writes:

It has two or three peculiar points of interest. First, it picks up a twist in the legend which appeared in a 1660 edition of the Relation (the third and latest section of the German Ahasuerus Book ...) namely that there were actually two wanderers, a heathen and a Jew ... The Jew is, of course, Ahasuerus. The *Wahre Eigentliche Abildung*, however, gives the "heathen" the unique name of Joseph Krantz. Second, it places the "heathen" Joseph Krantz in the North of England and explains that the report that Ahasuerus was in England in 1694 was false. Nay, more, it attempts to differentiate carefully between Ahasuerus and Joseph Krantz. But in attempting this task, the author of the broadside was sidetracked into the story as told by Matthew Paris ... As a result, he comes up with the conclusion that the Joseph Cartaphilus of Matthew Paris is in fact the "heathen" Joseph Krantz, whereas Ahasuerus is--Ahasuerus. His conclusion and, indeed his main character, Joseph Krantz, have not been perpetuated further, although the author has a case. 119

In 1772 there appeared a French pamphlet entitled *Les Grandes Prophéties du Sieur de Montague, autrement nommé le Juif Errant.* This book contained prophecies concerning the weather to be expected for the next seven years, with special mention of its effects upon certain crops. It is, "in fact, an early Farmer's Almanac--to which is added a series of verses in execrable doggerel summarizing the prophecies and seasoning them with some platitudinous

119 Ibid.
Another important book, Mémoires du Juif Errant, appeared in 1777, in Paris. The author is unknown. In this book, four young men—a German, an Englishman, an Italian, and a Frenchman—meet the Wandering Jew at a fair in Leipzig in 1749, where he entertains them with tales of his adventures. He closes his account and rather abruptly disappears.  

In 1843 the shoemaker is discussed in Causeries et Méditations Historiques et Littéraires, written by Mr. Mangin, in Paris. This work was followed in 1845 when Le Libraire Techener published the study Notice Historique et Bibliographique sur Les Juifs Errants. The author of this important work was Gustave Brunet. This was followed in 1846 by another French ballad, "La Juif Brocanteur," purported to be by Charles Beck; the ballad was included in the book Chants du Pauvre. In 1859 Paul Lacroix wrote Curiosités de l'Histoire des Croyances Populaires, par Jacob le Bibliophile, mentioning the Wanderer.  

Several periodicals have appeared in France on the subject. The first appeared in Paris in 1806, bearing the title Almanach du Juif Errant, Rédigé par Isaac Ahasverus Laquedem, vulgairement appelé le Juif Errant. Also in that year there appeared L'Almanach pour 1846: Histoire du Juif Errant, ou Eugene Sue Devoilé. In

121 Ibid., p. 203.
123 Cordeau, p. 38.
1848 there appeared, for only two issues, a journal entitled *Le Juif Errant*. Finally, in 1897 there appeared *L'Almanach de l'Ymagier*.  

One very important work, particularly if one is interested in the artistic representations of the Wandering Jew, is that done by Champfleury entitled *Histoire de l'Imagerie Populaire*. Published in Paris in 1859, the first part is devoted to a history of paintings, etc. of the wanderer. The book is illustrated with many of those which are discussed.  

In 1883 there appeared in a series of tales and stories for children a work entitled *Les Cinq Sous d'Isaac Laquedem*. In this story he is of the tribe of Levi and is about forty-five years old. Each half century he has permission to rest from dawn to dusk on Good Friday wherever he finds himself. Here he visits with a young girl who is trying to raise her three younger brothers. In order to help them, he makes use of the five magic coins. He empties them into a chest over and over again. And each time that he does so, there are still five coins in his purse. He leaves the children, but he returns to visit them thirty years later. At the end of the story, Christ descends and calls to him; he is pardoned of his sin, and he dies.  

Two rather important dissertations have been written in French on the subject. The first is *La Légende du Juif Errant*, Paris, 1877, by M. Schoebel; the second is *Le Juif Errant*, Paris,
In 1894 (?) an article entitled "Le Juif Errant à la Salpêtrière," appeared in a French periodical, La Nature. It is a rather interesting article in that it discusses psychiatric cases of Jewish men who have been possessed with an obsession to travel. The author, Mr. Henri Coupin, writes "The Wandering Jew of the legend and the Wandering Jew of the clinics are one and the same type: A wandering neuropath, a perpetual pilgrim, appearing today and vanishing tomorrow . . . Cartaphilus, Ahasuerus, Isaac Laquedem . . . are children of nervous pathology."\(^{129}\)

About the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared an anonymous pamphlet or book Histoire du Juif Errant par Lui-Même.\(^{130}\)

And finally, in France, in 1914, Arthur Heulhard published a work entitled La Sainte Famille. The title, in its entirety, ends with the words "With the Explanation of the Pseudo-Legend of the Wandering Jew." One interesting motif mentioned in his report of the legend was that soon after the crucifixion he had traveled to America, where he reported that the inhabitants of that continent all went about completely naked.\(^{131}\)


\(^{129}\)Cordeau, p. 53; this same article was also translated and appeared as: Mr. Henri Coupin, "The Wandering Jew at the Salpêtrière," The Popular Science Monthly, XLIV (February, 1894), pp. 525-530.

\(^{130}\)Cordeau, p. 42.

Aside from the early traditional tales in Italy, Italian accounts of the wanderer seemed to die out, or at least to remain confined within the borders of the country, until the late nineteenth century. The British Museum Catalogue lists a work *Assavero*, by Niccolo Castagna, published at Naples in 1880. A very important study of the legend was made in 1891 when S. Morpurgo published his work *L'Ebreo Errante in Italia*. In 1910 Rodolfo Ranier published *La Legenda dell' Ebreo Errante*.

Nearly four centuries after Roger of Wendover's account, the story of the Wandering Jew returned to England as something to be believed, an indication of God's mercy. It received at first none of the skepticism or contempt that greeted it in France among men of education and other worldlings . . . where from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, there is a drumfire of disbelief from the academic folk.134

In the year 1612 licenses were issued in London to print both a ballad and a prose tract concerning the legend. The tract is apparently no longer in existence. However, there is a ballad entered in the Stationers' Register on August 12, 1612. Written by Edward Marchant, it is entitled "A Ballad Called 'Wonderful Strange Newes out of Germanye of a Jewe that hath Lyued Wandering ever since our Saviour Christ.'" The original copy of this, too, has

134 Ibid., p. 242 and fn. 20.
been lost. However, evidence indicates that it is the same ballad assigned to John Marriott and John Grisman, or Grismona, dated October 9, 1620. It was reprinted in 1635 by Edward Wright. It is this ballad which appears in the **Roxburghe Ballads** (Hertford, 1889, VI, 687ff) and the Bagford Collection (II, 8). Later, in almost exactly the same form, it was included as a blackletter ballad in Pepys' collection. Still later, with only a few minor changes, it appeared in **Reliques of Ancient English Poetry** (1765, II, 292). It also appeared in an early edition of Child's *English and Scottish Ballads* (1861), but it was not included in a later, definitive edition. As it first appears in the **Roxburghe Ballads**, it is entitled "The Wandering Jew: or the Shoemaker of Jerusalem, who lived when Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified and by Him was appointed to Live Till His Coming Again." It is prefaced with an explanation that possibly the author was Thomas Delony, but the evidence given is quite minimal. The ballad follows the Hamburg legend of 1602. Further evidence of the popularity of the subject can be seen in the fact that a "broad-sheet ballad of 1670" exists on the subject, also using the Ahasuerus version of the legend. It is entitled "The Wandering Jew, or the Shoemaker of Jerusalem who lived When Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was Crucified Appointed by Him to live until Coming Again. Tune, the Lady's Fall &c. Licens'd and Enter'd according to Order." It was "Printed by and for W. O. and sold by the Booksellers of

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Before 1714 a broadside ballad had appeared called "The Wandering Jew’s Chronicle of England." In this ballad, the only part the Jew plays is to report that he has seen the sovereigns of England from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne. Obviously, from the number of ballads appearing, and from the number of collections including the one ballad, one can draw the conclusion that the subject was quite popular in England. A 1620 English prose version of the legend ends its account with the words "and all the cuntris was full of ballads." It is unfortunate that so few of the many that must have existed should have been preserved.

It is quite possible that the license issued in 1612 for a prose tract was for a translation of the Kurtze Beschreibung. It could have either been a direct translation from the German edition or it could have come through a French adaptation or translation. Unfortunately, no one knows, for it cannot be found today. The first prose version of the seventeenth century which can be located is, like the first ballad version, dated 1620. It is found in the papers belonging to the Shann Family of Methley, Yorkshire; it is a commonplace book in the handwriting of Richard Shann (1561-1627). The manuscript itself is now located in the British Museum, where it is listed as Ms. Additional #38599. The book discusses local matters such as weather, livestock, church pews, etc., between 1617 and 1620.

136 Stocker, pp. 112-113.
138 Ibid., p. 244.
and 1632. The entry for 1620 is entitled "The Historie of a Wand­
inge Jewe much spoken of this yeere." In general, the account
mentioned is the same one mentioned earlier in Italy by Guido
Bonatus, to whom it refers. It says that the Jew was called John
Butadeus and then later Ahasuerius; and it tells of different
places that he has visited. Shann's statement that his account is
"drawne out of the printed storie worde for worde" probably refers
to the now-lost 1612 edition. Anderson suggests that, if this is
not the case, then it is probably a French version of the Kurtze
Beschreibung. The most likely French source is Pierre Victor Palma
Cayet's Chronologie Septenaire (Paris, 1605), Vol. VII, as he seems
to refer to it directly in his account when he says "The seventh
Booke of the historie of peace betwixt the kinge of FRANCE and
SPAINE, printed . . . under the inscription of these letters. P.B.
P.C." He includes, however, mention of enough visits to indicate
an awareness of other French sources. If from the German, it would
have to be, due to internal evidence, a reprint of the Leyden 1602
pamphlet, as this is the only edition which mentioned Johannes
Buttadeus. By coincidence, there is a copy of the Leyden 1602
edition available in the British Museum.

The next work appearing in England would be more properly
included in the art form of the legend, but will be mentioned here
due to the importance of its appearance at the time of the popu-
larlarity of the traditional form of the legend. This is a pamphlet
which appeared in 1640 entitled The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes

to Englishmen: A Jew's Lottery. Published in London, it was printed by John Raworth for Nathaniel Butter. An original, bitingly satirical work in the manner of Ben Jonson, it attacks the customs of London seventeenth century society. It was published anonymously, but some scholars credit it to an E. Malone, although convincing evidence is lacking.  

Also in the year 1640 there was published a work Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Enquiries into very Many Received Tenets and Commonly Presumed Truths, by Sir Thomas Browne, Knight M.D. This included the account told by the Armenian bishop. Browne revealed his own attitude when he wrote at the end, "Surely were this true, he might be an happy arbitrator in many Christian controversies; but must impardonably contemn the obstinancy of the Jews, who can contemn the Rhetorick of such miracles, and blindly behold so living and lasting conversions."  

Two accounts of the wanderer exist in England that credit him with an appearance in the 1650's. The first was published in 1696 in John Aubrey's Miscellanies. It tells the story of an old man in the Moorlands, in Staffordshire, who had been lame for some time. One day a stranger came, asking for a cup of beer. He told the old man, "I can cure you. Take two or three balm leaves steeped in your beer for a fortnight or three weeks, and you will be restored to your health; but constantly and zealously serve God."  

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The old man was cured. According to Aubrey, this account was later attested to by Doctor Gilbert Sheldon, who became Archbishop of Canterbury. 142

The same account, in much more detail, is given by Francis Peck (1692-1743) in his Academia Tertia Anglicana, or the Antiquarian Annals of Stamford in Lincoln, Rutland, and Northampton Shires. Known more commonly as the History of Stamford, it was published in London in 1727. The motifs are the same; the only difference is that it has been considerably polished with the use of more detail. 143

The next account of the eternal wanderer seems to be that of an impostor, if one is to accept the attitudes of most of those reporting it. Baring Gould writes:

About the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth, an impostor, calling himself the Wandering Jew, attracted attention in England, and was listened to by the ignorant, and despised by the educated. He, however, managed to thrust himself into the notice of nobility, who, half in jest, half in curiosity, questioned him, and paid him as they might a juggler. He declared that he had been an officer of the Sanhedrin, and that he had struck Christ as He left the judgment hall of Pilate. He remembered all the Apostles, and described their personal appearance, their clothes, and their peculiarities. He spoke many languages, claimed the power of healing the sick, and asserted that he had travelled nearly all over the world. Those who heard him were perplexed by his familiarity with foreign tongues and places. Oxford and Cambridge sent professors to question him, and to discover the imposition, if any. An Englishman conversed with him in Arabic. The mysterious stranger told his questioner in that language that historical works were not to be relied upon. And on being

143 Ibid.
asked his opinion of Mahomet, he replied that he had been acquainted with the father of the prophet, and that he dwelt at Ormuz. As for Mahomet, he believed him to be a man of intelligence; once when he heard the prophet deny that Christ was crucified, he answered abruptly by telling him he was the witness to the truth of that event. He related also that he was in Rome when Nero set it on fire; he had known Saladin, Tamerlane, Bajazeth, Eterlane, and could give minute details of the history of the crusades.  

The reader will note here that the account closely resembles the one found in the Turkish Spy and later used in Clamet’s Dictionnaire, the Theatre Europaeum, and the Joseph Krantz pamphlet. Unfortunately, Baring-Gould, as well as all the others who report this account, fail to mention a source. Therefore, one could conclude that it is drawn from continental sources rather than from one actually appearing in England.

Another reference to this same account adds that “in London, he acted as a public mountebank . . . left England suddenly and secretly; but was said to have appeared subsequently in the countries on the Caspian.”

The next English account does not appear until the publication of two pamphlets, one in 1769, and the other in 1780. The first, commonly called the Hull pamphlet, is entitled The Wandering Jew, or the Shoemaker of Jerusalem. Although there is no date, it is presumed to have been printed in 1769 by J. Pitts. It gives the Ahasuerus version of the legend and mentions that he has traveled through Asia, Africa, and America and now plans to visit every


he landed in Hull, in Yorkshire, where Dr. Hall, taking him for a cheat, caused him to be locked up in a room all night, but the next morning they found the door opened though their prisoner had not attempted to escape. Dr. Hall sent for Dr. Harrison, in order to assist in the examination of so remarkable a personage, that they might be sure whether he was an impostor or not.

They asked him concerning the breaking of the locks in the room in which he had been shut up. He told them if they would attempt to confine him with chains, it would avail nothing—human force cannot confine him whom the Almighty had sentenced to want a resting place.

They being like Thomas A. Dindimus, hard of belief, sent for a smith to put strong chains on him, but they instantly burst asunder to the surprise of a thousand spectators. Not being able to doubt any longer, they sent for a painter, and had his picture drawn, in which he looked neither old nor young, but just as he did seventeen hundred and sixty-nine years ago, when he first began his journey.

The King of France hearing of this, wrote for his picture, which Dr. Hall accordingly sent him.

If he hears any one curse or swear, or take the name of God in vain, he tells them that they crucify their God again. If any one offers him money, though it were the richest Lord or Lady in all the land, he will take no more than one groat and that he says he takes for Christ's sake, and gives to the next poor person he meets. He is always crying and praying, and wishing to see death, but that ease from his labouring pilgrimage, he says, that can never happen until Christ comes again upon the earth.146

He is asked questions about the past and the future, and he predicts that the world will come to an end soon after 1969. He insists that the mark given to Cain was the curse of a black skin, and he indicates that men do not live as long now as in biblical times because "they eat too much meat and drink not enough water." The account is signed by four ministers: Dr. Hall, Dr. Harrisons, Mr. Reubens, and Mr. Crouch. While they are typical Yorkshire names, none of them

This Wandering Jew left Dover the last month, after wandering above forty-two miles up in the country; his stay is always short and is possessed of many different languages, when learned men put questions to him, he desires them to go to the sacred records, and there they will be fully satisfied; as to his pilgrimage in this world, when he receives fourpence (which he calls a groat) he will have no more until he distribute what he has got to a pious use. He is still in a mourning and praying posture, he sleeps little in any bed, choosing rather more hardships than Christian people can give him. He drinks water and eats very sparingly; and has a great delight in little children, because says he, his master loved them.

He arrived in a fishing smack at Blyth, on the southward of Berwick; and is on his way to the Holy Island, within a few miles of the town of Berwick. If he returns northward or southward, or goes to sea, it is not yet known.

Three ministers near Blyth was [sic] with him, and can be connected with any church in the area during the 1760's and 1770's.147

The second pamphlet, appearing in 1780, was entitled The Surprising History of the Wandering JEW of Jerusalem with his Arrival at Dover this year 1780, attested: And his removal in order to visit the Holy Island near Berwick, confirmed by three Ministers and an Attorney, etc. Commonly called the Dover pamphlet, the first part of it is identical to the Hull pamphlet, although some of the names are changed, and this time the chains are broken before thousands of spectators. During the interview, the author seems to have become a little more sidetracked at one point than he did in the previous pamphlet. At the end, the entire account is signed, this time by Ministers Hall, Harris, Gough, and Davis. However, the Dover pamphlet also adds at this point the following testimonial:148

147 Ibid., p. 375.
148 Ibid., p. 376.
several men of repute, who all agree that he makes the tears fall from their eyes that hears him talk, which is attested by

Mr. Jos Burton
Mr. Geo. Naperlin ministers
Mr. Chris Ewbank
Mr. Jo Stanton, Attorney

Overtown
January 25, 1870

Apparently this tract was reprinted later, for in 1790 there appeared The Wandering Jew, or the Shoemaker of Jerusalem, who lived when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified, and by Him appointed to wander until He comes again. With his Travels, Method of Living, and A Discourse with Some Clergymen about the End of the World. The source reporting this gives a review of the work, which is apparently the same as the story given in both the Hull and Dover pamphlets.149

The wanderer does not turn up again until December 29, 1855. At this time, a short statement appeared in Notes and Queries. In it, Mr. V. T. Sternberg writes:

Sometimes, during the cold winter nights, the lonely cottager will be awaked by a plaintive demand for "Water, good Christian! Water, for the Love of God!" And if he looks out, he will see a venerable old man in antique raiment, with grey flowing beard and a tall staff, who beseeches his charity with the most earnest gesture. Woe to the churl who refuses him water or shelter! My old nurse, who was a Warwickshire woman, and as Sir Walter Scott said of his grandmother, "a most awful lass," knew a man who boldly cried out, "All very fine, Mr. Ferguson, but you can't lodge here!" And it was decidedly the worst thing he ever did in his life, for his best mare fell dead lame, and corn went down. I am afraid to say how much per quarter. If, on the contrary you treat him well, and refrain from indelicate inquiries respecting his age--on which point he is very touchy--his visit is sure to bring good luck. Perhaps, years afterwards, when you are

on your death-bed, he may happen to be passing, and if he
should, you are safe; for three knocks with his staff will
make you hale, and he never forgets any kindness. 150

Again, in 1866, on November 3, mention of him appears; this
time it is in the London Athenæum:

From the year 1818 (perhaps earlier) to about 1830,
a handsomely featured Jew, in semi-eastern costume, fair-
headed, bare-headed, his eyes intently fixed on a little
ancient book he held in both hands, might be seen gliding
through the streets of London, but was never seen to issue
from or enter a house, or to pause upon his way. He was
popularly known as "the Wandering Jew," but there was some­
thing so dignified and anxious in his look that he was
never known to suffer the slightest molestation. Young and
old looked silently on him as he passed, and shook their
heads pitifully when he had gone by. He disappeared, was
seen again in London some ten years later, still young,
fair-headed, bare-headed, his eyes bent on his book, his
feet going steadily forward as he went straight on; and
men again whispered as he glided through our streets for
the last time, "the Wandering Jew!" There were many who
believed that he was the very man to whom had been uttered
the awful words, "Tarry thou till I come!" 151

That same year (1866) there appeared another notice in Notes
and Queries, this time submitted by a James Pearson. He reported
that one evening of that year he had been on the moors of Lancashire
when a dotterel, a bird of the plover family, flew overhead. He was
told that this bird was called a Wandering Jew, and to have heard
his cry as he flew overhead meant bad luck. He explained that these
birds were said to contain the souls of the Jews who had crucified
Christ, and as a result, they were doomed to fly forever. 152

150 V. T. Sternberg, "The Wandering Jew in England," Notes and
Queries, XII (December 29, 1955), 503.


152 Pearson, p. 269.
In 1881, the Newcastle *Weekly Chronicle* carried an account written by George Cooper in answer to a question raised by Conway. He reported the existence of a man known as the Wandering Jew who had lived in Newcastle and had left a son living in Hull.\(^{153}\)

In 1888, an account appeared in John Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*. He discusses the legend very briefly and adds that an impostor was known in the north who went about crying "Poor John alone." Brand feels that this is another corruption of "Poor Jew alone."\(^{154}\) Conway, in discussing this entry, states that Brand probably did not hear the cry correctly, since the cry of the wanderer was "Poor Joe all alone!" As evidence to support this, he points out that a crossing-sweeper who worked near St. Paul’s churchyard often murmured this. Two pictures were made of him, one with an inscription beneath, "Poor Joe all Alone." One person, writing to Conway about him, said, "He seemed to have left an impression of a somewhat respectful kind, but from what cause I never heard; probably he had a history of a melancholy kind, and has been left alone by some calamity."\(^{155}\)

In 1901 Marie Trevelyan published a book of folktales from Wales. Two of the stories concerned the eternal wanderer. As a preface to them, she writes: "Stories of the Wandering Jew have been heard and chronicled in Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan, and both are connected with county families, whose names, for obvious reasons,\(^{156}\)

\(^{153}\) Conway, p. 164.


\(^{155}\) Conway, p. 163.
were suppressed." 156 The story from Glamorgan tells of a stranger who came and asked for an apartment of a farmer there. He paid attention to both the daughter of the household and the daughter of a squire. When the farmer approached him concerning this, he replied, "It is my fate to win love; it is my doom never to marry." He left the area and the two women became very good friends. The squire's daughter married not long afterward. The farmer's daughter "gradually pined away." One day, twenty years later, when the squire's daughter and the farmer were standing at the dead girl's grave, she remarked that the squire had said that he was the Wandering Jew. As they were leaving, they saw him enter and go to the grave.

The other tale is from Pembrokeshire; a young man tells it of his father. It seems that his father had met a remarkably brilliant and talented young man and traveled with him for six months. As they parted, the stranger told him that they would meet on three different occasions and that after the last, "you will die, but I shall continue to wander until the day of doom." When the man was about fifty, the stranger reappeared. When he was eighty-seven, he came again, staying two days. When he left, the man died, saying "The Wandering Jew! Poor Man! He is the Wandering Jew." 157

Probably the final mention of the Wandering Jew in England in the traditional form appeared in 1908, when Gutch and Peacock published a book of folklore concerning Lincolnshire. They reported


157 Ibid., pp. 377-378.
that there was a traditional belief in the area of Boston, Lincolnshire, "concerning the existence of a person called the Wandering Jew." 158

Although The Jewish Encyclopedia and The Encyclopedia Britannica both list an appearance of the wanderer in Salt Lake City in 1868, no record of the visit can be found and no source is given for the information. Lee states that authorities agree that he was last seen in Salt Lake in 1869; but he, too, fails to give any further information on the subject. 159 There are, however, three recorded stories of American appearances. The first account appeared in 1836. At this time, a German immigrant told a clergyman in Pennsylvania that he had traveled to America on a boat with the Wandering Jew about forty years before. He described him but could not remember whether he had disembarked at New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. The article presumes that since nothing further was heard of him in "white settlements," "it is probable that he immediately wended his way towards the Rocky Mountains, to enjoy his favorite system of locomotion among the Wandering Tribes of the 'Far West.'" 160

In 1868 the Deseret News carried an article concerning a visit the Wanderer made to Harts Corners, "a few miles from New York." Two young boys going fishing had passed an old shanty on their way; they heard groans coming from it and entered to discover an old man apparently in great pain. They left and returned with villagers, to whom he explained that he had hurt his leg. In spite

158 Ibid., p. 377 and fn. 45.  
159 Lee, p. 80  
of their assumptions that he was "cracked," he told them of his travels. He then bade them goodby and left; but he left behind him a book in which he had written on the flyleaf the story of his birth, parentage, curse by Christ, and his wanderings, all of which seemed to convince the people that he was truly the Wandering Jew. The article reports that the book was then in the possession of Michael O'Grady, who lived not far from where the wanderer was discovered. 161 This is probably the article that caused some authorities to assume that he was seen in Salt Lake City, for they mention that he was seen there by a Mr. O'Grady. Obviously they noticed the name in the article, realized that the article appeared in a Salt Lake City newspaper, and assumed that the entire event had occurred in Salt Lake rather than in New York, where it actually took place.

The third account was recorded December 27, 1939, and tells of an incident in St. George, Utah, that happened about 1870. A German immigrant, Mr. Charley Seegmiller, said that his two brothers were "down the Muddy here" chopping wood. A man appeared to them and asked for some dry bread and patches for his clothes. He explained that he was going to cross the desert but was not worried about carrying water, because he knew how to get it. He insisted that the bread be dry, because it would spoil otherwise. He then spoke to them in German and said "'Mann heisst mich den Ewigen Juden'--man calls me the Everlasting Jew." They did not realize until after he had left that he must have been the "rovin' Jew."

They ran after him, but they insisted that, in spite of the unobstructed view, they could not find him anywhere. 162

Two other American references are sometimes included in bibliographies. In 1870 the Church Press at Hartford published what was essentially a theological tract, The Wandering Jew: A Mythical and Aesthetical Study. Although no author is given, it is dedicated to Ambrose J. Faust. In Nashville, Tennessee, S. L. Ginsburg published The Wandering Jew in Brazil (n.d.). Unfortunately, no further information is presently available concerning either of these works.

In 1961 Joseph Gaer published a book, The Legend of the Wandering Jew. While the book purports to be a study of the legend, it is actually more nearly a storyteller’s book than a scholar’s book. The material is told in a very entertaining way; but Gaer uses a great deal of license as he narrates the various stories. The book is totally lacking in documentation, and his bibliography is woefully inadequate. 163

Different Versions and Names and Additional Appearances

As has been seen, there are many minor motifs that have changed from time to time in the legends as they have been told and retold, written and rewritten. Actually, as the legend spread throughout Europe, it developed in several different directions. According to the western versions, Ahasuerus was a cobbler. When

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163 Gaer.
Christ wished to rest in his doorway on the way to Calvary, he pushed Him away, saying "Get off! Away with you, Away!" Christ replied, "Truly I go, and that quickly; but tarry thou till I come." This tradition giving him the name Ahasuerus has prominence in the West, where he is described as having been met with in various countries in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and as being able to speak the languages of every nation he visits. An interesting motif as yet not mentioned is added in the version reported by the American Monthly Magazine, where

Ahasuerus, confounded by the rebuke from the Saviour's eye, and internally acknowledging the force and authority of the sentence, did not recover the use of his faculties until after the procession had passed on, and the streets were deserted and silent. Then, in obedience to the command, and impelled by remorse and an ardent, irrepressible longing for dissolution then first felt, he commenced his wandering career.164

Occasionally, references are made in the legends to two surviving witnesses. Conway points out that in the seventeenth century, efforts were made to prove that two witnesses of the crucifixion actually did exist. He reasons that this is possible if one regards Ahasuerus and Cartaphilus-Joseph as different persons. Or, he adds, it could be that the two different witnesses are Cartaphilus-Joseph and Malchus, particularly in Italy, where the Malchus legend is so popular.165 Actually, three different written accounts of a pair of wanderers exist. One, already mentioned, is the Joseph Krantz pamphlet; a second is a dissertation by Martin Droscher published in Jena in 1668 entitled Dissertatio Theologia de Duobus Testibus

Vivas Passionis Dominical. The third was also published in 1668; written by Frantzel, it is entitled Relation de Deux Temoins Vivants de la Passion de Notre Sauveur.

It is the Cartaphilus version of the legend that comes to us principally from the East. Originating in Armenia, it speaks of the door-keeper of the judgment hall in the service of Pontius Pilate. As Christ was leaving the hall, he was struck by this servant (a motif omitted in some versions), who cried, "Go faster Jesus"; and Jesus replied, "I am going, but thou shalt tarry till I come again." This person was baptized by Ananias about the same time that Paul was baptized, taking upon himself the name "Joseph." He resides principally in Armenia. According to one account, "Cartaphilus, who represents the earliest known medieval aspect of the protagonist of the legend of the Wandering Jew, is closely akin to the tarrying of St. John, whereas Ahasuerus is the creation of the modern purveyors of the legend in the Renaissance German Ahasuerus Book." This explanation would then account for the fact that the Jew is known as Ahasuerus only in the western countries, for the reports in the chronicles of the abbey at St. Albans all refer to him as Cartaphilus. It should be noted here that the original doorkeeper was not necessarily a Jew. Cartaphilus, the doorkeeper in Pilate's mansion, must have been a Roman.

167 Cordacq, p. 52.
169 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126.
Italy has produced an interesting variation of the legend, one in which a separate legend, that of Malchus (John 28:10), is combined with the Wandering Jew. According to one version of this variant, the Jew was a servant to a high priest. He struck Christ. The legend is quite popular in Italy, where it has taken on at least one distinctive characteristic. Anderson writes, "Whenever the Jew is immured in prison, wandering about a column in anguish and despair, it is the Malchus phase of the Wandering Jew's saga."\textsuperscript{170} According to another version, the Jew was a servant to Caiaphas, and his ear was cut off by Peter and healed by Christ. He had struck Christ with an iron gauntlet and was therefore doomed to walk around a column underground, beating his head against it until judgment. According to legend, the Wandering Jew suffered similar punishment in Jerusalem in 1641, there under the name of Joseph.\textsuperscript{171}

M. Gaston Paris assigns a different origin to the Malchus legend, partially on the basis of a chanson de geste. He believes that it began with the legend of Marcus the leper. He had been cured by Jesus, and then he struck Our Lord; "the curse laid upon him was held to explain the incurability of leprosy." Paris feels that the motif of the blow actually began here. He writes, "If with this are combined the legend of Joseph of Arimathea (thrown into prison by the Jews, where his life was miraculously preserved), and the words of St. John, we have . . . the story of Cartaphilus."\textsuperscript{172}


\textsuperscript{171} Conway, pp. 22, 78.

\textsuperscript{172} Conway, p. 79; Gaston Paris, "Gaston Paris' Collected Essays," Nation, LXXVII (September 24, 1903), 245.
Crane, having done research in Italian folktales, has found three tales that reveal the blending of motifs to produce new versions of the Wandering Jew tales. In one, Malchus is depicted as a very brutal Jew who beat Christ when he was taken to Pilate's house. In fact, he struck Him with an iron glove and knocked out all of His teeth. His punishment was to walk around a column in an underground room, without ever resting. He is desperately repentant. This tale is popular in Sicily, where it is told in verse and is also the subject of a chap-book. In another version of the legend, he is seen as the head of the Jews who killed Christ. It is said that Christ pardoned everyone except him, because he had also struck the Madonna. He is now confined under the same column as that in the above version. Crane writes:

Every time that he walks about the column, he gives it a blow in memory of the blow he gave the mother of our Lord. He has walked around the column so long that he has sunk into the ground. He is now up to his neck. When he is under, head and all, the world will come to an end, and God will send him to the place prepared for him. He asks all those who go to see him (for there are such) whether children are yet born, and when they say yes, he gives a deep sigh and resumes his walk saying, "The time is not yet!" for before the world comes to an end, there will be no children born for seven years.

Another interesting version of this same legend is found in the preface to Edgar Quinet's *Ahasuerus*. Mr. Magnin, author of the essay prefixed to the work, tells the following story:


174 Ibid., p. 197.
In 1641 an Austrian baron, and in 1643 a physician returned from Palestine, related that a certain Turk had pointed out "Joseph" to a Venetian nobleman named Bianchi. The poor Jew was then under close guard at the bottom of a crypt in Jerusalem; he was dressed in his ancient Roman costume, exactly that of the time of Christ. He did nothing but walk about the room without saying a word, and strike his hand against the wall, or sometimes his breast, to testify his sorrow for having struck the holy face of the Lord. 175

Magnin tells us that his source was a seventeenth century German work, Relation, or Brief Account of the Two Living Witnesses of the Passion of our Saviour. This was probably a version of Droscher's dissertation on the subject.

Crane's third tale is the story of Buttadeu, another name commonly assigned to the Wandering Jew. He is reported to have appeared in Sicily to Antonio Caseio. They spoke very briefly, and the scene closed upon his final words:

Listen, I am going away; I leave you, in memory of me, this, that you might say a credo at the right hand of our Lord, and five other credos at his left, and a salve regina to the Virgin, for the grief I suffer on account of her son. I salute you. Farewell. 176

Another interesting variation of the legend is found in Germany, where the story of the Wandering Jew is often blended with another, separate legend, that of Wodan, the Wild Huntsman. Karl Blind writes of it:

Perhaps one of the clearest proofs of the phantom figure of the Wandering Jew having been grafted upon that of the great Wanderer and world-hunter, Wodan, is to be found in a tale of the Harz Mountains. There it is said that the Wild Huntsman careers over the seven mountain-towns every seven years. The reason given for his

175 Conway, p. 1. 176 Crane, p. 197.
ceaseless wanderings is that he would not allow Our Lord Jesus Christ to quench his thirst at a river, nor at a water-trough for cattle, from both of which he drove Him away, telling Him that He ought to drink from a horse-pond. For this reason the Wild Huntsman must wander about for ever, and feed upon horse flesh.\textsuperscript{177}

In several places throughout Germany, people refer to the Everlasting Hunter (der Ewige Jager) and the Everlasting Jew (der Ewige Jude) as the same person. Some of the forest areas are said to be haunted by one, some by the other.\textsuperscript{178}

Another interesting variant is that told of his appearance in Venice in the year 1700. It is said to have first been recorded by Dr. John Campbell in \textit{Hermippus Redivivus}, which fixed the date at 1687. The stranger was said to be extremely well educated, to have a remarkable art collection, to receive no mail, to pay his bills in ancient gold coins, and to live in a manner of "unostentatious splendor." One day a connoisseur of art was viewing his collection when he realized that a portrait painted of this Signor Gualdi was by Titian, who had been dead for nearly a century and a half. When questioned about this, Gualdi replied, "It is not easy to understand all things that are possible, and yet there is surely no crime in being like a portrait drawn by Titian." The story was quickly spread about town, but when curious people went to call upon him, he had left and was never heard from again.\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{177}Karl Blind, "Wodan, the Wild Huntsman, and the Wandering Jew," \textit{The Gentleman\'s Magazine}, CCXLNII (n.d.), 42.

\textsuperscript{178}Ibid., p. 43.

\textsuperscript{179}The \textit{Dublin University Magazine}, pp. 587-588; Conway, pp. 227-229.
A Swiss tale reports that he was seen one day on the Matterberg, which is an offshoot of the Matterhorn. He viewed the scene sadly, for the last time he had been there, it had been a thriving city. According to tradition, on that first visit, he had said, 'When I come again I shall find a forest where now are houses; and when I come the third time all will be snow and ice'; and Conway points out that this has been fulfilled. According to two other versions of the tale, the third visit is to take place on the eve of judgment day.

The Swiss have another tale of the wanderer, and this time it is accompanied by visible evidence. In History of the Jews in Switzerland (Basle, 1768), it is recorded by Ulrich, the Zurich clergyman, that he had passed through and left his staff and his shoes. He says that these precious relics have been preserved in the government library at Berne. He describes the shoes as being "uncommonly large and made of a hundred snips—a shoemaker's masterpiece, because patched together with the utmost labour, diligence, and cleverness out of so many shreds of leather." It is also said that he left a pair of shoes at Ulm.

Another Swiss tale that is supposed to be of the wanderer seems rather remotely related. Gentleman's Magazine reports a tale of a pilgrim from Rome who is dressed in a way that describes many of the Germanic deities as well as the Wandering Jew.

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182 Blind, p. 46.
184 Blind, p. 45.
the article fails to recognize is that one old man can resemble any other old man in a story, and the fact that he is simply referred to as "the Pilgrim from Rome," with no reference of any sort being made to a Jew, makes the connection rather doubtful. However, Blind does report that in an area close by where this tale is told, he is called "der Ewige Jude"; this name seems to apply only in areas where the Jewish or Catholic population is heavy.  

A Spanish version tells that after receiving the curse from Christ, he repented and walked for a year. Then, at three in the afternoon on Good Friday he saw in the heavens Calvary and the three crosses. "At the foot of the highest of these—the one in the middle—there was a lady, as beautiful as she was sad, as sad as she was sweet. This lady turned her face toward him and said to him, her face pale and tear-stained, "Juan, espera en Dios!"  

Another interesting French version is that one already mentioned in a series of tales for young French children. In it, Isaac Laquedam continually empties his five sous into a chest in order to help the children.

Spain provides an interesting variation of the legend in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. At this time, there seems to have been a slight blending of the legend of the Wandering Jew with that of a scutifer of Charlemagne. References to this are found in traditional accounts by both Mexia and Correas.  

Another interesting variation already mentioned is that found in the Histoire Admirable du Juif Errant, in which the father

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of the wanderer and the father of Jesus work together; and, as a result, the two young men often have occasion to eat and talk together as they help their fathers.

Champfleury reports another German version drawn from a book honoring Schiller. In this version, he appears in Frankfort, where he argues with a merchant over the price of a robe. At last he gives in and tries to pay with an ancient gold coin. The store-keeper refuses to accept the coin. The wanderer replies that it was made in Rome four hundred years ago. At this point, the store-keeper made the sign of the cross and asked the stranger if he were not the Wandering Jew. But the stranger had already disappeared. 188

Another version of the tale considers him as the impenitent thief. Still another makes him a member of the Gypsy community and says that his punishment was due to his refusal to shelter the Virgin and Child during the flight from Egypt. 189 And as the stories continued to grow, many of the versions became even more and more remotely related to the original, so that one is sometimes at a loss as to whether or not they should be put in the same category as that of the Wandering Jew. One example is seen in an 1879 tale in which a woman reported that she could not wash on Good Friday, because a woman had been doing it when Christ passed on the way to Calvary and she had splashed water on his face. As a result, he cursed anyone who washed on Good Friday. 190 James Pearson's account of the covy of plovers, discussed earlier, is another version of


the tale that seems to be only loosely related. Yet, it shows quite clearly the spreading of the legend. Additional evidence of the popularity of the name "Wandering Jew" can be seen in the fact that some plants have been named this. Anderson points out four such plants, but he adds that this name apparently was not given to any of them before the middle of the nineteenth century. Probably the hardiness and the creeping quality of the plants appealed to those who so named them. He adds, in discussing the popularity of such a name, "It is most likely that the 'Wandering Jew' was applied to these plants and birds as a product of the romanticism which pervaded the science in the early nineteenth century, when the protagonist of the legend flourished in literally hundreds of European literary creations."191

Joseph Gaer reports that the legend survives in extensive written accounts today in Slovenian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, and Russian folklore. While many of these Eastern versions simply repeat those already popular in the West, occasionally new variations are found. Gaer reports some of the following interesting motifs:

Some of the Slavic variations concern the Wanderer's age and his mode of penitence.

When the moon is young, according to one legend, the Wandering Jew appears young, and when the moon is old, he appears old. In this version, obviously, the Wandering Jew is in some way equated with the Man in the Moon, about whom there are many folk legends.

A number of Slavic legends begin with a fixed form of interrogation of the Wanderer when he appears. He is asked "When did you arrive here?" He invariably replies to that, "Yesterday." And when asked "When will you leave?"

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191 Ibid., p. 372.
he invariably replies, "Tomorrow."

In one Slavic legend the cobbler had pushed Jesus in front of his shop and urged Him to move on, but immediately repented his deed. He ran to the grave of his young daughter to confess his sin. But his child came out of the grave and cried: "Faithless father! You are faithless toward God and do not deserve to receive solace on my grave!" And the broken-hearted father left her grave and began to wander from place to place. He wanders over the entire world, but can find no peace, and he must continue to wander disconsolate and heartbroken. When the moon is in its last quarter, he turns ashen-gray and feeble; his face becomes wrinkled and his hands tremble; and his matted gray hair reaches down to his shoulders. But when the moon is new, he grows young and strong, straight as a cedar, his features glowing with health, his hair raven-black, his eyes full of passion. And women are warned against his charms. 192

Gaer reports that in other versions, the shoemaker is able to turn himself into a dog or "other domestic animal or beast of burden, which he does from time to time as acts of penance." In one version, he considers his fate "an act of Christian charity." Because of this, he appears only to those who need him; "he appears, in particular, to people of great despair who are contemplating suicide, and he convinces them of the duty of every man to live out his destiny, despite all difficulties." 193

As can be seen, the name given to the eternal wanderer varies almost as often as the motifs do. Cartaphilus, the name under which he first appears, is said to mean "dearly beloved," and thereby links the legend with that of John the Beloved, who is another wanderer. 194 Conway suggests that "Joseph," the name adopted by the Jew when he was baptized, probably came about as a result of the

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192 Gaer, pp. 60-61.
193 Ibid., p. 61.
association of the legend with that of Joseph of Arimathea, who is reported to have traveled over a large part of the world, entering Britain in 66 A.D., "where his blossoming staff fixed the site of Glastonbury Abbey."

The Italian version of his name is given variously as Johannes Buttadeus, Botadeo, Butadeo, Votaddio, etc. This is the name that is frequently used in medieval accounts of his appearances. Anderson says that "the name is derived from a corruption of Italian words of God and push (or shove), so that the term is taken to mean 'the God-pusher, or by extension 'the God-striker,' or 'God-baiter.'" Conway reports that the name "may possibly refer to the boot . . . of the wanderer, and it may have been that deus was added. Whether it meant 'the booted God,' or 'the man who struck God with a boot,' or bouter dieu (to push God), must remain doubtful." Other names by which he was known in Italy are Giovanni Buttadeo and Giovanni Servo di Dio. In Brittany he was called "Bouddedeo," and in Saxon Transylvania he was called "Badeus."

Another story states that he was called Salathiel ben Sadi, and that he appeared and disappeared towards the close of the sixteenth century at Venice in so sudden a manner as to arouse the notice of all Europe.

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197 Conway, p. 100.
199 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126.
Another of his names, perhaps a little less common, was Malchus, suggested by the close association in Italy with the legend of the man whose ear was cut off by Peter. Or perhaps it came, as Paris has suggested, through association with Marcus, the leper healed by Christ.

Ahasverus or Ahasuerus, the name most common in the Western versions of the legend, is probably a Hebrew form of Xerxas. However, Conway is quick to point out that there seems to be no connection between this king and the Wandering Jew. Cordeau reports that there may be some connection between his name and that of the King Ahasuerus who personified evil in the Apocalypse. Perhaps the name came as a result of its frequent use in the Ahasuerus plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Germany.

The name Isaac Lackedom or Lackedion was frequently used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in France and Belgium, where it is believed that the story is of Hebrew origin and that the name points to either Greek or Armenian origin.

In Spain he is known as Juan de voto a Dios, Juan de para Siempre, Asuero, Cartaphilo, and El Judío Errante. He is also called Juan Espera en Dios and Juan Servo di Dios. In Portugal, his name seems to be Juan de Espera em Dios.

The Turkish Spy calls him Micob Ader. Conway points out that sometimes he has been called Gregorius, through a mistake.

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201 Conway, p. 100.
202 The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 126; Sartorius, pp. 48-50.
203 Gillet, pp. 16-17; Killan, pp. 12, 17.  
204 Conway, p. 100.
In the tale from Venice in 1700, he was referred to as Signeur Gualdi, and in another tale, he was referred to as Sieur de Montague. In one of the tales from England, he was referred to as Mr. Ferguson. Thus, while several names seem to have been basic names that changed only slightly as they traveled from country to country, it is also seen that occasionally the Wandering Jew took upon himself a new name that was deemed more befitting for the occasion.

The appearances of the Wandering Jew (or impostors taking advantage of the situation) are many. For a complete chronological list, see the appendix.

Several sources mention that approximately twenty years after his appearance in Hamburg (1542-1547), he appeared in Strasbourg. He chatted with the people there and inquired about the students to whom he had spoken in Hamburg. He also reminded the people that he had been in their city almost two hundred years earlier—and the fact seems to have been substantiated by the police records of the city. He told the people that he had been traveling during the last twenty years and had visited "the remotest parts of the Eastern Indies." His German had no trace of accent at that time.

He was reported in Hamburg in 1564 and 1566. He was reported to have been seen in Konigsberg, Rostock, Weimar, and Danzig. Two papal envoys reported having met him in Spain about

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207 Sartorius, p. 52.
208 Cordeau, p. 21.
209 Champfleury, p. 19.
the time of the Spanish Armada. They declared that his Spanish there was as good as his German in Hamburg. Another tale, perhaps only a slightly different version of the same one, reports that in 1575 the Duke of Holstein sent two ambassadors to Madrid, where they met him. One of the ambassadors was Christopher Eringer or Kraus; the other, perhaps only a secretary, was called Jacobus. They, too, reported that he spoke excellent Spanish. He was reported to have been in Holland in 1575. In 1599 he was reported to have been in Vienna and also in Spain.

In 1600 he was in Nuremberg and Lubeck. He returned to Lubeck again, in 1601; and later, in 1603, several sources mention another appearance in Lubeck. In 1602 he was seen in Leyden; he returned again in 1608. A little after 1602 he was seen at Fontainebleau, where he met with the brother of the king. He also visited Châlons-sur-Marne and Ile de France. He seems to have been widely seen in Paris in 1604 and to have passed frequently through Brittany and Picardy. In 1613 he was seen in Moscow and Hungary. In 1614 he was reported to have returned to Fontainebleau and Châlons, and in 1615 to Ile de France.

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215 Gillet, p. 21.
216 Cordeau, p. 25.
217 Bering-Gould, p. 15.
219 Killan, p. 27.
220 Champfleury, p. 17.
222 Ibid., p. 243; Champfleury, p. 80.
In 1616 many people conversed with him in Livonia, Cracow, and Moscow. In 1619 he appeared in Flanders.

An interesting impostor appeared in 1623. At this time a man dressed in the traditional outfit of the wanderer appeared at the door of Messines in Ypres on May 26, 1623. He said that he was the Wandering Jew, and he asked permission to go about begging. He obtained permission, stayed at a local inn, and married the innkeeper's daughter. But one day the servant of a Spanish captain with whom he had dined recognized him. He was arrested, and he confessed that he was a deserter, Leopold Delporte. He was hanged for his crimes.

The wanderer returned to Hamburg in 1633, and this time he was reported to have accepted gifts from the officials. Sometime between his first and second Hamburg visits, he visited Naumberg, but no date is ever given for the visit.

One popular tale reports that in the year 1640 he was met by two citizens of Brussels in the Forest of Soignes, near the city. He accompanied them to an inn for refreshments, but he refused to sit down. He told them stories of his adventures and the many things that he had witnessed throughout the centuries. When they realized who he was, they left in terror.

Another version of the same story reports that the two citizens who met him were from

225 Cordeau, p. 33.
226 Baring-Gould, p. 17.
Gerberstrasse, in Brussels, and were walking in the Sonian Wood. 228

In 1642 he visited Leipzig, and on July 22, 1721, he was seen in front of the city gates of Munich. 229 On April 22, 1771, he again returned to Brussels and there apparently sat for a portrait used to illustrate a ballad composed about him. It is said of this portrait that it "was graven on wood, and copies of it may be seen suspended in most of the cottages of Belgium, where his legend has always been more popular than anywhere else. In fact, the two great objects of hero-worship among the Flemings are the Wandering Jew and Napoleon." 230 This same source also mentions vague accounts of his having been seen at Salamanca and Venice, and then at Naples he appeared as a successful gambler. Another source reports that the date of his return to Brussels was at six in the evening on April 22, 1772. 231 Giron, however, reports that date to be April 22, 1774. 232 According to one report, he died in Jerusalem about 1774. And yet he was next seen in Vienna in 1777. 233 As has been mentioned, he visited England about the end of the seventeenth century. Shortly after that, he appeared in Denmark and Sweden. 234

228 Baring-Gould, p. 17.

229 Ibid.

230 Sartorius, p. 52.

231 The Eclectic Magazine, p. 223.

232 Giron, p. 142.

233 Cordeau, p. 32.

234 Baring-Gould, p. 18.
General Appearance, Characteristics, and Miscellaneous Details

With each version of the legend, the appearance of the Wandering Jew changed. In some accounts he appeared as an old man; in some he is in his early thirties. Yet, he is usually described as being very aged and having a long white beard, matching his unkempt hair. His countenance varies greatly also. While some accounts mention his kindly face and one report comments on the respectful kind of impression he gave which suggested a history of melancholy, others present a different picture. One Lorraine engraving pictures him as "diebolicl."

Champfleury's study of his history in pictures contains early pictures that show him as noble in form and generally handsome, but melancholy. One picture in the book shows anti-Jewish feeling, and that is a modern one from Sweden, where the legend is still believed. This particular picture presents him in a semi-caricature, carrying top-boots on his back.

His kindly, benevolent attitude certainly did not prevail at all times, for in some German, Swiss, and French tales he is able to bring down disaster upon any person who offends him.

The accounts of his clothing seem to have varied as much as the other motifs. In some accounts, he is an impressive figure, while in others, he is nothing more than a ragged freak. He often appeared in a broad hat and a large mantle. The colors varied from purple to white to worn beyond color. Sometimes he appeared as a beggar in clothes that were ragged and torn; sometimes his clothes

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235 Conway, p. 123.  
236 Ibid., p. 154.  
bore the traces of having once been oriental finery. In some accounts, he wears the large apron that symbolized the laborers and the lower class of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In one of the Italian versions, his costume was drastically different: it was the habit of a monk.

In particular, his shoes often attracted attention. They were sometimes described as being a work of art, patched together from many small pieces. In another tale, they were heavy iron-sheeted shoes. One account described his shoes as having a sole marked by seven nails dispersed in the form of a cross, so that he left a clear trail wherever he went. Some accounts seem puzzled by his profession as a shoemaker, but consider it rather ironic that his curse sentences him to wander so extensively that he wears out more shoes than his own occupation can supply.

The profession of his father is usually not mentioned, but when it is, he was either a cordwainer or a carpenter. And, surprisingly enough, even the profession of the wanderer changed. At times, he appeared merely as a beggar; he appeared in Italy as a nobleman and also as a monk; he has appeared as a carpenter and as a doorkeeper. According to one account, he was a prince in his Jewish tribe. According to another, he was an officer in the Sanhedrin. And in one account, he was reported to have, on several occasions, appeared as a teacher. In this role, he usually taught history and geography.

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238 Blind, p. 45.  
239 Cordeau, p. 18.  
He is usually considered to be either from the tribe of Levi242 or from that of Naphtali, and one account reports that he married a girl from the tribe of Benjamin.243 Although some accounts make no mention of a family, Champfleury speaks specifically of three children. Apparently the Flemish people did not consider his punishment sufficiently terrible, for they insist that he was also punished by the loss of his small child and that the memory of his wife and child followed him everywhere he traveled. According to them, each child that he saw reminded him of his newly-born child that he had lost.244 The Dover pamphlet speaks specifically of his love for children.

The ways in which he gains strength and regains his youth are interesting and varied. In one account, each Good Friday he sees Calvary in the sky and from it draws enough strength to continue his visit. According to some, at the end of every hundred years, he falls into a trance and returns to the age of thirty. In some versions, he falls ill before returning to his former age. And in some, he is rejuvenated by bathing in the Jordan River. According to many accounts, he speaks very little. Some say that he never smiles, and some report that no laughter is ever known to have escaped him.

According to many versions of the legend, the traveler will accept nothing from those who listen. Yet, at other times he is reported as having accepted gifts. And when he has posed as a beggar, he has been more than willing to accept what has been offered to him. Sometimes he accepts alms with the specification that they

242 Cordeau, p. 10.  
243 Histoire Admirable, pp. 4, 12.  
244 Champfleury, p. 61.
will be given to the poor, and even then he sometimes insists that they be no more than one groat.\textsuperscript{245} Conway points out, however, that he was apparently a little more willing to accept money in England, for he reports that "common sense gradually chilled the Wandering Jew. When it was found that he was not above receiving sixpences to support his imperishable existence, the public lost interest in him.\textsuperscript{246}

Some accounts of the legend contain an interesting motif in which his money supply is self-replenishing. Some say that he possesses one groat which he keeps in his picket; it is always there, no matter how many times he spends it.\textsuperscript{247} In the French and Belge versions of the legend, the amount is said to be five sous. The motif seems to have been a favorite in the Spanish versions of the legend, where they were concerned with a practical explanation of how he supported himself. These versions even hinted of the blending of the legend with others—not other wanderer legends, but rather legends concerning magicians and magic purses. In Spain, the amount of his money was usually cinqo blancas, but in some versions it was only three, and in some it became only one coin.

While he often seemed to be kept alive without food or drink, he did take refreshment with the two citizens of Brussels. Anderson points out that he seldom, however, partook of liquor. At times, in fact, he did not take it at all; at other times, he not only permitted himself a drink, he sometimes went about asking for one.

\textsuperscript{245} Anderson, "Popular Survivals," p. 377; Sartorius, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{246} Conway, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{247} Blind, p. 43.
This usually occurred in the English versions.

Generally he is considered to be a rather strict Christian. But he is said to have been seen gambling in Naples. Conway is quick to point out, however, that there the saints are often asked to help at the gambling tables, so his new role is only in keeping with the situation. 248

Most of the tales report that he had to be constantly moving; he could neither stand nor sit and had "no rest day or night, and was kept alive without food or drink, sleep or rest." 249 Sometimes he was reported to be able to stay in an area for no more than three days, perhaps symbolic of the time between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Sometimes his visit could last no more than one night; sometimes it was not past the midnight hour; sometimes he could not even stand still long enough to tell his name but had to keep walking even while talking. Yet, there are versions in which he is able to enjoy a leisurely two-week rest from time to time. 250

In Westphalia it is said that he might rest for the night if two harrows have been left in the field with the teeth down. However, if one does the God-like thing, he always leaves the teeth of the harrow up. It is also said that he can rest wherever he can find two oaks growing together so that they form a cross. In Oldenberg, more evidence is seen of the legend's being blended with that of the Wild Huntsman, for there it is said that both can find rest.

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248 Conway, p. 164.
249 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
from the middle of May to the end of July.\textsuperscript{251}

As has been seen, the cause for the curse varied slightly. Some say that he only refused to let Christ rest; some say that he actually struck Christ. One account says that he struck him with a shoe-last.\textsuperscript{252} Some say that he was already under a curse because his father had warned Herod when the three magi came, thereby bringing about the death of the male children.\textsuperscript{253}

In France the sudden roar of a gale of wind at night is said to be the passing of the Wandering Jew.\textsuperscript{254} In fact, his visit to France in 1604 seems to have been accompanied by quite a number of storms and tempests. It was said that he was borne from place to place by these whirlwinds. In Picardy and Brittany, when the wind howls along a barren stretch, the peasants cross themselves and say that the Wandering Jew is passing.\textsuperscript{255} In some parts of France, it is the roar of a gale at sea that is said to be a sign of the passing of the traveler.\textsuperscript{256} In the Eastern lands, where the story of Cain is sometimes blended with that of the Wandering Jew, the Bedouin believe that he is passing whenever a hot wind blows; they refer to it as the Cain-wind.\textsuperscript{257}

He is sometimes said to have an awful mark upon him. According to one source,

\textsuperscript{251}Conway, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{252}Andersen, "Popular Survivals," p. 372.
\textsuperscript{253}Cordeau, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{254}Baring-Gould, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{255}The Eclectic Magazine, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{256}"The Story," p. 638.
\textsuperscript{257}Conway, p. 71.
the Jew wore a black bandage on his forehead, which concealed a crucifix of flame, ever burning a brain that grew as fast as it was consumed. It is intimated that the familiars of the Inquisition had orders to keep a sharp lookout for the wanderer, and that the crucifix was designated as the mark by which he might be known. The Inquisitors never caught him, though they often had information of his practising as a conjuror, and exhibiting the cross on his forehead in the dark—a trick often practised by school-boys with a bit of phosphorus. They arrested, indeed, a juggler at Seville; but, on inquiry, he proved to be "no conjuror," and had the good luck to be liberated after having endured "only the moderate torture."258

Another account of this mark states that it was referred to as the mark of Cain and was to have been the mark of a blood-red cross on his forehead.259

There is a traditional motif that he frequently carried the plague from city to city. It is suggested that the origin of this motif could have been in "the actual diseases bred in the wretched quarters in which Jews were crowded by a suicidal inhumanity, and from which every Jewish traveler and trader had to go."260

Many of the versions attest to his superior knowledge. It is a frequent occurrence for him to be interviewed by well-known scholars who are attempting to find out if he is an impostor. He always manages to pass his difficult exams in subjects such as Oriental history with an impressive victory over his examiners. He also seems to be gifted with a superior knowledge of languages, for many accounts mention that he spoke perfectly the language of all the countries that he had visited. In some accounts, he is pictured as an excellent story teller, for he can hold his audience for hours while telling of his adventures. Frequently his accounts take on

258 Sartorius, p. 48. 259 Conway, p. 72. 260 Ibid., p. 49.
the air of a travelogue as he turns his sermon into a lecture on the customs of a particular country. Sometimes his accounts are accompanied by his versions of legends and myths, for he has existed for so long that he frequently was present when the incident originated.

Sometimes, when he is recognized, he is welcomed, for some think that to turn him away would bring bad luck. Yet other times he is angrily driven away by anyone who recognizes him.

In Germany, he is said to haunt forests, sometimes the same ones as those haunted by the Wild Huntsman, sometimes different ones. Another interesting motif is his inability in both England and Italy to be held in chains or under lock of any type. In some stories he can become invisible at will; in some he simply disappears rapidly when he leaves an area. And of course, he must be able to move with great rapidity, when one thinks of all the places in which he has appeared within a very short space of time.

In "La Licorne et le Juif Errant," Vol. V, no. 1 of the Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique, Dr. Corremans has noted that it is a popular tradition in Belgium that he rejuvenates old women when he passes through. 261

One version records that people cannot look upon him without dying; 262 yet a more frequent motif is his ability to cure sickness. In one of the English accounts, he advises a lame man how to cure himself. In another, it is said that he can heal someone by knocking his staff on the ground three times. 263 In one of the Italian

261 Champfleury, p. 94.
262 Cordeau, p. 18.
263 Sternberg, p. 503.
versions, he merely predicted that the woman would be healed.

His predictions, however, are not confined to such simple matters as health. They usually are predictions of a political nature. In Italy one diarist has followed through quite nicely by making notations as to whether or not each prediction came true. In some of the stories he predicts the end of the world. In the Swiss tales concerning his visit to the Matterberg, he says that the judgment day would arrive after his third visit to that spot. In one of the Malcus versions from Italy, he says that it will be only after no babies have been born for seven years. In the Hull and Dover pamphlets, he predicts that the world will end shortly after 1969.

In some of the versions, he appears humble and contrite, smitten with the knowledge of an unforgiven sin; yet in others he does not seem to be the least bit worried about his fate. In some he remains very bitter, representing the anti-Christ. He has gradually come to be regarded as omniscient as well as ubiquitous, a man who has been everywhere and seen everything. 264

Thus, he remains all things to all people. He adapts to the needs of the people, and men find in him that which they wish to find, that which they need to explain, that upon which they can let their imaginations dwell.

The Art Form

The Iberian Peninsula, France, and Germany

The legend of the Wandering Jew, told orally throughout Europe for generations gained new importance as it was caught up into waves of literature in the many countries it had already penetrated as a legend. Beginning on the continent and moving into England, the familiar theme captured the imaginations of many of the great writers and became immortalized through the power of their pens. Spain, the Slavic countries, Germany, France, and England seem to have been the countries most thoroughly captured by the spell of this legend.

Literary references to the Wanderer and use of his story as a motif probably first began on the Iberian Peninsula, where the earliest record we have of him in the art form is a novel written in 1528 by a Spanish priest, Francisco Delicado. Lozana Andaluza, published in Venice in the Castillian language, was a rather scandalous novel which seemed to have caught the attention of many people. This was followed in 1543 by Comedia Eufrosina, written by the Portuguese playwright, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos. His first work, some critics feel that it is actually more nearly a novel in dialogue form rather than a stage play.

This was followed in 1557 by Crotolon, a novel which most people credit to Christobel de Villalon, a writer who seems to have

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265 Gillet, p. 17; Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), III, 55.
been thoroughly familiar with Spanish folklore. A Spanish humanist, it is said that he wrote his novel in a rather curious satiristic form. The same writer is also credited with writing *Viaja de Turquía*, also containing references to the Wandering Jew. However, *Cassell's Encyclopedia of World Literature* insists that it is almost certain that he did not write *CrotoLon*, and that *Viaja de Turquía* was actually written by Andrés Loguna (1499-1560), a Spanish medical writer and satirist. The encyclopedia says of this work that it "abounds in Erasmian anti-clerical satire."\(^{266}\) Whatever the authorship, the references to the wanderer remain.

The wanderer next appears in a play in 1552, *Jardin del Alma Christiano*, written by Vasco Díaz Tanco de Frexenal. The work refers to the motif that Juan Espera en Dios (the Wandering Jew) bathes in the River Jordan to rejuvenate himself.\(^{267}\) This is followed a few years later by Eugenio de Salazar, who published *Cartas* in 1560.\(^{268}\) A man who excelled in verse, in this work he shows both a gay, light-hearted attitude and a shrewd wit. The wanderer again returned to Portugal during the second half of the sixteenth century. This time, he appeared in a comedy, *Auto de Mouro Encantado*, a play by Antonio Prestes, as Joao de Espera em Dios.\(^{269}\) He also appeared in the works of another Portuguese playwright during this period, Francisco de Sa de Miranda (1481-1558) referred to him in his comedy, *Vilhelpancos*.\(^{270}\)


\(^{267}\) Gillet, p. 20.

\(^{268}\) Ibid., p. 18.

\(^{269}\) Ibid., p. 18, fn. 7.

\(^{270}\) Killan, p. 17, fn. 1.
In Spain he appeared in a work by the well-known Cervantes, a pastoral novel, *Galatea*, which appeared between 1580 and 1583. Once again, however, the reference is only casual. It is interesting that here the five magic coins become three.\(^{271}\) Early in the seventeenth century Cervantes had announced that he was beginning work on the second part of *Don Quixote*, but before he could finish his work, another writer published his own version of the second part. In 1615 Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda brought out his edition of *Don Quixote*,\(^{272}\) which contained a reference to the wanderer. The work was even printed to match the first part brought out by Cervantes. It is this version that Alexander Pope refers to in his "Essay on Criticism," not the one by Cervantes. No one is certain as to the real name of the author, although there are many theories. Evidence seems to indicate that he was an Aragonese and a Dominican monk. It has been suggested that it was written by Juan Blanca de Pas, a Dominican friar and enemy of Cervantes.

In 1619 Francisco Rodriguez Lobo (1580-1622), Portugal’s foremost poet and novelist of the Baroque Age, referred to the wanderer in *Corte na Aldea a Noites da Inverno*.\(^{273}\)

In 1620 H. de Luna wrote a sequel to the famous picaresque work, *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Entitled *Segunda Parte de Lazarillo de Tormes*, it, too, contains casual references to the wanderer.\(^{274}\)

As might be expected with any well-known idea or motif, references to the Wandering Jew appear in the works of Lope de Vega.

\(^{271}\) Gillet, p. 18. \(^{272}\) Ibid., p. 27. \(^{273}\) Killian, p. 17, fn. 1. \(^{274}\) Gillet, p. 19.
In 1615 he is mentioned in *El Cuerdo en su Case*. This work makes particular mention of his rejuvenation through bathing in the River Jordan. He also appears in *Alcalde de Zelama*, and in 1630 he appears in *Dorotea*, one of Lope’s last works.275

In the early part of the seventeenth century, the shoemaker appeared in a work by Quevedo, *Parnasso*.276 A Spanish moralist, Gracian, made use of the wanderer in his allegorical masterpiece, *El Criticón*, which appeared from 1650-1653. Here the five magic coins become one. Also, he refers to the rejuvenation by bathing motif.277

In 1669 the eternal wanderer finally became the central figure rather than a minor motif or reference. At this time, Antonio de Huerte, using one of the traditional motifs of the wanderer’s legend, wrote a play, *Las Cinco Blancas de Juan Espera en Dios*. In addition to the traditional magic coins, he also used the motif of invisibility.278

Some time in the seventeenth century, Francisco Navarrette, a Gongoristic poet, wrote a sonnet referring to the wanderer, *Sonete con Estribillo*.279 About the turn of the century or shortly after, Fernan Cabellero (Cecilia Bohl de Faber) wrote a novel, *La Estrelle de Vandalalia*, which included in it an old Andalusian folk tale describing how, each Good Friday, the wanderer saw in the horizon Calvary, the three crosses, and the Mother of Christ. The Madonna turned to him and said, "Juan, espera en Dios." From this tale,

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then, we have received an explanation for one of his names in Spain. 280

In 1845 in Barcelona, Joaquim Rubio published *Memoria Crítica Literaria Sobre el Judío Errante*. However, rather than actually being an artistic work in itself, it is the result of another, more famous one, the novel *Le Juif Errant* by Eugene Sue, which will be discussed later. This work is actually an attack on the anticlericalism of Sue's work. 281

The wanderer appeared as the Judío Errante in *El Humo Dormido*, a novel written by Gabriel Miro Ferrer (1879-1930). 282 The most recent Spanish work that can be found on the subject is that written in 1933 in *The Golden Book Magazine*, entitled "The Wandering Jew: a Spanish Folk Tale Retold," by the well-known Spanish writer Vincente Blasco Ibáñez. The tale begins at an inn, where people are astonished to see the door open and two feet slowly enter the room. The police come, but are unable to arrest the feet; and everyone flees in terror. The feet run down the road and soldiers chase after them. At last they are driven into a prison, where the doors are securely shut and then sprinkled with holy water. At first the door is closely guarded, but gradually the guards relax their vigil. One day, a new jailer peers in and sees that the body has started to grow upward from the feet, and that it is now up to the thighs. The horrible thing continues to grow until a face gradually appears. At last he agrees to tell his story if his captors

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281 Gillet, p. 26, fn. 40.
will free him. In telling his tale, he says "My body has perished thousands of times, but my feet, like my accursed soul, condemned to eternal existence, have resisted death." He is recognized and angrily sent on his way. 283

In France the legend seems to have been popularly known among the vulgar through numerous complaints, ballads, and songs. Unfortunately only a very few of these can now be found. The earliest of these is the "Ballad of Brabant," which most scholars think was composed in 1575. 284 It makes use of one of the popular French-Belge motifs, the five coins. In 1609 one of the more carefully preserved works was first published. Called "Complainte a Bordeaux," it was sung to the tune "Dames d'Honneur." It tells how Ahasuerus pushed Christ several times to hurry him and as a result was forced to leave his wife and children and begin his eternal wandering. He feels that he has been left as an example to testify to the life and passion of Christ. According to Schobel, the work itself is much too scholarly to have been written by one of the vulgar. 285

An old Breton ballad, La Guerz du Juif Errant, sung to the popular tune "Guerz, Santez Anna" and consisting of 180 verses was current by 1638. 286

284 Gaer, p. 113.
286 Conway, p. 155; Champfleury, p. 82.
From *Histoire Admirable*, we have "Nouvelle Complainte du Juif Errant, Reconnu a Metz, sur un Air Nouveau." In this piece, he does not respond to any questions asked by the populace, but he tells them that he has tried to find death and cannot. He admits the justice of his punishment and hopes that his example will serve as a warning for others.  

The *Bibliotheque Bleue* contained another popular song telling in detail of the travels of the wanderer. This one was sung to the tune of "Au Beau Clair de la Luna." One of the most popular songs was composed by Pierre Jean de Béranger. Originally sung to ancient folk music, it has since been put to music by Amédée de Beauplan and also by Ernest Doré, who composed music written especially for it. It depicts the Jew as being driven by a whirlwind which hardly allows him to finish speaking before driving him on.

Killan mentions two other popular songs, of which she unfortunately gives us only small portions. The first appeared in 1805 and depicts an unhappy wanderer, unhappy because he has only five *sous* and the omnibus requires six. The work is found in *Chants et Chansons Populaires de la France*. The second song is dated 1869. In 1846 there appeared a French ballad, "Le Juif Brocanteur," which was believed to be by Charles Beck; it appeared in the book *Chants du Pauvre*.

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287 *Histoire Admirable*, pp. 21-23.  
288 Champfleury, p. 2; Killan p. 29.  
290 Killan, p. 33.  
291 Ibid., p. 35.  
292 Cordeau, p. 38.
The final work in this group which can be found today is a "Complainte" contained in a book of engravings by Gustave Doré. The book itself is a collector's item for artists. It contains and discusses the famous series of engravings, and the ballad is included simply as an accompaniment to them.293

According to Paul Lacroix, by 1857 at least ten French dramatic works had been written using the Wandering Jew as a theme.294 Unfortunately, few of them can be located today. The earliest artistic performance in which the Wandering Jew appeared was probably a ballet by Philidor, entitled Marriage de Pierre de Provence et de la Belle Maguelonne. It was performed by the Altesse Royale at Tours and in Paris in 1638. The ballet was apparently taken from a novel of the same title, written by Bernard de Treviez in the fourteenth century. It contained in it the 180-verse Breton ballad.295 In 1812, a melodrama entitled Le Juif Errant, written by Caignez, was performed at La Gaieté.296

Another work, apparently performed about 1834 by the Franklin and Napoleon Theater Company, was Relation Curieuse et Intéressante de Nouveau Voyage du Juif Errant, son Passage à Saint-Hélène, son Entretien avec Napoleon; arrivée du Juif Errant en Angleterre. The work was anonymous.297 Also in 1834, Vincent Victor Joly's Le Juif Errant was performed.298

294 Gaer, p. 133.
295 Conway, p. 155; Cordeau, p. 43.
296 Gaer, p. 133; Killan, p. 33.
297 Cordeau, p. 39.
298 Gaer, p. 135.
Some people, aware that Jacques Halévy is supposed to have written an opera about the wanderer, mistakenly believe that *La Juive* is based on the legend. However, it is not. It was nearly twenty years later, in 1852, at the Imperial Academy of Music, that he did compose music for an opera based on the legend. The libretto was by Augustin Scribe and Sainte-Georges. The work was apparently never performed and it is not listed in the standard records as a work of either Halévy or Scribe.  


In 1833 there appeared probably the best-known French play on the subject, *Ahasuerus*, by Edgar Quinet. Quinet had been intrigued by the legend for some time prior to this. In fact, in 1822 he had published *Tablettes de la Juif Errant*, in which he approached the legend only from a cynical point of view. However, according to his own words, *Ahasuerus* is diametrically opposed to the first work. In it the wanderer is pictured as a humble man of good sense. The work is widely recognized for its literary achievement and apparently has served as an inspiration for others who have found the same theme appealing. While it is actually a prose drama, many critics describe it as being more nearly poetry. Of it, one

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298 Gaer, pp. 132-133.


300 Killan, p. 34, fn. 2.
reviewer said:

Mr. Edgar Quinet has certainly shown that he appreciates the true spirit of this wonderous fable, for we believe he is the first writer who has ever thought of considering the Wandering Jew as the type of humanity itself, as the "incarnated symbol of modern life, the personification of the human race since the Christian era." His book is called Ahasuerus, a Mystery, and indeed, it could scarcely come within the domain of art in any other form. .. this prose poem .. when it first appeared "created a profound sensation."301

The work, which has been described as an epic in prose, has a prologue and an epilogue and is divided into four days, with an interlude between each day. The first day represents the Creation; the second, the Passion—and it is here that Ahasuerus enters. The third day is Death. Ahasuerus falls in love with Rachel, who pleads for him. This part of the work begins to resemble the story of Margaret and Faust. The fourth day is the Day of Judgment. This section, too, resembles Faust. In it, Ahasuerus repents and, while in a desert, is baptized by the tears of Rachel.302

In 1882 Le Bonnet du Juif Errant, a comedy in twelve scenes, was published in Nancy. In this play, the wanderer stops at the home of a rich man. In return for a drink, he leaves his hat. When anyone wears this hat, people truthfully tell him what they think of him without realizing it. The rich man wears it and discovers that his lawyer and doctor have been swindling him, his wife is waiting for his death so that she can be free, and his children are waiting for his death so that they can spend his money. The wanderer returns and counsels him to use his money by doing good

rather than wasting it on these people.303

In 1912 the Théâtre au Salon in Paris produced Le Juif Errant chez Cendrillon, by Marguerite Duportal.304

In 1934 René Duverne wrote a comedy in one act based on the wanderer's theme. He adds an interesting motif to his work, for an angel appears to Ahasuerus and promises him that if he can find someone willing to take his place, he can once again become a man just like any other.305

The final dramatic production using this theme was presented in 1946 in Paris. Entitled Le Juif Errant, it was a three-act play written by Maxime Alexandre.306

One of the first serious French poetic attempts seems to be L'Espadon Satirique (The Satiric Sword), written by Esternod in 1680. In this, among other things, the wanderer describes his visit with nuns.307 In 1856 Pierre Dupont wrote a long poem expressly to illustrate the famous drawings of Gustav Doré. In 1857 Edouard Grenier wrote La Mort du Juif Errant. It was first published separately and then later included in a volume entitled Petits Poèmes. In it, the poet meets Ahasuerus, who recounts the story of his wanderings. At the end of his story, a knock is heard at the door; Christ enters and forgives him.308 This work, in turn, inspired another:

306 Gaer, p. 135.
307 Killan, p. 31.
308 Conway, pp. 217-223.
La Charité, by Catulle Mendes, which has been described as a miniature model of Grenier’s work.  

In 1867 a Belgian poet, André Van Hasselt, published his Quatre Incarnations du Christ. It was a work which had taken at least twenty-five years of effort. He had first received the idea for it in 1833 when he read Quinet’s Ahasuerus.

In 1884 Jean Richepin published Blasphèmes, a long poetic work which showed an Ahasuerus who was angry and rebellious rather than repentant and contrite.

The first novel written on the subject was probably the one by Bernard de Treviez, written in the fourteenth century and later used as a basis for the ballet performed in Tours and Paris. The wanderer next appeared in French fiction sometime in 1733, or earlier. In 1733 Simon Tyssot de Patot’s Voyages et Adventures de Jacques Massé was translated into English as The Travels and Adventures of James Massey. The author claims that he has dined with the Wandering Jew, who, in this version, assumes the name Micob. The name, as well as the story he tells, indicates that the author was inspired by The Turkish Spy. However, one way in which the story does vary from previous accounts is the fact that it introduces him to make an authoritative statement on one of the technicalities of medieval theology, the condition of the body in the resurrected state. In discussing the resurrection following the crucifixion, he states that, when the graves opened and naked bodies

310 Ibid., p. 374.
311 Ibid.
came out, no one could distinguish the sex; moreover, all the bodies also appeared to be the same size and age. There were no distinguishing marks on any of them—including hair, teeth, and nails. All of this causes him to conclude that there is no food in the hereafter, as all parts of the body concerned with taking it in or eliminating it seem to be missing. 312

The famous Alexander Dumas, Père, has written a novel on the subject, Isaac Laquedam (1853). In English it was known as Tarry til I Come, or the Everlasting Jew. In it, in 1471, a stranger travels to Rome, where he is the last of a group of thirteen to have his feet washed by the Pope. He begs the Pope to hear his confession. He had been a Roman soldier humiliated by the defeat at the battles of Bructeraea. At court, as Christ approached, he held the standard high; but the eagle bowed down, forcing him, Isaac Laquedam (or Lakadema), to bow so low that he was almost prostrate. As a result, he was very bitter. Later Laquedam, who has a son and a daughter in this story, refuses to allow Christ to rest at his bench. The curse is spoken. The stranger asks the Pope to intercede, and the results are very long and complicated. 313

Probably one of the most famous novels ever to be written on the subject is Le Juif Errant, by Eugene Sue. Sue, who is said to have been the originator of the magazine serial, had reached the end of his famous novel, Les Mystères de Paris, which had been


313 Gaer, pp. 125-128.
appearing in serial form in Paris. The work had been extremely popu-
lar, and his following waited to see what he would next produce.
The work that did follow brought Sue even greater fame. A rather
sensational work, Le Juif Errant, appearing chapter by chapter in
the Constitutional, apparently was begun in 1844. According to
Stocker, the work continued to appear for nearly half a century.314
The story itself is an extremely complicated one; the Wandering Jew
himself plays a minor but very important role. Sue's theme is
based on immortality—the immortality of the family, of property,
and of the corporation. More than that, however, the book is a very
bitter attack on the Jesuit society, which he seems to feel is even
more powerful than the Pope. He attacks its motives and techniques;
and the real villain of the very complicated plot is the entire
Jesuit Society. He pictures the society as attempting to gain power,
both financial and political, over the entire world; and the group
is willing to go to any extremes in order to achieve its goal. Sue
makes use of one of the motifs often neglected in the legend—the
plague. He also brings in another wanderer legend: periodically
throughout the story, the Wandering Jew meets Herodias, who is said
to be punished to perpetual wandering for her part in the death of
John the Baptist.

The story, quite understandably, created a storm of public
reaction. The masses were fascinated by it; but it was published
in a Catholic country, and it aroused many protests. Victor Joly,
who had himself written a play about the wanderer, harshly attacked
the work in a book he wrote on the subject:

314 Stocker, p. 115.
Le livre de M. Sue est si bien un pamphlet anticatholique, une diatribe mélo-dramatique contre le catholicisme--que partout le protestantisme a poussé un cri de joie à son apparition . . . le succès du Juif Errant, avons nous dit, n'est qu'un succès de scandale, dans lequel l'art littéraire n'a rien à voir.315

Sue received criticism from as far away as Spain. Joaquin Rubio, mentioned earlier, in 1845, in Barcelona wrote an attack on Sue's anti-clerical attitude.

In 1905 A. Allard published a novel on the subject. In it, he added a second reason for the curse—the fact that the wanderer had been the one who had warned Herod, thereby bringing about the death of all male babies. The work itself is a rather uninteresting one in which he tells what "really" happened in history, describes discussions and conversations he has overheard, and tells of his travels. The form seems to be merely a guise, for the work, which takes a strong stand in favor of socialism and the working class, appears to be more of an attack on capitalism than a literary effort. It is illustrated with contemporary photos.316

In 1931 Alexandre Arnoux published a novel based on the theme. In it, the wanderer meets Samiri, the maker of the golden calf who had also been punished with perpetual wandering. They compare experiences; and when Samiri finally dies, the wanderer helps bury him. The Jew tells stories that cover the last two thousand years of history of all the countries of the world and


eventually ends up in modern California, discussing a film entitled *Le Passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ*, to be made by Moving Pictures Corporation. 317

The most recent French novel on this theme was written by Edmond Fleg. A Frenchman of Jewish origin, he was a poet, essayist, and translator. In 1934 his novel was translated and published in London as *Jesus: Told by the Wandering Jew*. The story opens with the author's account of his encounter with the Wandering Jew, who proceeds to narrate the story of Christ. He states that the two who were crucified with Christ were his cousins, sentenced because they had followed his teachings. He felt that if he should be carrying the cross of anyone, it would be that of one of his cousins. He describes very vividly how he first realizes the effect the curse has upon him:

> I walked on and on. I walked around the walls, and when I had come back to my starting point, I walked round them a second time. My legs, that not so long ago had been paralysed, now would not let me stand still. As soon as I attempted to stop, I was aware of a pricking sensation in my toes that spread to my heels, ankles, calves, knees, and thighs. It was just as if millions of needles were digging their sharp points into my flesh from within, into my very bones! My heels had to shake themselves in an effort to rid themselves of the pricking needles, my knees had to bend, my legs had to begin stepping out! And when my legs moved, I was beset by another form of discomfort, for it was just as if there were leaden weights within me that pressed my thighs down to my knees, my knees down to my ankles. I felt that each of my legs were larger than my entire body, and I dragged them along like two ponderous sacks that did not belong to me ... I had not got into my stride yet, you understand! ... it was impossible to stand still or move without experiencing first one painful

sensation and then the other. As soon as I began to walk, the leaden weights shrieked: "Stop!" and as soon as I stopped, the million needles screamed: "Walk!" But the needles screamed louder, and so once more I began to walk. 318

Fleg continues and describes how he heard that Christ had been resurrected, how he had searched for him in the vain hope of putting an end to his walking. He was with the others when the Holy Ghost descended upon them, and he knows what they felt, even though he saw and heard nothing. Yet he admits that he did receive the gift of tongues to aid him in his travels.

It would be impossible to leave the wanderer in France without mention of the pictorial representations. One, already mentioned, has become quite famous. Champfleury's Histoire d'Images Populaire contains several reproductions of early woodcuts, engravings, and paintings. "The Wandering Jew at Salpêtrière," also mentioned earlier, reproduces some of his "portraits." However, the most famous of all is the series of drawings of the well-known artist, Gustave Doré. He has produced a series of twelve engravings on the subject, and they have been frequently reproduced, often accompanied by one of the many ballads on the subject. As was mentioned, Pierre Dupont wrote a poem especially to accompany these illustrations. In addition, they are sometimes used to illustrate novels and other works using the legend.

In Germany, the legend seems to have gained little attention in the form of the ballad or song which was so popular in

France. There is, in fact, a record of only one ballad on the subject; it appeared in Hamburg in 1612.\footnote{319} However, the periodicals of the country apparently carried numerous tales of his adventures during this time,\footnote{320} although it is uncertain whether these were tales in the traditional or the literary form.

One of the earliest records of German-literary interest in the wanderer is found in the writings of Goethe. In his autobiography, \textit{Dichtung und Wahrheit}, translated into English as \textit{Poetry and Truth}, he tells us:

Because everything which I received into my mind with affection took on at once a poetic form, I was now seized with the strange idea of treating especially the history of the Wandering Jew, which had long before been impressed on me by popular books, so as to bring out by means of this guide the prominent points of religious and church history, as it should seem fit to me.\footnote{321}

He goes on to explain his picture of Ahasuerus, who was modeled after Hans Sachs and "enobled ... by an affection for Christ." His Ahasuerus was popular with both the Pharisees and Sadducees, and even Christ and the apostles occasionally stopped by his shop to visit. He was a materialistic, worldly man who hoped to convert the Lord to his way of thinking. Christ, in turn, hoped to convert him. When Christ was taken, Judas came to Ahasuerus in despair. He had hoped that this move would force Christ to declare himself.


\footnote{320}The American Monthly Magazine, p. 55.

as king had been surprised by his submission; Judas, however, received little comfort from the shoemaker. Later, as Christ passed the workshop, Ahasuerus "comes forth after the manner of men with hard intellect, who, when they see someone suffering through their own fault, feel no pity, but are rather impelled by an untimely sense of justice to make matter worse by reproaches." 322

Goethe explains that only fragments of the poem had been written at this point—the beginning, the ending, and scattered passages. He had not yet tied them together, as he wanted to study the legend further. 323 Later in his writings, he tells us that he intended to bring Ahasuerus to an encounter with Spinoza. 324

The fragments were apparently written in 1774, and after the author's death, they were published in 1836. Railo suggests that one reason that the work was never finished is that he "subsequently used up all his ideas on the subject working but the parallel legend of Faust." 325 After carefully studying the material left by Goethe, Prost concluded:

For Goethe, the legend belonged to the region of religion and Church, and revolved round the idea of cursing, repentance, perdition, redemption, round the contrast between Judaism and Christianity. 326

In 1783, Christian Daniel Fredrich Schubart wrote a poem, *Der Ewige Jude*, which has been translated into English under the title *Lyrical Rhapsody*, or merely *Rhapsody*. The poem itself was not actually published in 1787, in Poems, Frankfort, 1787. According to Conway, he had originally intended to make of the wanderer the hero of a novel. Lowes, in describing some of the various events that Schubart had intended to include in his work, wrote:

Schubart had a grandiose conception of a Jew seated on a mountain cliff, looking out across the boundless ocean of time through which his curse had lain, and depicting as in a great epic fresco... all the spectacles, and revolutions, and convulsions of which he had been part—the fall of the Roman coliseum, the birth of empires, "the giant-apparition of the Papacy," the meteoric figures of the Reformation and the Renaissance, the thrilling drama of Columbus, the monuments and masterpieces of almost two thousand years. But the sole realization of vast design pondered long and lovingly over... is the brief "Lyric Rhapsody," published in 1783 [sic], in which Ahasuerus, maddened by endless life, rehearses in a torrent of rhetoric his vain attempts to die.

Each writer interpreted the figure according to his own philosophy and purpose. Lowes felt that this interpretation of the symbolic figure was one of the most important, insofar as the extent of its influence is concerned. Another critic wrote:

His design... was to make the legend subservient to the purposes of epic poetry; to connect with a recital of the wanderer's imaginary adventures, an historical review of the revolutions of empires, and a notice of such prominent occurrences in this history of mankind within the period elapsed since the Christian era, as have had influence on the moral, intellectual, civil, or religious condition and relations of man. The conception was bold, and in the main points original; and had the poet arrived to carry out his

design, the result would probably have been alike honor­
able to his fame and creditable to the literature for his

country. 329

But not all critics interpreted his conception of Ahasuerus in the
same manner. In a note introducing a German edition of the poem,
Ludwig Schubart insists that the author is ridiculing the subject
in a rather morbid way. 330 Most critics, however, said that it was

a short work bearing the stamp of sudden inspiration and
lacking polish and careful consideration, but for that very
reason unaffected and effectual. The agony of Ahasuerus as
death evades him becomes impressive as details are accumu­
lated regarding this strange faculty of his . . . in this
poem. . . Schubart lifts with unerring hand the Ahasuerus-
theme from the region of folklore into that of artistic
literature. 331

This poetic achievement attained popularity in Germany; but
its influence did not end there, for as shall be seen later, it was
destined to inspire one of the great English poets.

In 1785 Riga of Reichard published Der Ewige Jude, "a his­
torical or popular romance as the reader wishes." 332 It, also, was
to influence English writers.

In 1789 Schiller published a novel, Der Geisterseher, 333
which has been translated into English under two different titles,
The Ghostseer and The Apparitionist, and into French as the Vision­
aire. Its influence, too, was destined to extend beyond the bor­

330 Dr. A. Sauver, ed., Sturmer und Dranger (Stuttgart: Charles
331 Railo, p. 195.
332 Ibid., p. 197.
333 Railo, pp. 195-196; Glaesener, p. 394.
ders of its own country.

In 1802 A. W. Schlegal published a novel, *The Eternal Jew.* It first appeared in *Musen-Almanack,* under the title *Die Warnung.* This was followed in 1807 by a ballad "Der Ewige Jude," written by Aloys Schreiber. His ballad depicts Ahasuerus as being too restless to enjoy the beauties of life and nature—even to the extent of picking a flower. He becomes so shy that he avoids all men. Then, one day in his travels, he sees the crucifix and he kneels to beg Christ for forgiveness. Because he has repented, he is released; and he is found dead, kneeling in front of the cross.

In 1818 Franz Horn wrote a novel using the now-familiar title, *Der Ewige Jude.* It was published in Fouque's *Frauentaschenbuch.* His Ahasuerus is disappointed that Christ does not immediately seize power to establish himself here on earth. His disillusionment turns him against Christ. The setting of the novel is essentially that of the Thirty Years War. This novel, in turn, served as the inspiration for a five-act tragedy based upon it. The play, *Ahasuerus,* was written in 1827 by August Klingemann. It ends with the hero (who is a friend of the wanderer) attaining relief through death, while Ahasuerus wanders on.

In 1827 Wilhelm Hauff used the motif in his prose work *Memoirs des Satan;* in it, he particularly emphasizes the religious aspects of the legend. In 1830 Wilhelm Muller published a poem, *Der Ewige Jude,* in *Wanderlieder.* It is a lonely, melancholy work.

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336. Ibid., pp. 178-179.  
337. Ibid., pp. 179-180.  
one in which Ahasuerus asks others to pray for him that he might obtain an hour's rest.\textsuperscript{339}

In 1833 Nikolaus Lenau published a poem, \textit{Ahasver, Der Ewige Jude}; he used the subject later, in 1837, in \textit{Savonarola}, and again in 1839 in \textit{Der Ewige Jude}.\textsuperscript{340}

In 1836 Adalbert Von Chamisso published a subjective poem, \textit{New Ahasuerus}. Although a native Frenchman, he is considered German because of his life and culture. His "new" Ahasuerus is only a rejected lover who compares himself in his misery to the old one.

In 1837 Barthold Auerbach published a novel, \textit{Spinoza}, using the motif of the wanderer.\textsuperscript{342}

In 1838 Julius Mosen wrote an epic entitled \textit{Ahasuerus}. In his poem, Ahasuerus' wife has died, leaving him one son and one daughter. A Roman prince has persuaded Pilate to order their father to deliver them to the prince so that he might take them to Rome with him. Ahasuerus goes to Jesus in despair and finds that he cannot bargain with Christ. Ahasuerus kills his children and becomes bitter against the entire world, crying "Death to this Nazarene, to God, to everything!" When he refuses to allow Christ a resting place, he receives his curse. The poem goes on to depict three trials through which he could have redeemed himself; yet he fails to do so each time. At the end, the struggle is only beginning between "Ahasuerus and Christ, between Humanity and Christendom, between Earth and Heaven."\textsuperscript{343}

\textsuperscript{339}\textit{Conway}, pp. 169-170. \textsuperscript{340}\textit{Zirus}, pp. 64, 70.

\textsuperscript{341}\textit{Conway}, p. 171. \textsuperscript{342}\textit{Zirus}, p. 70. \textsuperscript{343}\textit{Conway}, pp. 172-177.
Joseph Von Zedlitz, the Austrian poet, wrote The Wanderings of Ahasuerus in 1844. His Ahasuerus, however, does not wander perpetually. Instead, he lies asleep under Golgotha, awaiting the Golden Age where eternal peace will reign. As he lies there, half awake, he sees history pass before his eyes. Whenever he thinks that the time has come, he rises and wanders; when he finds that it has not, he returns to his grave to renew his long wait.344

The following year, 1845, Ludwig Kohler produced his poem New Ahasuerus. In this work, Ahasuerus seeks liberty from his life. But Jesus rebukes him, saying that he is not worthy of it until he has mastered himself and overcome his egotism.345 In 1848 Theodor Delkers used the legend in his novel Princess Mary of Oldenhoff, or The Wandering Jew, published in Leipzig. His Ahasuerus continually remarries and rears new families; and he continually sacrifices his children to Christ, but always in vain. He is able to see into the future. He is very bitter, but at last he reconciles himself with the words:

I am only condemned in Time: Eternity belongs to me, as it belongs to all when Time shall end. Then shall I be free to move about in endless regions, breathing the air of heaven; then the partial tyranny of Grace shall be dethroned; Justice will occupy the throne, sharing it with her sister, Love.346

But this time will not come for him until the additional appearances of a Wandering Christian and a Wandering Moslem.

This work was followed in 1851 by a novel, The Peasant Prince.

344 Ibid., pp. 184-185.  
345 Ibid., pp. 178-179.  
346 Ibid., p. 181.
Written by Levin Schucking, it contained an episode entitled "The Three Suitors," in which the Wandering Jew, the Flying Dutchman, and the Wild Huntsman meet together for one year once every hundred years. During this time, they regain their human forms. Then for the following ninety-nine years, they roam the earth as specters. In this episode, they are all three attempting to win the hand of a very beautiful but proud woman. Each takes her with him for a year. She finds her experiences so terrifying that she bargains to sell her soul to the devil in order to escape; but when he also demands the soul of her child, she refuses, thereby destroying his power over her. At this point, she awakens, as from a dream; but she finds evidence of the three suitors beside her.  

In 1854 the wanderer appeared in Der Ewige Jude by J. G. Fischer. The next German literature based on the theme appeared in 1865. The Wanderings of Ahasver, written by Sigismund Heller, was later revised and published in 1868 in a more extensive edition. His Ahasuerus is a wealthy, but ugly, deformed shoemaker who married a beautiful woman. He had formerly attended school with Jesus, but he later grew jealous of Christ's looks and popularity. The first edition ends when Ahasuerus takes up residence with Anthony, the Prophet. In the second edition, Heller changed the entire poem, adding to it considerably. He divided it into three parts. The first, which remained a great deal like the story told in the first edition, was called Ahasuerus' Error of Faith; the second, Picture of the Universe; and the third, Humanity. In the second part,
Ahasuerus hopes for the coming of the Messiah, but he gradually reaches the conclusion that love of humanity is the only true religion. His younger brother Faust joins him, then another brother, Don Juan. Ahasuerus takes no notice of life; Don Juan enjoys it to the fullest; Faust acts as a balance between the two. Together, the three travel to the New World. In the third part, Ahasuerus leaves the New World, and the poem ends with his encounter with Luther and the Reformation.349

In 1867 Robert Hamerling produced a poem Ahasuerus in Rome, in which Nero plays the leading role. Ahasuerus acts with supernatural power, bringing about Nero's burning of Rome and otherwise attempting to control human actions.350 In 1882 Carmen Sylva (Elizabeth, Queen of Rumania) wrote a poem, Jehove, in which Ahasuerus appears as having repented of his sins.351 In 1895 Der Ewige Jude, ein Geschichte aus den Bergen appeared at Regensburg. Written by Otto Schaching, the novel tends to philosophize on both Ahasuerus and the entire Israelite nation.352

In 1901 F. Lienhard published Ahasver, in which the hero becomes a complete materialist.353 In 1902 Gustav Renner published a poem, Ahasuerus, which ends with the words of despair:

What offered me hope vanished like froth;
Death became life, and life death.354

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349 Conway, pp. 192-199.
351 Konig, p. 976.
352 Glaesener, p. 393.
353 Konig, p. 977.
354 Ibid., p. 979.
The year 1919 found the theme returning to German drama. During this year Frido Grelle produced a three-act poetic drama entitled *Ahasver: Der Ewige Kampf*. This was followed by a modern novel trilogy which was not actually published as a trilogy until 1933 under the title *Werdendes Volk*. Written by Hans Friederich Blunk, the trilogy attempted to depict the evolution of the German people by showing the various phases of their religious and cultural convictions. The third part of the trilogy, *Berend Fock*, was written in 1921. It is a blending of three legends—the Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew, and Faust. It depicts the hero as a God seeker who, at the same time, rebels against God. The novel itself is rather poor, for the story is tangled and self-contradictory.

The final appearance of the shoemaker in German literature seems to have been in 1928 in the five-act tragedy by Wilhelm Grundtler, *Ahasuerus*.

England

Of those countries so fascinated by the wanderer, England was the last in which the writers were to become influenced not only by oral tradition, but also by the artistic treatments of the legend in other countries. On the continent, the Wandering Jew played a major role in many popular works. In England, however, he was not destined to a role so great. He influenced some of the most important writers in the country, yet the works in which he appeared

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355 Gaer, p. 135.
357 Gaer, p. 135.
either remain of little literary value or provide only a minor role for him. Even in this way, though, he is shown to have captured the imaginations of the English public so well that his themes and motifs were seized upon by some of the greatest English writers.

One of the earliest artistic treatments of the legend to which people will often refer is The Pardoner's Tale, by Chaucer. As mentioned earlier, the legend itself was not sufficiently well known in England by this time (late fourteenth century); but Chaucer was known to have been influenced by Italian culture, and he could easily have acquired the subject matter from the many tales current at that time in Italy. However, the relationship between the old man in the tale and the Wandering Jew is, at best, very vague. Admittedly he is old; he does appear during a plague; he seems forced to wander. But this is hardly sufficient to identify him with the Wandering Jew. Even to refer to him as one from the perpetual wanderer group seems rather presumptuous on the basis of any available evidence. N. S. Bushnell summarizes the situation well when he writes:

It is not likely that Chaucer intended his readers to believe that the old man was the Wandering Jew in person. Had he so intended, he would have said so. His purpose, more probably, was to create a character who, by his meekness and temperance, his consciousness of divine retribution, would serve as a perfect foil to the three rioters.358

The wanderer's next connection with English literature is quite possibly a 1609 work entitled The Man in the Moone Telling

Strange Fortunes; or The English Fortune Teller. It was printed by "I.W." for Nathaniel Butter. In 1849 this tract was reprinted by the Percy Society, bearing a note in the preface that the tract was "excessively rare." The only copy known to be in existence was that from which the reprint was issued, one in the Bodleian Library. The preface states "A rifacimento of the work appeared some years afterward, under the title of The Wandering Jew... both of these tracts are of greatest rarity, but the latter one is less curious than that presented to the reader in the following pages, and was not considered worthy of republication." The tract begins with a note offering this work to M. Thomas Smith of Clarkenwell, and it is signed by "W.M." The fortune teller is not mentioned by name, although we are told that of his page, Mockso. The relationship of this work to the Wandering Jew, at first glance, seems non-existent. However, further study reveals three interesting points. First, we have the fact that the adaptation of this work (for which we have no date) was entitled The Wandering Jew. Second, it was earlier mentioned that a play was produced in London in 1640 entitled The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen. Even though the original sources are not available for a more detailed study, it does seem quite possible that the 1640 satire was an outgrowth of the 1609 tract and its subsequent adaptation. Third, our attention must turn to an article by G. K. Anderson, in which he discusses a pamphlet appearing in 1757. At the beginning of his article, he points

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out that the author of this work, an "M.W.," has been discovered to be Miles Wilson, an obscure Yorkshire clergyman. He tells us that this same Miles Wilson is the author of an earlier pamphlet, of which "there is no longer a copy in existence," entitled The Man in the Moon. Now it is quite possible that the "W.M." who authored The Man in the Moone in 1609 could easily be the "M.W." who wrote The Man in the Moon referred to in the eighteenth century. The date, of course, would have to be a mistake on one or the other, if the authors are presumed to be the same person. It remains almost impossible to prove that the two Man in the Moon pamphlets are the same, for Mr. Anderson insists that not a single copy of his remains. He relies for his information upon two men: (1) Mr. Thomas D. Whitaker, whose memory seems to indicate that he has confused the work with the later (1757) pamphlet by Miles Wilson, and (2) Mr. Speight, whose account is also quite different from the 1609 edition. But, considering that there has been nearly a century and a half for the work to be transmogrified, a relationship between the two works seems quite plausible. The pamphlet remains undated, but Anderson feels that it could probably be assigned the date 1752, due to apparent influences of certain other works. Quite possibly, then, it is a revised edition of the 1609 work, having undergone various transformations as it came under the influence of different writers and different writings. According to Mr. Anderson, the only connection the 1752 pamphlet has with the Wandering Jew is that it introduces him under the completely original

name, Israel Jobson.

This same Miles Wilson, wrote another pamphlet in 1757, this time entitled The History of Israel Jobson, the Wandering Jew. The subtitle continues:

Giving a Description of his Pedigree, Travels in this Lower World, and his Assumption thro' the Starry Regions, conducted by a Guardian angel, exhibiting in a curious manner the Shapes, lives, and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Moon and the Planets; touching upon the Great and memorable Comet in 1758, and interwoven all along with the Solution of the Phaenomena of the true solar system, and Principles of Natural Philosophy, concording with the latest discoveries of the most able Astronomers.  

It was printed in London for J. Nickolson, Bookseller, in Cambridge, 1757. The title page further states that it was translated from the original Chinese by "M.W."

The story told in the pamphlet is that of a cordwainer's son, Israel Jobson, who is very proficient in writing and arithmetic. His parents died when he was only nineteen; and, after a proper period of mourning, he married a beautiful woman from a reputable family. His in-laws, however, thought that the occupation of a shoemaker was beneath his dignity; and they convinced him that he should sell the small shop he owned and all the merchandise in it during the fair held annually on the seventeenth day of the month of Abib, or Harvest Month. The crucifixion is never mentioned. At this fair, the Saviour passed by and desired to rest. Because He was refused, the shoemaker was cursed to wander. And so Jobson wandered until "the soles of my feet became hard and calloused as a stag's horn." (Anderson here notes that the 1602 edition of the Kurtze Beschreibung mentions this)
motif but that the later editions ignore it. However, he draws the conclusion that there is little likelihood that Miles Wilson was familiar with it and that it was probably just his own "imaginative touch." However, it has been shown that a license was issued as early as 1612 for the printing of an English prose tract on the subject, and Mr. Anderson himself has concluded in another article that it was quite possible that the lost 1612 tract had been a translation of the 1602 edition of the *Kurtze Beschreibung.*)\textsuperscript{362}

During Jobson's travels, he is met by an angel who has come with a chariot to be his guide through the heavens. First he visits the moon, where Anderson tells us that

Jobson's ears are assailed by a terrific clengor of metal; it happens that some of these Moon-men have returned from battle. There are wars on the Moon even as on Earth. And the inhabitants of the moon are fully as mortal as those on earth, "for if an hole be made either in the Head or Body to let out the Vital Heat, which their Life consists of, they immediately die." The coppersmiths must therefore get busy with those wounded in battle, hence the hammering.\textsuperscript{363}

At this point, he turns directly to the tract, where we have Jobson's own account:

Pray inform me, said I, since these Men of Metal have no occasion for meat, drink, or cloaths, what can be the reason of their Wars? Well, I must tell you, said the Angel, that the Progeny of Pan Metal are propagated in your Way of Mutual Embraces, which in the Coition becomes so hot as to Melt and Dissolve a little of their viril Substances; which in the Space of Nine Weeks, commonly produce a Metallick Youth of the same Species, either Male or Female; but sometimes it happens to be what they call a Lunarian, which, having Rent its Parent, comes gingling into the world like a Kettle Drum; this is one of the greatest Rarities in the

\textsuperscript{362} Ibid., p. 308, fn. 9. \textsuperscript{363} Ibid., p. 310.
Lunar World, and peculiar to it, which is constantly sought for by ten thousand men of the Two Neighbouring Principalities; the Lunar World has its follies as well as your Planetary People.  

After leaving the moon, Jobson and his guide continue their voyage through the universe, visiting Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The pamphlet is apparently designed as a means of conveying a knowledge of astronomy. It has, however, many statistics and other points that were recognized as being incorrect even in that day. Finally, the angel leaves him in order "to attend to his regular singing of anthems in praise of the Almighty." Jobson continues his travels alone for some time and then returns to Yorkshire. From there he travels to Muscovy and then to China. As always, he continues his habit of using the language of the country that he is in; and it is in China that he supposedly writes his memoirs, dating his work at the end "August 10, 1719." It is this manuscript that Miles Wilson claims to have translated.

In commenting upon the role of the wanderer in the tract, Anderson writes "Throughout most of the pamphlet, the protagonist is not much more than a privileged character. Indeed, it is not long before his identity as the famous Wanderer retreats unobtrusively into the background to re-emerge only at the end of the pamphlet."  

The next use of the wanderer is in the 1760's, in the well-known novel, *Tristram Shandy*, when Uncle Toby makes a casual passing reference to him. 

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364 Ibid.  
365 Ibid., p. 319.  
The appearance of the wanderer in the ballads of England has already been discussed to some extent. It should be recalled that a ballad written by Edward Marchant was licensed in 1612 on the subject, and that this is assumed to be the same one that was later dated 1620 and assigned to John Marriott and John Grisman; it was reprinted by Edward Wright in 1835. It is this ballad which appeared in the Roxburgh Ballads and the Bagford Collection. It was a blackletter ballad in Pepys' collection; it appeared in Percy's Reliques, as well as in the first edition of Child's collection.

In addition, Beranger's French chanson on the subject was translated into English and printed in Minor Morals by Sir John Bowring. Among other sources of the legend coming into England from the continent, Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, with its discussion of the wanderer, had been translated into English. While this work is not offered as an example from the art form, it is here mentioned because of the fact that it is possibly the source for those who developed the legend in their creative writings.

The legend did not really gain popularity among English writers until the Romantic period, and then it seemed to capture the imaginations of many. In fact, Anderson suggests that the tremendous growth of the legend in the art form took place under the "careful nurturing of the English Gothicists and Byronic romanticists," thereby driving into the background the popular tales. Evidence of the currency of the theme can be seen in a statement that Robert Southey...
made when writing to a friend in 1793, when he said, "Like the Wandering Jew, you see I am here, and there, and everywhere."\textsuperscript{369}

One of the earliest writers in this period to incorporate the Wandering Jew into a story was Matthew Gregory Lewis, a popular writer of Gothic novels. In 1795, at the climax of his career, he produced a sensational treatment of the subject that enjoyed a great deal of notoriety. In \textit{The Monk} (chapter IV), the role of the Wandering Jew becomes a melodramatic one that remains for a long time in the minds of the readers. Coleridge, who was familiar with both the work and the reviews, commented:

\begin{quote} I have been lately reviewing \textit{The Monk} . . . . The tale of the Bleeding Nun is truly terrific and we could not easily recollect a bolder or more happy conception than that of the burning cross on the forehead of the Wandering Jew (a mysterious character, which, though copied as to its more prominent features from Schiller's Armenian, does nevertheless display great vigour of force).\textsuperscript{370}\end{quote}

Lewis had relied upon several sources for this work, all of them apparently German or translations of German works. One such source was Schubart's poem, \textit{Der Ewige Jude}. Another was Schiller's romance, \textit{Der Geisterseher}, which was first published in \\textit{Die Rheinische Thalia} in 1789. Although it was not translated into English until 1795, Lewis was familiar with the original.\textsuperscript{371} He also had two other sources which were apparently unknown to most other writers of the time, for no mention of them is made in other references.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{369} Lowes, p. 247.
  \item \textsuperscript{370} Ibid., p. 244.
\end{itemize}
The chief merit that belongs to The Monk is in bringing together an accumulation of supernatural horrors, and skillfully arranging them in an interesting tale—for it can boast scarcely one atom of originality from beginning to end.

But, original or not, the work became popular enough with the general public to earn for the author a new name by which he was called for the rest of his life, "Monk" Lewis.

At about this point, some scholars feel that there was a blending of two popular legends in England, and, because of this, sometimes confusion results as to the origin of source materials for certain writers. Railo suggests that when the legend of the Wandering Jew had reached this stage of development in artistic literature, it was joined by the legend of Dr. Faust. . . . The legend of the Wandering Jew is a story of never-ending life on earth bestowed as a punishment; that of selling a soul to the Devil is based on the idea of an exchange of eternal bliss for temporal sensual pleasures; combined, the two give rise to the exchange of eternal bliss for everlasting life and happiness on earth, or to the Faust-group, whose two chief elements Lewis thus came to utilize in his romance.

Later, in 1801, Lewis versified his tale in "The Bleeding Nun," one of the poems in his volume, Tales of Wonder. However, the poem does not make use of the Wandering Jew motif.

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Lewis' works, in addition to being among those which first made artistic use of the legend in England, also served as sources for the works of later writers inspired by this same theme.

While Goethe, Schubart, and others had pictured the story as epic in proportion, Andrew Franklin had considered it a comedy. Perhaps one of the earliest signs of the growing popularity of the legend among all levels in England is seen in the popularity of his farce "containing much low humor, and little probability," The play, The Wandering Jew, or Love's Masquerade, was produced at the Drury Lane Theatre in May, 1797. A newspaper clipping of it states:

The farce takes its title from the character of a young adventurer who, failing in other expedients, assumes the garb of the Wandering Jew, attended by a brother fortune hunter, dressed in similar habit. The latter, who is an Irishman, gives some very curious descriptions of their exploits in the days of Julius Caesar and other remote periods, blended with modern occurrences. This is a very excellent idea, but a part of the audience appeared to misconceive the meaning of the author.

An announcement of the play stated, "The Wandering Jew is certainly at this moment in London . . . . He predicts the hour of his dissolution to be within twelve months and the object of his journey to London is to wed some British beauty by whom he may leave an heir to his longevity."

After a success in England, the play traveled to America, where it played in New York, Boston, and Charleston. Thus, it could be said "in England and America alike, the Wandering Jew, transmogro-

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376 Summers, p. 227.  
377 Lowes, p. 247.  
fied but recognizable, was reaching an audience that knew not Schiller. It was not merely in those bookish circles . . . that the tale was in the air."379

The play, itself, is relatively unimportant when considered as literature. The main values seem to be the evidence it offers of the extent to which the legend was becoming familiar to English-speaking people. By now, the motif was common to all people in England. The story in the play concerns Sir Solomon's determination to marry Lydia to the oldest lover he can find. Atall disguises himself as the Wandering Jew, and his friend Marall poses as his secretary. Consent for the marriage is obtained, and Atall and Marall marry Lydia and Camillia. One notice of it states that it seems to be founded on the old story of the Rambling Jew, found in Jortin's Ecclesiastical Remarks, III, 372.380

The next English work concerning the legend was a romance written by William Godwin. Entitled St. Leon, and published in 1799, it tells the story of the French knight, St. Leon. It is an historical novel which treats such subjects as the Wandering Jew. Godwin claims to have been inspired to write it by John Campbell's Hermippus Redivivus, which tells the story of a stranger, Gualdi, who attracted much attention in Venice in the year 1687.381

This novel was later said to have served as inspiration for a Professor Aytoun, who wrote a ballad founded on an incident in

379 Lowes, p. 248.
380 John Genst, Some Accounts of the English Stage (Bath: H. E. Carringron, 1832), VIII, 295.
381 Raio, p. 201.
Unfortunately, this ballad cannot, at the present time, be located.

About 1810 Robert Southey, who had earlier evidenced knowledge of the tale, used it as inspiration in his long poetic work, *The Curse of Kehama*. While the relationship of the work to the legend is vague and further obscured by the oriental setting of the work, it was from this legend that he received the idea of eternal life as the worst punishment conceivable. The Jew, himself, however, does not seem to appear as a motif—it is rather the motif of punishment through perpetual wandering that relates this story to the wanderer legends. Thus, although the wanderer provided the inspiration for the work, his individual identity does not play a role in it.

Another writer of this period who was influenced by the legend was William Wordsworth. In 1800 he wrote a seven-stanza poem entitled *The Song for the Wandering Jew*. In this work, he chose to ignore all traditional motifs other than that of an eternal wanderer seeking a repose that can never be obtained. He speaks of other objects—torrents, clouds, a chamois, a raven, a sea-horse, an ostrich—that are able to find repose, yet:

Day and night my toils redouble
Never nearer to the goal;
Night and day, I feel the trouble
Of the Wanderer in my soul.  

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382 *The Dublin University Magazine*, p. 589.

Many years later, Wordsworth again revealed his interest in the theme when he wrote *The Borderers* (1842), a poetic tragedy. In his closing speech, Marmaduke, one of the Borderers, becomes essentially the Wandering Jew:

A Wanderer must I go,
The Spectre of that innocent man, my guide.
No human ear shall ever hear me speak;
No human dwelling ever give me food,
Or sleep, or rest; but, over waste and wild,
In search of nothing, that this search can give,
But expiation, will I wander on—
A Man by pain and though compelled to live,
Yet loathing life—till anger is appeased
In heaven, and Mercy gives me leave to die.

These two poems, however, do not represent Wordsworth's first efforts to work with the legend. At one time he and Coleridge had set out to compose jointly a work entitled *The Wanderings of Cain* (1789). This attempt was to have been a prose rhapsody. Some writers refer to it as a prose fragment, while others mention it and quote lines of poetry. The confusion results from the fact that there were actually two separate works of the same title, both conceived of the same idea. The second was a poem by Coleridge, of which only a fragment remains. The first, which was to have been the joint prose effort, remains unfinished. Although Coleridge quickly finished his part of the work, Wordsworth never did write any. Perhaps the best explanation of this was written by Coleridge himself as a prefatory note to his own share of the work:

384 Ibid., p. 184.
The work was to have been written in concert with another whose name is too venerable within the precincts of genius to be unnecessarily brought into connection with such a trifle . . . . The title and subject were suggested by myself, who likewise drew out the scheme and the contents for each of the three books, or cantos, of which the work was to consist, and which, the reader is to be informed, was to have been finished in one night! My partner undertook the first canto; I the second; and whichever had done first, was to set about the third. Almost thirty years have passed by; yet at this moment I cannot without something more than a smile moot the question which of the two things was the more impracticable, for a mind so eminently original to compose another man's thoughts and fancies, or for a taste so austere pure and simple to imitate The Death of Abel. Methinks I see his grand and noble countenance as at the moment when, having despatched my own portion of the task at full finger-speed, I hastened to him with my manuscript—that look of humorous despondency fixed on his almost blank sheet of paper, and then the silent mock-piteous admission of failure struggling with the sense of the exceeding ridiculousness of the whole scheme—which broke up in a laugh; and the Ancient Mariner was written instead.385

Then he continues to explain how he later took this same idea and developed it into a poem:

Years afterward, however, . . . I determined on commencing anew, and composing the whole in stanzas, and made some progress in realizing this intention, when adverse gales drove my bark off the "Fortunate Isles" of Muses; and then other and more momentous interests prompted a different voyage, to firmer anchorage and a securer port. I have in vain tried to recover the lines from the limpest tablet of my memory; and I can only offer the introductory stanza, which had been committed to writing for the purpose of procuring a friend's judgment on the meter, as a specimen.386

Unfortunately, his poetic achievement is also preserved only in a fragment. Both works were written under the influence of a German poetic contribution to English writers at this time, Der Tod Abels

386 Ibid.
(The Death of Abel) by Solomon Gessner, published in 1760. It is said to be "wrote in a kind of loose poetry, unshackled by the tagging of rhymes or counting of syllables."³⁸⁷ Most of the Romantics were familiar with the work. There is little doubt that Coleridge had a copy of it: Lamb mentions it in a list of things that he forwarded to Coleridge at Keswick.³⁸⁸ Hazlet once commented that Coleridge had said that he and William Wordsworth were planning a prose tale "which was developed in the manner of, but far superior to The death of Abel."³⁸⁹

During the same year that Coleridge had proposed the Wanderings project, just a month prior to finishing the Ancient Mariner, he finished a tragedy, Osorio. The story was one already familiar to him; he had used the Sicilian's tale in Schiller's The Ghostseers. The Sicilian begins his tale with an account of a mysterious personage who is known only as the "Unfathomable." The climax of this story is a wedding feast; and the "inscrutable stranger" is at this feast—he who "has appeared earlier as an Armenian and a Russian and who (as Coleridge had recognized in his review of The Monk) is the Wandering Jew—stands in the guise of a Franciscan monk, motionless and silent, and holds the wedding-guests spellbound by his look."³⁹⁰ Some of the motifs are omitted in Osorio, but Coleridge retained them for later use. He had great hopes for his tragedy. In a letter to a friend, he described it as something "Too chaotic . . . romantic and wild and somewhat terrible." Unfor-

Unfortunately, the tragedy failed to attain the heights he desired, and it is usually listed as one of his unsuccessful works.\footnote{Ibid., p. 245.}

In order to thoroughly understand Coleridge's symbolic figure, one must realize that there is actually a difference between the legend of Cain and that of Ahasuerus. While they both represent the eternal wanderer, so do the Wild Huntsman, the Flying Dutchman, John the Beloved, and many, many others. If one does not realize the distinction between the two legends, it is easy to state simply that Coleridge was obviously influenced by the legend of the Wandering Jew.

But was he really influenced by this legend? Or was he rather influenced by the theme of the eternal wanderer, any wanderer? Or did he rather believe himself honestly under the spell of the Wandering Jew and somehow, as so many people do, allow the two to become confused and fused in his mind? It would seem that the first possibility is out of the question. We know, according to Coleridge himself, that he prepared to write his \textit{Cain} by reading Josephus.\footnote{Ibid., p. 245.} He acknowledged openly the influence of Gessner's \textit{Death of Abel}. But we have no evidence that he was aware of Schubart's lyric rhapsody, \textit{"The Wandering Jew,"} which had such an influence at this time in England. This would seem to indicate that the second possibility is, then, the correct one: He was influenced only by the theme of a universal wanderer. Yet he had apparently read and been influenced by Schiller's romance, \textit{The Ghostseer}. He admitted having based the first sections of his unsuccessful tragedy, \textit{Osorio}, upon a section
of this German story in which the most interesting element is that of the mysterious Wandering Jew. We also know that Coleridge owned Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, which contained the ballad of the Wandering Jew, and we have shown that he was greatly influenced by Lewis' novel, *The Monk*.

This, then, would eliminate the possibility that he was inspired only by the idea of a perpetual wanderer. There remains, therefore, the third possibility: that he was under the influence of the wanderer theme and somehow allowed the two separate legends, that of the Wandering Jew and that of Cain, to fuse together in his mind. Lowes perhaps best described it when he wrote:

It was at this point that Coleridge began his work on *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. He took these symbols and motifs

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which had been omitted from Osorio and began his story. At the beginning of the ballad, one is told of the music of the wedding feast and the Ancient Mariner, "who like the Stranger does not come, but is" there:

The Guests are met, the feast is set:
Mays't hear the merry din--
(11. 6-7)

He brings the wedding guest under his spell with the power of his "glittering eye," an eye that has supernatural power behind it:

He holds him with his glittering eye--
The Wedding-Guest stood still,
And listens like a three years' child:
The Mariner hath his will.
(11. 13-16)

This motif, in itself, is strong evidence of the influence of the legend of the Wandering Jew. In fact, some writers credit Schiller with having started this motif "on its Romantic and Victorian career" with its use in his Ghostseers. 396 Lewis also used this motif in The Monk, where the Jew was endowed with eyes that were able to influence and force his will upon others, eyes that make one "already feel the influence of the charms, and with every succeeding moment will feel it more." 397 Thus, the "power of fascination" which is seen in most of the stories of the Wandering Jew becomes a vital motif in Coleridge's treatment.

As Lowes further points out, "The face of Cain in The Wanderings, like the face of the Wandering Jew, is told in a strange and terrible

396 Lowes, p. 252.
397 Ibid., p. 253.
language of agonies that had been, and were, and were still to con-
tinue to be. And that is no less the face of the Ancient Mariner."  

There is also another strange similarity between the two 
legends. The Wandering Jew, as Coleridge was acquainted with him  
(The Ghostseers, The Monk, the Reliques) bore a mark as Cain had 
done. But the mark of Ahasuerus was more explicitly stated than 
that of Cain. It was the mark of the cross. In The Monk, the Jew 
said, "God set his seal upon me and all his creatures respect this 
fatal mark." One of the other characters in the novel cried out, "I 
raised my eyes and beheld a burning cross impressed upon his brow!"  
This motif is clearly seen in Coleridge's work, for the albatross 
is born about the neck of the Ancient Mariner:

Ah! Well-a-day! What evil looks  
Had I from old and young!  
Instead of the cross, the Albatross  
About my neck was hung.  

(11. 139-142)  

By the time Coleridge had written his ballad, the two legends 
(Cain and Ahasuerus) had become thoroughly fused into one. He then 
took this one combined symbol of a lonely, eternal wanderer seeking  
expiation for his sins and combined it with another that he had in 
mind, that of the "Old Navigator." Considering the fusion of all 
these symbols, one critic remarked: "It is perhaps no accident then, 
that the Ancient Mariner first appears in 1798 in the Lyrical Ballads,  
along with such studies of abnormalities of the human mind as 'The
Some feel that "life-in-death" is the recurrent theme in this work of Coleridge; this does not seem to be true. This would explain neither the plot of the ballad nor the figure of the eternal wanderer as he is used by Coleridge. It is, rather, one of "death-in-life," the story of one who continues to live physically despite his great desire to die, one who faces loneliness comparable only to that of death, yet one who faces this loneliness while living. He suffers as one would expect only after death; yet he continues to live. Yes, the theme of this work would more correctly be called "death-in-life."

By beginning with this basic theme, we see the relationship of this poem to the legend of the Wandering Jew. In addition to representing merely loneliness and remorse, the figure shows a violation of fellowship—that crime that was committed by both Cain and Ahasuerus; and it is now assigned to the figure of the Ancient Mariner. It is for this reason that the figure haunts the imagination and remains long after other figures of literature have slipped into forgetfulness. It is a ballad that takes the central figure to the edges of both death and madness, yet does not quite allow him to cross the border and become one of the dead or the mad. Instead, as with Ahasuerus, he remains in a state of death-in-life, always on the edge of madness but never able to cross into the soothing realm where he would be allowed to forget his crime. In order to suffer sufficiently for the expiation of sin, he must retain his

faculties of reason; being on the fringe of madness yet retaining his powers of reason makes his suffering become more severe. Now, with the supernatural elements added to the already romantic figure, the Wandering Jew and the Wandering Cain had been amalgamated and remolded, along with the Old Navigator, into the Ancient Mariner. The Mariner does not become the Wandering Jew, for "the secret of the Mariner's hold on our imagination lies, in a large part, precisely in this interpenetration of the Old Navigator and the Eternal Wanderer in Coleridge's visionary world."401 And that complete fusion becomes explicit as the tale draws to an end:

Since then, at an uncertain hour,
That agony returns:
And till my ghastly tale is told,
This heart within me burns.

I pass, like night, from land to land;
I have strange power of speech;
That moment that his face I see,
I know the man that must hear me
To him my tale I teach.

(11. 582-590)

Wordsworth attacked this ballad, yet his charges seem to be the points that account for its popularity and show the relationship of the figure to the eternal wanderer. He said:

The poem of my Friend has indeed great defects; first, that the principal person has no distinct character, either in his profession of Mariner, or as a human being who having been long under the control of supernatural impressions might be supposed himself to partake of something supernatural; secondly, that he does not act, but is continually acted upon; thirdly, that the events having no necessary

401 Lowes, p. 250.
connection do not produce each other; and lastly that the imagery is somewhat too laboriously accumulated.402

In answer to this criticism, it should be pointed out that the Wandering Jew—as a legendary figure, as an eternal wanderer, as the symbol chosen by Coleridge—had no distinct character. He had belonged to the folk for generations, and in this position he had lost his individual character. He had become a personification of various qualities, and those qualities were so varied that one could call upon whichever were necessary for the desired effect. Coleridge did just this; and in so doing, he removed his ballad from the story of a particular character (which seems to be almost a requirement in much of the poetry of Wordsworth) and, by making it indistinct, put it in the area of the immortal, the eternal. It became a representation of all those who have suffered, who were spiritually isolated, who had been punished for unpardonable crimes. It is this quality which Wordsworth criticises that has moved the ballad into the realm of the universal.

Secondly, Wordsworth disliked the idea that the central figure was continually acted upon. In this, again, he did not see the symbol or its application. He, himself, had used the Wandering Jew; but he had applied only a minor portion of the eternal universality of Ahasuerus. He had seen only an individual who had been punished and who was now seeking repose. In choosing a combination of Ahasuerus and Cain, two people destined to live eternally because of sin,

Coleridge made his Mariner universal. He made him a representation of the apparent unjust suffering that men go through because of their own ignorance or because of the anger of a God of vengeance. Thirdly, Wordsworth commented that the events have no necessary connection in a logical, orderly way. Yet it is this quality which gives the poem universality—and perhaps a touch of the mysterious supernatural to haunt the imagination of the reader. Finally, he felt that the imagery was too "laboriously accumulated," yet it is this very explicitness of the supernatural that creates reality, that makes us more fully realize the powers of the supernatural and suffering of the Mariner—or of Cain—or of Ahasuerus. In short, if ever there was an exemplification of the strange union of accident and intent; of subliminal confluence and conscious design in the workings of the shaping spirit, it is found in this true story of how the Wandering Jew and Cain together took possession of the astral body of the Ancient Mariner. 403

Apparently he had at one time intended to write more, possibly a novel, based upon this legend, for there is found in his notebook, along with many other proposed literary projects, the entry "Wandering Jew, a Romance." 404 The romance, it is true, was never written. But the entry does reveal the extent of the influence that a concept can have in the mind of an artist. After encountering the symbol, Coleridge began a prose rhapsody, The Wanderings of Cain. He next used the figure in a tragedy, Osorio. After this, he employed the same symbol in the Rime of the Ancient Mariner, the literary ballad considered by many to be his best work. Many years

403 Lowes, p. 260. 404 Ibid., p. 249.
later he wrote the lyric poem *The Wanderings of Cain*. Thus Coleridge proved that he was able to adapt the legend of the wanderer to fit both the form and the content with which he desired to work. He used the legend in both poetry and prose; he was able to picture it in a setting of tragedy or romance; he was able to give it both a lyrical and a haunting tone.

Another writer, Robert Charles Maturin, considered his own masterpiece to be the novel *Melmoth, the Wanderer* (1820), a typical novel in the Gothic school of terror. The theme is the story of the Wandering Jew and his never-ending life. One critic has written of it: "The idea of combining the stories of Ahasuerus and Faust might have resulted in a pretentious failure, a mere variant upon *The Monk*; but *Melmoth* is not imitative, is not a failure; and it has strongly impressed various writers." 405

Another poet to fall under the spell of Ahasuerus was Thomas Medwin. In 1823 he wrote a poem entitled *Ahasuerus, the Wanderer*. It was published as "his poetic tribute dedicated to Byron and laid at the feet of the dead Shelley." 406 Some feel that one reason he was so intrigued by the legend was that he saw himself as "the type of the cursed and homeless man, the Wandering Jew, outcast and incapable of loving, try as he might. For it is Medwin who is the title character of Ahasuerus, the Wanderer." 407

Medwin's importance in connection with this legend, however,
is more significant when seen in relation to Shelley, for Medwin and Shelley attempted a joint composition on the wanderer. Their first attempt, also unfinished, was to have been a novel written during the winter, in alternate chapters (reminiscent of the alternate cantos that were to have been written by Wordsworth and Coleridge). It was to have been "a wild and extravagant romance" (as was The Wanderings), where a hideous witch played the central part. The novel, The Nightmare, never was completed; but a part of it, the frightful character of a witch, was presented later in a poem, The Wandering Jew. Actually, there seems to be some question pertaining to the authorship of this poem. Medwin claims to have contributed to the work to some degree, but his two accounts are contradictory. Uncertainty remains, therefore, as to just what he did contribute. According to one account, he wrote the poem himself, with Shelley's help consisting of only a few minor suggestions and the conclusion. Another account credits him with having written considerably less than this. The poem, however, was repeatedly offered by Shelley as his own and was twice printed from different manuscripts, at least one of which was in his own handwriting. Therefore it would seem that the work was essentially that of Shelley. Extracts from the poem were published in the Edinburgh Literary Journal on July 4


and December 26, 1828. It appeared in Fraser's in July, 1831. The Nightmare was not the only source of inspiration for this poem. They also relied upon a chapter from The Monk and a crucifixion scene taken from a poem in Cambridge Prize Poems. In addition to these sources, both Shelley and Medwin were greatly influenced by Schubart's poetic interpretation of the Wandering Jew legend.

The plot of the poem reveals the influence of these sources. A novice is being dragged to the altar by four nuns. A mysterious horseman approaches and rescues her. Paulo, the horseman, and his bride, Rosa, go to his castle. Paulo tells his story as the Wandering Jew, relating his various experiences and his attempts to attain death. Victorio, Rosa's friend, falls in love with her and attempts to save her from Paulo by visiting a witch who summons Satan and receives a drug from him. However, in the end, it is Rosa, not Paulo, who dies. Even this idea of giving the legendary figure a role subservient to that of a greater plot was obtained from Lewis, who had done the same thing earlier.

Although one critic has been able to find some good qualities in the poem, it was not particularly successful, for

"Among much that is clumsy or derivative, the Wandering Jew has a few sparks of true poetry. There is a professional air about the lines:"

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411 White, Shelley, I, 60.
Yon abbey's tower,
Which lifts its ivy-mentled mass so high;
Rears its dark head to meet the storms that lour,
And braves the trackless tempests of the sky.

... But most of the poem is cheap gothic frippery, with plenty of thick rheumy gore, hideous screams, strong convulsions, and loud-yelling demons. Since Shelley never again attempted an ambitious poem in the gothic style, we must assume that The Wandering Jew convinced him of its futility. Having supped full with horrors, he was now ready for more wholesome food. 412

Another critic wrote: "Its verse is badly imitated from Scott, and its narration is ... confused. The Wandering Jew himself is without real passion and conveys scarcely a hint of the definite symbolic character he was soon to assume in Shelley's poetry." 413

The poem gives no indication of his later poetic powers. Its main importance seems due to the fact that it was Shelley's first long work—and apparently he cared enough about it to revise it. Some critics who would tend to otherwise disregard the work point to it as evidence that a new anti-religious note was creeping into the work of Shelley, as the poem is

a specific form of an attack upon God as represented by the theologians. This is indicated, first, in the alternate title for the poem Shelley proposed—The Victim of the Eternal Avenger—and in the sarcastic reference in the preface to the "equally groundless superstitions of the battle of Armageddon, the personal reign of J. C., etc." In the poem itself, he is largely concerned with the displaying of the ruthlessly vengeful character of God in his persecution of the Wandering Jew. 414

Some critics, however, disagree with this thesis and feel that his anti-religious feelings had not yet crystallized. They find Shelley's early treatment of the legend to be orthodox. According to many, Paulo suffers in his punishment, but he does not become the means by which Shelley attacks the orthodox conceptions of God and Christianity. If he had doubts at this time, he kept them suppressed. He "is not yet the scorner of divine judgment he later became in Shelley's imagination and is thus a witness to the fact that Shelley's religious opinions were still orthodox."

Perhaps part of the problem here exists not with Shelley's interpretation of the figure of Ahasuerus, but rather with (1) the critics' interpretations of Shelley's treatment of the legend, and (2) the question as to what constitutes orthodox and unorthodox views of religion. In defending his work, Shelley wrote:

As to its containing atheistical principles, I assure you that I was wholly unaware of the fact hinted at. Your good sense will point out the possibility of inculcating pernicious doctrines in a poem which, as you will see, is so totally abstract from any circumstances which occur under the possible view of mankind.

Shelley's first acquaintance with the wanderer was probably made when he read The Monk, which was published in 1795. It is also known that he was acquainted with the ballad in Percy's collection. But the most powerful influence came a few years later when he read a treatment of the legend in the German poem, Der Ewige Jude, by

415White, Shelley, I, 60.

Schubart. One day in 1809, Shelley and Medwin were strolling in
Lincoln-Inn Fields when he picked up a "wind-blown scrap of paper"
that contained a fragment of the poem. Most versions of this ac-
count insist that it was Shelley who picked up the fragment; however,
Medwin, in his biography of Shelley, insists that it was he who had
found it and that he had given it to Shelley. 417

The translation was from a magazine, La Belle Assemblée, or
Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine, for January, 1809. (Many
scholars have, in the past, assumed that it was the Germanic Museum,
variously ascribing the year to 1801, 1802, or 1803. However, a
close study of the two reveals that the later is a copy of the ear-
lier. There are slight verbal variations in the two, and Shelley's
version follows the one in La Belle Assemblée. ) 418

While most critics accept this as a factual account, Kenneth
Neill Cameron arrives at a different conclusion. He writes:

Hogg casts ridicule on the story of Shelley's having
found the fragment: "It is a common device to add to the
interest of a romance by asserting that the MS was discovered
in a cavern, in a casket; that it had long lain hidden in an
old chest, or a tomb." And Byron, it would appear, was simi-
larly skeptical.

My own impression is that the skepticism of Hogg and
Byron was justified and that neither Shelley nor Medwin
found any such fragment in Lincoln's-Inn Fields or anywhere
else. Medwin obviously had no recollection of so dramatic
a discovery in 1823 or in 1832; in fact, all he remembered
in 1823 was that he "had given the note" to Shelley, but had
no other memory of it, and it was not until Mary (in 1839)

reiterated Shelleys statement (which statement itself Med­
win calmly passes over) of its romantic origin that Medwin
(in 1847) hastened forward as the official snapper-up of
previously unconsidered trifles. That any such dramatic
 discovery took place as Medwin asserted, in 1809, is ruled
out by Shelleys failure to mention it in the Preface or a
note to The Wandering Jew, for it seems most unlikely that
he would have failed to exploit so romantic an incident.
Yet it is reasonably certain that Shelleys did know the
Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine version at the time
of writing The Wandering Jew. The account in the poem of
the misfortunes of the Jew is closer to that version than
to the one he quotes in The Wandering Jew note; for example
the important "avenger" theme is not in The Wandering Jew
note version but is in the Bell's Court version used in the
notes to Queen Mab . . . Shelleys, therefore, had definite­
ly encountered the Bell's Court article by December, 1810,
and almost certainly knew it during the writing of The Wan­
dering Jew. Hence, his failure to mention the Lincoln-Inn
Fields discovery in The Wandering Jew makes it reasonably
certain that he came across the article by normal means.
Why, if he knew of the article at the time, he did not quote
it in the note, but used another version, we can only guess.
It may simply be that he felt the Bell's Court version too
close to his text in the poem. Nor do we know, as I have
stated, this origin of the version that he did use. I sus­
pect, however, that this was the version which Medwin in­
forms us was translated by his German teacher and given to
Shelley in 1809. In later years, Medwin, having no word-for­
word memory of this version, thought that it was identical
with the one used in the notes to Queen Mab. When Shelley
came to use the material in Queen Mab, he saw an opportunity,
as Hogg intimates, of building up some romantic interest by
inventing the tale of Lincoln-Inn Fields discovery; and Med­
win, in 1847, added to Shelleys fantasy by inserting him­
self, in true Medwinian style, into the role of protagonist.419

While his evidence is impressive, it is surprising that none of the
other critics seem to agree with him.

Whatever the source, Shelleys, after reading the poem, became
so intrigued by the central image that it remained in his mind for
many years. This impression made by the figure of the eternal wan­
derer was to later influence many of his writings. Ahasuerus became

419 Cameron, pp. 311-312.
almost at once for him the symbol of Heaven's eternal, unrelenting vengeance on one who has rebelled against its authority.

His interest in the poem was so intent that, immediately upon his registration at Oxford, he went to the library in an unsuccessful attempt to discover the German author of what he supposed was only a fragment of an entire book. As the poem became more and more fixed in his mind, many of its lines unconsciously became his own. In 1811, in a high state of excitement, apparently without even realizing what he was doing, he quoted a sentence from it as a part of his own thinking. From his letters to Hogg, written during a time of crisis—a lost love—he cried out: "Has Vengeance, in its armoury of wrath, a punishment more dreadful?" This sentence is actually a literal quotation from the translation of Schubart's poem that Shelley had remembered so vividly; "apparently without realizing it, Shelley identified himself with the greatest of all legendary victims of Christianity."420 In addition, he paraphrased a part of the poem in a note to his own poem of the same title, and many of his other works contain phrases from this work of Schubart.

Some time later, Shelley gave a manuscript copy of the translation to his friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg, who preserved and printed the last page, "including the final sentence, which Shelley would not print himself because it showed the wrath of the Eternal to have been appeased."421

In January of 1810, Shelley wrote Ghasta, or the Avenging Demon, which was published as a part of his work Original Poetry of

420 White, Portrait, p. 47. 421 White, Shelley, I, 581, n. 21.
Victor and Cazir. While part of the story is openly plagiarized from Chatterton's Aella, the most flagrant plagiarism is that which is lifted directly from The Monk: the story of the knight, the bleeding nun, and the Wandering Jew. The story had been put in verse by Lewis in 1801. Evidently Shelley was also familiar with Lewis' versification, for some of his lines closely follow those in the poem by Lewis.  

In 1811 he wrote a romance entitled St. Irvyne, or The Rosicrucian. This is actually a group of short poems based upon various legends of the Wandering Jew. This work, however, seems to contain only minor allusions; as a literary work, it is of minor value.

Shelley himself said of it:

> From a reader, I became a writer of romances; before the age of seventeen, I had published St. Irvyne . . . which, though quite uncharacteristic of me as now I am, yet serves to record the state of my mind at the period of . . . At composition.

Some collections of his works also include two short poems that are undated, Song from the Wandering Jew and Fragment from the Wandering Jew.

The next use of the legend by Shelley appears in The Wandering Jew's Soliloquy, probably written in 1812. In this poem, the
wanderer begs for death from the "Tyrant of the Earth," but he accepts the orthodox account of the creation and the fall. The difference between Shelley's earlier use of the legend and this is found in the conception of the deity rather than in the legend itself.

The following year Shelley's first long poem of major importance, Queen Mab, appeared. According to Henry Glaessener, this work "ushered in the romantic period of the legend, a period that included more than half a century." Rather than remaining the lonely, repentant wanderer that he was in other works by more orthodox writers, he becomes in Queen Mab "a burning symbol of religious vengeance and intolerance." Some critics have suggested that Ahasuerus is, in Queen Mab, the prototype of Shelley's Prometheus.

In this work, his role is only of a minor nature. Queen Mab cries out that there is no God, and she calls in Ahasuerus to prove her point. He contradicts her by pointing out that God, "the heavenly tyrant," is the real offender; he gave men the urge to sin and then delights in punishing them in Hell when they succumb to this urge. Peck commented on this:

Shelley gives a satirical account of the Creation, the Garden of Eden, the life of Christ, the doctrine of election, Christ's utterance: "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I come not to send peace, but a sword"; and telling the story of the curse which Christ, on the way to Calvary, had visited upon him, the Old Jew boasts:

I rose, and dauntless began
My lonely and unending pilgrimage,
Resolved to wage unweariable war

425 Glaessener, p. 373.
426 White, Portrait, p. 27.
427 Ibid., p. 132.
With my almighty Tyrant, and to hurl
Defiance at his impotence to harm
Beyond the curse I bore. 428

By this time, Shelley's views on religion were becoming more and more unorthodox. As a result, his Ahasuerus, who can be said to be a symbol of his religious views, is here more unorthodox than in previous works. In the notes to Queen Mab, he reprinted the entire text of Schubart's work except the last sentence, which revealed a God who would eventually pardon all sinners. Shelley's Ahasuerus had become much too bitter. Neither Shelley nor his Ahasuerus could accept the last sentence. Now Ahasuerus symbolizes the victim of Christianity, which to Shelley was the worst of all tyrannies . . . . The age-long sufferings of Ahasuerus are hardly mentioned, but nearly two hundred lines of impassioned diatribe are put into his mouth in which he asserts the cruelty and the injustice of God, ridicules the doctrine of atonement, presents Christ as a vengeful, hypocritical demagogue, and stands forth against celestial tyranny:

Mocking my powerless tyrant's horrible curse
With stubborn and unalterable will. 429

During his accounts of the creation and the fall, the revelation to Moses, the incarnation, and his own sufferings, he always reveals his own sense of triumph over his maker and persecutor. Though he may be unable to die, he remains

Yet peaceful, and serene, and self enshrined,
Mocking my powerless tyrant's horrible curse
With stubborn and unalterable will. 430

429 White, Shelley, I, 293.
Apparently the figure of Ahasuerus was chosen for the deliberate air of unreality that he had about him. Some feel that Shelley's purposes in the use of Ahasuerus are either unclear or unachieved. Actually this is not so important as is the fact that he did use the figure. He found once again in the figure of the wanderer those elements that he wished to use, that for which he was searching.

The following year Shelley presented yet another treatment of the legend, this time in The Assassins, a prose fragment. The Assassins were a Christian sect who fled Jerusalem at the time of the Romans into a "Happy Valley" of Mount Lebanon:

> During a period of four centuries they developed an ideal Shelleyan religion, free from the contaminations of Rome. Indifferent to the world's opinion, they believed in the pure joy of existence; to love, to be beloved, suddenly became an insatiable famine to them. . . . An Assassin would certainly be misunderstood by the rest of the world.

Then a badly wounded stranger comes into the valley. The narrative lasts only long enough to show the use of some of Shelley's favorite images, one of which is the Wandering Jew. Here Ahasuerus appears to have undergone changes from the figure that Shelley had earlier presented. He is no longer the symbol of all victims of celestial tyranny and vengeance; he has become "half-way metamorphised into a benovolent Promethean champion."  

In 1816 Shelley published Alastor, another poem with allusions to the Wandering Jew. In this work, a poet has a dream and spends the rest of his life roaming the Middle East in search of the

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431 White, Shelley, I, 682, n. 50.
432 Ibid.
The next appearance of Shelley's Ahasuerus is in Prometheus Unbound, 1819. Here, in Prometheus, Shelley had found a nobler symbol "who combined the benevolence of Peter Wilkins and the heroic defiance of the Wandering Jew." 433

Newman Ivey White feels that Ahasuerus has now lost his original symbolic force through his being absorbed by and blended with the character of Prometheus. The attitude toward Christ has changed from the antagonistic to the sympathetic. However, he still echoes the earlier legend, as he laments his immortality and his inability to die:

Alas! pain, pain ever, for ever!
I close my tearless eyes, but see more clear.
Thy works within my woe-illumined mind,
Thou subtle tyrant! Peace is in the grave.
The grave hides all things beautiful and good:
I am a God and cannot find it there,
Nor would I seek it.

(I, 635-641) 434

The wanderer's last appearance in the works of Shelley is in 1822, in Helles. The action is simple. The Turkish Sultan, Mahmud, is asleep; he dreams a strange dream. When he awakens, his servant Hassan tells him of an old Jew who knows the secrets of "the Present, and the Past, and the To-come." He will be able to interpret this dream. Naturally the Old Jew is Ahasuerus. Because Hassan carefully points out that there are various reports concerning

433 White, Portrait, p. 28.

the origin and identity of the old man, and because Ahasuerus himself claims only that he is an old man, one is allowed to infer what he will. For this reason, he remains, in Hellas, an abstraction. He is no longer a rebellious martyr seeking vengeance, but rather a wise, kindly old man helping others; "he is the Wandering Jew of Shelley's youthful enthusiasm, dignified and ennobled by all that Shelley had learned between 1811 and 1822." 435

Thus one can see that Shelley's imagination was thoroughly captured by the legend. A small scrap of paper, casually picked up in the fields, influenced his writing for years to come. As one critic said, this strange fascination that Ahasuerus had for him was really his devotion to a "second Ulysses." 436 For him, Ahasuerus became a symbol by which he could convey his changing religious attitudes.

Like both Coleridge and Shelley, Lord Byron came under the spell of the legend; and he, too, allowed it to become merged with that of Cain. It is known that, as a young boy, he read Schiller's Ghostseer, and that it had left with him a strong impression. Also, he was familiar with Lewis' novel and the works of Shelley. On the basis of this, one author draws the conclusion that even though Byron makes no more than allusive references to the hero in any of his works, I think it is fair to conclude that the stories of Cain and Ahasuerus—those death wishing out-cast wanderers, cursed of God—made a deep impression on Byron's mind. The themes are repeated many times in his poetry, especially in Childe Harold, in Manfred, and in Cain. 437

435 White, Portrait, p. 433. 436 King-Hele, p. 58.
While Thorslev insists that Childe Harold is Byron's first Wandering Jew, he does not go so far as to say that the legend inspired the work, for "these stories were themselves creations of the Romantic Movement, and they illustrate typical themes—eternal remorse, wanderlust, ennui, and welschmerz—which Childe Harold also illustrated." As an example of Byron's allusions to the legend, Childe Harold says:

Is it that settled, ceaseless gloom
The fabled Hebrew Wanderer bore;
That will not look beyond the tomb,
But cannot hope for rest before.

("to Inez," I, 84+)

Thorslev insists that the allusions to the Wanderer found in Manfred are more frequent and much more deliberate. As evidence, he quotes one passage which is typical of the eternal wanderer:

I have gnashed
My teeth in darkness till returning morn,
Then cursed myself till sunset;—I have prayed
For madness as a blessing—'tis denied me.
I have affronted Death—but in the war
Of elements the waters shrunk from me,
And fatal things passed harmless; the cold hand
Or an all-pitiless Demon held me back,
Back by a single hair, which would not break.
In Fantasy, imagination, all
The affluence of my soul . . . I plunged deep,
But, like an ebbing wave, it dashed me back
Into the gulf of my unfathomed thought . . .
I dwell in my despair—
And live—and live forever.

(II, 131-149)

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438 Ibid., p. 135.
439 Ibid.
440 Ibid., p. 170.
Thus, Byron did use the Wanderer; but his references remain essentially references, not themes. Ahasuerus, for him, never did become an individual person. And the Ahasuerus themes became so blended with the themes of other legends that the allusions can consist of nothing more.

We have still another reference to the wanderer made during the Romantic period. Modder tells us that John Galt (1779-1839) wrote a work published in 1820 which was entitled The Wandering Jew, or The Travels and Observations of Harreach the Prolonged. This sounds strangely like the same work that Scarborough mentions by a Reverend T. Clark entitled The Wandering Jew, or the Travels and Observations of Bareach the Prolonged. Unfortunately neither is available, so it is impossible to ascertain if they are actually the same.

The year 1828 brought an English novel on the subject which apparently was quite popular during this time. Called Salathiel: A Story of the Past, the Present, the Future, it was written by the Reverend George Croly. The work, first published anonymously in three volumes, was widely read and reviewed; and in general, it was highly praised. The story begins with an account of the wanderer's life before he met Christ. He was a prince in the tribe of Nephtalie, widely respected for his virtues and qualities of leadership. He anxiously awaited the arrival of the Messiah, but he despised the

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441 Modder, p. 129.

one he considered to be an impostor. 443

In 1830 the Honorable Caroline Norton wrote a poem on the subject entitled "The Undying One." It has been published in a collection of her poems bearing the same title.

In 1842 Lord Bulwer-Lytton combined the legend with the aura of mystery surrounding the Rosicrucians to produce the novel Zanoni. He credited Shelley's St. Irvyne with having given him the inspiration for his work. In the preface to the book, he explains that the work is merely a translation of a manuscript given to him by a stranger. 444

One final reference to the shoemaker remains in Romantic literature. It is simply an anonymous poem entitled "The Wandering Jew," bearing no date. The editor has added a note of explanation that "Wordsworth's Song for the Wandering Jew reads to me like this poem rewritten and ruined." 445

In 1853 David Hoffman wrote Chronicles, Selected from the Originals, of Cartaphilus, the Wandering Jew, Embracing a Period of Nearly XXIX Centuries. Known more popularly as The Chronicles of Cartaphilus, it was published in London by Thomas Bosworth; it appeared in two series, each consisting of three volumes. 446 This work is frequently quoted by students of the legend, but it is unfortunately not available for study.

443 The Dublin University Magazine, p. 588.
446 Conway, p. 249.
In 1875 there was a puzzling reference to the Wanderer. All the Year Round, a weekly journal edited by Charles Dickens, contained an article entitled "Earlier Eastern Travellers: A Wandering Jew." The article is rather confusing; it is quite possibly a book review, although no book is ever specifically mentioned.447

The Dublin University Magazine, in 1876, reported a work, Essays by a Gentleman who has Left his Lodgings, in which Lord John Russell "has almost burlesqued the old legend." Unfortunately, the article gives no further information, and the work does not seem to be known by any student of the legend.448

In 1893 the Scottish poet Robert Buchanan wrote The Wandering Jew: A Christmas Carol. The work, which ran through two editions that year, caused a great deal of heated criticism. In it, Christ is presented as "weak, aged, and helpless." A rather pessimistic work, it presents the wanderer as one who has attempted to prove the divinity of Christ for more than eighteen hundred years and now wonders if men are really worth saving after all.449

In 1902 the Scottish novelist, Maxwell Sommerville, published a novel, A Wanderer's Legend, which he claimed was from a manuscript almost four hundred years old. He claims that he first saw the manuscript written in French and Latin in a monastery, where he had been allowed to examine ancient documents. He later found the same document in Darjeeling, India, in the possession of an Arab merchant.

447 "Early Eastern Travelers: A Wandering Jew," All the Year Round, XXXIII (March 13, 1875), 508-514.
448 The Dublin University Magazine, pp, 588-589.
449 Modder, p. 261.
This time, it was said to be written in Latin and French, but it also contained a great many notes in Coptic. This Arab, who had purchased the manuscript from a Coptic priest, helped him translate the notes. It was written by a monk who had attended an important conclave of ecclesiastics as secretary to a bishop who was a delegate to the assembly. He was a French priest of the Roman church who had been sent to Egypt with the bishop for six years; there, he had been taught by Christian Copts.

The account discusses the many schisms that had entered into the church in the sixteenth century. In order to deal with these schisms, a conclave had been called in May, 1529, at Nuremberg. On the second day of the conclave, the moderating theologian was delivering a sermon when he noticed an old man enter the hall. This man was visibly affected each time Christ's name was mentioned. He was invited to speak to them and explain himself. The story he told is essentially that found a century later in the French chap-books, except that it contains many chapters telling of his travels. He acknowledges his error, insisting that he is Ahasuerus, not Carchaphilus, who so rudely struck the Lord.

The monk includes in his narration the report that the wanderer visited the 1309 conclave in Nuremberg when the Pope sought a place in Avignon. It also mentions that he joined Columbus' third expedition and visited Central America and Peru.

He spoke as to himself, "I shall never find one who will let me rest in his doorway. For my sin I shall wander for ever!" At this moment . . . there came to me an inspiration so clear that I marvelled I had not already had it a long time before. He thought himself the Wandering Jew! This was certainly his fixed idea, of a cracked old man! And I said, "My Jew, do you know this? In doing what you do, you have become as Christ, in a world of Wandering Jews!" But he did not seem to hear me, and only just as we arrived at our palace became the old gentle being, thinking never of himself.

As I have indicated to you, this Old of mine, cracked as he was, thinking himself that Jew who refused rest to the Good Christ, had become, in being refused for ever, the most Christ-like man I have ever encountered on this earth, which, according to me, is composed almost entirely of those who have themselves the character of the Wandering Jew.

In 1920 David Mackinnon published *Ahasuerus, A Persian Play* in London.

In 1921 E. Temple Thurston published *The Wandering Jew, A Play in Four Phases*. The first phase depicts the Jew as Matathias. His dying wife, Judith, has sent him to Jesus for help. However, Matathias has won her away from her husband and small son; and Jesus, knowing this, replies only "Return the woman to her husband and she . . . .

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451 Scarborough, p. 179.


453 Gaer, p. 135.
shall be healed." The Jew is angered, particularly when Judith
seems to know that this is true, and he spits in Christ's face.
Judith dies. The second phase depicts him as an unknown knight who
has won all of the jouists at a tournament. He attempts to win the
hand of a beautiful lady; however, before he is successful in se­
ducing her, she realizes who he is and flees. The third phase takes
place in Sicily, where he is Matteo Bottadio, a rich Jewish merchant.
He has been warned that the king is confiscating the belongings of
the Jews, and he wants to leave the country. His wife, however,
prefers to enter a convent, for she has been converted to Christian­
ity. The wanderer has changed somewhat at this point, for he is not
quite so hard, bitter, cynical, and selfish as he was in the second
phase. He has not yet reached the unselfish stage, yet he is no
longer selfish. The final phase presents him in Seville during the
time of the Inquisition as Matteos Battedios, a kindly, much-loved
doctor. A young couple bring a small boy to him and accidentally
let slip the fact that they are Jews. He reassures them of their
safety by telling them that he, himself, is also a Jew. Later, when
the Inquisition is investigating him, this family comes forth to
testify against him. The Inquisition is afraid to burn him because
of his popularity, yet he cannot be converted, for he cries out "The
Spirit of your Christ is nearer my heart as I stand here--a Jew--
than ever it could be to those who would so thrust Him 'tween their
lips." He is burned at the stake; and, as he dies, a light descends
from heaven and falls on his face.\[454\]

454 E. Temple Thurston, The Wandering Jew: A Play in Four Phases
In 1931 S. R. Lysaght published *The Immortal Jew: A Drama*. The setting for the play is nineteenth century Bohemia. He presents his wanderer as Ambrose, who says, "I repent, but I cannot believe. I have seen Him and heard the Master you serve and have sinned against Him. Too late I repent of my sins, but I remain an unbeliever ... and I still go in doubt ... I who saw and knew Him." 455

America and Miscellaneous Countries

References to the wanderer in American literature are far fewer than those in English literature. The earliest ones are found in the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In 1835, he wrote the short story, "The Gray Champion," in which many people believe that he referred to the wanderer. However, the statement that the Gray Champion is really the Wandering Jew is based on evidence as vague and indefinite as that found in *The Pardoner’s Tale*. The facts that he is old, comes because of the "cry of an oppressed people," prophesies that King James has lost his power, and then leaves suddenly are hardly reason for identifying him as this wanderer. 456

Later, in 1851, Hawthorne used the shoemaker in his tale "Ethan Brand." The reference is only slight, but an old German Jew showing photographs appears briefly and is referred to as the Jew of Nuremburg. Even this reference is admittedly vague. Why is he referred to as being from Nuremburg, rather than from another city where he gained more notoriety? 457

In 1881 there appeared a work signed only by the pseudonym "Sibyl" entitled *The Wandering Jew; or the Fulfillment of Prophecy in XII Cantos*. The poem, which hopes to achieve the stature of an historical epic, recounts the Ahasuerus version of the legend. In it, the wanderer travels to many places, returning often to Jerusalem. He wears the usual "blood-red mark" on his brow. In one passage he seems to be prophesying the return of the Jews to Israel and the end of their woes (Canto XI). However, for him, the "Land of Israel's Rest" is California. The work is based on the theme that the Jews were at one time persecuted but are no more.

In 1893 Eugene Field published a short story, "The Holy Cross," in which the wanderer appears to Father Miguel, who is traveling with Cortez. He tells his story, and during the night the priest prays for him. The Jew awakens the next morning and resumes his travels; but he is found soon after, having died of "age and fatigue and sorrow." That night there is a terrible storm, and the next morning, it is discovered that a deep chasm has been cut all the way around his grave. Across the grave is a cross of snow which is never disturbed by sun or wind. The cross is said to remain there even today.

That same year, Lew Wallace used the theme in a two-volume novel, *The Prince of India*. The work has a powerful sweep, but it does not begin to fulfill its promise until the second volume. In

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fact, the work seems to be more of an apprentice piece than one might think, for the beginning of it is extremely dull. In it, the wanderer is given the role of the arbiter in the religious disputes of men. The two principal religions at odds are Christianity and Islam, and one sometimes wonders just which side the Jew is trying to help. The work is carefully footnoted throughout to give it an air of authenticity. The story ends with the rejuvenation of the wanderer:

Yes, yes, he had his youth back again, but it was with the old mind and nature—youth, that the curse upon him might, in the mortal sense, be eternal! And pulling his black hair with his young hands... it was given him to see he had undergone his fourteenth transformation, and that between this one and the last one there was no lapse of connection... First of all, his personal identity was lost, and he was once more a Wanderer without an acquaintance, a friend, or a sympathizer on earth. To whom could he now address himself with a hope of recognition?

Thus, he begins the travels of his "fifteenth life," saying:

I have my experience of more than a thousand years, and with it, youth again. I cannot make man better, and God refuses my services. Nevertheless, I will devise new opportunities. The earth is round, and upon its other side, there must be another world.

In 1894 a short story entitled "The Wandering Jew," by R. W. Raymond appeared. The author recounts that, returning by Pullman from the Columbia exposition at Chicago, he was bent upon reading an article about the wanderer. Upon concluding the article, he said

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461 Ibid., p. 549.
to himself, "If I meet a man with gigantic feet, I will ask boldly
whether he is the Wandering Jew!" He turns, sees a man with "the
most amazing human foot" which resembles a steamer trunk, and poses
the question. The stranger replies that he is indeed Ahasuerus.
He tells his story, stating that he is near the end of his twenty-
fifth life. He describes his encounters with the Apostle Paul and
with Martin Luther. He tells of sailing with Columbus. He warns
the listener against all the "numerous fanciful accounts" that have
attempted to present his character. He continually looks forward
to the last days, but is always disillusioned. The story teller
disembarks from the Pullman at the state mental hospital. The con-
ductor then enters and explains that he was formerly a lecturer and
editor who went out of his mind when he was lost in a blizzard. The
narrator is not quite convinced. 462

In 1896 Brander Matthews used the theme in a short story,
"A Primer of Imaginary Geography." Here, however, the central char-
acter is the Flying Dutchman. He mentions that now that Rip Van Wink-
kle is finally dead, he and the Wandering Jew are the only ones of
their kind left. 463

A 1913 edition of the works of James Whitcomb Riley contains
two poems on the subject. One is entitled "The Wandering Jew," in
which the narrator simply describes how he must always wander on. 464

462 R. W. Raymond, "The Wandering Jew," Outlook, XLIX (January 27,
1894), pp. 173-174; (February 3, 1894), 218-220.

463 Brander Matthews, "A Primer of Imaginary Geography," Tales

of James Whitcomb Riley, ed. Henry Eitel. Biographical ed. (Indian-
In the second, "The Curse of the Wandering Foot," the narrator simply laments that all hope of rest is gone for him. 465

In 1915 an American poet, Joseph P. Widney, published Ahasuerus: A Race Tragedy. Written in dramatic blank verse, it shows the Jew as "an individual yearning for death, yet as a symbol of his race always groping for life." 466

Zirus lists in his bibliography two other American novels using the motif: A Roman Singer (1833), by Francis Marion Crawford; and The Vizer of the Two-Horned Alexander (1899), by F. F. Stockton. 467

In 1899 O. Henry used the legend as inspiration for "The Door of Unrest." He combined the symbol of the Wanderer with that of the seven whistlers. In the story, an old cobbler, obviously under the influence of whisky, visits the editor of a small-town newspaper. He shows his calling card, with the name Micob Ader. He also shows a passage from The Turkish Spy as part of his life story. Investigation reveals that he becomes drunk only once a month. The rest of the time he is Mike O'Bader, the local shoemaker. But he is always accompanied by the seven whistlers flying overhead, that covy of birds containing the souls of the Jews who assisted at the crucifixion of Christ. 468

In 1919 Edwin Arlington Robinson published "The Wandering Jew." He, too, describes him as vainly seeking the second coming:

466 Lee, p. 81.
467 Zirus, p. 71.
He may have died so many times
That all there was of him to see
Was pride, that kept itself alive
As too rebellious to be free;

He may have told, when more than once
Humility seemed imminent,
How many a lonely time in vain
The Second Coming came and went.

A more recent American literary use of the legend is a book entitled My First Two Thousand Years, published in 1928. Purporting to be the autobiography of Isaac Laquedem, the work seems to offer little of value, unless one considers a seemingly endless chronicle of amorous affairs—homosexual, heterosexual, and hermaphroditic—as being of value. While the book seems to have attained a certain amount of recognition both in the United States and Germany, it is probably the most extreme distortion of the legend in existence.\(^{470}\)

The legend has captured the imaginations of writers in other countries, as well. In Sweden Par Lagerkvist wrote a novel, The Death of Ahasuerus, which was translated and published in the United States in 1962. The novel is one which "uses the materials of the past to express modern ideas." It tells the story of a stranger who arrives at an inn in the Holy Land and there exchanges his story with those of others. This Ahasuerus has never repented and continues to berate Christ. He cries:

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Now I understand it all. For now I have torn down the veil of the holy of holies and seen who he is. Now at last he has lost his power over me. At last I have overcome him—at last I have vanquished god!

I have lifted the curse from my own shoulders. I have delivered myself from my destiny and mastered it. Not with your help or anyone else's, but by my own strength. I have saved myself. I have conquered. I have conquered god.

That is why I lie here and feel death approaching: kind, merciful death, which I have yearned for for so long...

God is nothing to me. Indeed, he is hateful to me...

Yes, god is what divides us from the divine. Hinders us from drinking at the spring itself. To god I do not kneel—no, and I never will.

In Danish we have Ahasuerus by Hans Christian Anderson, and Ahasverus, den Evige Jode, by Frederik Paludan Muller. The latter is a dramatic poem, the last in a volume entitled Tre Gidte (Three Poems).

The Dutch writer Heijermans, in 1893, wrote a one-act play, Ahasver, in which the subject was the Russian persecution of the Jews.

In Italy, Vincenzo Monti wrote a long poem, Bassevilliana, which was translated into English by the Reverend Henry Boyd, in 1805, as The Soul's Dooam. According to Conway, the Punch and Judy shows, which had their very earliest beginnings in Italy about 1600 before


[Gaer, p. 122.]

[Bushby, pp. 774-777.]

[Edward Davidson Coleman, comp., The Jew in English Drama; An Annotated Bibliography, preface by Joshua Block (New York Public Library, 1943), p. 82.]

[Conway, p. 229.]
they gradually took on their English characteristics, are connected
with this legend.\footnote{476}

The Slavic writer, Avraham Yarmolinsky, has published a
pamphlet, The Wandering Jew, which contains an annotated bibliography
of the legend in Slavic literature; unfortunately, this work is un-
available for study.\footnote{477}

August Vermeylen has written a novel, Le Juif Errant, which
was translated into French from Nierlandais in 1911. In it, he adds
a new motif—that the wanderer was the third person to whom Peter
made his denial of Christ. In it, too, the shoemaker finds a young
woman to accompany him in his wanderings. Another rather interesting
motif is that the dialogue is not spoken; it exists only in their
minds and graven on his heart.\footnote{478}

Gaer reports a one-act play, Spikenard, written in 1929 by
Charles E. Lawrence, in which the wanderer appears.\footnote{479} Some scholars
refer to a one-act play by the Yiddish dramatist, David Pinski, as
one concerning the shoemaker. Published in 1906 as The Eternal Jew,
it was translated into English in 1920 by Isaac Goldberg, under the
title, The Stranger. The second title is much more appropriate, as
any use of the shoemaker's motif is not only vague, it is also non-
existent.\footnote{480}

\footnote{476}{Ibid., p. 92.} \footnote{477}{Gaer, p. 155}
\footnote{478}{August Vermeylen, Le Juif Errant, traduit du Nierlandais
(Paris: Rotiers, 1911).} \footnote{479}{Gaer, p. 135.}
\footnote{480}{David Pinski, "The Stranger," Ten Plays, trans. from the
Yiddish by Isaac Goldberg (New York: B. W. Heubech, 1920), pp. 171-
201.
Maurice Ferber has written a one-act play entitled *The Wanderers*, in which the only two characters are Cain and Cartaphilus. Cain proposes that they slay each other; but Cartaphilus seems to have learned his lesson better, and he refuses, even though he desires to help. Suddenly Cain, too, realizes his error, and in so doing, he is released from his punishment. His death is followed by that of Cartaphilus. 481

Writers from both Poland and Russia are said to have written long epic poems on the subject. 482

In St. Petersburg, in 1804, and then in the United States in 1960, there appeared a Polish work entitled *The Saragossa Manuscript*. Part of the work was published at this time, and the remaining part was published in the United States in 1966, under the title *The New Decameron*. Apparently the latter title was to be the title for the entire work. It seems to have been written by a Polish nobleman, Count Jan Potocki. In his foreword to *The Saragossa Manuscript*, he tells how, as an officer in the French army, he had taken part in the siege of Saragossa, Spain. He describes how, in searching a home, he found a number of copybooks written in Spanish. He knew just enough Spanish to be interested. Later, he is taken prisoner by the Spanish, but they allow him to keep the manuscript. The entire collection contains the tales told by travelers during a sixty-six day journey. The first fourteen are told in the first publication, and the remaining in the second.

482 Gaer, p. 117.
In the second group, the Wandering Jew appears on the twenty-first day, and then he reappears several times throughout the days that follow. According to his story, his family had served in Egypt under the High Priest Onias and also under Cleopatra. He tells side-lights of history that have been passed on by his ancestors. Apparently the wanderer is under the power of certain cabalists, one of whom is traveling with the group. But occasionally more powerful cabalists call to him and he is forced to leave. His story is beset by frequent interruptions, sometimes of several days' length, and digressions that are just as frequent when he is there. While the rest of the tales may be interesting, those told by the wanderer are dull and frequently incoherent.  

Summary

The legend of the Wandering Jew has captured the imagination of so many because he has been able to represent so many different things to so many different people. To some, he became a symbolic representation of all legendary characters who were cursed to wander the earth eternally. To many others, he became an individual symbol that represented the entire Jewish race. As such, he was a symbol of all those who had rejected the Messiah and had helped to persecute him, a symbol of those eternal outcasts without a country, banished by mankind but forced to wander the earth in expiation for their sins. He symbolized that unhappy, restless nation whose ci-

zens mingled with those of the other nations of the world yet main­tained their own individual identity. He became "an impersonation of that race which wanders, Cain-like, over the earth with the brand of a brother's blood upon it, and one which is not to pass away till all be fulfilled, not to be reconciled to its angered God till the times of the Gentiles are accomplished." \(^{484}\)

He represented his people even more particularly in the thirty­teenth to sixteenth centuries, when his story took on anti-Semitic qualities. At least one source suggests that the reasons for his conversion from a Roman to a Jew was "for the sake of pointing a moral and adorning a tale of bigotry." \(^{485}\) Anderson writes:

It was intended in part to call attention to the wicked na­ture of the Jews, who as followers of Anti-Christ were per­secutors and murderers of the Saviour. This second purpose, with its corrosive anti-Semitism, which is not at all a fea­ture of the medieval treatment of the story, was particularly strong in the minds of the more violent of the Reformation­ists, for Anti-Christ was an extremely important figure in the traditions of the later sixteenth century in Europe. \(^{486}\)

Conway reports that, as the interest in the legend grew, there were instances in which homes were invaded and searched merely because of rumors that the wanderer was being hidden there. \(^{487}\)

The Protestant reformation used the legend to illustrate the mercy and greatness of God, the same purposes the legend had served in medieval times. \(^{488}\) When no anti-Semitism was seen in the legend,

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\(^{484}\) Baring-Gould, pp. 18-19.

\(^{485}\) Blind, p. 45.


\(^{487}\) Conway, p. 7.

it was only a story of a living witness to the truth of Christ's mission. Conway points out that "among the many earlier songs, ballads, stories, there is not one which betrays the faintest suspicion of anything in the curse on the Wanderer not characteristic of Jesus." At the same time, the story was often used to convey a moral, for it represented the punishment of a humbled sinner, one who had rebelled against God and was now doing penance for his sins.

It is Cartaphilus who represents this medieval phase of the legend; yet this same aspect of the wanderer is also seen clearly in some later works, even though the protagonist then bears the name Ahasuerus. It is, according to Anderson, Cartaphilus who is more nearly like the character of John the Beloved. He is opposed to the Ahasuerus of later creation who, being more specifically Jewish, became a versatile device for representing the anti-Semitic attitude that had already been rampant for some time when the Ahasuerus chapbook was published in Germany in 1602.

No one seems to know just why the Ahasuerus phase of the legend always portrays the wanderer as a shoemaker. Anderson suggests "(a) that the shoemakers are by tradition independent, lazy, improvident, defiant, and atheistical, and (b) that there would be a fine irony in having a shoemaker wander forever and so wear out shoes with no possibility of repairing them—a professional torture, as it were."
For some, the wanderer represents immortal youth, one who is eternally able to regard life with the awareness of the young, "revelling over and over again amidst the passions and pleasures of his family, his friends, his race; [one who is able7 to see generation after generation sink into the tomb, empires rise and fall, mankind pass from transition to transition, yet ever to remain a lonely wanderer over the face of the earth."492

To others, particularly in Spain, he represented a very wise, very old man, a legendary character blessed with both longevity and a superior intellect that had been sharpened by centuries of experience. To still others, he represented not so much the wise old man as a worldly one who had tasted all experience, one who had lived for centuries partaking of the worldly pleasures offered here on earth. The most extreme example of this is the novel by Viereck and Eldridge, *My First Two Thousand Years*.

For others, Ahasuerus became, through his continual wandering, a symbol of all humanity. He was able to look upon history and, watching it go by, learn from it; yet at the same time, he seemed to learn nothing, but instead was satisfied with watching history continually repeat itself, satisfied with carrying the same proud, unbending attitude of anger and vengeance. Sometimes, in variations of this aspect of the symbol, he became useful merely as a literary device, one by which the author could present a book of travels or history.

According to many others, particularly those who pictured

492Bushby, p. 774.
him as unrepentant, he became a symbol of pessimistic philosophy. He represented religious materialism; he was scrutinized closely by those who could see only that he represented "figuratively the moral lot of those so-called rationalists in religion, whose harsh temperaments and warped minds render them unsusceptible to the attractions and loveliness of everything heavenly and holy." 493

For others, he became a theological or historical question, as scholars delved into the backgrounds of myths and religious beliefs. Often the treatment of the legend varied from country to country. The Spanish found in him particularly the picture of a repentent, humble sinner who served a benevolent purpose through the wisdom gained from longevity; 494 yet one author insists that the Spaniards were taught to regard him with horror. 495 The French legends, particularly those in Belgium and Northwestern France, looked upon him with sympathetic compassion. He became a folk hero for them just as Napoleon became a military hero. For the Germans, he represented "something of a speculative and philosophic character." 496 But, more than that, he became for them the romantic symbol of Weltschmerz, through his "perpetual sorrow, his loneliness and alienation from mankind, his estrangement from human passions and his eternal longing for peace, all of which burn fiercer as he perceives the desire . . . . This world-weariness and its resulting melancholy

494 Gillet, pp. 17, 27; Killan, p. 17, fn. 2.
495 Sartorius, p. 48.
496 Ibid.
The Wandering Jew has been represented in many ways, with stress placed on various aspects of his life and character. He has been depicted psychologically as a suffering human being, mythologically to illustrate the growth and change in life, religiously to preach certain tenets and beliefs, and symbolically as the creature accursed of God, driven forever in the face of doom . . . vainly attempting suicide, but living on, anguished yet deathless, in the face of every effort, to take his own life as in the teeth of torture from others. He stands at once for the undying power of God's plan, and . . . for the typified failure of Christ's mission. He is used to prove that Christ's second coming is near, and to prove also that He will never come. To the Christian he stands for the evidence of Christ's power of divinity, while to the Jew he is a symbol of that unhappy race that wanders ever, with no home in any land.

Yes, Ahasuerus represents many things to many people, for they have been able to find in him the symbol for that which they desired to express: the repentant, the vengeful, the angry, the martyred, the patient, the suffering, the benevolent; but most of all, he represented the universal, a symbol of all mankind who have suffered. To others, as seen in Wordsworth's Song of the Wandering Jew, he was only a minor individual who served to help create a certain poetic image. To Shelley, he became many things; perhaps it could be said that he became a symbol of Shelley's own religious thinking, for his various treatments of Ahasuerus represent the various stages of his own religious growth. But to all men, he represented the

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497 Railo, pp. 216-217.
supernatural, the mysterious, the unfathomable. And it was for this reason that he so thoroughly captured the hearts and the imaginations of the Romantics.
CHAPTER III

FOLKLORE OF THE THREE NEPHITES

The Legendary Form

Origin and Development

While the beginning of the legend of the Wandering Jew is cloudy and obscure, dependent upon a few vague, implicit passages of scriptures and oral tales a thousand years more recent, the origin of the legend of the Three Nephites is clear. The scriptural passages referring to these three men are very explicit, and the beginning of this legend can be traced directly to them.

According to Mormon belief and scripture, the Book of Mormon is a record of the people who were living on the American continents before, during, and after the time of Christ. The Mormons believe, and they point to these scriptures as evidence, that Christ visited the people on these continents, teaching them his gospel and administering unto them. Sometime after the ascension of Christ into heaven, he appeared to his people in America. He taught them many wonderful things; and, just as he had done in the Old World, he established his church, choosing twelve disciples to lead the people in the New World and to care for them after he was gone:

And it came to pass that on the morrow, when the multitude was gathered together, behold, Nephi and his brother whom he had raised from the dead, whose name was Timothy,

1Book of Mormon, III Nephi
and also his son, whose name was Jonas, and also Mathoni, and Mathonihah, his brother, and Kumen, and Kumanonhi, and Jeremiah, and Shemnon, and Jonas, and Zedekiah, and Isaiah—now these were the names of the disciples whom Jesus had chosen—and it came to pass that they went forth and stood in the midst of the multitude.2

After Jesus had chosen his disciples, he preached to the people throughout the land, teaching them the same principles he had taught his followers in the Old World.

And it came to pass when Jesus had said these words, he spake unto his disciples, one by one, saying unto them: What is it that ye desire of me, after I am gone to the Father?

And they all spake, save it were three, saying: we desire that after we have lived unto the age of man, that we may speedily come unto thee in thy kingdom.

And he said unto them: Blessed are ye because ye desired this thing of me; therefore, after ye are seventy and two years old ye shall come unto me in my kingdom; and with me ye shall find rest.

And when he had spoken unto them, he turned himself unto the three, and said unto them: What will ye that I should do unto you, when I am gone unto the father?

And they sorrowed in their hearts, for they durst not speak unto him the thing they desired.

And he said unto them, Behold I knew your thoughts and ye have desired that thing which John, my Beloved, who was with me in my ministry before I was lifted up by the Jews, desired of me.

Therefore, more blessed are ye, for ye shall never taste of death, but ye shall live to behold all the doings of the Father unto the children of men, even until all things shall be fulfilled according to the will of the Father, when I shall come in my glory with the powers of heaven.

And ye shall never endure the pains of death . . . .

And again, ye shall not have pain while ye shall dwell in the flesh, neither sorrow save it be for the sins of the world; and all this will I do . . . . that ye might bring the souls of men unto me, while the world shall stand.3

These three Nephite apostles went about the face of the land, administering to the people, preaching to them the things that Christ

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And they were cast into prison by them who did not belong to the church. And the prisons could not hold them, for they were rent in twain.

And they were cast down into the earth, but they did smite the earth with the word of God, insomuch that by his power they were delivered out of the depths of the earth; and therefore they could not dig pits sufficient to hold them.

And thrice they were cast into a furnace and received no harm.

And twice they were cast into a den of wild beasts; and behold they did play with the beasts as a child with a suckling lamb, and received no harm . . . .

Behold, I was about to write the names of those who were never to taste of death, but the Lord forbade; therefore I write them not, for they are hid from the world.

But behold, I have seen them, and they have ministered unto me.

And behold they will be among the Gentiles, and the Gentiles shall know them not.

And they will also be among the Jews, and the Jews shall know them not. 4

Because of these things, there was much speculation about the physical state that these men were in. Were they mortal or immortal? The record states that Christ said, "But when I come, ye shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye from mortality to immortality," 5 and yet, they were obviously not typically mortal, for they were to endure no physical pain. At first Mormon wrote that he did not know regarding this matter. Then he prayed to the Lord and received the following answer:

Therefore, that they might not taste of death there was a change wrought upon their bodies, that they might not suffer pain nor sorrow save it were for the sins of the world.

Now this change was not equal to that which shall take place at the last day; but there was a change wrought upon them; insomuch that Satan could have no power over them; that they were sanctified in the flesh, that they were holy and that the powers of the earth could not hold them.

And in this state they were to remain until the judgment day of Christ and at that day they were to receive a greater change and to be received unto the Kingdom of the Father.  

As time passed, the people who had been living at the time of Christ's visit died, and Mormon mentions in his record, "Yes, even an hundred years had passed away, and the disciples of Jesus, whom he had chosen, had all gone to the paradise of God, save it were the three who should tarry."  

Later he again testified that these men were still here upon the earth. In speaking of the wickedness of the people who had forgotten the teachings of Christ, he wrote:

But wickedness did prevail upon the face of the whole land, insomuch that the Lord did take away the beloved disciples, and the work of miracles and of healing did cease because of the iniquity of the people.

And there are none that know the true God save it be the disciples of Jesus, who did tarry in the land until the wickedness of the people was so great that the Lord would not suffer them to remain with the people; and whether they be upon the face of the land no man knoweth.

But behold, my father and I have seen them, and they have ministered unto us.  

The Book of Mormon was translated by Joseph Smith, Jr., and in 1830 it was published and issued to the people of the world. These particular passages received no special attention at that time. Then, in 1853, after the church had come west, Parley P. Pratt, one

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6 III Nephi 28:38-40. 7 IV Nephi 1:14. 8 Mormon 1:3; 8:10.
of the early church leaders, spoke to some of the Mormon people about the "joy and Glory in communion with angels and departed spirits":

They could declare glad tidings if we were only prepared to commune with them. What else? Peter, James, Joseph, Hyrum, Father Smith, any, or all of these ancient or modern saints... could not these teach us good things? Yes, if they were permitted to do so...

If this be the case, what then do we wish, in communicating with the eternal world, by visions, angels, or ministering spirits? Why, if a person is sick, they would like to be visited, comforted, or healed by an angel or spirit! If a man is in prison, he would like an angel or spirit to visit him, and comfort or deliver him. A man shipwrecked would like to be instructed in the way of escape... from a watery grave. In cases of extreme hunger, a loaf of bread brought by an angel would not be unacceptable.

If a man were journeying, and murderers were lying in wait for him in a certain road, an angel would be useful in telling him of the circumstance, and to take another road.  

At this point, no specific reference has as yet been made to the Three Nephites, yet this speech is a description of the type of things that they had at one time been known for and were to once again receive recognition for doing.

Then, in 1855, one of the church apostles, Orson Pratt, called the attention of the entire church to these particular passages of scripture and the possibility that the three Nephite men might still be upon the earth. Speaking in a conference in the New Bowery on April 7, 1855, he said:

How pleasant--how glorious it would be, if we had proved ourselves in all things; if we had become pure in

heart. . . Yes; how pleasing—how glorious it would be, could we see those three old Nephites whose prayers have ascended up, for something like 1800 years, in behalf of the children of men in the last days, and have them return to their native land, and find the kingdom of God prepared and pure to receive them, and could we hear their teachings, and their voices lifted up in our midst.

Then let us wake up, and be assured that just as soon as we prepare ourselves for these blessings, as soon they will be upon our heads. Do you suppose that these Three Nephites have any knowledge of what is going on in this land? They know all about it; they are filled with the spirit of prophecy. Why do they not come in our midst? Because the time has not come. Why do they not lift up their voices in the midst of our congregations? Because there is a work for us to do preparatory to their reception, and when that is accomplished, they will accomplish their work, unto whomsoever they desire to minister. . . . they can show themselves unto whatsoever person or people they choose. The very reason they do not come amongst us is because we have a work to do preparatory to their coming, and just as soon as that is accomplished they are on hand; and also many other good old worthy ancients that would rejoice our hearts could we behold their countenances, and hear them recite over the scenes they have passed through, and the history of past events, as well as prophecy of the events to come. How great and precious are the promises of the Lord contained in ancient revelation!

Hector Lee has concluded that "In all likelihood, it was this speech that opened the door to the Three Nephites. Learning that a visit from the beloved disciples was possible, the pure in heart were encouraged by the prospect." Previous to this time, the church members had had many experiences with unidentified messengers who had appeared to them for any number of reasons; but, from this time on, these visitors were usually identified as one, two, or all three of the ancient Nephites. According to a study by Lee of seventy-five incidents, only six occurred before 1855. However, in

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11 Lee, p. 31.
these cases, the Nephite was always identified by someone other than the individuals involved. Three different incidents from these six were later identified as being Nephite stories by lay members of the church; but,

In . . . versions dated before 1855, it is important to note that the Nephite was identified by an official of the Church, not by the subject himself. This fact lends credence to the theory that the Three Nephites did not actually become the property of the folk themselves until about 1855.12

Lee explains this quite logically:

It is obvious . . . that with a few exceptions—all suggested by the highest of Church authorities—the Mormon masses before 1855 accepted the word of the scriptures that the Nephites had been withdrawn from their ministry on earth; the possibility of receiving a visit from one of them did not occur to the troubled Saints.13

Thus, as time passed, stories pertaining to these Three Nephites spread throughout the church. Many members of the church, in their eagerness to be found worthy of such visits, were ready to attribute any unusual happening to the Three Nephites. In fact, James E. Talmadge, one of the Twelve Apostles of the church, is said to have remarked that the Three Nephites were “the most over-worked of all individuals.”14

During the next half century, the members of the church were reminded of these three men from time to time in addresses given by church leaders. In 1859 Brigham Young, President of the Church, is reported to have said:

12Ibid., p. 37. 13Ibid., p. 27. 14Ibid., p. 33.
Pretty soon you will see Temples reared up, and the sons of Jacob will enter into the Temples of the Lord... there will be strangers in your midst walking with you, talking with you; they will enter your houses and eat and drink with you; go to meeting with you, and begin to open your minds... they will expand the Scriptures to you, and open your minds, and teach you the time of Salvation; they will use the keys of the holy Priesthood, and unlock the door of knowledge, to let you look into the palace of truth. You will exclaim. That is all plain: Why did I not understand it before? And you will begin to feel your hearts burn within you as they walk and talk with you.\textsuperscript{15}

While this sermon does not specifically mention the Three Nephites, many people believe that it does refer to them.

That same year, on September 11, Apostle Erastus Snow specifically referred to the three visitors in a sermon given to church members. He added nothing new; he merely expounded upon scriptural references to them.\textsuperscript{16}

By November 22, 1873, Orson Pratt addressed church members on the subject. He, too, dwelt upon the scriptural passages mentioning these ancient visitors.\textsuperscript{17} Then, twice in 1875 he again mentioned the three. On February 7, speaking of the House of Israel and the importance of preaching the gospel to its remnants, he said:

It seems that the Lord is working among that people, that he is determined this prophecy shall be fulfilled whether we take it in hand or not. What do my ears hear? What

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 32. Lee gives as his source: "Brigham Young, "Strangers to Appear," Journal of Discourses, VI (1858), 194-195. However, this source is incorrect. Volume VI was published in 1859. The material quoted does not appear in that volume on those pages. The index to the Journal of Discourses does not list this speech with those given by Brigham Young, nor does it list this speech by the title.


\textsuperscript{17}Orson Pratt, "The Creation," Ibid., XVI, 312-326.
do we all hear? Messengers are visiting these wild tribes on the basin, and in the region round about hundreds of miles apart. These messengers come to them, and they speak in their own language in great plainness, and tell them what to do. They tell them to repent of their sins and to be baptized for the remission thereof; tell them also to cease roaming over the country and to cultivate the land; tell them to go to the Elders of this Church and receive the ordinances under their hands.  

He explains that these men are the Three Nephites and then adds:

We hear that these messengers have come not in one instance but in many instances. Already we have heard of some fourteen hundred Indians, and I do not know but more, who have been baptized. Ask them why they have come so many hundred miles to find the Elders of the Church, and they will reply:—"Such a person came to us, he spoke our language, instructed us and told us what to do, and we have come in order to comply with his requirements."  

On April 11, he again spoke on the same subject:

Who are these men who have been to the Indians and told them to repent of their sins, and be baptized by the "Mormons"? They are men who obtained the promises of the Lord, upwards of eighteen centuries ago, that they should be instruments in his hands of bringing about the redemption of their descendants. The Lord God promised them the privilege of working for and in behalf of their descendants in the latter days; and they have begun the work. All this was foretold in this record, the Book of Mormon.  

On May 17, 1884, F. O. Richards mentioned the Nephites in a sermon addressed to the members of the church. He referred to the scriptures pertaining to them and added a few of his own speculations.  

\[\text{Source: Orson Pratt, "Redemption of Zion," Ibid., XVII, 299.} \]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 300} \]
\[\text{Orson Pratt, "The Gathering of Israel," Ibid., XVIII, 19-20.} \]
\[\text{F. D. Richards, "Temples, the Gates of Heaven," Ibid., XXV, 230-237.} \]
In April, 1898, John W. Taylor spoke in L. D. S. General Conference. He, too, relied for his material only on the scriptural references to the three. He read to the church members from the Book of Mormon, explaining the meaning of the passages. In General Conference again in 1902, he spoke of the work John the Beloved and the Three Nephites were to do:

In a little while you will find another prophecy will be fulfilled, and that is the prophecy that Jesus made to the Three Nephites who, having power over death, are still living upon this continent. He spoke to them of a time when they would perform a great and mighty work among the Gentiles; and that has not yet been fulfilled, but it will be. You will find that many districts where the Elders of Israel cannot reach will be penetrated by these men who have power over death; and when the honest in heart see the power and authority that is with them, they will feel like Nicodemus did of old . . . when he said, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou dost, except God be with him." These three men are going to perform a great work in the program of the last days, as is the beloved disciple, John . . .

My testimony is that these men are going abroad in the nations of the earth before the face of your sons, and they are preparing the hearts of the children of men to receive the Gospel. They are administering to those who are heirs of salvation, and preparing their hearts to receive the truth, just as the farmer prepared the soil to receive the seed. The Lord has promised that he would send His angels before the face of His servants, and He does so.

One very popular reference to the Three Nephites concerns an incident which actually took place in 1884. Made known in a sermon in 1934, it is possibly the most popular Three Nephite story in the church today, having been told over and over again to stress


a point and to offer encouragement to others. Apostle Melvin J. Ballard, in stressing the importance of genealogy work, told of an incident that happened to his family when he was a child. His father had made great effort to obtain genealogical information necessary to do work for his ancestors in the Logan temple when it opened. One evening prior to the dedication, an old man approached his two young daughters on the street. He handed one of them a newspaper and told her to give it to her father and to no one else. The newspaper was The Newbury Weekly News, printed in England on May 15, 1884. It was given to the little Ballard girl in Logan, Utah, May 18, 1884, only three days later. One pane contained inscriptions found in an old cemetery in England. That cemetery was the one where the Ballards had all been buried. The article provided Bishop Ballard with the genealogical information that he had been searching for.

The legend did not capture the attention of the folklorists until the end of the century. Then, in 1892, an article in the Folk-Lorist, the journal of the Chicago Folk-Lore Society, mentioned it. In an article on Mormon superstitions, the Rev. David Utter of Salt Lake City wrote:

> At the time of the Crucifixion, Christ came to America, and gave an epitome of the Gospel to the people here, and just as he was leaving them, three petitioned to remain on the earth, till he come again. Their request was granted and so they remain. All this you may read in the Book of Mormon. Now, the Mormons took up this "wandering Jew" legend with avidity, and many of the saints now living tell that they have, at different times, seen one or more of these three immortal "Nephites." A daughter of Brigham Young, now

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a good Unitarian, has told me that her father told, with
great and solemn pleasure, of an interview that he had with
one of these remaining apostles in Liverpool, when he was
there on a mission. The apostle met him at the chapel door,
an old man with a long gray beard, made himself known, and
spoke many encouraging and helpful words.25

Dr. Wayland Hand next pointed out the story to scholars in
an article entitled "The Three Nephites in Popular Tradition," which
appeared in the Southern Folklore Quarterly in 1938. In 1940
Dr. Austin Fife wrote an article for the Journal of American Folklore,
entitled "The Legend of the Three Nephites Among the Mormons," in
which he reported forty-six different stories. In 1942, he wrote
another article, this time for the California Folklore Quarterly,
entitled "Popular Legends of the Mormons." In 1942 Hector Lee pub-
lished "The Three Nephites: A Disappearing Legend," in American
Notes and Queries. Also in the same volume, Wayland Hand wrote an
article, "The Three Nephites." In 1945 Maurine Whipple published
This is the Place: Utah, a book describing the state and its inhabi-
tants. It does not purport to be a study of folklore; however, it
does include many tales, among which is one of the Three Nephites.

In 1949, Professor Lee published a revision of his disserta-
tion entitled The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of
the Legend in Folklore, the most thorough study yet done on the sub-
ject.

In 1951 Wilfred C. Bailey referred to the three visitors in
his article, "Folklore Aspects in Mormon Culture," appearing in Western Folklore. In 1956, Austin and Alta Fife published Saints of

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25 Lee, p. 149; originally from The Folk-Lorist, I (1892-1893), 76.
Sage and Saddle, a collection of Mormon folklore; chapter thirteen, entitled "Nephites of the Living God," contains stories pertaining to these three disciples.

In 1959 Western Folklore contained two articles referring to the legends. The first is "Tales of the Supernatural," by J. H. Adamson, and the second is "Some Folk Tales from Utah's Dixie," by Andrew Karl Larsen. Also in 1959 Richard M. Dorson discussed the Nephites in his book American Folklore. In 1962 the three ancient apostles appeared in Legends and Tales of the Old West, edited by S. Omar Barker. Dorson referred to them again in 1964 in Buying the Wind; this book seems to be the most recent publication concerning the legend.

One cannot be certain just what effect these studies have had on the legend, but Lee feels that they perhaps, in part, helped create a renewed interest in the stories. He writes:

Are these stories popular because they have been repeatedly published? Or conversely, have they been published because they were traditionally popular? A little of both, probably. They were published because they contain the motifs relished in Mormon philosophy and tradition, and they illustrate principles diligently promulgated by the Church authorities. Also the widespread knowledge of them gained through publication stimulated, in turn, their prolonged popularity. Being in print, they have the stamp of authority and are believed; being well told, and worth repeating, they become the pattern for raconteurs who know of similar experiences worth remembering and repeating. Thus do these tales become self-perpetuating, and again we can remark the regenerative power of folklore. The old adage is as true of folklore as it is of business careers: "Nothing succeeds like success."26

26 Ibid., p. 42.
Thus, the possibility of such visits was planted in the minds of church members about the middle of the nineteenth century. The seeds were sown in the 1850's and began germinating soon after, fed now and then by additional reminders given by church leaders for the next sixty years.

Then, at the turn of the century, the legend caught the attention of the folklorists and was given additional impetus by them and their collections and studies for the next sixty years. But these two forces (sermons by church leaders, studies by folklorists) were not the only means of spreading the legend. The folklorists obtained much of their material by collecting oral tales; and these oral versions made the Three Nephites known to all church members. Almost any Latter-day Saint today (other than recent converts) can recall having heard at various times in his life stories pertaining to the three ancient apostles. Some tales referred to specific people and gave a great many details. Others are vague accounts of overheard conversations in which someone reported something that had happened to someone he had only heard of. Whatever the case, stories of the Three Nephites are not new to people reared in the L. D. S. Church.

One group of tales typical of the type that seem to travel so rapidly among Mormons is the hitchhiking Nephite story, a version of the hitchhiking ghost stories that swept through the nation in the 1940's. The ghost stories were found in Utah, but at times they were blended with the Nephite stories and took on new motifs. Sometimes the hitchhiker made predictions; when he did, the two most popular were one giving the date of the end of World War II and one
which stated that a dead body would be in the car before the end of the trip. The second prediction usually proved true when the travelers arrived at the scene of an accident and took one of the victims into town, but found him dead upon their arrival at the hospital. According to most writers, this is the last major group of Nephite legends found today. They claim that the ones being repeated currently are either the older ones, or they represent only occasional exceptions. However, most of these articles were published in the 1940’s and early 1950’s. Since that time, there has been another rash of new stories—many of them new versions of the hitchhiking stories. I can recall in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s hearing many stories told of a vanishing Nephite hitchhiker. Invariably the stories were never first-hand; they were, rather, the oft-repeated, overheard, second-hand type of stories. The people involved had been traveling to a temple (the particular temple depended upon the location in which the story was told), when they picked up an elderly man who was hitchhiking. While traveling with them, he warned them about the immediate necessity of storing away their two-year food supply. Although details are vague, it does seem that occasionally the warning concerned the importance of doing genealogical and temple work. After the warning, the Nephite would ask to be let out and then would be seen no more.

Stories like this spread rapidly among Mormons, in spite of the central church location in Utah, because Mormons are actually a very cosmopolitan group. They send missionaries to far parts of the world; and these missionaries, having heard these stories in their
homes, repeat them to those they meet in the mission field. In addition, Brigham Young University, one of several church schools, has a student body of 20,000 students from all over the world. There, if the students have never heard any of the Nephite stories before, they can easily be introduced to them; and letters are sent home to their families, who, in turn, pass the stories on to other church members in regions more remote from Utah. Thus stories which seem so completely individual and isolated in the beginning soon spread so rapidly that they seem to indicate a mass warning system being carried out by the ancient visitors. Dr. Talmadge was indeed right when he declared that the Three Nephites were the most overworked of all individuals!

The extent of the role of these three men in the lives of the early church members may be seen not only in the tales that were told, but also in the diaries that were kept by the pioneers. One such diary is the Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers. He tells the story about his father and two uncles who were living in Edingburg (Ohio?) between 1819 and 1823. During this time, a stranger came to them and informed them that he wanted to preach at the school house. None of the Rogers family were members of any church, but they went to the meeting. Because no one else invited the preacher home, the Rogers family did. He spent the evening talking with them, explaining that the true church was not then on the earth but would soon be restored. He told them that they would be blessed that they might know it when they found it. He disappeared and was never heard from again. Seventeen years later, the Rogers family read the Book of Mormon and found references to the three apostles who were to remain
on earth doing the Lord's work. They assumed that their visitor had been one of these apostles.\textsuperscript{27}

Further interest in the legends was propagated through official church publications. The first article in a church publication appeared in 1874, in the \textit{Juvenile Instructor}, entitled "The Lamanites," by John Nicholson. The article begins with an account of one hundred Indians who were baptized into the Mormon Church at Deep Creek, Utah. Then it tells an interesting story behind these conversions. It seems that one night Toobuka, the chief, dreamed of a meadow, where he met a young man who told him that he must wash in its stream. The next morning he did just that and then urged his people to do the same. As a result, he was sitting alone in his tent when an elderly bearded man entered. He told Toobuka that "the time had come for the Indians to be buried in the water, baptized; that the 'Mormons' were their friends; that they had a book which told about their fathers, that Brigham held communion with God, and they must hear him."\textsuperscript{28} Then he left; but when Toobuka stepped out to look for him, even though it was open country, he could not see him. Later, two personages came to Toobuka, repeating exactly the same thing that the first visitor had said. Then he had a third visit from one of them, again repeating the same message. As a result, he sent a messenger to William Lee in Grantsville asking him to come and advise them. Lee and his companion arrived, preached to the Indians and then baptized them. Five days later, fifteen other

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Samuel Holister Rogers and Lorana Rogers, "Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers" (typed by Brigham Young University Library, 1954)}, pp. 2-3.

\textsuperscript{28}John Nicholson, "The Lamanites," \textit{The Juvenile Instructor}, IX (November 9, 1874), 275.
members of the tribe were baptized, this time at Skull Valley.

This same article, continued in a later issue, tells another interesting story connected with the Indians. In about 1872 there was trouble with the Indians on the Uintah Reservation. As a result, several of the leaders of the Indians went to Washington to speak to government officials. Upon their return home, one of these men told an interesting experience that had taken place while he was in Washington. In his hotel room he had been visited on three different evenings by a personage who had told him essentially the same things that Toobuka had been told.\(^{29}\)

The conclusion of this series tells us that over eight hundred Indians have been baptized in the Deep Creek area since the first installment was published. They all state that they have been visited by heavenly messengers who have taught them to stay on government reservations until spring, and then they are to go to Deep Creek to be baptized and begin farming. They have been given numerous instructions concerning their temporal lives; for example, they are to raise crops for two and one-half years after their baptism, at which time the Lord will give them further instructions. Also, they had been instructed by the messengers not to fight government troops, but rather to slip around them.\(^{30}\)

In 1877 the Juvenile Instructor carried an article entitled "An Indian Vision," by George Washington Hill. He tells the story

\(^{29}\text{Ibid., (December 5, 1874), pp. 291-292.}\)

\(^{30}\text{Ibid., (December 19, 1874), p. 303.}\)
of Indians encamped in the Skull Valley area under the direction of chief Ech-up-wy. One day three men appeared to him and began to speak of religion. They said that

The Mormon God was the true God, and that He and the Indian's Father were one; that he must go to the Mormons, and they would tell him what to do, and that he must do it; that he must be baptized, with all his Indians; that the time was at hand for the Indians to gather, to stop their Indian life and learn to cultivate the earth, and to build houses and live in them.31

They then showed him a vision of the area between Bear River and Malad, Idaho, a vision in which he saw homes and crops, with a few white men instructing the Indians in their work. The vision disappeared and the visitors told him that when his house was built, they would return to see him; at this point they vanished. The tribe immediately broke camp and went to the narrator, asking for baptism, which he put off until spring. The chief told no one about the vision, for he did not believe that they had been located in the place he had seen, even though President Young himself had designated the area. The work on irrigation canals was begun; and one day, viewing the area from the side of a canyon, he realized that he was looking at the same scene he had witnessed earlier. It was at this point that he told the author of his experience.32

In 1879 the Millennial Star published a report written by Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith to the church president, John Taylor, 31


32 Ibid.
and the Twelve Apostles concerning their mission in the East. Among other things, it contained a report of an interview they conducted with David Whitmer, one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon. The incident occurred prior to 1855, and it was narrated to them by Whitmer. Joseph Smith had sent for him, but he felt that he needed to finish plowing about twenty acres that remained for him to do. This, naturally, would delay his departure. However, when he arose, he found that "between five and seven acres of my ground had been plowed during the night. I didn't know who did it; but it was done just as I would have done it myself, and the plow was left standing in the furrow." As a result, he was able to start out much sooner to meet Joseph. He makes no specific mention in this account of the possibility that the plowing was done by one of the Three Nephites; however, many people in the church have since insisted that it was. In this same interview, however, Whitmer does state that the Three Nephites, as well as John the Revelator, are at work among the lost tribes of Israel and elsewhere. Several books on L. D. S. history recount this incident, and frequently another is also included when this one is told. Within a short time, Whitmer had accomplished all of the plowing and had only to spread plaster of Paris upon some land before he could leave to answer the summons from Joseph Smith. When he went to the field to do it, he found that it had already been accomplished. His sister lived nearby, and he questioned her concern-


34Ibid., pp. 772-773.
...ing the work. She told him that she had observed three men working in the fields, but she thought nothing of it, assuming that he had hired them. Because his work was now completed, he was able to leave and go to the aid of the prophet. 35

In 1884 a rather unusual account of the three appeared in a Danish-Norwegian periodical published in Utah. It referred to a letter from a young man in Batataes to his father in San Paulo, Brazil. It told the story of a cattleman who found a cave on a prairie. In a pool near the bottom of it was something which seemed to resemble a diamond; at the same time that he saw it, he seemed to hear music. Badly frightened, he immediately left. But he told the tale to others, and they returned to the cave in hopes of draining the pool and retrieving the stone. When the water level was finally lowered, their attention was drawn to a door in the rock wall. Upon opening, it revealed a dark passageway, and in it they saw a man in blue; but no one dared enter. In the morning they returned, armed and determined to enter the passageway. They sat about, eating and drinking until the moon rose; then they entered the cave and soon found the opening to the passageway. They passed through it, and they found themselves in a small room, lighted by something which seemed like a gigantic diamond, whose light showed us a little stone table around which on rock stools sat three middle-aged men with noble features, dressed in long blue habits, which were bound fast around

the wearer's body with a white belt which glittered with
gold stars and with great blood-red carbuncles. These re-
markable personages seemed apparently deeply pre-occupied
with the contents of a scroll which lay unrolled before
them . . . . We reflected whether or not to speak to them,
because although they apparently were living beings, there
was something striking in their appearance, that we were
filled with awe and wonder.  

Although the rest of the group hesitated, one of them was unable to
resist, and he stepped forward. The letter narrating the story con-
tinues:

Instantly and simultaneously the three readers raised their
heads and—but I cannot say what actually took place there.
It seems to me as if a dreadful and irresistible wind en-
veloped us and sped us forward. I do not remember more.
When I returned to consciousness I found myself and my com-
rades lying on the ground where we had eaten our evening
meal; we were unhurt but entirely confused in mind.

When the men attempted to return to the cave the next day, they
could find no entrance to it; it had completely disappeared. The
editor has added to the letter a statement to the effect that there
is no doubt that it was the three Nephite apostles.

In 1881 the Juvenile Instructor carried a story of "A Strange
Personage." It told of one Robert Edge, who had appeared in Lexington,
Henderson County, Tennessee, in May, 1878. According to the writer,
"the night he made his appearance there was a great noise, as if a
terrible explosion, which was heard a distance of thirty-five miles."

\[\text{Lee, pp. 91-92; his material is a translation by William Mulder}
\text{of "De Tre Nephiter," Morgenstjernen, III (January 15, 1884), p. 24.}
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\[\text{Ibid.}
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\[\text{R. S. S., "A Strange Personage," The Juvenile Instructor, XVI}
\text{(February 1, 1881), 33.}\]
A remarkable man, though of ordinary appearance, he knew the Bible thoroughly and went about preaching the gospel to the people. He told them that he did not have the power to baptize but that others on the earth did. He organized a body of the church; he told his followers that if they were persecuted, they should move west; he was able to perform many healings. When asked if he were a Mormon, he replied, "If I am a 'Mormon' God bless the 'Mormons.'" He told them that he had been preaching for eighteen hundred years. He remained with the people of Lexington for some time, teaching them many things about the church. He was offered money and clothes, but he refused both. He seemed to be forewarned of danger. When he left, he disappeared as mysteriously as he came and has never been heard of since in that area. The people whom he organized have since been baptized into the Mormon church and have journeyed to Colorado.

A much more detailed account of this story appeared in 1886, in *The Juvenile Instructor*; by Hyrum Belnap, it was entitled "A Mysterious Preacher." It describes the sudden appearance of a man accompanied by a loud noise which was heard for thirty miles around. He announced a neighborhood meeting to be held that evening. The meeting house was crowded with the interested and the curious. He sang a hymn, delivered a sermon, and announced several meetings to be held in the area. He gave his name as Robert Edge and would say only that he belonged to the Church of God. He would explain nothing more about himself. He visited people of the various religious groups and always seemed to know just what subject was the best to use to approach each group. His fame soon spread so that his audience gathered from as far away as twenty or thirty miles. The theology that
he preached was the same as that of the Mormon Church. At one meeting, he preached strongly that Christ's church had been removed from the earth. Naturally ministers began to plot to be rid of this strange preacher. One day a Baptist deacon, a Mr. Jones, determined to question him and receive satisfactory answers. That night, Mr. Edge announced to the family with whom he had dined that he was going to be tempted by the Devil through a man that evening. Later, he was able to point out the man as he approached. Upon questioning by Mr. Jones, he insisted that he belonged to the Church of God, that he had been ordained by Jesus Christ, and that he had been preaching for eighteen hundred years. That was the end of the questioning. He denounced all secret societies and said that Freemasonry "is only a perverted priesthood stolen from the temples of the most High." Gradually, many people turned against him. He continued to work among his friends, however, and they were very pleased when he blessed them and organized them into a church. He aroused the curiosity of many because, though a stranger, he never asked directions; he always seemed to know them.

Even though many turned against him, they continued to come to hear him preach, partly out of curiosity, partly because of his power as a preacher. One night he announced, "You have not only been plotting and planning among yourselves to deceive me but you have brought with you legions of devils. Why, I can see them all through the house."

One lady, a Mrs. Reed, invited him to eat and asked him to thank the Lord for their food. She was startled to see a bright light encircling his head, a light which passed away after grace was
said. Some young boys were once arguing over his inspiration and its source at a good distance from him, so that they knew that it would be impossible for him to overhear. He surprised them by repeating to them word for word what the one who dissented had uttered.

In July he announced that he would soon have to leave on "his Father's business." Prior to his departure, three days were spent with his followers in singing, praying, and fasting. Mr. Belnap states, "It may seem strange, although, nevertheless, a fact, that every one of those who kept not the fast turned to be his bitterest enemies." After the fast, he performed for each couple a marriage ceremony, telling them that if they did not receive another opportunity, this one would hold for eternity.

Rumors had circulated that he was a Mormon, but he refused to confirm or deny this. The night he disappeared, he had eaten with a Mr. Reed and his family; he told them that he would be staying in the area for three more weeks. However, about 11 p.m. he aroused Mr. Reed and told him that a mob was coming and that he had to leave. Together the two of them went by horse in the direction of Alabama, Mr. Edge led the way, then dismounted and bid Mr. Reed goodbye.

At midnight the mob arrived at the Reed home; they spent about an hour and a half searching the premises for the stranger before they finally left.

The followers of Mr. Edge continued to meet together after his departure. In 1880 their attention was attracted to an article in the New York Sun in which L. O. S. doctrines were discussed. They wrote a letter of inquiry, and correspondence was begun with church officials. They were told of a branch of the church sixty miles
away; and four of them journeyed to it. There they met the missionaries and were baptized. Two of the missionaries, George H. Carver and Hyrum Belnap, traveled to Henderson County, where they received information concerning Robert Edge. Among other things, they learned that he had said that he had lived in the area of Texas and had had a wife and one child when he began his missionary work; he frequently traveled with a partner, Mr. Cob, whom he had not seen for some time. Two letters had been received from him, one from Georgia and one from South Carolina.  

Later (1895-1897?) this incident was investigated by John L. Bench. Although it has not been published, a duplicated copy of the manuscript of his investigations is on file in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. Mr. Bench describes his missionary labors in Madison County, Tennessee, where he and his companion were invited to a home and told that they were the first Mormon Elders there since Robert Edge. The gentleman told them that he had attempted to "have some fun" with Mr. Edge, as he had been a Campbellite preacher, but that Mr. Edge had known the Bible better than he. He showed them a Bible in which Mr. Edge had signed his name. The missionaries then met and spoke with Mr. Reed, who discussed the mysterious preacher with them. The details are essentially the same as some of those included in the article by Mr. Belnap. However, he does tell how Mr. Edge once announced that he had to go to Lexington, as someone was going to give him a suit of clothes. It was learned

39Hyrum Belnap, "A Mysterious Preacher," The Juvenile Instructor, XXI (April 1, 1886), 96.
that when Mr. Edge entered town, a man across from the court house was sweeping out his store. He asked why Mr. Edge never took up a collection and was told that he was given everything that he needed. The storekeeper replied, "I don't pretend to be a Christian, but I heard you preach. It looks to me like you need a new suit of clothes. These are getting rather shabby for a preacher. If you will accept them, come in and pick out a suit." He did just that. He wrapped his old clothes up in a bundle and asked the storekeeper to give them to an old man with a cane who would be coming by soon. A few minutes later, the man did pass by; and the storekeeper gave him the bundle, explaining that Preacher Edge had left them for him.

One morning Elder Bench and his companion, Elder Wentz, were walking in a new section of Tennessee when they met a young woman at her gate who asked if they were Mormon Elders. She had been waiting for them at the gate for an hour, for she had dreamed the night before that they would be along. She had been converted many years before by Robert Edge and now wanted to be baptized. Both she and her mother were baptized that same day. Elder Bench also mentions that Elder Sidney Sanderson said that he had baptized some people who had been converted earlier by Mr. Edge.

Also in 1886 there appeared another story of one of the Three Nephites in The Juvenile Instructor, this time anonymous. It tells of an incident related by Mesach S. Williams which occurred at Willard city in the spring of 1855. He and his family had just barely

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40 John L. Bench, "Story of What I Found Out About 'Robert Edge, the Mysterious Preacher,'" in the manuscript files of the LDS Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 2.
enough bread for dinner. He was leaving to hunt for sego roots when a knock sounded at the door. There, in the doorway, stood an elderly man, ragged but clean, with white hair and beard. He entered and sat down, remarking about how bad times were. He said, "Brother, there is enough bread-stuff in the territory to supply this people for three years, if properly distributed." He asked for bread and was given an equal portion of what they had. He took it, remarking, "You will live to see a great many changes occur among this people; but always bear in mind that this is the work of the Lord." He borrowed a needle and thread from Sister Williams and sewed something on the sleeve of his coat. As he left, he told them that they would never want for bread. When Brother Williams followed him out, he could not be seen anywhere. He then continued on his way, intending to search for sego roots. But Bishop Charles Hubbard stopped and told him that he had thirty pounds of flour for him, and when that was finished, he was to come for more. Then he passed the home of Brother Harding, who called out that a bushel of wheat had been left at the house for him. Since that time, they have never lacked for bread. Later, in discussing this incident with Patriarch John Young, he was told by the patriarch that the visitor was one of the Three Nephites. The article ends with a warning that whenever strangers appear at our doors requesting food, we should invite them in,

for, although they may not be persons of the same description as the subject of this sketch, we know not what pain and suffering we, in our acts of kindness, may relieve, or

41 "A Strange Visitor," The Juvenile Instructor, XXI (April 1, 1886), 103.
what sorrow and remorse would result in a refusal on our part to grant them food or shelter, which they may sorely need.\footnote{Ibid.}

The next article to appear in a church publication was in 1887. It tells the story of Albert, a young Indian boy adopted by Jacob Hamblin, who was well known for his work among the Indians. For four nights Hamblin had received a dream in which he was visiting Indians who had been enemies of the white people; in this dream he picked up a bright stone which gave off a phosphorescent light. The light stuck to his fingers and spread over him as he tried to brush it away. After the third repetition of this dream, he rose from his bed and immediately went into the country he had seen in his dream. There smoke attracted his attention to a small ten-year-old boy who was bitterly crying. As he spoke to the boy, he heard the words, "This is the bright stone you saw in your dream; take the lad home with you." The boy was crying because his mother was dying, and the others had gone, leaving her to die alone. The boy replied that he would go with Hamblin, but that he wanted the white man to heal his mother first. When this had been done, he and his mother said that they had been waiting all day for him to come and that the boy was willing to go with him because three men with beards and white hair had appeared to him, told him of Hamblin's visit, and told him to go away with the white man. The fire had been built to direct his way to them.\footnote{Memo, "Albert Hamblin," The Juvenile Instructor, XXII (November 1, 1887), 332.}
The boy was reared by Jacob Hamblin as his son. One day he confessed to his father that he was often visited and advised by his "three friends." In 1863, as Hamblin was leaving on a mission, the boy told his father that he would be dead when he returned, for his time had come. He felt that he had a mission to perform among his race in the spirit world. When Hamblin returned home at the end of his mission, Albert was indeed gone.

In 1893 The Juvenile Instructor carried an article telling of a Nephite visitor. The author, C. Edwards, told how a knock sounded at her door and an elderly man asked for something to eat. She invited him in and set a place for him, offering him water, bread, and onions, the best that she had. He offered to pay for the dinner, but she refused. He replied, "Well, if you charge me nothing for my dinner, may God bless you, and peace be with." He disappeared without leaving a trace. When Mrs. Edwards turned to the table, even though she had seen him eat, the food was all there. Later, Apostle Charles C. Rich told her that her visitor was one of the ancient Nephites. President Heber C. Kimball confirmed this.

During time of famine, Mrs. Edwards always had enough to eat and was often able to feed others. She felt that this blessing was a direct result of her being able to share her meager supply with her visitor.

In 1903 the Improvement Era printed its first article containing references to the three ancient apostles. In it, Elder John Nicholson simply mentioned them in passing, adding nothing new to

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In June, 1909, however, we do find an article presenting a new motif in the legend. Mr. E. D. Partridge wrote an article "The Three Nephites: Did One of Columbus' Sailors see Them?" In it, he refers specifically to passages from Washington Irving's biography of Christopher Columbus. Irving writes that on his second voyage, while cruising along the coast of Cuba,

Here a party was sent on shore for wood and water; and they found two living springs in the midst of the grove. While they were employed in cutting wood and filling their water-casks, an archer strayed into the forest with his cross-bow in search of game, but soon returned, flying with great terror, and calling loudly upon his companions for aid. He declared that he had not proceeded far, when he suddenly espied, through an open glade, a man in a long white dress, so like a friar of the order of St. Mary of Mercy, that at first sight he took him for the chaplain of the admiral. Two others followed in white tunics reaching to their knees, and the three were of as fair complexions as Europeans. Behind these appeared many more, to the number of thirty, armed with clubs and lances. They made no signs of hostility, but remained quiet, the man in the long white dress alone advancing to accost him; but he was so alarmed at their number that he fled instantly to seek the aid of his companions. The latter, however, were so daunted by the reported number of armed natives, that they had not courage to seek them nor to wait their coming, but hurried with all speed to the ships.

Professor Partridge points out that two subsequent expeditions were sent in search of these men, but they were never successful. Irving admits that the whole thing is probably "either error or falsehood," because no Indians have since been discovered in Cuba who...
wear clothing. Mr. Partridge, however, points out that this passage can easily be explained in terms of Mormon doctrine, for it describes the conditions that would fit the Three Nephites. He is convinced that this passage is another proof of the accuracy of the events recorded in the Book of Mormon. 47

The Era contained an item in 1911 entitled "Messenger to the Indians." According to it, a personage appeared to the Indians in the St. George area at Duck Creek in 1876, telling them that he was one of their forefathers and that he desired that they be brought together so that he might speak to them. Runners were sent to neighboring groups of Indians. He remained with them for several months, during which time no Indians were seen outside that immediate area. When the Indians finally did return to their homes, they were questioned by the writer of this article. The Indians reported that their visitor's name was Nephi and that he had told them that the Mormons were their friends and that they would come and teach them a better life. The account closes with the statement that the writer is convinced that it was one of the Three Nephites who actually visited the Indians of the area. 48

In 1920 Charles F. Steele wrote an article appearing in the Era entitled "Southern Sketches: III—The Pillar of Prophecy." He describes an old landmark in Augusta, Georgia, then standing in the center of the sidewalk on the corner of Broad and Fifth Streets.

47E. D. Partridge, "The Three Nephites: Did One of Columbus' Sailors see Them?" The Improvement Era, XVII (June, 1909), 620-624.

48S. E. Johnson, "Messenger to the Indians," The Improvement Era, XV (November, 1911), 79-80.
Known as the Pillar of Prophecy, it is a white concrete slab approximately twelve feet high. According to stories handed down, about thirty years earlier (1890), a preacher appeared in the city streets crying repentance. He usually preached at the Market Place, two large sheds known as Upper Market and Lower Market, where the farmers brought their produce to sell. He predicted that Lower Market would be destroyed by a storm but that the southwest corner post would remain standing as proof that he was a prophet of God; anyone attempting to destroy the pillar would die. Soon after, all took place just as he described it. No one has attempted to remove the pillar, which even survived the great fire in 1916 that wiped out the surrounding buildings. The stranger never revealed his identity. In 1899 Elder David F. Fauns filled a mission there. Twice when he was standing by the pillar, a personage appeared to him, and "so vividly impressed was he that he can to this day minutely describe the person and his garb. His glorious countenance is one that will bless Elder Faun's memory for ever, he declares." The writer feels that this preacher was definitely one of the three ancient Nephite apostles.

On December 15, 1921, The Millennial Star carried an article entitled "Was he One of Them?" The article begins with a scriptural background on those who will not "taste of death." The article adds that there have been various instances in which the Three Nephites have appeared to Latter-day Saints, and it tells of one visit experienced by Mary Wells Whitney, which occurred in Salt Lake City.

It was spring, and she was housecleaning. When the doorbell rang, she answered and found an elderly man with a white beard. He asked for help, and she led him to the kitchen. She told her three small boys to stay with him and wait on him. The oldest son soon came running, saying, "Mama, I bet that was one of the Three Nephites."

The second boy said, "I was holding my hand to my face, and he said, 'Son, what is troubling you?' I said, 'I've got a toothache,' and then he said, 'It will ache no more.' And it stopped aching right then, and hasn't ached since." The boys told her that he had said, "Peace be unto you and your house" when he left and that when they had rushed after him, they could not find him anywhere. The article then continued, summarizing a story which had appeared a month earlier in the Juvenile Instructor.

The article summarized in the manuscript had appeared in November, 1921. Written by Maud Kay Babcock and entitled "A Wonderful Testimony," it probably ranks next to the Melvin J. Bollard story in popularity among church members; it is often referred to by both church members and folklorists. It describes an incident that year in which she and a friend were exploring the canyons of Central Utah. They planned to go to Midway and the Hot Pots and over the mountains to Brighton, and they had been directed to take a trail that was new to them at that time. They became lost and found that they had to cross a crevice filled with shale. Both of their horses refused to move when the shale began to slide. Miss Babcock dismounted and

50 W. A. M., "Was He One of Them?" "Journal History," December 15, 1921, L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, pp. 3-4; "Was He One of Them?" Millennial Star, LXXXIII (December 15, 1921), 792-795.
climbed to the top of the mountain in hopes of finding help, but she could see no one. Slipping and sliding, she tried to coax her horse across the shale. As she was really beginning to fear for her life, she prayed for help. She then records:

As I raised my head a voice above me said, "How did you come here, my daughter?" I jabbered in my relief and excitement, trying to explain our predicament, and before my explanation was finished, I was standing on the top, with Miss Lamson and both our horses in a circle facing the stranger. We had no recollection of how we or the horses got there ... He addressed me as "My daughter," but although Miss Lamson asked him several questions, he directed his answers always to me instead of her.51

The stranger gave them directions, and they mounted their horses; but when they turned to thank him, he had vanished. She writes:

We seemed to have been in a daze from the wonder and marvel of our experience when it rushed over me and as inspired, I said, "He was one of the Three Nephites ... . As I was talking of the stranger, I suddenly was aware of peculiar hob-nail foot prints pointing toward us on the trail. We met the stranger about seven o'clock in the morning, and we followed the foot prints always coming to meet us, until we reached the American Fork Canyon, after one o'clock in the afternoon. Whenever I thought I could make a short cut, I would be forced to come back to the foot prints, for the way would be impassable. When we came down the mountain into the canyon, we met some miners, the first persons we had met since the stranger left us. They advised us not to go through the South Fork into the North Fork of the Provo Canyon because of the deep snow, but to go instead through Deer Creek into Provo Canyon. I should have trusted my stranger, for we found the journey long and tiresome and did not reach camp until after midnight. We lost the foot prints when we left American Fork Canyon. I have always believed we would have found the way passable, and that the foot prints would have led us over the mountain, and we would have seen the glacier behind Timpanogos, which we had planned to see.52

52 Ibid., p. 566.
Miss Babcock describes some other faith-promoting incidents that occurred during the trip as a result of prayer. Her companion was not a member of the Church; she did not even believe in God. In fact, no progress had been made in attempting to change her attitude.

Now, for three days they discussed the gospel. As a result of this journey and the experiences they had, Miss Lamson was baptized a member of the church.

In 1924 Annie Holdaway wrote an article discussing the Lamanites; it appeared in the Era. In it, she told a story about Melvin J. Ballard’s visit to the Indian reservations at Blackfoot and Fort Peck. She wrote:

he said he met many who knew him as soon as they saw him and asked for the "book" which he was to bring them. They said they had seen him in dreams, bringing to them a book. When he handed them the Book of Mormon they adopted it gladly, and could read and understand it. He declared that it was his belief that one of the "Three Nephites" had been laboring among them for years teaching them the gospel and preparing them for our missionaries when they should come.53

In February, 1925, the Era published an article written by a correspondent in Tasmania entitled "A Mysterious, but Helpful Stranger." He writes that some of the members of the church living in the Huon Valley, a wilderness of natural growth and narrow, winding roads and gullies, were visited every two weeks by the missionaries. One night the elders traveling along the road became frightened. Suddenly a stranger appeared, sometimes walking beside them, sometimes in front of them. For some reason they felt that they

53 Annie U. Holdaway, "The Redemption of the Lamanites," The Improvement Era, XXVII (March, 1924), 421.
were not to speak to him. That evening, this same personage es-
corted three of the small girls who were church members to their
home. The story itself makes no specific reference to the Nephites,
yet it is often quoted as one of the stories referring to them.  

In 1931 Clarissa Young Spencer, daughter of Brigham Young,
wrote an article for the Era telling of her visit with a Nephite.
The event occurred in 1880's when she was preparing to enroll in
Karl G. Maeser's school in Provo. She and her father arrived in
Provo and went to the home of her Aunt Eliza. About 4:30 p.m., some
one knocked at the door; it was opened to reveal a man who asked
for something to eat. He was invited in and served cold meat, apple
sauce, bread, butter, and milk. The dog observed the visitor for a
moment and then dozed off, something unusual, for he normally did
not react that way around strangers. After the stranger left, they
noticed that he had not eaten anything at all. They hurried outside, where the ground was still covered with newly-fallen snow.
There were no footprints to be seen. Inquiries revealed that none
of the neighbors had seen him either. When they spoke to President
Young about it, he replied that he believed the visitor to be one
of the Three Nephites. The writer expresses the idea that she at
first feared that she might not remember the incident correctly, as
a great deal of time had passed; however, in June of 1930 she had
talked to John Walton, a young man boarding with her aunt at the
time the incident took place, and he said that she told the story

54Leon A. Robins, "A Mysterious, but Helpful Stranger," The Im-
provement Era, XXVIII (February, 1925), 369-370.
as he had been telling it for many years.  

In 1933 two different articles appeared in the Church Section of the Deseret News, both said to be concerning the ancient apostles. The first, entitled "Spirituality Among the Indians," is a speech that was given to a genealogy class. The speaker tells of Frank Warner, who told him the story after having heard it from Chief Curly Bear, who told it of his friend Chief White Calf. The speech is rambling and incoherent, and this particular story is difficult to follow; but apparently Chief White Calf was taken to visit, over a period of years, what the speaker feels were the three degrees of glory, accompanied by a guide. Any references to one of the Nephites as being the guide during these visits is vague, and the account is so poorly written and vague in details that it cannot clearly be classified with other Nephite stories.

In July of the same year, Bishop James S. Parker writes of "An Indian Experience" that he had. He describes the Cree Indians and tells how one of them had appeared as if dead for three days, but he arose on the fourth day, telling his friends that he had been with the Great White Father who had told him about white men who would visit him with a book containing the record of his ancestors. The chief said, "Our forefathers have a tradition handed down by my father to me, that many years ago a great white man visited them. It was about the time that these mountains (pointing to the Canadian

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55 Clarissa Young Spencer, "No Footprints," The Improvement Era, XXIV (February, 1931), 231-232.
56 John J. Galbreath, "Spirituality Among the Indians," The Deseret News, Church Section, April 22, 1933, pp. 4, 5, 8.
Rockies) were thrust up through the crust of the earth.”57 It, like
the previous article, makes no specific mention of the three ancient
apostles. In fact, to even classify this as a story of the Three
Nephites (as some indexes do), seems inaccurate, for according to
Mormon belief, the great white man was more likely to have been
Christ than one of his apostles.

The most recent reference made to the ancient apostles in a
church publication appeared in 1954 in the Era. A young missionary
had written to Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Twelve Apostles,
asking for clarification of the Biblical passages in which Christ had
said that there were some who would not “taste of death, till they
have seen the kingdom of God come with power.” President Smith an-
swers the young man’s question and also mentions the passages that
appear in the Book of Mormon concerning the Three Nephites, without
making references to any appearances in this era.58

This seems to be the last church-published account of these
ancient apostles and their present-day sojourn on earth, aside from
an early article (1877) which was re-published in the Instructor in
1965.59

Stories of these three men have appeared in other publica-
tions as well. Even though some of these books are not official
church publications, they are the type that present Mormon doctrine

57 James S. Parker, “An Indian Experience,” The Deseret News,
Church Section, July 8, 1933, p. 3.

58 Joseph Fielding Smith, “There Were Some Standing,” The Improve-
ment Era, LVII (April, 1954), 223.

59 Hill, Ibid., C (September, 1965), 363.
and ways of life and are read by members of the Mormon Church. One such example is Nels B. Lundwall's Assorted Gems of Priceless Value, which contains several stories of the Nephite visitors. Another is Scriptural and Secular Prophecies Pertaining to the Last Days, compiled by Robert W. Smith and Elizabeth A. Smith. The work had gone through ten editions by 1931. It, too, contains stories of the three men. Kate B. Carter has compiled a series entitled Heart Throbs of the West. Volume III of this series contains fourteen different Nephite stories, many of them not published elsewhere.

In 1945 Mourine Whipple wrote This Is the Place: Utah. As was mentioned previously, the book itself is meant to be an introduction to the people and country of Utah. But it is not a travelogue, for it more nearly approaches being a book of undocumented Utah folklore. Very entertainingly written, it abounds with local tales. It includes two references to the Nephites, one a story of Tildy Elizabeth Stolworthy, whose baby was ill. She prayed that she might receive a visit from one of the Three Nephites. While everyone else was at a dance, an old man came to her door and blessed the baby, assuring her that it would live. He vanished without a trace, but it seemed that he had taken with him a loaf of fresh johnny cake wrapped in one of her best napkins. The baby recovered, and Tildy later found that her husband Thomas, working as a missionary in England, had been starving when he found at the side of a road the napkin and johnny cake that had disappeared from her home.60

60 Maurine Whipple, This Is the Place: Utah (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), pp. 133-135.
Her second reference is not quite so traditional—in fact it would be unacceptable to most Mormons. In the book she has included many photographs. One of them is of an old desert prospector, and underneath the picture, she has the inscription, "A peculiar People--The Three Nephites 'did go forth upon the face of the earth.'"61

In 1954 Apostle Legrand Richards published a book, Israel! Do You Know? that contained references to the three visitors. On the basis of scripture, he concludes that the Lord will help the Israelites fight their battles in preparation for the gathering of the Jews and the second coming of the Messiah. He then quotes from an article by Arthur U. Michelson in The Jewish Hope, volume IX, September 1950, in which Mr. Michelson points out that this may already be happening. As evidence, he writes of battles between the Jews and the Arabs when the Jews took possession of Palestine. The Jews had little equipment and training, and their food and water supplies were cut off. The Arabs were well organized, well equipped, and determined to destroy them. The Jewish people were fighting with only two or three guns, passing them back and forth and beating tin cans so that it would appear that they had many weapons. When they determined that they could hold out no longer and should surrender, the Arabs suddenly surrendered. The prisoners later asked "Where are the three men that led you, and where are all the troops we saw?" Even though the Jews denied having had such a group, the Arabs insisted that they had seen three men with long beards and flowing white robes who had come to them and warned them that they would be killed if they fought any

61 Ibid., p. 145.
longer. It was this warning that had frightened them into surrender.\textsuperscript{62}

Apostle Richards feels that these three men were the three ancient Nephite apostles. He then quotes further from this same article, telling a story of a battle in the Negev District, near Beersheba, between the Jews and the Egyptians. The Jews were surrounded and seemed to have no hope of escape, when the Egyptians surprised them with surrender. They had done so because an old man in a long white robe and beard had warned them that they would die if they continued to fight. This warning had frightened them into surrender. Michelson concludes this story with the statement, "These and other stories I heard from various Jews who fought on the battle fronts. They said to me, 'If God had not intervened we would all have been killed. We would never have conquered Palestine because we were so few and without arms and ammunition.'\textsuperscript{63}

Different Versions and Motifs of the Legend

Professor Lee, in writing his dissertation, made an extensive study of the various Nephite stories he had collected; he used one-hundred-fifty stories, with all their variants. After examining them all, he classified them according to six major motifs.\textsuperscript{64} The first is that involving food, a logical motif, for in pioneer times the people were continually concerned with obtaining food; it played a central role in their lives. And as a Nephite is said to appear in


\textsuperscript{63}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 232-233.

\textsuperscript{64}Lee, p. 44.
time of need, it is logical that he would appear when food was scarce. Lee writes:

In the Nephite stories, food is bestowed on the fortunate subject in three ways, all of which are in some respects mysterious, wondrous, or miraculous. (1) The food may be either delivered by a man recognized as a Nephite or found under strange circumstances and interpreted as the work of a Nephite. (2) The food may be miraculously restored to a table after being eaten by the Nephite—presumably as a token of his divinity and a symbol of the reward for hospitality—or it may appear miraculously in the depleted flour bin or pantry. (3) The food may be promised as a future reward for generosity displayed by the destitute subject.

A second common motif is that of healing. This, too, is a logical one befitting the time and the geographic location of the early Saints, for they were often far from a doctor, and even the doctors that were available frequently had little training. Too, the Saints had been taught the efficacy of healing through faith and a blessing by someone having authority from God to do so. These stories cover a wide range of diseases, from the very serious to the mild. Sometimes the healing consists merely of immediate relief followed by a natural recovery. Most of the time, however, the recovery is complete immediately following the blessing, in a manner that can only be termed miraculous. Sometimes the Nephite actually lays his hands upon the head of the sick person and pronounces a formal blessing that promises recovery; sometimes he merely promises the recovery; sometimes he can treat with medicine or suggest a remedy; and Lee

65Ibid., p. 45.

points out at least one instance where he only goes near the sick person, doing nothing else. 67

Frequently the messenger comes in order to deliver a divine message or give some time of spiritual uplift. Lee points out five common types of messages that they deliver:

1. God gives the subject recognition by having the Nephite share heavenly confidence in esoteric matters, or bring heavenly information to help solve his earthly problems.

2. God transmits to the subject, via a Nephite messenger, friendly advice as to Church work and private temple duties, or He sends a timely warning to enable the subject to protect himself against danger or loss.

3. God sends the subject words of comfort in time of sorrow, or blessings in times when hope is needed.

4. God gives the subject a token that the gospel is true by having a Nephite fulfill the promise of a Priestly Blessing.

5. God sends a Nephite to assist the missionaries and thus expedite the spreading of his gospel throughout the earth. 68

The fifth motif above would include many of the stories already discussed, for "helping the missionaries" would include preaching the gospel before their arrival in order to prepare the way for them. This would include, then, the various stories in which the Indians were taught the gospel, the stories concerning Robert Edge, and the story of the "Pillar of Prophecy," as well as many others.

Rescue is another motif that frequently appears in these stories. The hazards of pioneer life were serious enough; yet in addition to these, many of the early church members had to face dangerous situations in their missionary work. The Three Nephites were the logical ones to help, for the people were all engaged, in some

67 Lee, p. 48.  
68 Ibid., p. 50.
way or other, in the Lord's work. These stories, too, fall into five main categories:

1. A Nephite intervenes to save Mormon elders from mob violence.
2. A Nephite protects good Saints from being molested by Indians.
3. A Nephite gives directions to lost persons.
4. A Nephite rescues persons from great personal danger or misfortune (not as particularized above).
5. A Nephite gives physical help.

The physical aid referred to in number five sometimes applies to help other than what one would ordinarily think. In some instances it included physical farm labor; sometimes the Nephite carried food to hungry missionaries; in one popular legend, he provided genealogical data.

The speed with which the Nephites travel is another common motif. These men are known to be able to travel from country to country in a matter of days or even less; Melvin J. Ballard, in Logan, Utah, reported that his father received a paper from England only three days after its publication; missionaries in foreign countries have received fresh bread taken from their wives' kitchens—sometimes the same day it was baked. The Nephites have been known to travel from city to city within a matter of minutes, a motif that is particularly popular in the stories in which the Nephite appears and asks to speak in church.

Closely connected with this motif is the suddenness with which he is able to appear and disappear. In fact, this is one of the most common ways by which people identify their visitor as a

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69 Ibid., p. 53.
Nephite. There are various ways that the subjects tell of his disappearance. The incident might have happened on a large, bare plain, where one was able to see for miles around. Or there might have been newly-fallen snow on the ground, but no footprints where the stranger had been. The neighbors were sometimes questioned, but they have never been known to have seen him. No matter what the case may be, the informant is never able to find a trace of his visitor. However, it should be pointed out that the informant was never actually watching when his visitor left.

In addition to these major motifs, there are many other, minor ones. At times, the stranger appears asking for food. This motif was so commonly known in the early days of the church that the Saints were sometimes warned never to turn away anyone who might appear with such a request. In some of the oral tales, the visitor requests lodging for the night. He frequently exhibits a great knowledge of the gospel; for example Robert Edge was able to confound the Campbellite preacher. There are many instances in which the Nephite is able to convert the people to the gospel before they ever hear of the church or meet the missionaries. Sometimes, though, he comes to those already familiar with the gospel and merely explains some of the finer points that have been troubling them.

A Nephite frequently appears already knowing the troubles of a person, apparently coming in order to help or advise. He will sometimes utter prophecies of things to come. Of these, Lee writes, "Needless to say, the prophecies always come

70Ibid., p. 61.
true, though sometimes the fulfillment is slightly rationalized." 71

However, the predictions generally pertain either to religion or the immediate problems of the people. He seldom steps beyond these limits to prophesy anything concerning national or world government. One exception to this, however, is found in the rash of hitchhiking stories that cropped up all over the United States in the 1940's. Other than this exception, however, the prophecies seem to concern religious principles or the immediate temporal life of the people, such as "you shall never want for food," or "you will be healed."

Sometimes the visitor appears in answer to specific prayers requesting a visit from him, 72 although this is unusual, for most Mormons would simply pray for help. One family even went so far as to set a place for him at the table each day. 73 Frequently he appears in answer to prayers for help that have not specifically asked for him. And at times he simply appears, uninvited, and even unthought of.

At no time does he identify himself specifically as one of the Three Nephites, although in one variant he does say, "I am one of the three." 74 Sometimes he does give definite information that implies his identification, such as a statement that he has been preaching for about eighteen hundred years. In one story he said that his name was Nephi. In another, he said that he had been ordained to preach by Christ himself. To anyone at all versed in the

71 Ibid., p. 65.
72 Ibid., p. 70; Whipple, This is the Place: Utah, pp. 133-135.
73 Lee, p. 45. 74 Ibid., p. 73.
scriptural background, these clues are sufficient identification. In the Seegmiller incident (discussed in chapter II) the visitor specifically identifies himself as the Wandering Jew, but he is later identified by the informant’s son as one of the Nephites,\(^7\)\(^5\) evidence that even definite identification does not always matter: some informants will adapt the story to fit material with which they are already familiar anyway. Sometimes the visitor remains unidentified until a church leader steps forward to do it. Sometimes the subject identifies him. At other times, the informant, other than the subject, identifies him. At times stories contain no reference to the three, but later discussions of the story will lead people to constantly refer to it as one of the Three Nephites—although Mormon doctrine would easily allow it to be John the Beloved or any of a number of divine angels or messengers sent for the same purpose. Until the 1855 speech by Orson Pratt, no attempt was made to identify any visitor who seemed to be of supernatural origin. It was after the members of the church had had the possibility of such visits by the Three Nephites pointed out several times, in sermons and church publications, that they themselves began identifying the visitors.

Sometimes the Nephites appear in two's or three's, but they more frequently appear singly, leaving the other two free to appear to others to carry on their work. Of one-hundred-fifty accounts studied by Lee, a Nephite appeared singly in one-hundred-thirty; two appeared in six; three appeared in eleven. In only three stories

\(^7\)\(^5\)Ibid., pp. 159-160.
did no personage actually appear. 76 Because of this, it is quite logical that descriptions of a Nephite visitor will vary from story to story.

Appearance, Characteristics, and Miscellaneous Details

The descriptions of the Three Nephites frequently and quite logically vary; if one description does not tally with another, it can simply be assumed that it is because of the fact that there are three different men who are being described. His height has been mentioned as tall, medium, and short. He usually has a beard; and when he does, it is often specifically white, although it is sometimes gray, and in one story, it is dark brown. 77 He generally appears as elderly, although one account describes him as being between twenty-seven and thirty. 78 Although his clothes are sometimes described as old fashioned, they are usually good. However, at times he is described as "poorly clad." 79 Generally his clothes are the same type that anyone else might wear under similar circumstances. His costume may vary from frock-tail coat to overalls; 80 in at least two stories, the men appear wearing long gowns. 81 The most common colors that he wears are white and blue, although he frequently wears gray.

He is often described as agreeable or pleasant looking. Some describe him as handsome. His complexion varies, too. Some-

76 Ibid., p. 74. 77 Belnap, p. 57.
78 Ibid. 79 Ibid.
The folklore of the Three Nephites has remained in existence almost entirely in the form of tales and stories, either recorded or narrated. It is one of the few subjects of Mormon life that has inspired no folk songs; nor has it provided the inspiration for any serious musical compositions. It has served as a motif in very few times it is dark, like that of an Indian or Jew; in one story he is described as "evidently Indian." This is obviously a motif that conforms to the legend, in view of Mormon teachings that the Indians were descendants of the Nephites and Lamanites. However, the Nephite's complexion is quite often mentioned as being very fair and waxen, sometimes even seeming to be transparent. Some stories even mention that his feet seem almost like transparent wax.

Stories frequently mention his commanding voice—and indeed it must be, for his abilities as a preacher are great; and when he so desires, he is able to command the attention of an unruly audience. Sometimes he even sings, and his voice is always quite pleasing.

One story describes him as having very white hands that seem unused to labor.

His appearances are usually so brief that he is described as nothing more than an elderly gentleman; however, in some stories, he is very specifically a preacher. And in some he is described as a forefather of the Indians.

The Art Form

The folklore of the Three Nephites has remained in existence almost entirely in the form of tales and stories, either recorded or narrated. It is one of the few subjects of Mormon life that has inspired no folk songs; nor has it provided the inspiration for any serious musical compositions. It has served as a motif in very few

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82 Hill, p. 11.
84 Ibid., p. 70.
85 Babcock, p. 585.
literary works. Some like to consider the hymn "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" as one containing possible references to the Three Nephites; but the references are indeed vague and hardly justifiable, particularly in view of the fact that it was written by James Montgomery, a minor British Romantic poet.

Lee suggests that possibly Hawthorne had heard of the Three Nephites when he wrote his short stories (see chapter II, p. 166); however, the possibility that his references are to the Nephites is even more unlikely than the possibility that they are to the Wandering Jew.

The first literary effort to make use of the motif appeared in the Salt Lake Tribune in 1940 in the form of a short story entitled "The Giant of Washington Flat," by Juanita Brooks. The use of the Nephite motif is indeed minor. It is the story of a young boy, Ithamer Sprague, who plays a practical joke by cutting boards shaped like extremely large feet. When the mysterious footprints appear, it is at first suspected that they are evidence of the Three Nephites. But this idea is soon overruled as being out of character for them, and the inhabitants of the community become frightened. The prankster is discovered and quietly sent away. In 1941 there appeared a popular novel, The Giant Joshua, by Maurine Whipple; it is a story of a third wife in a polygamous family attempting to help settle Utah's Dixie. Although fiction, it is based on the way of life of the people there at the time; in one chapter it briefly uses the idea

86Lee, p. 107.

87Juanita Brooks, "The Giant of Washington Flat," The Salt Lake Tribune, August 18, 1940, Magazine Section, pp. 6, 8.
presented in the story of Juanita Brooks. Actually the original source of inspiration for the entire episode was very likely a folk tale popular in that region. Andrew Karl Larsen reports, along with other folk tales from the Dixie area, that during the late 1860's and early 1870's one Ithamar Sprague actually carried out just such a practical joke, causing some to think of the Three Nephites and others to recall stories the local Indians told of Giants. This episode has also been used in The Washington Centennial Drama, a manuscript in which it is told in verse by Florence Whipple Jolley. Three different versions of this tale are reported by Austin Fife.

In 1965 Rodella Hunter published A House of Many Rooms, a book which tells the story of an early Mormon family. In it, she makes several references to the Three Nephites.

According to Lee, two short stories have been written on the subject, one by a woman in Logan and the other by Don Walker. Unfortunately, he gives us no further information concerning them, and they apparently remain unpublished. In 1946 dancers in Colorado attempted to portray the three ancient apostles, but they did so in

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90 Larson, "Some Folk Tales," p. 89.
91 Austin Fife, "The Legend of the Three Nephites Among the Mormons," The Journal of American Folklore, LIII (January, 1940), 40-41.
93 Lee, p. 111.
94 Ibid., p. 113.
such a flippant, comic way that the Nephites seemed completely out of character.

In general, the Mormon people, who are the ones most thoroughly acquainted with the legend, seem to regard it as too sacred to use as a motif in fictional literature. For them, it is rather a story of spiritual inspiration. If it is ever to be used extensively in literature, perhaps it will have to be done by non-Mormon writers who do not feel too close to the material to object to embellishments.

Summary

Although the Three Nephites may represent many things for the orthodox members of the L. D. S. Church, they stand for something totally different to those outside the church. Lee, a recognized scholar and folklorist, writes:

One thing that strikes the reader of Nephite stories is their extraordinary variability. With the flexibility allowed by these numerous minor characteristics and motifs, the folk can depart from the core of the legend and adapt it to their own taste or adjust it to fit actual circumstances. For in the Nephite stories we have a stereotyped legend which can be modified by the diversity of actual human experience.  

He later states:

These Nephite stories, if considered as merely the total of their various elements are not in the least unique; all the elements are common to folklore. But the Nephite stories, if studied as an example of how traditional elements are formulated and transmitted, are highly significant, if not unique, in folklore. Here we have a legend fashioned out of the raw materials of many legends from many lands,
laid together according to a pattern decreed by the religious concepts of Joseph Smith and his followers, localized in an area where it can be studied with completeness and care, and preserved as incontrovertible fact by a social group that is modern, prosperous, scientific, and progressive. 96

Yet, Lee has gone too far. His biggest problem seems to be a sentence that he, himself, quotes from Alfred Kroeber: "Something tends to make us see phenomena more parallel than they actually are." 97 This is the key to the problem facing many folklorists, and Lee is no exception. Throughout his study, he stresses the above point—that Mormon converts converged in Utah from all over the world, bringing their native folklore with them and gradually adapting it and blending it with the teachings of the Mormon Church. This point may be a very good one, if one is willing to accept what seem to be Lee's basic assumptions: that the tales were originally brought from Germany; that they have no originality themselves; and they they were only adapted to the elements of Mormon life. Those who follow this line of reasoning have only three arguments. First they say that many of the motifs are the same. This is hardly sufficient to make us declare the tales to be unoriginal. Life is a cycle of constantly re-used motifs. If a love story on one side of the world is written containing motifs similar to those in a love story written on the other side of the world at an earlier time, one is hardly justified in saying that the second writer simply took the original story or motif and adapted it. If one murder mystery is written in one country and some of the motifs are similar to those in a mystery written

96 Ibid., p. 85. 97 Ibid., p. 75.
another country, there would seldom be sufficient evidence to cry "plagiarism." I recall once reading of a lawsuit in which one composer claimed that some of his music had been stolen and adapted. The judge, after listening to arguments on both sides and music composed by both the defendant and the plaintiff, decreed that the first composer was incorrect in his accusations, for no one had a monopoly on three-quarter rhythm.

In each of the instances suggested here, the evidence for lack of plagiarism seems obvious. Yet, as soon as we move into the area of folklore, people immediately assume the opposite and really do "see phenomena more parallel than they actually are." Admittedly, the stories are not entirely free from exterior influences; there is ample proof of that. The relationship between the hitchhiking ghost stories and the hitchhiking Nephite stories is obvious. And it is easy to see how one could become the other. One can easily imagine a Mormon bishop or Relief Society president, hearing one story and realizing that, by changing just a minor motif or two, it would make an excellent inspirational story to illustrate a point.

But to declare that all of the stories have basically the same features and the same origin as those from other countries in far parts of the world in different periods of history is making an assumption that is hardly justified.

A second argument that is presented against the originality of the Nephite stories is that many of the early members of the Mormon Church were immigrants who were familiar with the folklore of their native countries; they are said to have brought this folklore
with them and adapted it to their new way of life. At times this is true. All people tend to see things in the light of what they already know. And they tend to put the unfamiliar in the frame of the familiar in order to better understand it. An example of this—and it is the only example offered by proponents of this idea—is the story told by Charley Seegmiller (see chapter II, p. 66). In his narration, the strange visitor definitely identifies himself as the Wandering Jew. Then, in a later version of the same story, his son identifies the visitor as one of the Three Nephites. But can a point be proved on the basis of one example and more than two hundred exceptions?

Some folklorists argue that those elements of the legends which are not basically Germanic are basically Indian; and they use this as an argument against the possibility of an original origin. But in so doing, they overlook a basic point in Mormon belief: that the American Indians are descendants of the people whose history is found in the Book of Mormon, and since the Book of Mormon is also regarded as Mormon scripture, a great deal of their folklore could logically be expected to follow Mormon teachings.

The third basic argument seems to be the assumption that the supernatural has no actual basis in life. In fact, Lee seems surprised that a "scientific, progressive" group can accept the supernatural as part of its basic way of life. This is, of course, an area in which one must rely upon his personal beliefs. But to

98 Kate G. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1941), III, 351-352.
say that something is unscientific because we do not understand it is unscientific in itself! Whether a person prefers to accept the supernatural or to challenge it, he would be very foolhardy indeed to close the door upon it entirely merely because he fails to understand it.

Certainly not all of the Nephite stories are accepted by even the most orthodox members of the church. Almost anyone will recognize what happens when the stories begin to be repeated. Sometimes, too, stories will contain elements that immediately stand out as being inconsistent with Mormon theology. At other times, church members will recognize that the informant was simply not completely informed on all of the circumstances of the matter. Lee presents two good examples of this. In one, which he unfortunately does not include in his published material, the informant told the story one day, identifying the visitor as a Nephite. Later during the day, she talked to her mother and learned that he was not a divine visitor at all, but rather a known resident of another town. This particular informant went to the trouble of looking for the collectors and telling them this.\footnote{Lee, p. 96.} Probably many would not, possibly out of embarrassment, and possibly because they prefer to leave the story as they originally told it.

In another good example of this, Lee tells of a young man and his sister who are very embarrassed when an elderly visiting uncle, whom they consider to be an impostor and a hypocrite, stands in testimony meeting and speaks for some time. Their only relief is
that no one will identify him with them. They are very surprised
to hear later that people believed that he was one of the Three
Nephites. 100 This is an excellent example of how the unknown is
put into the setting of the known in order to interpret it. Rodella
Hunter explained this attitude well when she wrote in her book, "If
there was anything that couldn't be explained by the Scriptures,
Papa, or Atty Wooten, the Central School principal, you chalked up
one for the Three Nephites." 101

Many stories like these are told today. But to say that
they all fall into this category is to make an assumption that has
a very weak foundation.

And of course the stories change quite naturally as they
are repeated, for:

Whether a story grows fat with minor motifs and de-
tails as it gets older, or whether it shrinks to the bare
skeleton of major motifs, depends on the narrative skill of
the story-teller, or on the scope and intensity of his in-
terest in the supernatural. 102

Lee points out six factors that could change or distort an
incident as it becomes part of the folk: 103

1. "The emotional state of the observers." This would
understandably affect the way in which a person accepted the situa-
tion.

2. "Errors in perception at the time of observation." This
common problem could easily explain one particular motif in many of
the stories—that of sudden appearance or disappearance of the visitor.

3. "Errors in recall." The problem is, of course, as obvious as that in the second group.

4. "Predispositions, the apperceptive mass of the observers." Lee explains this as being the previous stereotypes and prejudices that an observer holds.

5. "False interpretation of the facts." This is a point well illustrated by the above two incidents. Without all of the facts available, the people involved jumped to conclusions and misinterpreted the facts that they did have.

6. "The time elapsing between perception and recall." Even those with a vivid memory are going to forget certain things and mistakenly remember others. All six of these factors could easily be understood and accepted by most people, including even those who do believe very basically in the possibilities of such stories.

Lee has proposed two reasons to explain the continuing popularity of these stories; first, the fact that they seem to have existed with the sanction of the L. D. S. Church and the second, the fact that they allow the individual church member "to identify himself with the functioning of his theology in a manner that would bring him attention and prestige . . . like nodding assent to a preacher's remarks, it can become an unconscious bid for attention."\(^{104}\) But he also stresses the fact that, unlike other folk heroes, the Nephites do not attempt to become a great unifying epic idea; the

\(^{104}\) Ibid., pp. 90-91.
incidents tend to remain highly individual and personal. He says, "The Nephites do not glorify a society or embody a cultural ideal to an extent that could make them symbolic of national or community greatness . . . their embodiment of the ideals of the group has definite limitations." A second reason that he suggests for the legends' remaining relatively unknown outside Mormon and folklore circles is that there are three people rather than one. Thus, they do not take on definite and distinct personalities. However, his best argument is presented when he says, "If the Mormon Church grows until it becomes as powerful as the Catholic Church and dominates the thinking . . . or affects the belief of more people . . . the Three Nephites will grow with it, but not in the same proportion." Why not? "To become folklore, private matters must be made public." 

Yet the stories continue to persist. They have a flexibility that allows them to be adapted to situations and circumstances. They can be used to prove any number of points—particularly if one is willing to do a little adjusting. Unlike many religions, Mormonism is a religion of laymen, and any one of its adherents may be faced with the problem of preparing a sermon and illustrating it both convincingly and entertainingly. Thus, the story can become a means of bearing a testimony, a means of proving a theological point, a means of inspiring others, or a means of issuing a warning to the laggards. In addition, it has become a type of history of the life of Mormons. During times of famine, the stories stressed the need for food; during times of danger, they revealed the problems the Saints faced.

105 Ibid., p. 119. 106 Ibid., p. 120. 107 Ibid.
faced; and at the same time they provide inspiration for those facing future problems of a similar nature. They offer evidence of divine concern for men here on earth. They provide a testimony for those who are weak in faith. They provide a way to explain the things which are sometimes inexplicable. Even though they have sometimes spread and been repeated countless times, even though they have been adopted by the masses, they remain personal, individual, and sacred. And partially because of this, writers have been unable to make them anything else. Up to the present time, they have failed to become literary motifs because they have remained living motifs. They have become, for those who believe in them, a living witness to and symbol of Christ's love for mankind. They have become one of the minor motifs in the way of Mormon life, and they will probably remain so for many years to come.
CHAPTER IV
A COMPARISON OF THE TWO CYCLES OF FOLKLORE

A comparison of these two cycles of folklore reveals many interesting similarities; yet, at the same time, they represent two extreme opposites.

The first major difference is that of origin. The legend of the Wandering Jew has such a hazy origin that many scholars still are in disagreement over the country and century from which it comes. Some point to possible scriptural references; but these are vague, particularly if one is going to accept the basic division of the wanderer legends and remove John the Beloved from any possible connection with this legend. The stories of the Three Nephites, however, have a specific origin to which believers and non-believers alike can point. For believers, the Book of Mormon is a written record of the life of Christ and of his people before and after his visit to them. For them, the origin of the stories dates very specifically from the time of Christ, when scriptures record that he gave three of the Nephite apostles the promise that they might remain on the earth to carry out his work. These scriptural passages even include specific information about their condition and duties. Even for the non-believers, the Book of Mormon is the origin of the stories, but they would date it 1830 rather than at the time of Christ. Thus one may choose whichever date he prefers—34 A.D. or 1830 A.D. Then, in 1855, some church leaders began referring to these men, and they be-
gan referring to these men, and they became the tradition of the folk from that time onward.

Many people believe that the legend of the Three Nephites is just another version of the legend of the Wandering Jew. They point out that the Book of Mormon was not "written" until the nineteenth century, whereas the stories of the Wandering Jew had been in circulation for hundreds of years before that; and they insist that the motif of three visitors is simply a variation of the single wanderer. However, there is another theory that is plausible. If the Book of Mormon is true, as 2,500,000 people devoutly believe, then it is a written testimony that the Three Nephites have been upon this earth for nearly 2000 years. By contrast, the first written testimony of the Wandering Jew is only about 600 years old. In this case, it could be argued that any good deeds attributed to the Wandering Jew could have actually been done by one of the Three Nephites; maybe the ancient shoemaker is really a legend that sprang up as a possible explanation for one of the Three Nephites! As was said earlier, people do tend to see things, particularly in folklore, more parallel than they actually are.

The most plausible, practical explanation of the legends would be that we have two essentially separate folklore cycles, developed entirely independently of each other but later occasionally meeting and sometimes intertwining their branches to produce a single fruit.

One interesting point which has been implied but not specifically mentioned is the relation of these two cycles to the legend of John the Beloved. While many scholars point to this legend and
the scriptures upon which it is based as the origin of the Wandering Jew cycle, there is little actual evidence to tie them together. However, the relationship between the stories of John and the Three Nephites is much stronger. The scriptures responsible for the stories of the Three Nephites specifically mention John. More than that, however, there is a similarity of purpose that ties these two legends together. Both John and the Three Nephites remain on earth as a blessing from Christ, performing similar tasks in carrying on His work. It is in this purpose that the lines of distinction must be drawn between the stories of the Wanderer and those of John.

Another basic difference in the two groups of stories is the form in which we have them today. The traditional form is evident in both legends, but to a much greater extent in the second. This does not imply that it is more popular than was the earlier group; the greater abundance today is possibly due to increased communication, the mobility of our society, more leisure time for visiting, increased publication, and increased literacy. The traditional tales that are available concerning the Wandering Jew are all in written form. Some were originally told in oral versions, and a few of the written tales make reference to them. But oral stories of the shoemaker, written down as they were told, are almost non-existent. And even the traditional written stories are often difficult to locate because they are usually very old, and there are few copies of the manuscripts in existence today. At present, the traditional form of the Wandering Jew stories seems to have dropped from existence. The most recently recorded one is dated 1868 and is recorded in the
Deseret News concerning an appearance in New York.

In contrast to this, the stories of the Three Nephites abound in the oral tradition today. Many such stories have been published by scholars of folklore; still more have remained unpublished, but preserved in private collections that will perhaps one day be compiled and made available to the public. Written references in the traditional form also exist, probably in greater proportion than those of the Wandering Jew, if one is to consider the relative number of people who could be said to be concerned by the stories. The traditional form of the Three Nephites legend is still found in abundance, perhaps more than many scholars would realize unless they are aware of the unpublished collections.

The art form of the Wandering Jew cycle, even before 1860, had gained popularity over the traditional form. As a result, it is easy to find fictional sources concerning the Israelite, for authors and poets have taken the oral traditions of the legend and embellished them as can be done only by a conscious artist, one who is able to see life more clearly and who is therefore often able to arrive at truth which the folk cannot perceive. The artists have taken many liberties with the shoemaker's story, for he now belongs to them and has done so for many generations. There is an additional problem concerning these stories and references. Because of the many artistic versions of the legend, and also because of the many impostors who have tried to take advantage of the folk who believed in the wanderer, it is extremely difficult to determine just which part of the art form came from the oral traditions and which part is the embellishment of the artists. One is not faced with this
problem in the legend of the Three Nephites.

And of course, in classifying the legend into art vs. traditional form, another problem arises with the earlier cycle. Because of the number of impostors in the literary field, it is sometimes difficult to determine into which group a story should be placed, for many said to be authentic accounts in the traditional form obviously are not.

In contrast, the Three Nephites have remained almost untouched by literary artists, for they are still much too closely attached to the people. There are very few references to them in literature, and those that do exist are in works that remain almost unknown to the general public; even then, these references are all quite orthodox. The Three Nephites still belong to the folk, whereas the Wandering Jew belongs, via the artists, to the public.

Another interesting factor to consider when comparing these two cycles is that of time. The Three Nephite legend has belonged to the folk for only a little over one hundred years. Yet, it has already gained wide-spread popularity on the folk level among those of Mormon culture. However, if one is to assume that the Wandering Jew legend is authentic, it must be admitted that it took nearly twelve hundred years for it to gain enough popularity in the oral tradition to be specifically mentioned in records of any type. Admittedly part of the reason could be the lack of literacy during those years. However, if the stories were in popular circulation, certainly monks would have kept records of such a miraculous testimony of Christ's divinity; unfortunately none seem to exist.

Even if one were to assume that the legend of the wanderer is
not true, the comparison is interesting, for we are then comparing a legend of one hundred year's development with a legend of one thousand year's development. Obviously one legend has had time to progress much further in its development as a legend. It has, in fact, passed through its peak of popularity. The other quite possibly has not yet attained its peak; only time will tell what interesting developments the legend will undergo.

Perhaps one of the biggest contrasts in the study of these two groups of folklore is seen in the cause of the eternal existence of the men involved. The Three Nephites remain on earth today at their own request; they regard their immortal state as a special blessing received from Christ that they might carry on His work. The Wandering Jew remains on earth because he offended Christ. He and all others regard his continued existence as a punishment and curse by Christ for a sin committed in ignorance. Both provide witnesses to the divinity of Christ's mission; but one does it in a positive way, and one does it in a negative way. As a result, these two different folklore cycles reveal two different personality traits of Christ. The one legend reveals an angry, vengeful God who calls out curses upon his children, punishes the unbelievers, and remains unforgiving to the sinners, even those who have sinned in ignorance. The second reveals a loving, merciful God, one who blesses and rewards the worthy, one who has shown his concern for his people by leaving some of his disciples to care for them now that he is gone. The two different Gods depicted by these two legends actually symbolize the two very different Gods revealed through medieval Christian theology and the more modern theology of the Mormon Church.
Although Conway insists that the early forms of the legend of the Wandering Jew revealed nothing contrary to the character of Christ,¹ this is not entirely true. No contradictions are found if one believes in a Christ as depicted by the legend and by medieval religious philosophy; however, if one believes in the type of Christ depicted by the legend of the Three Nephites and the Mormon Church, there is a basic conflict.

In addition to revealing a great deal about Christ, and indirectly about the two different religious philosophies from which those legends came, at least one of them reveals a great deal about the people it involves. One of Hector Lee's underlying points in his dissertation is that the stories of these three ancient apostles reveal a great deal about the life and customs of the people who repeat them, for they depict the way of life of the early pioneers; they show the problems and hardships faced by these people as they attempted to settle a new area. In the stories of the wanderer, this is true only to a very small degree. There are probably two reasons for this: (1) the stories focus more on the wanderer than they do on the subject, and (2) there have not been enough tales from a particular time or area for one to study the people revealed through them.

The attitudes of the churches and of their members are another point of comparison for these two folklore cycles. The Catholic Church has never given even unofficial recognition to the legend, although it is recorded in some of the chronicles kept by the monks.

¹Conway, p. vi.
and mentioned in such works as *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. The Mormon Church has not made any official statement concerning the three apostles, yet its past attitude toward them has been obvious, for the Nephites have frequently been mentioned by previous church leaders in sermons addressed to the general membership of the church. Today, even though the church may not give recognition to the actuality of current appearances, it does give credence to the possibility of them. Stories of them have appeared in church publications, as well as in those publications whose only connection with the church is the fact that the Mormon writers are influenced by their way of life.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the stories of the Wandering Israelite were believed by the people when he was a popular figure in oral tradition, but at least some of those who met the wanderer seem to have sincerely believed in him, as is seen in the story told of his visits in Florence, Italy. The people concerned with the legends of the Three Nephites (other than folklorists, whose concern is of a very different type) tend to believe in the basic origin of the story, whether they believe in particular instances or not. For them, the scriptures have established the existence of these men and made plausible the possibility of a visit from them. This is probably one of the factors accounting for the popularity of this cycle, for the acceptance of and belief in the stories make people prone to assign to the Three Nephites stories which could sometimes be explained in a more natural manner.

Because the Mormon Church has given at least unofficial recognition to the Nephite stories, and because the Mormon people
accept them as at least basically possible and occasionally true, the stories have taken on a spiritual significance; they have become stories which must be interpreted in terms of faith rather than reality. The one or two attempts to lift them out of this spiritual atmosphere have proved unsuccessful. Because no church has ever given even unofficial recognition to the accounts of the wanderer, and because the people seem no longer to give them credence, the Wandering Jew has been removed from the spiritual level. While his principal purpose in the legend originally seemed to have been to serve as a witness for the divinity of Christ, it now seems to be to serve as a literary symbol for a variety of ideas and beliefs. The folklore of the Three Nephites has not yet reached the stage where it can be removed from the spiritual atmosphere that surrounds it.

The physical descriptions of these immortal men are interesting to compare, for they vary greatly among all four. This is easily explained with the three apostles, for if one description varies from another, the subject can easily insist that it is a different one of the three. Unfortunately, the Wandering Jew has no such avenue of explanation. No reason is ever given for the different descriptions of his appearance, excepting that of age. His variety of ages is easily accounted for, because many of the early tales provide a method by which he can, at the age of one hundred, be rejuvenated to the age of thirty. The differences in the ages of the Three Nephites are not quite so easily explained, although there is also considerably less variance. Generally the stories depict the three as quite elderly, usually with beards. There are a few stories, principally those concerning Robert Edge, which depict him as a young
man. No attempt, however, has been made to explain this. There is no rejuvenation motif in the Nephite cycle; apparently the problem has not caused any concern among those who believe in the stories.

While the shoemaker is described as appearing kindly and benevolent or lonely and unhappy, he is also described as evil, angry, and vengeful. The Three Nephites are more consistent on this point. If any mention of such attributes is made, it is usually a reference to their kind, benevolent faces.

The dress of the Wandering Jew varies much more than that of the Three Nephites. He has been seen in sumptuous clothing, in normal clothing, and in rags that bear traces of former finery. The Three Nephites are usually dressed in clothing that is common to the country and time in which they appear. There are a few exceptions in which they appear in long robes; but even then, their costumes seem to be the logical ones for the situation at hand.

The Wandering Jew personally reveals his identity to those who listen. He tells the people who he is and frequently warns them to beware of those impostors impersonating him. Technically, the Three Nephites have never identified themselves. One did go so far as to say that he was "one of the three," and another did give his name as "Nephi," but identification is usually done by the people they have visited. It seems apparent, then, that the Wandering Jew seeks notoriety, while the Three Nephites are willing to accept, and even seem to seek, anonymity.

The reasons for their appearances provide another point of comparison. At times the Three Nephites have appeared because someone has specifically wished for a visit or prayed for help. At all
times they seem to have been sent for a specific purpose, if not a response to a wish or a prayer, perhaps to warn of approaching danger or to test the generosity of the subject. The Wandering Jew seems never to have come for these first two reasons. While he has occasionally appeared to fill a specific need, such as the rescue he made of two small children in the Alps of Northern Italy during a snowstorm, more frequently no particular reason for his appearance is given.

When he does appear, he usually speaks to those about him, either formally from a pulpit or informally to a crowd in the streets. In the former case, he is usually requested to speak; in the latter, if not officially requested, he is at least thoroughly questioned by those who want to hear of the passion of Christ from one who witnessed it. The Three Nephites seem to do little speaking. The few times that they have appeared in church, they have been the ones to request permission to address the congregation. The remaining times that they have appeared to large groups, their specific purpose seems to have been either to help the missionaries with their work or to prepare the way for missionaries who were to come later.

In both groups of stories, the men reveal a great knowledge of Christ and the gospel. However, the wanderer does not confine himself to these areas; he frequently speaks of the travels he has made and the history he has seen. At times he prophesies, particularly in the area of politics and government. When the Three Nephites do speak, they restrict their speeches almost entirely to religious subjects or to items of immediate practicality and help to the individual people, such as giving the correct road to take or the way to
cure an illness. They, too, make prophecies, but they avoid such subjects as politics and the world situation. Their prophecies, like their sermons and talks, are concerned rather with spiritual welfare or the immediate problems of the people.

Stories in these two groups are repeated for several purposes. Of course there is no way of knowing to what extent any of the stories are fraudulent, but one can easily become suspicious, for example of those in England in which the shoemaker asks for money; in another story he requests permission to beg. This particular wanderer was later proved to be an impostor and hanged for his deeds (p. 83). But we have no way of knowing how many impostors were more successful. At this point, none of the stories of the three ancient apostles have been proved fraudulent. Some have been shown to be cases of mistaken identity, but the mistake has always been on the part of the person visited, not the visitor.

Stories in both cycles have been used to teach; whether in a formal sermon or in an informal discussion, the stories have conveyed the teachings of Christ and the religious philosophies they represent. The stories of the wanderer served this purpose for generations, sometimes to expound on specific points of theology, such as the state of the body after the resurrection, sometimes simply to tell the story of the life of Christ. Today, however, the wanderer seems no longer to serve this purpose, for the literary artists have so completely taken him over that the stories no longer emphasize moral teachings. The Nephites' stories, too, have served to illustrate sermons and to teach particular points that are stressed by the leaders of the Mormon Church. The fact that they still are used for
this purpose today may account for the reluctance of writers to try
to remove them from this religious atmosphere into one more literary.
Today the stories of the wanderer seem to be told for entertainment;
but with the Nephites it is an entirely different situation, for the
entertainment value is either that of personal interest or an illustra-
tion used to make a moral point more interesting and forceful.
The stories have not yet reached their artistic possibilities.

The speed with which the Nephites travel is another common
motif. They are able to go from city to city in a manner of minutes
and from country to country within a day. Little emphasis is placed
on speed in the stories of the wanderer. Although a chronology of
his visits shows that he must have covered a great deal of ground in
a very little time, it does not seem to be considered unusual for
him by the people reporting his visits. As far as they were con-
cerned, he probably had enough time to reach his destination by
means that were normal to him. The exceptions to this would be the
stories which state that he travels with the wind.

The suddenness of appearance and disappearance seems to be
another major motif with the Three Nephites. Many of the inform-
ants describe how a visitor seems to appear suddenly before their
eyes from nowhere. Even more describe his sudden, inexplicable dis-
appearance, as though he had vanished into the air. What is usually
meant by this, however, is that the subject had simply turned his
attention elsewhere for a few moments. The appearance and disappear-
ance of the Wandering Jew seems to be more natural. Frequently the
informant may say that he was never seen again, but he seems to
leave in a normal manner. This ability to appear and disappear with
such great rapidity helps identify the Nephites as immortals.

There are several minor motifs that make interesting comparisons. One of the most obvious is that the Wandering Jew continually wanders the earth; the Three Nephites visit, but they never seem to be regarded as wanderers.

Another interesting point is that the shoemaker was known to accept money from others. In fact, in England he accepted so much that the people lost faith in him. There are no instances of the Nephites having accepted money. The wanderer, in his role as a beggar, was also able to accept clothing. This motif is found only in one instance in the Nephite cycle. In a manuscript in the L. D. S. Church Historian’s Office in Salt Lake City, a missionary has written an account of the little information that he was able to gather concerning Robert Edge. In this account, he was given a suit by a merchant who did not particularly believe in God but did like his preaching (p. 208).

The ancient shoemaker has appeared in many roles, among them those of a teacher, beggar, lecturer, gentleman of nobility, art connoisseur, shoemaker, and monk. The Nephites generally do not stay long enough to give any indication of a profession, although they have occasionally appeared as preachers.

The Israelite seems to have made no particular distinction as to whether he appeared to men or to women, although most of the accounts seem to have been recorded by men. This could be due partly to the fact that the women in those days had a different role; besides their lack of education, they were imbued with the idea that woman stayed in the background at home. The visits of the Nephites,
according to Lee, occurred to men and women almost equally, although his study does indicate a few more appearances to women. Also, they seem to have appeared, on occasion, to children.

The Wandering Jew is not known to have asked for rest or lodging. Indeed, he would have had no reason to ask, for his five magic coins would have provided for him. The Nephites have, on occasion, been known to request this. Since they are not supposed to be subject to fatigue and other physical problems, it is assumed that such a request is usually a test of faith or generosity for those who receive him.

The Three Nephites usually know the problems or troubles of those they visit and are sent to help the situation in some way. The Wandering Jew seldom appears in this role. In fact, his knowledge seems to be that gained from two thousand years of experience and study. The knowledge of the Nephites seems to be gained from supernatural sources.

The three apostles were all men who followed Christ, men who accepted His teachings while He was here on earth. The Wandering Jew did not accept His teachings while He was here. In some accounts, he later repented, was baptized, and followed Christ's teachings. In others, he remained steadfastly determined to resist all Christian teachings.

Perhaps one of the biggest differences in the two cycles of folklore is their symbolic power. The Wandering Jew has been considered a symbolic representation of the entire Jewish race, yet he has frequently been used as a symbol of anti-Semitic feeling, a means of arousing others against all those who did not
follow Christ. The Nephites, rather than depict an anti-Semitic feeling, have revealed a very pro-Jewish attitude. They, themselves, are sometimes described as Jewish in appearance; and, according to some accounts, they have been instruments in helping with the return of the Jewish nation to Israel. Rather than symbolize the Jewish race, they symbolized a hope for their future, evidence that Christ will protect and provide for them.

Spiritually, these men all represent religious tenets and beliefs, either directly or indirectly, within the Christian churches of today. At the same time they symbolize the individual beliefs of men. For Shelley, the wanderer became a varying symbol for his varying beliefs. For the L. D. S., the Nephites have become symbols of the concern of God for his children.

The Wandering Jew has represented both eternal youth and aged wisdom. The Three Nephites seem to have never taken upon themselves the first quality; but they have, in a more individual way, represented the wisdom, knowledge, and power that can be bestowed by God.

The reactions of the witnesses to these appearances vary. There are, with both cycles, those who have greeted the appearance of these men with considerable skepticism; and there are others who have been firmly convinced that the experience is real. Today, there seem to be few, if any, who believe in the Wandering Jew as anything other than a legendary character. There are many who still believe in the Three Nephites, although many others continue to regard the whole affair rather skeptically. The feelings that the wanderer has aroused vary from country to country. The Spaniards, according to
one account, regarded him with veneration naturally accorded any wise, elderly man. According to another account, they regarded him with horror. The French viewed him with compassion and sympathy; the Garmans, philosophically. The Three Nephites seem always to have been regarded by those who encountered them with a great deal of respect. They seem to have aroused neither animosity, horror, nor sympathy, for it is believed that they remain on earth as a special blessing from Christ, and this alone makes them objects of awe.

The motifs in the story of the Wandering Jew vary greatly; those in the stories of the Three Nephites seem to settle around a few central motifs. The first of these is supplying food, for there was a great scarcity of it in pioneer times. The Nephites were frequently responsible for delivering food, for promising it, or for merely causing it to appear. None of the stories of the wanderer make use of this motif.

Another, closely related to this one, does, however, appear in both groups to a certain extent. The Nephites have been known on many occasions to ask for food and drink. The wanderer did this much less frequently. Though he often is said to have dined with people, no mention is made of his having requested it. When the Nephites finished eating, the food frequently reappeared on the table as if it had never been touched; this motif does not appear in any of the stories of the shoemaker. Often, too, the Nephites promised some type of blessing in return for what they had eaten; frequently it was a promise that the family would never want for food. This motif is also missing from the the stories of the wanderer.
Both cycles have stories of healings performed by these immortals; however, there is a far greater proportion of them mentioned in connection with the Three Nephites, for this seems to have been one of their purposes in remaining on earth. They have healed many people, some by promise, some by advice, some by praying for them, and some merely by their presence. Instances of healings involving the wanderer are few; in one story, he recommended a brew of leaves for a cripple (p. 55); in another he promised that his friend's wife would be healed (p. 21). In The Turkish Spy he is said to be able to heal a person merely by touching him.

One of the common purposes of the Nephite visit is the delivery of a spiritual message. Sometimes they come to preach the gospel; sometimes they come merely to assure someone that the gospel is true; sometimes they come to offer spiritual blessings; sometimes they seem to come merely to uplift the discouraged, to show that God is interested in and concerned about them. The stories of the wanderer are seldom concerned with providing a spiritual uplift, although many of the earlier ones do discuss the life and crucifixion of Christ.

The Nephites frequently come to rescue or help in some other tangible way those who are in need. Sometimes the person is in actual danger; sometimes he seems only to need help with physical labor. The Wandering Jew seems to have done this only once, in a snow storm in the Italian Alps (p. 19). There seem to be no instances of his having performed physical labor as an aid to others.
The shoemaker has become more than just a religious symbol. He has become a literary device, a means of creating a literary image. The stories of the apostles have not successfully been extended into this realm. The Wandering Jew is able to represent the lonely, the sorrowful, the angry, the martyred, the suffering, the mysterious; the Three Nephites represent the benevolent, the unselfish, the supernatural powers of God, the closeness of man with God; they represent the sacred and personal. The legend of the Three Nephites, in comparison to that of the Wandering Jew, is very young; it is only beginning to grow. That of the Wandering Jew has survived for many hundreds of years; it has passed its peak of popularity with the folk, and it is now used in literature as a symbolic device rather than in sermons as a means of teaching a moral lesson. The legend of the Three Nephites has not taken on the symbolic meaning that the Wandering Jew has; it still belongs to the folk. One has come to represent universal humanity; one, the individual. One has become a literary motif in the writings of men; the other has remained a living motif in the lives of men.
APPENDIX

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE APPEARANCES
OF THE WANDERING JEW

The following chronology has been compiled from the various records discussed in Chapter II. No documentation is provided here, as it has been given earlier.

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<tr>
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A MIRROR BROUGHT BY TRUTH:
A STUDY AND COMPARISON OF THE FOLKLORE OF
THE WANDERING JEW AND THE FOLKLORE OF THE THREE NEPHITES

An Abstract
of a Thesis
Presented to the
Department of English
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Marilynne Rich Smith
May, 1968
The thoughts, dreams, symbols, and ideas that men use may be their own, but once they are uttered aloud or written down, they become the property of others as well. Legends grow, stories spread, symbolism multiplies, old ideas generate new ideas, and gradually these stories and symbols become the universal property of mankind. The legend grows and is used over and over again, changing, fusing, and transmuting. One of these legends is the story of the Wandering Jew. The plot of the early versions of the story is vague and conflicting. The sources are even more varied. The legend was well known throughout Europe, particularly in England, France, and Germany, during the Middle Ages as a folk tale and as a story in which the people firmly believed. During the Romantic period of literature, the figure captured the imaginations of writers, artists, and musicians. Today, Ahasuerus is a well-known symbol used by many writers.

Another interesting legend originated in the Americas, the legend of the Three Nephites. Several studies have been made of this legend. The general conclusion of scholars seems to be that it is an outgrowth of the legend of the Wandering Jew. They claim that the origin is equally vague and that its prominent position in the Americas is due to the fact that Joseph Smith was familiar with the European legend; when he "wrote" his Book of Mormon, he decided to include this legend with a new, original twist. They
argue that the stories exist in oral abundance because immigrating converts from Europe brought with them their native folklore and adapted it to their new theology.

This study compares these two cycles of folklore in two main areas: the traditional form and the art form, discussing the origin and development of each. The study is of value for several reasons. The stories of the Wandering Jew have been misunderstood by many; and, as a result, many of the legends that scholars actually classify into this group do not belong there at all. They are, rather, simply legends that use an eternal wanderer motif. Among these legends one finds those of John the Beloved, the Flying Dutchman, the Wild Huntsman, and Cain. These people are not of the same legend as Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew. They all use the same central motif, that of an eternal wanderer; but each of these figures has a cycle of legends entirely his own. Too many scholars, in doing what they feel to be the definitive work on the subject, allow these figures to become fused and confused in their minds. They try to point to the Bible as the origin of the legend. Some refer to the Old Testament, some to the New Testament. Still other scholars tend to confuse Ahasuerus with another of the same name, an ancient Persian king living several centuries before Christ. These stories are all, of course, very interesting; but they are not versions of the legend of the Wandering Jew.

The origin of the legend of the Three Nephites is neither vague nor European, as many have claimed. Once one realizes that not all wandering legends are outgrowths of that of the Wandering Jew, it is much easier to discuss this American legend.
By comparing and contrasting these two legends, many similarities and differences can be seen. One such difference is that of the source of the legend. Another, and perhaps more interesting, is the type of God that each reveals: The Wandering Jew is a legend of medieval origin; it reveals an angry, vengeful God who calls out curses upon his children and punishes the unbelievers. The second legend is one popular among Mormons; it reveals a God who is loving, kind, and forgiving to his children. These two different Gods in the legends actually symbolize the two very different Gods revealed through different religious philosophies.

There are many other differences that can be seen in a comparison of these two cycles. While there are some very interesting similarities, the differences are so many and so extreme that one can only be led to believe that we have here two essentially separate folklore cycles, developed entirely independently of each other but later occasionally meeting and sometimes intertwining their branches together to produce a single fruit.

Approved:

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