George Cruikshank, 'Herne's Oak from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*', 5, 5 (*c.*1857).

Herne, the Windsor Bogey

Simon Young

Introduction

It is a great scene of British, even of European, folklore history.[1] On 26 January 1842, the Prussian king, Frederick William IV, arrived at Windsor with a glittering party including the Count of Stelberg, Alexander von Humboldt, and General Newmann: they had come for the baptism of the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII. The Prussians were met in Windsor town centre by Albert, who accompanied them up to the castle amid cheering crowds. Then, in the Quadrangle, in a more intimate but also more formal setting, they were greeted by Queen Victoria, the Lord, the Groom, and the Equerry in Waiting. And what did the Prussians make of British hospitality a generation after Waterloo, and seventy years before the Somme? Were they impressed by the Italian landscapes that had been carefully hung in their rooms? Were they fired by the promise of forty gallons of spiced claret for the baptism bash? We only know that the first thing they asked to see the morning after their arrival was not the plate, or paintings or other royal treasures. They insisted, instead, in tramping out from the castle, some five hundred yards, to go and stand at the foot of one of the most famous trees in England, Herne's Oak. Once there they meditated in front of 'the object of their attention and curiosity and probably of their veneration' in silence. Then, one by one, the Prussians took leaves of ivy from the trunk, as keepsakes.[2]

Herne and the Fairies

What was this tree and why did it so excite the foreign visitors? There was, at least for the Prussians, a one-word answer: 'Shakespeare'. The tree had appeared in Shakespeare's work the best part of two hundred and fifty years before and the mid-1800s marked the high point of German enthusiasm for 'the Bard'. This leads us to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Shakespeare had probably written *The Merry Wives*, a sex romp comedy, in 1597.[3] There is a tradition, attested in the very early 18th century, that Queen Elizabeth herself had asked Shakespeare to post the piece. She had perhaps been excited by the character of Falstaff in Shakespeare's history plays, which had just appeared in London: the lecherous miscreant returns as the roly-poly villain of *The Merry Wives*.[4] This tradition is impossible to prove, as the evidence first surfaces eighty years after Shakespeare's death. But the tradition is credible and most modern editors of the play have clucked approvingly at the idea.[5] They have a point. Windsor Castle was the favourite residence of the Tudors, and it is difficult, otherwise, to understand why Shakespeare would choose a provincial English town for the setting of his newest story.[6] It is very possible, given the importance of Herne's Oak in the play, that Shakespeare came to Windsor

with his company and played before the Oak or in a natural depression close by, 'The Fairy Pit'. The Prussians did not know it but they may have been standing not just before a legendary oak, but at the site of the first performance of *The Merry Wives*.[7]

It is often noted that Shakespeare gives the earliest written account of Herne and Herne's Oak. It would be truer to say that he gives us the *only* worthwhile testimony: our next sources for that tree and Herne emerge some two hundred years later. Miss Page, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, tells an 'old tale' of Herne. Herne was, Page claims, the spirit of a 'keeper' or 'hunter' (or, as another character has it, a 'woodman') who walked around the oak with 'great ragg'd horns' and a rattling chain. Herne habitually did three bad things: first, he blasted trees, or, at least, he blasted his oak;[8] second, he put blood into cattle's milk; and, third, he terrified those walking by. Herne, we should also note, only seems to have worked his villainy at midnight in winter: the Prussian visitors had at least come at the right time of year.[9] But Herne was more than just an aside for Shakespeare. The oak became a plot device. Falstaff is convinced to dress up as Herne and meet a lover at the oak at midnight, only to be ambushed by fairies (a group of disguised children) at the very climax of the play. The children attack Falstaff, then flee when they hear a hunting horn: presumably another prop of the fearsome Herne.[10] The only other information given by Shakespeare, or rather by an early pirated edition of the play, is that Windsor mothers terrified their children with tales of this bogey 'in shape of a great stag.'[11]

Shakespeare may have picked up another bit of Windsor lore to drop into his play: namely the fairies. There is reason for thinking that the fairies that are brought out in the final scene are as traditional in Windsor Park as Herne himself. As these fairies all too often get lost in Herne's shadow and as fairies are rare in the Home Counties, let's take a moment over them. Mistress Quickly, while preparing the ambush of Falstaff, gives the instruction to her fairies: 'but till 'tis one o clock/ Our dance of custom round about the oak/ Of Herne the Hunter, let us not forget'.[12] This has been read to mean that fairies were wont to dance around Herne's Oak. To this we must also remember that the Herne's Oak visited by the Prussians was, as noted above, close by a depression known in the 19th century as 'the Fairy Pit' (or 'the Fairy Dell'): indeed, 'the Fairy Pit' appears on an Ordnance Survey map in 1899.[13] However, oaks are fairy trees in English and Welsh fairylore: in fact, on some occasions fairies are glimpsed, as here, dancing around oaks.[14] The 'custom' Mistress Quickly refers to may have been, then, to dance around an oak, but not this specific oak. And the Fairy Pit? It is possible that the Fairy Pit inspired the fairies of the play, but it is also possible that the play inspired the name of the pit: 'Shakespeare said there were fairies there' etc. As we shall soon see traditions are a 'work in progress' in Windsor Park.

Happily we can be much more certain about Herne. Shakespeare may have been instructed to put Herne in the play, or he may have made a reconnaissance run to Windsor to learn about local traditions to impress his royal sponsor: certainly he showed

knowledge of the area in his writing.[15] The details he puts in, though, are, to someone versed in English folklore, convincing. These include two points that are unusual and that have no bearing on the play: namely, the fact that Herne blasted trees and that he only haunted the oak in winter. An Elizabethan playwright might make up a ghost with a chain (a characteristic of early modern phantoms); just possibly also the antlers.[16] But that playwright would hardly improvise much less typical and much less fruitful characteristics like aboricide and seasonal haunting, though given the drift of recent folklore writing on Herne it is only a matter of time before sometime suggests that he was entirely Shakespeare's creation. Herne, as it happens, conforms more generally to a kind of monstrous ghost that, from time to time, appears in English folklore. These ghosts are not just frightening, they *hurt* their human neighbours, crops and cattle. One notable example might be the 'Auld Lord' at Lowther in Westmorland: a ghost so terrible that he flayed four horses alive.[17] Or there is Cutty Dyer, who slit throats and drank the blood of victims at Ashburton in Devon.[18] Herne is not your run-of-a-mill English ghost, by any means: the grounds of Windsor Castle deserve something special. But that, after all, is why he came to the attention of Elizabeth or Shakespeare. My suspicion is that Herne was the favourite ghost of the Tudors: that Arthur and Henry trembled to hear stories when children; and that Edward, Mary and Elizabeth were called to the window to hear his phantom horn.[19] Of course, this is all suitably wild speculation, but the later royal interest in Herne is not.

The Never Dying Oak

In 1796, forty years before the Prussian party arrived in Windsor, an axe was taken to Herne's Oak and the tree was felled: the wood was used for Herne souvenirs including chairs.[20] The tree was then blown down in 1838 in a storm, an event reported in the national press, and the trunk was again made into Herne souvenirs.[21] Then the tree, this time the one the Prussians took ivy leaves from, was blown down in a storm in 1863: here again the wood was used in the creation of various items including a casket.[22] This impossible catalogue is to introduce the reader to the awkward fact that there were actually a series of candidates for Herne's Oak within the park. I have limited myself to the three most famous: there were minor claims made as well for other oaks, which we can pass over, and Victorian novelist William Ainsworth confused an already confusing situation by introducing a 'haunted beech'.[23] The debates on which of the candidate oaks is the correct one were carried out with much Victorian earnestness. Letters appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and best of all William Perry, Wood Carver to the Queen, wrote a short book, in 1867, to make his case: *A Treatise on the Identity of Herne's Oak Inferring the Maiden Tree to Have Been the Real One*.

So which tree was the true oak of Herne? When we focus in on local memories there are only two candidates that matter and these stood within a hundred feet of


Blasted Oak.


Maiden Oak, last years.

each other. The first was what I will call here 'the Blasted Oak', the tree cut down in 1796. It was an ill-looking tree growing on and over the edge of the Fairy Pit, one that had finally stopped producing leaves in 1790. The second tree, what I will call, after Perry, 'the Maiden Tree' (i.e. not pollarded), was a well-grown oak that stood next to Queen Elizabeth's Walk, just two minutes on foot from its blasted cousin. This was the tree that was blown down in 1863. Obviously neither tree survives but we have many etchings and sketches. I hope that no reader will take it amiss if I say that the 'Blasted Oak' would have been suited to a scene from a horror movie; 'the Maiden Tree' was, on the other hand, at least in its prime, a majestic model oak. They were both charismatic, but in entirely different ways. There was much controversy around these two trees in the 19th century, with scholars, local historians and busy-bodies championing their oak. However, what has often been missed by scholars is the fact that the controversy over which tree was the right one stretched back at least to the 1780s.[24] The arguments could have been much, much older.[25] These references are, in any case, enough to show that, at that date, if Windsorians didn't publish opposing views, they certainly discussed them. All that changed in the 19th century was that the arguments surfaced.

The royal family consistently favoured the Maiden Oak and they had strong feelings on the subject. In 'about 1799' a Mr Engall was made bailiff of Windsor Home Park by George III. On his first day he was brought to the king. The rest is given in the words of a Mr Jesse who had had the story from Engall himself.

> … the King set off to walk in the Park, attended by Lord Winchelsea, and Mr. Engall was desired to follow them. Nothing was said to him until the king stopped opposite an oak-tree. He then turned to Mr. Engall and said 'I have brought you here to point out this tree to you. I commit it to your special

> charge, and take care that no damage is ever done to it. I had rather that every tree in the Park should be cut down than that this tree should be hurt. This is *Herne's Oak*.[26]

The tree was the Maiden Oak and many living in the area agreed with the royal family There is no written evidence for this royal sponsorship from earlier than George III. However, there is one bit of landscape history that should be taken into account. In the time of William III (r. 1688-1702) a line of elms were planted along Elizabeth's Way. The Maiden Oak grew in the line of these elms, yet the decision was made to spare the tree. This shows that William III or his tree-planters felt that the oak was special.[27] The royal family had perhaps already identified Herne's Oak to their satisfaction, not a century after Shakespeare's death.

There is evidence, though, from the other side that is, in its own way, just as persuasive. A series of 19th-century visitors and locals were convinced that the Blasted Oak was Herne's Oak.

> Among those who either recollected the [Blasted Oak] and its precise locality, or who received the account from others at the time, were Mr. Francis Nicholson, the artist; Dr. Lind, many years a physician at Windsor, and Fellow of the Antiquarian Society; Bishop Goodenough, some time Canon of Windsor, also a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society; Colonel Rooke, a resident in Windsor Castle – Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, formerly a Canon of Windsor – Mr. Bethell, the present Bursar of Eton College; Mr. Seeker, Clerk of the Peace for Windsor, &c., &c.[28]

It is a very Victorian list. We are being bludgeoned here with the names of the good and the great ... What matters for present purposes is that intelligent and honest people found themselves on different sides of the debate, including some from a quite humble background. One singing boy, for example, remembered how in 1786 he had used to climb into the hollow trunk of the Blasted Oak that he, then, believed to be Herne's Oak.[29] A map from 1742, our first map with the tree, shows, meanwhile, Herne's Oak on the very edge of the Fairy Pit, suggesting again the Blasted Oak.[30] This opposing tradition was noted, of course, by the royals and their supporters. There is a persistent claim that George III had the Blasted Oak cut down in 1796 and one account has it that he did so because he was sick of people saying that it was Herne's Oak; still another account implying that he ordered it done in one of his fits of madness![31] Certainly, George III refused a gift of chairs made from the Blasted Oak, 'stating that Herne's Oak was still standing'.[32]

Of course, in the end a debate about which tradition is the 'right' one is ill-formulated. Folklore is not like mathematics. Different traditions and, therefore, different truths can and often do co-exist. With good documentation we can determine which tradition is the oldest, but never which is the truest. After all, what is 'true' when we come to a prancing phantom with antlers on his head? What *is*, though, striking, collating the evidence, is the apparent influence of Shakespeare in all this. When Herne's Oak first appears on a map in 1742 it is actually described as 'Sir John Falstaff's Oak', which seems to be getting things the wrong way around.[33] Likewise the Fairy Pit is the name given to the depression by the Blasted Oak. But 'Fairy Pit' is a very rare fairy placename in Britain. ('Fairy Hole' would have been a credible traditional name for a depression like this, of which there are dozens of English examples.) Is it possible that the name was inspired by the line from *The Merry Wives*, that the fairies are all 'couch'd in a *pit* hard by Herne's Oak'.[34] Did 'Pit' perhaps superimpose itself on an older fairy name or was there no fairy tradition there prior to Shakespeare? I have argued above that Shakespeare did not invent the tradition of Herne the Hunter. He borrowed it, rather, from Windsor folklore, inspired by or on the instruction of the Virgin Queen. However, nor should we forget the prestige of Shakespeare in the centuries that followed. The same magnetic pull that brought the Prussians to the Maiden Oak could also have worked changes on Windsor traditions. If you doubt this take royal huntsman Charles Davis remembering his youth in the park in the early 19th century:

> When a young man [Davis] used frequently to walk about the [Fairy] Dell reading Shakespeare, and imagining to himself the imps and elves which were described in the play.[35]

Conclusion

So much for the oak or oaks: what of Herne himself? Herne owed, there is no question, his fame to Shakespeare. A local bogeyman stumbled into a work of world literature and then found himself celebrated by the well-read of all nations. There were practical dividends. Not many 19th-century goblins could boast visits from foreign royalty. Herne had, in fact, been saved by Shakespeare from the extinction that faced the wraiths in most neighbourhoods in Britain, the vast majority of whose deeds were never written down. The present author has a handlist of several hundred such village bogeys with wonderful monikers such as the 'Dirty Puddle Dobbie', the 'Nell Parlour Boggart', 'Horton Guytrash' and 'Jingling Annice'. But what is most surprising about Herne is how, despite his fame in *The Merry Wives*, he vanishes in the 19th century. After Shakespeare our first reference to Herne as a ghost is in Samuel Ireland in 1791.[36] Ireland seems to have heard a slightly fuller story

at Windsor than Shakespeare: namely that Herne had hung himself on the very oak he haunted.[37] Did Ireland pick up a local tradition about Herne, or did a local invent an explanation for a curious outsider? We will never know, and the stakes are, in any case, small. But, after Ireland, there is no more serious search for Berkshire or Buckinghamshire legends of Herne. The debate on the one true oak seems to have taken up all the energy of antiquarians. Or was it, perhaps, that the legends had already evaporated? Jeremy Harte writes, credibly, 'Absence of evidence here carries more weight than usual, for Victorian ghost-hunters were crashing snobs and any hint of a Shakespearian spook riding in full view of the Queen's residence would have been seized on with glee.'[38]

When Herne returned it would be in the words of writers who did not know Windsor Park. It should be said that scholars were not, generally, responsible for the second wave of Herne legends, at least at first. Jacob Grimm made a polite and very reasonable nod in his 1835 *Deutsche Mythologie*, while English folklorists generally came late to Herne.[39] It was, unsurprisingly, in fiction that Herne really took off and it was there that Herne became lord of the wild hunt. William Ainsworth published his *Windsor Castle* in 1842, in which Herne is a central character: the woodcuts of George Cruikshank are difficult to forget. Then, in the 1850s, Herne had enough name recognition to have his own penny dreadful: *Herne the Hunter: A Legend of Windsor Forest*.[40] In 1879 Thomas Plowman published a play: *Herne the Hunter: or the Days of the Bluff King Hal, an Historical Improbability* – here Herne the Hunter is a disguised local radical![41] The fictional catalogue continues down into our own times with Herne moving from Berkshire ghost to synthesised New Age god via Margaret Murray and Ruth Tongue. John Masefield featured Herne in *The Box of Delights* in 1935: Susan Cooper called on Herne in *The Dark is Rising* in 1973 as a 'numinous and literally shadowy figure'.[42] Moving from the page to the screen, Herne starred as a woodland deity in ITV's *Robin of Sherwood* in the mid-1980s, played in with 'Celtic' pipes and spouting woodly wisdom – 'you are a leaf driven by the wind'. There are perhaps worse fates for a parish bugbear, whose idea of a good time was blasting trees and terrifying passersby, but not many…

Simon Young

Notes

1. Thanks to Eric Fitch, Bob Trubshaw and Chris Woodyard for help and inspiration with this piece.
2. Edward Jesse, *Scenes and Occupations of Country Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), 42-3. For other details: Anon, 'Arrival at Windsor Castle', *Cork Examiner* (26 Jan 1842), 2; Anon, 'The Royal Plate', *Morning Post* (28 Jan), 3.
3. William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (London: Thomas Nelson, 2000), 2: the consensus remains 23 April 1597.
4. John Dennis, *The Comical Gallant: Or, The Amours of Sir John Falstaffe. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane* (London: Baldwin, 1702), first page of an unnumbered epistle.

5. William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969 [1921]), viii-ix for John Dover Wilson's view. See also Helen Hackett, *Shakespeare and Elizabeth: The Meeting of Two Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 23-30.
6. The use of a 'realistic English setting' was unprecedented: Martin Wiggins, *British Drama: 1533-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011-), 9 vols, IV, 70.
7. The conventional opinion for the first performance is 23 Apr 1597 at Whitehall: H.J. Oliver (ed.), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (London: Routledge), xlv-xlvi. Evidence is circumstantial.
8. The folio text is: there 'he blasts the tree', emended silently (and sensibly?) to 'trees' in all modern editions: e.g. William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 136.
9. Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4, 4.
10. Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5, 5: 'A noise of hunting is heard within'. Not generally noted, but a horn is surely the sense. Does Shakespeare give us a glimpse here of the legendary Herne?
11. Conveniently given in James O. Halliwell, *The Comedies of William Shakespeare* (London: privately published 1854), 133. Note that the 1602 quarto in which this is found consistently has 'Horne' rather than 'Herne'. 'Herne' is in the better text, and it is easier to account, thinking of the play, for a shift from 'Herne' to 'Horne' than from 'Horne' to 'Herne'.
12. Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5, 5.
13. Bucks OS 56.10 (1899). I have not been able to examine earlier OS maps. Note the earliest reference I have found to Fairy Pit as a proper name is Robert Richard Tighe and James Edward Davis, *Annals of Windsor: being a history of the castle and town: with some account of Eton and places adjacent* (London: Longman, 1858), 2 vols, I, 700-6. Fairy Dell dates back to at least 1780. Richard Gough, *British topography. Or, an historical account of what has been done for illustrating the topographical antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Payne, 1780), 2 vols, I. 174; Anon, 'Wilful Damage', *Morning Advertiser* (28 May 1844), 3. Note William Perry, *A Treatise on the Identity of Herne's Oak Inferring the Maiden Tree to Have Been the Real One* (London: L. Booth, 1867), 2: 'the Chalk–pits, or Fairies' Dell, as more usually called…'.
14. F261.3.1.2: Simon Young, 'The Fair Oak of Bowland', *Northern Earth* 147 (2016), 16-21 and John Nicholson, *Folk-lore of East Yorkshire* (London: Simpkin, 1890), 83.
15. Michael John Petry, *Herne the Hunter: A Berkshire Legend* (Reading: William Smith, 1972), 14.
16. Jeremy Harte, 'Herne the Hunter', A Case of Mistake Identity', *At the Edge* 3 (1996), 25-31 at 26 pioneered, in a very good article, the idea that Shakespeare had invented the horns for dramatic effect. This was picked up by Jennifer Westwood and Jacqueline Simpson, *The Lore of the Land* (London: Penguin, 2005), 30, who suggest that the horns may have been added because Falstaff is a cuckold: 'Now, sir, who's a cuckold now' (5, 5). Technically Falstaff is not a cuckold. It seems more like a joke fit awkwardly to local supernatural facts, rather than that the cuckold subplot suggested horns. It will be interesting to see just how often horns appear in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama when Wiggins, *British Drama: 1533-1642*, with full prop lists, is completed: I have found several in an unsystematic search of some of the already published volumes.
17. Jeremiah Sullivan, *Cumberland and Westmorland, ancient & modern* (London: Whittaker and Co., 1857), 158-60.
18. Theo Brown, *Devon Ghosts* (Jarrold, 1982), 141-2.
19. I make a point that was suggested to me and that I find both silly and, yet, strangely compelling. The name 'Herne' is notably close to another great hunter in Windsor Park, Henry, king of England in 1509-47. At the risk of being misunderstood: is it possible that Herne owed part of his notoriety in the late 1500s to a subliminal echo of a larger-than-life Tudor who once hunted in the same groves?
20. Jesse, *Scenes*, 47.
21. Anon, 'Herne's Oak', *Dublin Evening Packet* (15 Nov 1838), 3.
22. Perry, *A Treatise*, 65 (unnumbered plate).

23. *Windsor Castle: An Historical Romance* (London: Henry Colburn, 1844 [1842]), 54-5. Ainsworth apparently based the haunted beech on a real tree: but whether the tradition of it being haunted was real or invented is unknown.
24. A.E. Howman, 'Mr. Urban', *Gentleman's Magazine* 15 (1841), 600-3 – at 600: 'In the year 1788 I became a resident at Windsor, and in that year I made a drawing of what was then generally believed to be the real Herne's Oak [Blasted].... There certainly were two opinions respecting the identity of the tree...' Note, too, that the Folger Shakespeare Library has a manuscript (*non vidi*) 'Recollections of Herne's oak and Windsor by Richard Clark, ca. 1850', uncharitably described as 'A rambling, old man's account in much detail.'
25. Suppose that Shakespeare had come to perform in Windsor Great Park, and had found that the Blasted Oak was not suitable for his choreography – fairies cannot dance around an oak hanging over a pit… – and so decamped to a nearby oak which better suited his performance needs, the Maiden Oak. Those who saw the performance went away with the impression that this was the true oak of Herne… I suggest this not as a serious hypothesis, but to drive home the point that a dual tradition could have been very old.
26. Edward Jesse, 'Sir', *Gentleman's Magazine* 165 (1839), 48-9 at 49.
27. Perry, *A Treatise*, 14: this evidence is frequently ignored but it has never been explained. Perhaps the oak was valued for other reasons.
28. Tighe and Davis, *Annals*, I, 691.
29. Perry, *A Treatise*, 25.
30. W. Collier, *Plan of the Town and Castle of Windsor and Little-Park, and Town and College of Eton* (1742). It would be interesting to establish our earliest written source (as opposed to a map) to the tree post Shakespeare. Is it George Steevens, *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London: 'Printed for C. Bathurst', 1778), I, 355 n. 1? Note this reference is not in the 1773 edition.
31. For malice Jesse, *Scenes*, 44. For madness, Anon, 'The Admirers of Shakespeare', *Morning Chronicle* (31 Oct 1838), 3.
32. Jesse, *Scenes*, 47.
33. Collier, *Plan*.
34. Act 5, sc. 3. I have found one other example for Fairy Pit: Janet Bord, *The Traveller's Guide to Fairy Sites* (Glastonbury: Gothic Image, 2004), 43.
35. Perry, *A Treatise*, 45.
36. Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the River Thames* (London: Egerton, 1792 [1791]), 2 vols, II, 16-17. Note the wording: 'he was induced to hang himself on this tree'. Who induced Herne? The devil? On the suicide, Harte, 'Herne', 27.
37. This late legend is more compatible with the Blasted Oak, the oak at the Fairy Pit, as a suicide would need only to tie a noose around his neck and jump off over the pit. Unsurprisingly it was the tree Ireland himself favoured.
38. Harte, 'Herne', 29; he goes on to list a series of sightings from *c.*1900 to the Second World War. The sightings continue. Bluewave, on a Wikipedia discussion page, writes: 'I have know[n] a couple of people who claim to have seen [Herne] and neither mentioned a horse.'
39. (Göttingen: in der Dieterischschen Buchhandlung), 528: 'Shakespeare tells how a Herne the Hunter … walks around an oak at midnight'. Much that irritates modern scholars about Jacob Grimm's comments actually comes in later German editions and in English translations. As to English folklorists, the first time Herne appears in *Folklore* is in 1927: A.R. Wright, 'Presidential Address', *Folklore* 38 (1927), 13-39 at 30 (about a 1926 encounter).
40. Anon (London: G. Purkess, 1853?), *non vidi*.
41. Oxford, Slatter and Rose.
42. Charles Butler, *Four British Fantasists: Place and Culture in the Children's Fantasies of Penelope Lively, Alan Garner, Diana Wynne Jones, and Susan Cooper* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 188.

Theodor Kittelsen's
Byttingen ('The Changeling').