have had a personal acquaintance with Clarke, the musical editor of the *Museum*, and that Stenhouse himself communicated to Hogg the 'genuine copy of the air' which consists principally in leaving out the accidental sharps. The modern set of the air differs from that of the original as in our text.

No. 305. Frae the friends and land I love. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 302. Tune, Carron side. The MS. is in the British Museum. The first of a series of Jacobite songs printed in the fourth volume of the Museum. In the Interleaved Museum Burns says of the present verses: 'I added the four last lines by way of giving a turn to the theme of the poem, such as it is.' No other song of the kind has been discovered, and I have failed to find it. The present verses were printed in the Museum with a bad copy of the tune Carron side. The music in the text is taken from the Caledonian Pocket Companion, c. 1756, viii. 10, there designated 'a plaintive air,' which was originally published in 1740.

No. 306. As I came o'er the Cairney mount. Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 467, signed 'Z.' Centenary Burns, 1897, iii. 171. The MS. is in the British Museum. The fragment is a much revised 'version of an old song of four stanzas in the Merry Muses. The tune was first printed as The highland lassie in Oswald's Curious Collection of Scots Tunes, 1740, 37; it is in Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1743, i. 12; in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1742, 13 it is entitled The highland laddie, one of the numerous tunes of the name. The editor of the Museum copied the music from Aird's Airs, iii. No. 164 as Burns directed on his manuscript. In the Interleaved Museum the note of Burns is: 'The first and indeed the most beautiful set of this tune was formerly, and in some places is still, known by the name of As I cam o'er the Cairney mount, which is the first line of an excellent but somewhat licentious song still sung to the tune.' This is the whole of the note written by Burns which Cromek has expanded and garbled in Reliques, 1808, pp. 207 and 208.

## IX: MISCELLANEOUS.

No. 307. The sun he is sunk in the west. Chambers, Works, 1852, entitled 'Song:—In the character of a ruined farmer. Tune, Go from my window, love, do.' The MS. of this doleful ditty in the handwriting of Burns, refers to the early farming distress, and represents his father as a 'brave man struggling with adversity.' The metre is peculiar and uncommon for Scottish verse, but it was constructed for a tune which Burns however, at a later time, is said to have communicated to the editor of the Scots Musical Museum, accompanied by some traditional verses. See Appendix, 'As I lay on my bed on a night.'

No. 308. There was a lad was born in Kyle. Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 341, entitled 'Fragment.' Tune, Dainty Davie.' This is one of the best known and most popular of Burns's songs, and his note on the MS. of the second stanza states 'the date of my Bardship's vital existence.' He sent a parody of it to Mrs. Dunlop, of which the following is the first stanza in the Second Commonplace Book:—

'There was a birkie born in Kyle,
But what na day, o' what na style,
I doubt its hardly worth the while
To be sae nice wi' Davie.
Leeze me on thy curly pow,
Bonie Davie, dainty Davie;
Leeze me on thy curly pow,
Thou'se ay my Dainty Davie.'

Burns obtained the rhythm and style from an old song which he copied into the Merry Muses. The chorus there is almost the same as the last four lines above. Rantin rovin Robin was not printed in the poet's lifetime, nor in either of the musical collections with which he was identified. John Templeton, a tenor of the Italian Opera, and Scottish vocalist, brought the song into public notice; but instead of singing it to the tune for which Burns wrote it, he selected O, an ye were dead, gudeman (see No. 249), to which it is almost always printed and sung. Burns, in discussing the tune elsewhere, particularly states that the chorus of Dainty Davie is to be sung to the low part of the melody, which is in Playford's Dancing Master, 1680, 293, and without title in Sinkler's MS., 1710. In the Tea-Table Miscellany, 1724, Allan Ramsay's song Lucky Nansy

is marked for the tune.

The Rev. David Williamson, who died in 1706, is always stated to be the original Dainty Davie, but that is very doubtful, and perhaps it would be more correct to say that he obtained the soubriquet from the tune. Dr. Pitcairn's comedy The Assembly he is represented as Solomon Cherry-Trees, and in the bitter and indecent pasquils he is styled Stout David, Sweet David, Mr. David, and sometimes bare Davie, but never Dainty Davie except in the ballad The Cardinal's Coach Coup'd, 1710. In the last stanza of this ballad in Maidment's New Book of Old Ballads he is called Dainty Davie, but curiously enough that stanza is not in the copy in a contemporary manuscript by the Rev. W. Traill. In this MS, there is a second part of The Cardinal's Coach Coup'd which has not yet been reprinted. The connexion with the tune seems to have arisen from a crazy man dancing and singing Dainty Davie on the road while Dr. Williamson one Sunday was proceeding to the Church in Aberdeen. The incident is related by Wodrow. The song in the Merry Muses quoted above is founded on the unauthenticated adventure related by Captain Creighton and published by Dean Swift—the well-known chestnut of Mass David Williamson who, flying from his persecutors and being pursued by dragoons, took refuge in the bed of the daughter of the Laird of Cherrytrees, whom he afterwards married. He was a Boanerges of the Kirk: he married and buried six wives, and married a seventh who buried him. For a fragment in the *Herd MS*, see Note, No. 285. The nationality of the music is disputed. Chappell claimed it as English, but curiously enough did not insert it in his collection, although it is conspicuously a good melody. It has been set only once to English verses that I know of, and the nationality is there settled in A New Song made to a pretty Scotch Tune in Durfey's Pills, 1719, i. 42; Dainty Davie is also in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1746, 32; Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1753, v. 22; and in other collections, including the Scots Musical Museum, 1787, No. 34. I understand that it is in the sixth edition of the Dancing Master, and again in the edition of 1701 and also in Sinkler's MS., 1710, without title.

No. 309. Is there for honest poverty? A Chap book, Stewart and Meikle, Glasgow, 1799. Currie, Works, 1800, iv. 216, entitled For a' that an' a' that. Thomson's Scotish Airs, 1805, 163. This has probably won more fame for Burns beyond the seas than any other of his writings, and it has been translated into at least nine different European languages. At the time it was written the Continent was in commotion; the democratic opinions pervading France had extended to other countries, and the mute masses had found a voice. The vnlgar opinion of the politics of Burns is far from the truth; he was no believer in universal suffrage nor in any of the cant of the party politician. He despised all mobs, washed or unwashed. He held the same opinion as the great composer Beethoven, who, when challenged as to his title to use the prefix of nobility in his name, declined to discuss the point, but pointed to his head and his heart, saying 'these are my titles of nobility.' The song was sent to Thomson in a letter, January 1, 1795, with this note:

'A great critic (Aikin) on songs says, that love and wine are the exclusive themes for song-writing. This is on neither subject, and consequently is no song; but will be allowed, I think, to be two or three pretty good prose thoughts inverted into rhyme.' He resumes the subject in a later part of the same letter: 'I do not give you the foregoing song for your book, but merely by way of vive la bagatelle; for the piece is not really poetry.'

The tune For a that an' a' that has been continuously popular since the

middle of the eighteenth century. In Loyal Songs, 1750, there is a Jacobite effusion for the tune, beginning 'Though Geordie reign in Jamie's stead,' which is reprinted in Ritson's Scotish Songs, 1794, ii. 102. The chorus is:—

'For a' that, and a' that, And thrice as muckle's a' that; He's far beyond the seas the night, Yet he'll be here for a' that.

In the Merry Muses is a broad vernacular beginning :-

'Put butter in my Donald's brose, For weel does Donald fa' that; I loe my Donald's tartans weel,' &c.

The tune is a close adaptation of Lady Macintosh's Reel, first printed in 1754, and afterwards in Bremner's Scots Reels, 1759, 52, for which see Song No. 252. The music is also in the Scots Musical Museum, 1790, No. 290, and Ritson's Scotish Songs, 1794, ii. 102. In Christie's Traditional Ballad Airs, 1888, ii. 36, is a set to a traditional Jacobite song He wears a bonnet for a hat, a variation of that in Loyal Songs with the same chorus. Christie states that his father got his air from the last representative of three generations of pipers called Jaffray.

No. 310. I dream'd I lay. 'These two stanzas I composed when I was seventeen and are among the oldest of my printed pieces' (Interleaved Museum). The MS. is in the British Museum. The song was originally published, and signed 'X' in Johnson's Museum, 1788, No. 146, with the original melody as in the text. In one of the Gray MSS. it appears that the tune was sent to Burns entitled One night I dream'd I lay most easy, and intended to be set to the words of another song. A marginal note by Johnson, the proprietor of the Museum (who like Chaucer could not spell!), is 'do not loss this, as I have not a nother copy. It is a pritty tune. J. J.' Burns drew his pen through the title, and inserted the first line of his own song. Accordingly, the air was set to his verses I dream'd I lay. The discarded song described by Burns as the second set of the Young man's dream, and written by an eccentric genius known as Balloon Tytler, was printed in the same volume of the *Museum* with a remodelled set of the tune. Burns's verses with the tune were reprinted in Napier's Scots Songs, 1792, ii. 88. Tom Moore adapted the music for his song 'As a beam o'er the face of the waters.'

No. 311. Farewell, ye dungeons dark and strong. Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 114, signed 'Z,' tune M°Pherson's farewell. The MS. is in the British Museum. No country in Europe has more increased in wealth during the last hundred and fifty years than Scotland. Four years prior to the time at which the original of McPherson's farewell is supposed to have been written—that is 1705—Scotland was so poor that the Government could not pay a Parliamentary grant of £400 Scots to James Anderson for writing an 'Historical Essay showing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is Imperial and Independent,' Edinburgh 1705, in answer to Dr. Drake's offensive Historia Anglo-Scotica which the Parliament ordered to be burnt by the public hangman. Except between two or three of the principal towns in the Lowlands, there were no roads; that to Inverness for example being simply a footpath scarcely much better than those winding through Central Africa at the present day.

The story of James McPherson indicates the lawlessness and disorder at the time in the Highlands. He was the leader of one of the gangs of cattle-lifters which roamed over the Province of Moray, helping themselves to all the moveables they wanted. They were armed with matchlocks slung behind, and broad ables they wanted. They were arrived with thatchiotes singly before they were swords, or dirks by their sides, and visited fairs to discover who received money or goods, in order to waylay and despoil them. MoPherson was a tall, handsome, powerful man, the son of a gentleman by a gipsy mother. His lineage and ability raised him to authority over his associates. He wore an enormous sword which at the time was almost out of date, and which in his hands was a formidable weapon of offence and defence. One of the Highland Chiefs-Duff of Braco—was conspicuously active in trying to root out the depredators, and put an end to brigandage; while on the other hand, the Laird of Grant protected the marauders, and undertook their defence. At the Keith fair, Duff and his assistants tried to seize the raiders, but they made a desperate resistance and Duff had a narrow escape with his life. McPherson and Peter Brownthe two leaders-were caught and locked up with a sentry over them. The Laird of Grant came to the rescue, and released the men, but shortly afterwards they were retaken, and on November 7, 1700, James McPherson, two Browns, and a Gordon were brought before the Sheriff of Banfishire charged with being 'Egyptian rogues and vagabonds, of keeping the markets in their ordinary manner of thieving and purse-cutting, also, being guilty of masterful bangstrie and oppression.' Grant, with much legal acumen, applied to have the Browns tried in the Court of his own regality, as they lived within his bounds, and offering Culreach or pledge for their appearance, but the application was refused. The evidence against the prisoners was complete; they had stolen sheep, oxen and horses; they had robbed many men of their purses, tyrannously oppressed poor people, and they spoke a peculiar gipsy language. They also spent their nights in dancing, and singing, and debauchery-McPherson himself being the minstrel at these feasts. Gordon and he were found guilty, and sentenced to be hung at the Market Cross next market-day. McPherson spent his last hours writing verses and composing a tune for them, and as he walked from prison to the place of execution, he played his tune on the violin. At the gallows he offered his instrument to any one who would accept it, but upon every one declining it, he broke it over his knee and threw the pieces among the crowd. His two-handed sword and target were taken from him by Duff at the time of arrest, and are now in the possession of the latter's family. MePherson was buried at the place of execution, and a considerable time afterwards his bones, proving him to have been a tall powerful man, were found at the gallows hill. The sword is six feet long, including a handle of eighteen inches, and the blade is two and a half inches broad. Such are some of the particulars—partly fact and mostly fiction—of the notorious freebooter, whom Burns has immortalized in 'a wild stormful song, that dwells in our ear with a strange tenacity.' The process against McPherson is given in Spalding's Miscellany, iii. 175.

The original ballad from which Burns modelled his song was printed shortly after the events to which they refer, in a broadside entitled MoPherson's Rant; or the last words of James MoPherson, murderer. To its own proper tune. The verses are a good deal above the general level of the ordinary street ballad, and consist of eleven eight-line stanzas in vigorous language of somewhat inferior rhyme. The first stanza is as follows:—

'I spent my time in rioting, | I'm

Debauch'd my health and strength;
I pillag'd, plunder'd, murdered,
But now, alas! at length

I'm brought to punishment condign;
Pale death draws near to me,
The end I never did project
To die upon a tree.'

An incomplete copy is in Herd's Scots Songs, 1769, 264: a complete version is in Maidment's Scotish Songs and Ballads, 1859, 29, with the title above quoted.

On comparing the song in the text with the original ballad, it will be seen where Burns excels. He depicts the audacity of McPherson in vigorous nervous language, he puts no apologies into his mouth, but paints him as an enemy to society, hardened and revengeful to the end, disdaining to be a coward, and dying like a man. Of these verses Carlyle says: 'but who except Burns, could have given words to such a soul, words that we never listen to without a strange barbarous, half poetic feeling.' The song made a very strong impression on Carlyle, for many years after he wrote to Edward Fitzgerald: 'One day we had Alfred Tennyson here; an unforgettable day. He stayed with us till late, we dismissed him with MoPherson's farewell. Alfred's face grew darker and darker and I saw his lips slightly quivering.

The tune is in Sinkler's MS. 1710, as M. Farsence's Testament; in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, c. 1755, vii. 14; and in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1768, 92, it is entitled McPherson's farewell, as in later publications.

No. 312. O, raging fortune's withering blast. Commonplace Book; and published in Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 353. This apparently refers to the family misfortunes at the farm of Lochlea. Burns at this time tried to compose a melody for these verses-the only attempt of the kind he made-and remarks: 'Twas at this time I set about composing an air in the old Scotch style. I am not musical scholar enough to prick down my tune properly, so it can never see the light, and perhaps 'tis no great matter. The tune consisted of three parts so that the verses just went through the whole air' (Commonplace Book). The tune here referred to has never been seen and was probably destroyed.

No. 313. The gloomy night is gath'ring fast. Edinburgh Edition, 1787, 330. Tune Roslin Castle. Scots Musical Museum, 1790, No. 284; Thomson's Scotish Airs, 1799, 85. 'I had taken the last farewell of my few friends; my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Caledonia 'The gloomy night is gathering fast. (Letter to Dr. Moore.) A somewhat similar note is in Cromek's Reliques, but the leaf in the Interleaved Museum from which Cromek is supposed to have taken the note is now missing. Firther details are given by Dr. Walker, who had them from Burns himself. The poet had left Dr. Lawrie's house at Newmilns after a visit which he expected to be the last; to reach his home he had to traverse a stretch of solitary moor some miles long, across the parish of Galston. The night was lowering and dark, cold showers came and went, the wind whistled through the rushes and long grass. The elements were in keeping with the poet's frame of mind, and in discomfort of body and cheerlessness of spirit this splendid effusion was projected. The visit to Dr. Lawrie's took place about the close of September, 1786. At this or some other time Burns presented the following fragment to one of the daughters. The castle referred to is Newmilns, and the river is the Irvine.

'The night was still, and o'er the hill The moon shone on the Castle wa'; The mavis sang, while dewdrops hang Around her in the Castle wa';

Sae merrily they dane'd the ring Frae e'enin till the cock did craw, And ay the o'erword o' the spring Was:-"Irvine's bairns are bonie a"!'

In neither of the musical collections above named was the proper tune printed with The Gloomy night is gath'ring fast, and in the Museum it is set to a worthless melody composed by Allan Masterton. In Scotish Airs the tune is Druimionn dubh (see Song No. 32) which Thomson names Farewell to Ayr. So far as I know the proper tune, Roslin Castle, has never been printed with this song. It is one of the best double tunes in Scottish collections, and admirably suited to express the poetry of Burns. It was first printed in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1746, 31, with the title House of Glams, and as Roslin Castle in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1752, iv. 3. The first time it is set to words is in Bremner's Scots Songs (2nd series) 1757, 27, with Hewitt's song beginning

'Twas in that season of the year' and another 'From Roslin eastle's echoing walls,' and the change of title of the tune is probably due to one or other of these songs. The reason why Burns's verses were set to another than the proper tune in Johnson's Museum was because Hewitt's Roslin Castle had been printed with other words in an earlier volume.

No. 314. Raving winds around her blowing. Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 173, signed 'B.' Tune, McGrigor of Rora's lament. 'I composed these verses on Miss Isabella McLeod of Raza, alluding to her feelings on the death of her sister, and the still more melancholy death of her sister's husband, the late Earl of Loudon, who shot himself, out of sheer heart-break at some mortifications he suffered, owing to the deranged state of his finances' (Interleaved Museum). Miss Isabella McLeod was one of the first friends Burns made in Edinburgh, and he was on terms of intimacy with her while he remained there. She was a sweet and gentle woman, one of the refined persons who smoothed the rebellious nature of the poet. Dr. Johnson in his tour in the Hebrides, stayed with the family at Raasay and unexpectedly was charmed with the society. The family consisted of three sons and ten daughters, the eldest Flora, described as Queen of the ball, was elegant and remarkable for her beauty. The McLeods were singularly unfortunate. Flora became the beautiful Countess of Loudon, and died in 1780, her husband the Earl shot himself in 1786, the father died the same year and his brother John in 1787. The chief of Raasay, the brother of Burns's friend, died in 1801, in financial trouble; his son and grandson struggled unsuccessfully to redeem the estates, which had been in the family for four hundred years. Burns commemorated John's death in the lines beginning 'Sad thy tale, thou rueful page.' A song by Gay printed in The Hive, 1726, 174, and elsewhere, begins thus:—

'Twas when the seas were roaring, With hollow blasts of wind, A damsel lay deploring All on a rock reclin'd.'

There is no other suggestion for Burns in the song. The tune is an exquisite Celtic air which he heard during his Highland tour. In a letter to Mrs. Dunlop he describes how the *Coronach of McGrigor of Rora* was much admired in Patrick Miller's house while he was there.

M<sup>c</sup>Grigor's lament is in Corri's Scots Songs, 1783, ii. 29; as a Perthshire air in M<sup>c</sup>Donald's Highland Airs, 1784, No. 88; and in the Museum as now printed. There is a bad setting in Dow's Scots Music, c. 1776, 16.

No. 315. What will I do gin my hoggie die? Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 133. The MS. is in the British Museum with an instruction that 'the music to be set to those words.' A 'hog' or 'hoggie' is a young sheep which has not yet passed beneath the knife of the shearer. After the first fleece is taken off, the 'hoggie' becomes a gimmer or tup until the next fleece. The original of Burns's verses is said to be a song entitled Coxton's hoggie in four stanzas which Buchan, a most untrustworthy authority, furnished to Motherwell and published first in 1834. There is nothing of the antique in the verses, and they may be discredited. Burns did not take the trouble to acknowledge his verses in his Interleaved Museum which however contains a note by Robert Riddell garbled in Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 241, to make it appear that Burns wrote it. If Cromek had printed a verbatim copy beginning in the first person the public would have discovered that there was something wrong in Burns being acquainted with Dr. Walker so early as the year 1772.

The tune, with the title of Burns What will I do gin my hoggie die, is in McGlashan's Scots Measures, 1781, 11, and in Reinagle's Scots Airs, c. 1782, entitled Moss Platt, the name of the hamlet referred to in Riddell's note. The Museum copy with Burns's verses is a bad setting of the air, which Mr. Glen discovered in Young's Original Scotch Tunes, c. 1727, under the unintelligible title of Cocks louns walie hopn.

No. 316. It was in sweet Senegal. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 384, entitled The slave's lament. The MS. is in the British Museum. According to Stenhouse, Burns communicated the tune with the verses, which Sharpe believed to be a make-up from a street ballad entitled The betrayed maid, popular in the West of Scotland in the eighteenth century, through its overflowing sentiment. The original is a black letter broadside entitled The trepan'd maiden, or the distressed damsel, beginning:—

'Give ear unto a maid
That lately was betrayed
And sent into Virginny O': &c.

Stenhouse circulated the story that the tune is of African origin. The Seven Dials is more likely to have been its birthplace. It is sentimental but by no means a bad tune, and is as well worth reprinting as the verses it illustrates.

No. 317. One night as I did wander. This 'fragment' is in the Glenriddell MS. which Burns sent to one of his friends as a copy of his Commonplace Book. But the stanza is not in the latter collection, and nothing is known as to the origin or object of the verses. Published in Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 341, tune, John Anderson my jo. See No. 212.

No. 318. The lazy mist hangs from the brow of the hill. Scots Musical Museum, 1790, No. 232, signed 'B'; entitled The lazy mist. In Thomson's Scotish Airs, 1798, 50, with an unauthorized air. In the Interleaved Museum Burns states 'This song is mine,' and in Law's MS. List—'Mr Burns's words.' The verses are another example of the depressing effect of Autumn on the poet's mind. He sent a copy, on November 15, 1788, to Dr. Blacklock, to whom he describes it as a 'melancholy' thing, and is afraid lest it should too well suit the tone of the doctor's feelings.

The Irish tune, The lazy mist, was printed in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, c. 1759, xii. 20. The subject of the melody is attractive, but it becomes

monotonous from continued repetition of one of the phrases.

No. 319. Ken ye ought o' Captain Grose? In Currie's Works, 1800, iv. 399. 'Tune, Sir John Malcolm.' Also in the Glenriddell MS. In the autumn of 1790, Captain Grose the Antiquarian visited the South of Scotland to inspect the ancient ruins there for the purpose of describing them. Burns found him a witty and sympathetic companion, and refers to him in the poem beginning:—

'Hear, Land o' Cakes, and brither Scots,
Frae Maidenkirk to Johnie Groat's;
If there's a hole in a' your coats,
I rede ye tent it:
A chield's amang you takin notes,
And faith he'll prent it:'

Burns wrote to Grose—then in Edinburgh—informing him that Professor Dugald Stewart wished to be introduced to him, and requesting him to call at Sorn Castle—where Stewart lived—when he returned to the South. As Burns did not know the address, the rhyme was sent to Cardonnell, another Antiquarian, requesting him to forward the letter. The song is a parody on Sir John Malcolm to be found in The Charmer, 1764, ii. 271, and in Herd's Scots Songs, 1769, 182. This undistinguished Knight and his friend Sandie Don, were two dull prosy blockheads, who bored their friends in company with pointless incoherent stories of their travels. The old song begins:—

'Keep ye weel frae Sir John Malcolm, *Igo and Ago*, If he's a wise man, I mistak him, *Iram*, *Coram*, *dago*, Keep ye weel frae Sandy Don, *Igo and ago*, He's ten times dafter than Sir John, *Iram*, *Coram*, *dago*.'

The tune in Walsh's Caledonian Country Dances, c. 1741, is entitled Allister; it is in Bremner's Reels, 1761, 96; and Aird's Airs, 1782, ii. No. 195. This is the first time that this song of Burns has been printed with its melody.

No. 320. O, leeze me on my spinnin-wheel. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 360, entitled Bess and her spinning wheel. The MS. of this ideal rustic song is in the British Museum. The description of the little islet is charming with the scented birk and white hawthorn uniting the two branches of the stream across the pool. Ramsayl's copy of the English song As I sat by my spinning wheel in the Tea-Table Miscellany, 1725, has not even a distant resemblance to the song of Burns.

The characteristic melody Sweet's the lass that loves me is in Playford's Original Scotch Tunes, 1700, entitled Cosen Cole's delight, and in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1753, v. 10, but its extended compass has marred its popularity. Martin Parker, the London ballad writer, wrote Love's Solace to a new Court Tune, or, as in some later copies, 'Sweet is the lass that loves me; a young man's resolution to prove constant to his sweetheart,' to the tune

Omnia vincit Amor which does not resemble the present tune.

No. 321. Cauld blaws the wind frae east to west. Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 140, signed 'Z.' With tune Up in the morning early; otherwise, Cold and raw. 'The chorus of this is old, the two stanzas are mine' (Interleaved Museum). None of the Scottish collections contain any such song. Burns's model is in the Herd MS., but the subject there is entirely different. The following notes will enable the reader to form his own opinion as to the origin of both the poetry and the music. The anecdote related by Sir John Hawkins in his History of Music, 1776, has been often repeated. In the year 1691 the Queen asked Mrs. Hunt to sing 'the old Scots ballad' Cold and Raw, which she did, accompanying herself on the lute. 'For the Queen's next birthday song Purcell composed, in 1692, an air to the words, May her bright example in the Orpheus Britannicus, 1702, ii. 151, the base whereof is the tune Cold and Raw.' The statement of the historian so far as it goes is quite explicit. Hawkins repeats the anecdote in the light of a tradition, and cites no authority, but he quite confidently asserts the Scots nationality of the air.

Now for some facts: the tune was printed under the title of Stingo, or the Oyl of Barley in the first edition of Playford's Dancing Master, London, 1651, and in every subsequent edition up to the eighth published in 1690. The following is a copy from the fourth edition, 1670, 84.

Stingo, or the Oyl of Barley.



It was printed in Hilton's Catch that catch can, 1652, as the third part of a Northern Catch entitled Ise go with ye, my sweet Peggy, the last two lines of which are:—

'We'll sport all night for our delight, And go home in the morning early.' In Merry Drollery, 1661, 132 the song is entitled A cup of old stingo, and closes with

'Let's drink the barrel to the dregs For the Mault-man comes a Munday.'

In the ninth edition of the Dancing Master, 1695, the title of the tune was altered from Stingo to Cold and raw, by which it has since been known. The date of the change approximates to that of the anecdote of Hawkins, and the song performed by Mrs. Hunt was probably A new Scotch Song, which first appeared in Come Amoris, or the companion of Love, 1688, and became so popular that the old title of the tune was abandoned for Cold and raw. According to Chappell (Popular Music, page 306), this new Scotch song was written by Tom Durfey. The following first stanza is taken from Pills to purge melancholy, 1719, ii. 167:—

'Cold and raw the North did blow,
Bleak in the morning early;
All the trees were hid in snow,
Dagl'd by winter yearly:

When come riding over a knough, I met with a farmer's daughter; Rosie cheeks and bonny brow, Good faith made mymouth to water.'

It may be remarked that the next following song in Durfey is entitled 'A new Song to the Scotch tune of Cold and Raw.' In a Collection of old Ballads, 1723—the first of its kind in England—the song is reprinted with the title The Northern Ditty; or the Scotchman outwitted. In a note, the ballad is said to be traditionally assigned to the time of James I of England, which controverts the statement of Chappell.

The tune *Slingo* in the seventeenth century was also known as *The country lass*, and numerous ballads were written for the music and printed as broadsides. The famous revolutionary song of 1688—*Lilliburlero*—was first printed to be sung to *Cold and raw*, but it had to give place very quickly to the tune now

associated with it.

So much for the English source. The earliest record of the tune I can find in Scotland is in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1755, 17, with the title Up in the morning early, from which it may be inferred that it was then known and sung to verses in Herd MS., the chorus of which is:—

'Up i' the morning, up i' the morning
Up i' the morning early,
Up i' the morning's no for me
And I canna get up so early.'

The music is also in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, xii. 5, with the same title as in M°Gibbon. No such song is named in the Tea-Table Miscellany, nor in any printed Scottish song-book of the eighteenth century. This melody is an example of the difficulty of ascertaining the origin of folk music. Chappell's test was a very simple one and suited his purpose exactly. Where the earliest record of the music was found there was the origin. He rejected all circumstantial evidence, and in this way practically excluded all Scottish tune prior to the year 1700—the date of the first printed collection of Scottish music. The many references to the peculiarity of Scottish music by Shakespeare, Dryden, Pepys, and other writers of the seventeenth century counted for nothing, and the inrush of Scottish tunes into England in the wake of James I was disregarded. As early as 1688 the tune Cold and raw was designated a Northern or Scotch tune, and by the Queen, in 1691, as an old Scottish Ballad, yet the music was not printed in Scotland before 1755 nor the words before Burns.

No. 322. No cold approach, no alter'd mien. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 340. MS. in which Burns directs how the music is to be set is in the British Museum. Further information is as follows: 'This song composed by a Miss Cranstoun. It wanted four lines to make all the stanzas suit the

music, which I added, and are the four first of the last stanza.' (Interleaved Museum.)

Miss Cranstoun became the wife of Professor Dugald Stewart the friend of Burns. She was born in 1765, married in 1799, and died at Warriston House near Edinburgh on July 28, 1838. At the bottom of the MS for the Museum Burns expressed a wish that the song should appear in the next volume.

The tune is the work of John Barrett, an English musician, the composer of many songs, and a pupil of Dr. Blow, the celebrated organist. Ianthe the lovely is in Durfey's Pills, 1719, v. 300. Gay used the tune in The Beggar's Opera. It is also in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1752, iv. 8, and a much corrupted setting is in the Musical Miscellary, Perth, 1786, 112.

No. 323. My father was a farmer. Commonplace Book, 1872, 13. Tune, The weaver and his shuttle, O, and described as 'a wild rhapsody miserably deficient in versification.' Published in Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 330. On February 13, 1784, the worthy father of the poet died. For three years he had been at law with his landlord over the terms of the lease of the farm of Lochlea and 'was saved from the horrors of a jail by a consumption which, after two years' promises, kindly stept in, and carried him away to where the wicked cease from troubling and where the weary are at rest.' (Letter to Dr. Moore.)

In a note in Cromek's Reliques, 1805, 205, it is stated that the tune The weaver and his shuttle, O is the Irish title of Jockie's gray breeks; but there is no such note in Burns's Interleaved Museum as represented. For the same tune under a different title, see No. 67.

No. 324. When chill November's surly blast. Commonplace Book, 1872, 42, entitled A Song. Tune, Peggy Bawn. Printed in the Kilmarnock edition, 1786, 160, entitled Man was made to mourn. A dirge. Later, he refers to its source in a letter to Mrs. Dunlop dated August 16, 1788. He was then in the same depressed mental state as when he wrote the verses. If I thought you had never seen it, I would transcribe for you a stanza of an old Scottish ballad called The life and age of man, beginning

"'Twas in the sixteen hunder year
Of God, and fifty three,
Frae Christ was born, that bought us dear
As writings testifie."

I had a grand-uncle, with whom my mother lived awhile in her girlish years: the good old man, for such he was, was long blind ere he died; during which time his highest enjoyment was to sit down and cry, while my mother would sing the simple old song of The life and age of man.' Cromek inserted this old ballad—very poor stuff, which he obtained from the recital of Burns's mother—in the preface to Scotish songs, 1810. According to a stall-copy the full title is 'The life and age of Man: or a short description of his Nature, Rise, and Fall, according to the twelve months of the year. Tune, Isle of Kell.' The year 1653—when the ballad was written—was a sorry time for Scotland, and at no period since Edward I had the independence of the country been more menaced. The General Assembly had met, and were discussing much controversial matter, when a general of Cromwell's army entered, and ordered the Assembly to dissolve and the members to follow him. 'Broad-based' Baillie the Covenanter describes this unheard of atrocity, and how the ministers and elders were conducted a mile out of the town, and forbidden to meet more than three in number, under pain of imprisonment. English Commissioners were appointed to administer public business, and the country for a short time was entirely under English control.

In his Man was made to mourn, Burns made use of the old ballad, a variant of which was known in England. A black letter imprint, issued from London about 1666, is entitled 'The age and life of man, perfectly showing his beginning

of Life and the progress of his Dayes from Seaven to Seaventy. To the tune of Jane Shore,' known to Shakespeare as Live with me for Marlowe's delightful

song Come live with me and be my love.

Peggy Bawn, for which Burns marked his ballad, is an Irish melody. It is written throughout in the major mode, and not in the minor as might be expected from the character of the verses it interprets. It was very popular in Burns's time, but in many musical collections of the period, and subsequently, it is disfigured by tasteless adornments. The present copy is from the Scots Musical Museum, No. 509. The Isle of Kell, the tune of Burns's original ballad, is also known as Hardy Knute. In the Pepysian Library is a black letter ballad—a Scottish version of the Hunting of Chevy Chase—directed to be sung to The Isle of Kyle. The following is a copy of the music from the Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1753, v. 31.



No. 325. The wintry west extends his blast. Commonplace Book, 1872, 12, entitled Song. Tune, MePherson's farewell, with the following note: 'I have various sources of pleasure and enjoyment which are, in a manner, peculiar to myself, or some here and there such other out-of-the-way person. Such is the peculiar pleasure I take in the season of winter, more than the rest of the year. This, I believe, may be partly owing to my misfortunes giving my mind a melancholy cast; but there is something even in the

"Mighty tempest and the hoary waste
Abrupt and deep, stretch'd o'er the buried earth"

which raises the mind to a serious sublimity, favourable to everything great and noble. There is scarcely any earthly object gives me more—I don't know if I should call it pleasure, but something which exalts me, something which enraptures me—than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood, or high plantation, in a cloudy, winter day, and hear a stormy wind howling among the trees, and raving o'er the plain. . . . In one of these seasons just after a tract of misfortunes, I composed *The wintry wind extends his blast*.' The tune Me Pherson's farewell or rant is noted in Song No. 311.

No. 326. But lately seen in gladsome green. Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 486, signed 'B,' entitled The winter of life. Scotish Airs, 1801, 139. The MS. is in the British Museum. On October 19, 1794, a copy was sent to Thomson. The verses illustrate one of the poet's mental phases. His hair was showing a silver streak, and Time told him that the meridian of his days was past. He describes the melody to Thomson in these words: 'I enclose you a musical curiosity—an East Indian air which you would swear was a Scots one. I know the authenticity of it, as the gentleman who brought it over is a particular acquaintance of mine. Clarke has set a bass to it, and I intend putting it into the Musical Museum.' If the tune in our text, which is copied from the Museum, is the East Indian Air referred to, it is very remarkable, because it looks like a make-up of the Scottish Chevy Chase of Song No. 267.

No. 327. Wee Willie Gray and his leather wallet. Scots Musical Museum, 1803, No. 514. 'Written for this work by R. Burns,' for an original

tune which, according to Stenhouse, obtained its name from the first line of the following old nursery rhyme:—

'Wee Totum Fogg sits upon a creepie; Half an ell o' gray wad be his coat and breekie.'

It is a gay pipe melody, one of the class common in the eighteenth century in Roxburgh and Northumberland. Dusty Miller, of Song No. 180, belongs to the class.

No. 328. He clench'd his pamphlets in his fist. Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 418, entitled 'Extempore in the Court of Session. Tune, Killiecrankie.' A MS. is in the British Museum. Burns visited the Law Courts in Edinburgh to study man and manners; the above two stanzas were written on the spot while a trial was going on in the Court of Session. The simulated passion of the Counsel on both sides is pure Burns. Lord Advocate Ilay Campbell was for the prosecution, and Burns's friend Henry Erskine the Dean of Faculty for the defence. There is a fine touch in the concluding lines of the song:—

'The Bench sae wise lift up their eyes Half-wauken'd wi' the din man.'

It suggests a not unusual condition of the Scottish Bench after a stiff encounter with Bacchus the previous night.

The tune is a seventeenth century melody composed not much later than the battle of Killiecrankie, where Claverhouse was killed on July 27, 1689. The Scottish song writers had a peculiar knack of making fun of the battles of their country, and their humour is unrestrained on Killiecrankie, Sheriffmuir, and Preston pans. In the satire Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, 1694, 78, Killiecrankie is designated 'a malignant song.' The music is in Atkinson's MS., 1694; Playford's Original Scotch Tunes, 1700; Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1751, iii. 26; McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1755, 18; Aird's Airs, 1782, ii. No. 18; the Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 102; and Ritson's Scotish Songs, 1794, ii. 44. For tune, see No. 256.

No. 329. Orthodox! orthodox! wha believe in John Knox. ascribed to Robert Burns, 1801, 20, entitled The kirk's alarm. A Satire. Scott-Douglas edition, 1877, ii. 236. Tune, Come rouse, brother sportsmen. The origin of the ballad may be briefly told. In the year 1786, Dr. William McGill, colleague of Dr. Dalrymple the Parish Minister of Ayr, published a practical essay on the death of Jesus Christ, and the opinions of the writer gave offence to many worthy but narrow-minded people in the parish, and the Kirk Session scented heresy in the work. The doctrines taught were considered unscriptural, and destructive of the principles of Evangelism. At first the author was privately admonished, but a strong undercurrent of enthusiasm agitated the minds of the disaffected, which threatened at any time to break out. With all this highly inflammable material in the air 'Dalrymple mild with his heart like a child' unwittingly set the heather on fire. He referred to a book he had written on the same subject, in which the views of his colleague were supported. At this point the fury of the orthodox against the offending brother broke out with fierce denunciation of his opinions. In November, 1788, Dr. William Peebles preached a sermon, in which he denounced heresy in strong language, and stigmatized Dr. McGill as one who received the privileges of the Church with one hand, and stabbed her in the back with the other.  ${
m M}^{\rm e}{
m Gill}$  defended himself without convincing the enemy, and matters progressed until a complaint of heresy was lodged with the Synod of Ayr, and remitted to the General Assembly for trial. The case was opened in May, 1789, discussed and sent back to the Synod for a committee to be appointed to draw up specific charges. In July the committee began its work, and at this point Burns steps in on the scene with The Kirk's alarm. The case dragged on slowly for two years, and in the end Dr. McGill was found guilty of the major charge. Worried, and threatened with dismissal, he humbled himself and apologized, declared his adherence to the Confession of Faith, and was purged.

For the style of The Kirk's alarm we must go back to the religious and political pasquils of the seventeenth century, which trampled rough-shod over the reputations of antagonists. He who wrote The Kirk's alarm may not have been a man to be loved, but he clearly was one to be feared and respected. His own opinion of the poem is described in several letters to intimate friends, to whom he sent copies of the verses. He enjoined them to show the poem only to a privileged 'few of us.' Gavin Hamilton received the first unfinished draft with strict injunctions to read it only to intimate friends. On August 7 a complete copy was forwarded to John Logan, a farmer at Glenshinnoch, and the following is an extract from the letter enclosing it: 'I dare not write you a long letter, as I am going to intrude on your time with a long ballad. I have, as you will shortly see, finished *The Kirk's alarm*; but now that it is done, and that I have laughed once or twice at the conceits in some of the stanzas, I am determined not to let it get into the public; so I send you this copy, the first that I have sent to Ayrshire (except some few of the stanzas which I wrote off in embryo for Gavin Hamilton), under the express provision and request that you will only read it to a few of us, and do not on any account give or permit to be taken any copy of the ballad.' Some time later he sent copies to Graham of Fintry and others, and the nature of the ballad leaked out, for it was too good to be kept secret.

The existing MS. copies nearly all differ from one another, and the stanzas vary from nine to twenty in number. The verses in the text include the whole in all the MSS., and are based on that in the Works of Burns, Edinburgh, 1877. Burns kept the resolution not to print the ballad, but it was published surreptitiously in a broadside in 1789. The fact that The Kirk's alarm is a song, and was written to be sung, has been quite overlooked. It has not until now been printed with a tune. Every copy made by Burns named a tune, but not always the same. Indeed, Burns gave the choice of five different melodies, as if he was not very sure of any of them. In Mrs. Dunlop's copy (Lochryan MS.) the tune is marked Push about the brisk bowl; MS in Edinburgh University, The hounds are all out; MS. in Burns Monument, Edinburgh, Come rouse brother sportsmen; and in a broadside The Ayrshire Garland, 1789, The vicar and Moses. None of these melodies fit the rhythm, and all are English as well as the one here noted, Prepare my dear brethren, which I believe Burns had in his mind but of which he could not recall the name. The political song on Fox referred to in the Centenary edition ii. 329 indicates that the tune is that of the Freemasons' Song already discussed in Song

No. 236.

The following notes are partly the poet's own. Stanza 2: 'Dr. McGill, Ayr (R. B.).' The hero of the song who was prosecuted for heresy. St. 3: 'John Ballantine, provost of Ayr, a friend of Burns. The magistrates of the town advertised their appreciation of Dr. McGill and Robert Aiken, writer, Ayr (R. B.),' who defended the accused and to whom Burns had dedicated The Cottar's Saturday Night. St. 4: 'Dr. Dalrymple, Ayr (R. B.),' who approved the opinions of his colleague, Dr. McGill. St. 6: 'John Russell, Kilmarnock (R. B.)'; or Black Jock of The holy fair, who poured out brimstone sermons with a ponderous voice. St. 7: 'James MacKinlay, Kilmarnock (R. B.),' on whom Burns wrote The Ordination beginning 'Kilmarnock wabsters, fidge and claw.' He had a persuasive style of Calvinistic oratory which pleased his flock. St. 8: 'Alexander Moodie of Riccarton (R. B.).' Another terror to evil-doers. St. 9: 'William Peebles, in Newton-upon-Ayr, a poetaster, who, among many other things, published an ode on the Centenary of the Revolution, in which was the line "And bound in Liberty's endearing chain" (R. B.).' St. 10: 'Stephen Young of Barr (R. B.),' formerly assistant at Ochiltree.

St. 11: 'James Young in New Cumnock, who had lately been foiled in an ecclesiastical prosecution against a lieutenant Mitchell (R. B.),' St. 12: 'David Grant, Ochiltree (R. B.),' a virulent opponent of Dr. McGill. St. 13: 'George Smith, Galston (R. B.),' or 'Geordie' of the Twa Herds, who tried to hunt with the Old Licht and run with the New. St. 14: 'John Shepherd, Muirkirk (R. B.).' St. 15: 'Dr. Andrew Mitchell, Monkton (R. B.).' A minister of some private means and little sense. St. 16: 'William Auld, Mauchline: for the 'Clerk,' see Holy Willie's Prayer (R. B.).' St. 17: William Fisher, Elder or Holy Willie, the subject of 'The Prayer.' St. 19: Most probably John McMurdo, a particular friend of Burns, who became Chamberlain to the Duke of Queensberry. St. 20: John Logan, 'laird of Afton,' to whom the first copy of The Kirk's alarm was sent.

No. 330. Peg Nicholson was a good bay mare. Cromek's Reliques, 1808, 108, entitled Elegy on Willie Nicol's mare. The death of Peg Nicholson was announced by Burns on February 9, 1790 to the owner. Nicol had bought the animal-a bargain as he thought-from a horse couper, who did no discredit to the reputed character of his profession. Nicol sent her to the care of Burns for change of air and diet, and she was named by the farm servants of Ellisland *Peg Nicholson*, in honour of an insane woman, who attempted the assassination of George III. Peg's death was apparently premature, as the following characteristic extract shows: 'My dear sir, that d—d mare of yours is dead. I would freely have given her price to have saved her: she has vexed me beyond description. Indebted as I was to your goodness beyond what I can ever repay, I eagerly grasped at your offer to have the mare with me. That I might at least show my readiness in wishing to be grateful, I took every care of her in my power. She was never crossed for riding above half a score of times by me or in my keeping. I drew her in the plough, one of three, for one poor week. I refused fifty-five shillings for her, which was the highest bode I could squeeze for her. I fed her up and had her in fine order for Dumfries fair; when four or five days before the fair, she was seized with an unaccountable disorder in the sinews, or somewhere in the bones of the neck; with a weakness or total want of power in her fillets, and in short the whole vertebrae of her spine seemed to be diseased and unhinged, and in eight and forty hours, in spite of the two best farriers in the country, she died, and be d-d to her! The farriers said that she had been quite strained in the fillets beyond cure before you had bought her, and that the poor devil, though she might keep a little flesh, had been jaded and quite worn out with fatigue and oppression. Further on in same letter Burns says: 'I have likewise strung four or five barbarous stanzas, to the tune of *Chevy Chase*, by way of elegy on your unfortunate mare.' See music, and Notes on No. 267 or 274, either of which tunes fits the words.

No. 331. There lived a carl in Kellyburn braes. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 379, entitled Kellyburn braes. MS. in the British Museum. Another but indifferent version by Burns is in Aitken's edit. 1893. The Kelly burn is an upland stream separating the northern part of Ayrshire from Renfrew. Who the carl was is not recorded. The representation of a termagant is a very old story in English literature. The Schole-house of women, 1541, and the Curste Wyfe lapped in Morrelles Skin, c. 1575, are two metrical Gests of this kind. The earliest recorded English ballad entitled The devil and the scold, to the tune of The Seminary Priest, in Collier's Book of Roxburgh Ballads, 1847, 35, is probably of the time of Queen Elizabeth. The kind husband of this shrew permitted the devil to carry her away. She treated Satan so unmercifully that he regretted the choice and returned her to the husband. This ballad was often reprinted in the seventeenth century; and the carl of Kellyburn braes is the same subject treated in a more gay and humorous manner. Cromek printed a version in Nithsdale and Galloway Songs, 1810, 83, differing materially from

Burns and represented to be the Burns original, which I do not believe. A fragment on the subject is in the *Herd MS*. as follows:—

'Now take a Cud in ilka hand And bace her up and down, man And she'll be ane o' the best o' wives That ever took the town, man.'

The tune is a variant of the Queen of the Lothians, as it is probably also of Last May a braw wooer, Song No. 201.

No. 332. There was three kings into the east. John Barleycorn—A song to its own tune. 'I once heard the old song that goes by this name sung, and being very fond of it, and remembering only two or three verses of it, viz., the first, second, and third, with some scraps which I have interwoven here and there' (Commonplace Book, 1827, 28). It is printed in the Edinburgh edition, 1787, 306. Ballads celebrating the prowess of this redoubtable hero have been known in England and Scotland for more than three centuries. The earliest version is in the Bannatyne MS. 1568, entitled Why should not Allane honorit be, subscribed Allane Matsonis Suddartis, a pseudonym or parody on the title Allane-a-maut; it is in twelve stanzas of five lines, the first in modern orthography being as follows:—

'When he was young and clad in green, Having his hair about his een, Baith men and women did him mene, When he grew on yon hillis hie;— Why should not Allane honoured be?'

Another Scottish version, somewhat later, begins:-

'Gude Allan o' maut was ance ca'd Bear, And he was cadged frae wa' to wear, And dragglet wi' muck, and syne wi' rain, Till he die't, and cam to life again.'

A third version from the recollection of Robert Jamieson, the editor of *Popular Ballads*, 1806, who learnt it in Morayshire when he was a boy, is a variation of that which the poet had heard sung in the south-west of Scotland. The first stanza runs:—

'There came three merry men from the east, And three merry men they be; And they have sworn a solemn oath John Barleycorn should die.'

In England also there were at least three ballads of the same kind. One, entitled Mr. Mault he is a gentleman, was sung to the tune Triumph and Joy, another name for the Elizabethan melody Green-sleeves; a second called The little barleycorne to the tune Stingo—the early name for Cold and raw; while the third and best known English version is that in the Pepys collection of ballads, entitled; A pleasant new ballad to sing evening and morn, of the bloody murther of Sir John Barleycorn, to the tune Lull me beyond thee, which begins thus:—

'As I went through the north countrie,
I heard a merry meeting,
A pleasant toy, and full of joy
Two noblemen were greeting.'

The two noblemen were Sir Richard Beer, and Sir William Whitewine who, meeting John Barleycorn, fought with him, but failed to overpower him. All the ballads above referred to are in Jamieson's Ballads, 1806, ii. 231-260. The tune of the English ballad Lull me beyond thee is a north-country tune first printed in the first edition of Playford's Dancing Master, 1650. It is uncertain

whether Burns intended his ballad for that air, or for *Cold and raw* (see No. 321). The music of *Lull me beyond thee* in the text is from Playford's *Dancing Master*, 1670.

No. 333. When Januar' wind was blawin eauld. Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 448 entitled The bonie lass made the bed to me. The MS. is in the British Museum. A new version of an old ballad written for and printed in the Museum. Stenhouse, and Chambers after him, printed a bowdlerized and unauthorized short version which the former said was corrected by Burns. The Note and two stanzas in Cromek's Reliques, p. 256, connecting the original ballad with Charles II is not in the Interleaved Museum, and must in the future not be regarded as the statement of Burns. The ballad was printed as a broad-side in London as early as 1670. A copy is in the Douce collection entitled Cumberland Nelly or the North Country Lovers... Tune The lass that comes to bed to me. The verses and music are in Pills to purge melancholy, 1719, iv. 133, as The Cumberland Lass. The poetry is very prosaic, and if any one is curious to see how Burns vivified dull verses, he may compare that in our text with the ballad in the Pills. The English tune The Cumberland Lass is not the same as that in the Museum which Stenhouse affirms was communicated by Burns to the editor of that collection. (Illustrations, p. 397.) The first two phrases resemble Johnie Cope, and the whole structure is unlike a Scottish melody. It may be remarked that, although the English ballad has a chorus, the tune of four lines does service for both verse and chorus. Dauney states that there is a tune entitled To bed to me in Blaikie's MS. 1692.

No. 334. O, Lady Mary Ann looks o'er the castle wa'. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 377, entitled Lady Mary Ann. The MS. is in the British Museum. A fragment of eight lines, where the names of Lady Mary Ann and Charlie Cochrane do not occur, is in the Herd MS. A more complete but fushionless version is in Maidment's North Countrie Garland, 1824, and another is in Motherwell's Minstrelsy, 1827, 86. The story of the ballad is related by Spalding, the following being an abstract:—John Urquhart of Craigston died November, 1634, leaving a young grandson as heir. His guardian, the Laird Innes, coveted the estates, and in order to keep the property in the family, married the boy to his uncomely eldest daughter Elizabeth Innes, who willingly accepted him. The marriage was of short duration, for the young husband died while he was still at school. The last stanza of Maidment's copy explains all that is necessary to be said here:—

'In his twelfth year he was a married man, In his thirteenth year then he got a son; In his fourteenth year his grave grew green, And that was the end of his growing.'

The verses in the text bear the mark of Burns's hand, and are all his own except the first two stanzas which he very much improved. He took very little interest in historical and romantic ballads. The incidents in them were too far removed from actual life. In sending to Mr. Tytler copies of those he recovered, he expresses the listless feeling which he had for them.

The tune was printed for the first time in the Museum. A tune entitled Long a growing is said to be in Guthrie's MS. of the seventeenth century.

\* No. 335. There liv'd a man in yonder glen. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 365. The MS. in Burns's handwriting is in the British Museum. Another holograph version with variations, and not so good, was sold by Mr. Quaritch in August, 1900. This is the first time that the song is printed as the work of Burns. It has all the national Scottish colour, but the legend is widely extended, and is known in France, Italy, Turkey, and Arabia. Who the Scottish original was is obscure, but the name of Johnie Blunt is on record four hundred years ago, and he is referred to in William Dunbar's Twa mareit wemen,

published in 1508: 'For all the buddis of Johne Blunt when he abone clymis.' Laing's Dunbar, i. 66. The details of the tale differ in the various countries. That in Straparolo's Eighth Day describes a traveller seeking lodgings; and arriving at an open house he enters and finds a man lying on a bench, apparently alive but speechless. He next addresses the wife, who is in bed with a like result, and being tired he gets into bed. In the morning when the traveller has risen, the wife, no longer able to remain silent, furiously enquires of the husband what sort of a man he is to permit a stranger to occupy his bed. 'Fool, fool!' the man replies; 'get up and shut the door.' Blunt in the old Scots language meant stripped, bare, naked; and equivocally that meaning may be attached to the quotation of Dunbar.

The ballad of Burns correctly states that Johnie Blunt 'bears a wondrous fame, O,' and it can scarcely be doubted that the legend on which he wrote is very old. The more modern Scottish version of the tale entitled The barrin o' the door, and written for general use, was first published in Herd's Scots Songs, 1769, 330, and is still very popular. It begins as follows:—

'It fell about the Martinmas time, And a gay time it was then; When our guidwife had puddings to make And she boiled them in the pan.'

One of the 'two gentlemen' in this case proposes to shave the man with the pudding soup, and the other is to kiss the wife. The man, like Johnie Blunt, first breaks into speech.

I see no reason to doubt the assertion of Stenhouse that Burns communicated the tune Johnie Blunt, which was with the verses originally published anonymously in the Museum, and have so remained until now.

\* No. 336. Upon the Lomonds I lay, I lay. This very well-known song, with its gay melody, is reproduced in nearly every miscellaneous collection of Scottish Songs, but Burns is never connected with it, and this is the first time the verses are published as his work. They were originally published anonymously in the Scots Musical Museum, 1790, No. 299, from Burns's MS. now in the British Museum, and Burns styles them 'Mr. Burns's old words' in Law's MS. List. A note in the index of the Museum gravely states that the song 'is said to be composed on the imprisonment of Mary, Queen of Scots, in Lochleven Castle.'

The music is at least as early as the first rebellion. In the year 1716, when Argyle's Highlanders entered Perth and Dundee, the three companies had distinct pipers who respectively played The Campbells are coming Oho, Oho!; Wilt thou play me fair play, Highland ladie; and Stay and take the breiks with thee (Wodrow Correspondence, vol. xi. No. 96). No verses for the tune are found earlier than those entitled The Clans in Loyal Songs, 1750, the first stanza of which is:-

'Here's a health to all brave English lads, Both lords and squires of high renown, That will put to their helping hand To pull the vile usurper down; For our brave Scots are all on foot, Proclaiming loud where'er they go With sound of trumpet, pipe and drum; The Clans are coming, Oho, Oho!'

This may have been the parody of an earlier popular song, but none is known, and Burns's verses in the text are the original on the Campbells. The instrumental tune Campbells are coming Oho! is in Bremner's Reels, 1761, 83; and the Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1751, iii. 12. It is one of the irresistible melodies of Scotland which Mr. Glen says is in Walsh's Caledonian Country D nces, c. 1745, entitled Hob or Nob.

\*No. 337. Twa bonie lads were Sandy and Jockie. Scots Musical Museum, 1790, No. 283, anonymous. In Gray's MS. List marked by Burns, 'Mr. B— words,' and in Law's MS. List, 'Mr. Burns sent words to this beginning "Twa bonie lads were Sandy and Jockie." The original of Unfortunate Jockey is a song of ten stanzas by Durfey in The Royalist, and which, according to Chappell, was printed on a broadside with music in 1682. The verses alone are in 180 Loyal Songs, 1685, 282. Of the words of Burns in one stanza in eight lines, as in our text, only the first two lines are borrowed from Durfey, the rest are original. The tune in the Museum, a variation of the English melody, can be seen in Bickham's Musical Entertainer, 1737, i. 19, as in our text; and in Calliope, 1739, i. 128; both with an embellished design representing the lovers fighting a duel. The rapier of Sawney has pierced Jockey's unfortunate body fore and aft.

\*No. 338. Its up wi' the Souters o' Selkirk. Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 438. The MS. is in the British Museum with a note, also by Burns, 'This tune can be found anywhere.' Tytler is his Dissertation regarded the song of the Sutors o' Selkirk as coeval with The flowers of the forest, and stated that it was founded on the story of the Town Clerk of Selkirk conducting a band of eighty souters to fight for the king at the battle of Flodden. Ritson cynically replied that all the shoemakers of Scotland could scarcely have produced such an army at a time when shoes were so little worn there. Sir Walter Scott, sheriff-depute of Selkirk and a member of the honourable fraternity of Souters, wrote a long note in his Minstrelsy (ed. 1873, iii. 317) to prove that the 'souters' were an old body, but that the connexion of the song with Flodden is altogether improbable. The fragment communicated by Burns was originally published in the Museum. He probably obtained the first four lines from Herd. The following addition is the middle stanza of the version in Scott's Minstrelsy:—

'Fye upon yellow and yellow,
And fye upon yellow and green
And up wi' the true blue and scarlet,
And up wi' the single-soled sheen.'

Stenhouse quotes (*Illust*. page 390) two double stanzas which he heard sung 'in his younger days,' containing a variation of the above verse of Scott.

Although the Burns fragment was the earliest publication in 1796, the tune with the title was printed in Craig's Scots Tunes, 1730, 28. A variation of the music is in Apollo's Banquet, 1687, entitled a Scotch hornpipe, and also in the edition of 1690 as a dance tune in nine-four time. The tune is also in M°Gibbon's Scots Tunes, 1746, 31; Caledonian Pocket Companion, 1743, i. 34; M°Lean's Scots Tunes, c. 1772, 19; Aird's Airs, 1782, ii. 197; and in the Museum with Burns's words. His name is never mentioned as the original contributor of the verses of the Souters o' Selkirk.

\*No. 339. Our lords are to the mountains gane. This, the earliest and the best Scottish version of the vigorous border ballad \*Highte Graham\*, is from Burns's MS. in the British Museum. It was originally published in the \*Scots Musical Museum\*, 1792, No. 303, with a variation (noted in the text) of two lines in the tenth stanza. The following is in the \*Interleaved Museum\*:—
'There are several editions of this ballad.—This is from oral tradition in Ayrshire, where, when I was a boy, it was a popular song.—It originally had a simple. old tune, which I have forgotten.' According to Cromek the third and eighth stanzas are original by Burns, while the rest was corrected by him, but there is no evidence for the statement. The eleventh and twelfth stanzas are obscure. Since Burns, several versions have been printed and all more or less altered by collectors. Ritson, Scott, Chambers, and others all differ from one another, and two traditional versions of the Burns set are at Abbotsford. The best selections can be seen in Child's \*Ballads\*, 1890\*, iv. &. The English

version, entitled Life and death of Sir Hugh of the Grime, is in the Roxburgh Ballads; and in Durfey's Pills, 1720, vi. 289, marked to be sung to Chevy Chase. The basis of the tale is the same, but verbally the difference is very considerable, and no comparison can be made. The scene of Burns's tale is Carlisle; some of the others place it in Stirling. It is alleged that the 'wanton bishop' was Robert Aldridge, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, to whom was issued bills of complaint in 1553 against four fundred borderers for burnings, murders, mutilations, &c. Hughie Graham may have been one of the number, but there is no historical evidence for connecting the legend with this bishop. The melody being unknown to Burns, the editor of the Museum set the verses to Druimionn Dubh, see No. 32, a Celtic air.

\*No. 340. As I cam down by yon Castle wa'. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 326. The MS. is in the British Museum, and his note in the Interleaved Museum is: 'This is a very popular Ayrshire song.' Stenhouse knew the source of the verses published in the Museum, and records that 'both the words and music were transmitted by Burns to Johnson.' (Illust. page 311.) The earliest symptom of the ballad is a short fragment in Herd's MS. and printed in Scottish Songs, 1776, ii. 6. It begins:—

'O, my bonny bonny May, will ye not rue upon me A sound sound sleep I'll never get, until I lye ayont thee.'

but Burns's version gave the first intelligible account which ultimately expanded into the numerous stanzas of the Laird of Drum where a brisk dialogue takes place between the Laird and a saucy 'bonny May,' whom he found shearing barley. At first she would not wed him at any price, but ultimately consented, and he won 'Peggy Coutts' without money or education. As the Laird had for his first wife in 1643 the fourth daughter of the powerful Marquis of Huntley, he got into disgrace with his kin. The ballad with a note is in Kinloch's Ballads, 1827, 199. (See No. 342.) The tune as in the text was originally printed in the Museum with the verses. If it bears a somewhat distant resemblance to another Scottish melody, it is nevertheless an excellent variant.

\*No. 341. O, where hae ye been Lord Ronald, my son? In the Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 327, from Burns's MS. in the British Museum, entitled Lord Ronald, my son. 'The fragment of this ancient ballad, with the beautiful air to which it is sung, were both recovered by Burns and placed in the Museum': (Stenhouse, Illust. 311). Later versions appear in Scott's Minstrelsy, 1803, iii. 292; Kinloch's Scottish Ballads, 1827, 110, entitled Lord Donald, where the young man's sweetheart poisons him, with 'a dish of sma' fishes.' The legacy he leaves with his mother is described in the last two lines:—

'The tow and the halter for to hang on you tree, And lat her hang there for the poysoning o' me.'

A selection of versions entitled *Lord Randal* is in Child's *Ballads*, 1882, i. 151. The legend is dispersed over the continent of Europe, and Child states that it is current in German, Dutch, Magyar, Sclavonic, Italian and other languages.

Burns refers to the tune as follows: 'This air, a very favourite one in Ayrshire, is evidently the original of Lochaber:' (Interleaved Museum). The air Lord Ronald is derived from Lochaber, which in its turn comes from King James March in Ireland, appearing for the first time in Leyden's MS. 1692, and again in Atkinson's MS. 1694. The tune obtained the title Lochaber for the first time from Ramsay's well-known song in the Tea-Table Miscellany, 1724, and the music is in Craig's Scots Tunes, 1730, 26; the Orpheus Caledonius, 1733. No. 20; and later collections. The three melodies differ in detail from one another, and the assumption that the King James March is defacto the original is founded on its prior appearance; but the Lord Ronald air in the text which Burns communicated to Johnson's Museum, having only one

movement, and the others being double tunes, goes to confirm the theory of Burns that the simpler air, although last printed, may be the earliest of the three.

\*No. 342. As I went out ae May morning. Originally published in the Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 397, from Burns's MS. now in the British Museum. The verses in a large measure are his work. 'The words and music of this old ballad were communicated to Johnson by Burns in the poet's handwriting': (Stenhouse Illust. 359). A short fragment is in the Herd MS.; and three stanzas in Herd's Scottish Songs, 1776, 6, with only a trace of the Burns version, ends thus:-

> 'I hae nae houses, I hae nae land, I hae nae gowd or fee, Sir; I am o'er low to be your bryde Your lown I'll never be, Sir.'

The ballad is related to 'As I came down by you castle wa', No. 340, which see. The tune is somewhat irregular in construction and chiefly in the major mode, closing on the relative minor, not an unfrequent disposition of Scottish melody.

\*No.343. There was a battle in the north. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 346, entitled 'Geordie, an old ballad.' On the MS. of A Country lass in the British Museum Burns wrote the following note concerning the ballad now under consideration: 'Put likewise after this song the inclosed old ballad, as it sings to the same time. It is rather too long, but it is very pretty, and never that I know of was printed before.' A later version is in Kinloch's Ballads, 1827, 192, with the following chorus:-

> 'My Geordie O, my Geordie O, O, the love I bear to Geordie; The very stars in the firmament Bear tokens I lo'e Geordie.'

Several versions of the same kind are in Child's Ballads, 1890, iv. 123, but the Burns contribution is a complete tale. According to Kinloch, Geordie was George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntley whom the Queen Regent sent on an expedition into the Highlands to arrest a robber. Having failed in his mission, he was suspected of complicity with the marauders, and put into prison, but released on a money payment. But the ballad fits George, fifth Earl of Huntley, still better. He was apprehended for treason on February 8, 1562-3, his estates forfeited, and he was sentenced for execution. The latter part of the sentence was delayed, and he remained a prisoner in Dunbar Castle until August, 1565, when he was restored to favour by Queen Mary who made him Chancellor in 1566. After several changes of fortune he died in 1576, when James was king.

Ritson, in the *Northumberland Garland*, 1793, 33, printed 'A lamentable Ditty' to a delicate Scottish Tune on George Stoole, a horse stealer, who lived in Newcastle. The original broadside was printed by Henry Gosson, c 1630, and the legend does not differ materially from Geordie and the other variants 'The laird of Gight,' George Lukely,' &c., in the ballad collections.

The tune was recovered by Burns. A close copy entitled Oscar's ghost is in

Corri's Scots Songs, 1783, ii. 21.

\*No. 344. O, I forbid you maidens a'. From Burns's MS. in the British Museum, collated with the original publication entitled Tam Lin in the Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 411. Stenhouse first connected Burns with the publication as follows: 'The ballad in the Museum, as well as the original air, were communicated by Burns, in his handwriting, to the editor of that work': (Illust. p. 370). A fragment of forty lines, differing considerably from

Tam Lin, and not even naming him, was previously printed in Herd's Scots Songs, 1769, 300, under the title of Kertonha'; or the fairy Court. It begins:—

'She's prickt hersell and prin'd hersell By the ae light o' the moon, And she's awa to Kertonha' As fast as she can gang. 'What gars ye pu' the rose, Jennet? What gars ye break the tree? What gars ye gang to Kertonha' Without the leave o' me?'

Few of our ballads have earlier or more historical references. The tale of the young Tamlene, and a dance Thom of Lyn are named in the Complaynt of Scotland, 1549. In 1558 a licence to print A ballet of Thomalyn was granted to Master John Wallye and Mistress Toye, but no copy is known. Drayton, in Nymphidia, or the Court of Fairy, 1627, introduces Oberon king of the fairies and Tomalin, his relation, as fighting with Tom Thumb. The Queen having given to both combatants a cup of Lethe water; this occurs:—

'Tom Thumb had got a little sup, And Tomalin scarce kiss'd the cup, Yet had their brains so sure lock'd up That they remembered nothing,'

The popularity of *Tom Lin* caused it to be parodied, for in Wager's *Commedia*, c. 1575, we have:—

'Tom a lin and his wife, and wife's mother, They went over a bridge all three together, The bridge was broken, and they fell in,— "The devil go with all," quoth Tom-a-lin.'

a further development occurs in the modern song—'Tommy Lin is a Scotchman born.' In Forbes's Cantus, 1666, is a reminiscence of the ballad, thus:—

'The pyper's drone was out of tune, Sing, Young Thomlin: Be merrie, be merrie, and twice so merrie, With the light of the moon.'

These verses were interpolated about 1620 into Wood's Musical MS. of the sixteenth century.

For the long period of nearly 250 years, between the first notice in the Complaynt of Scotland, 1549, and 1796, when Burns's original version was published, nothing was known, except by oral tradition, of the story of Tam Lin. The few stanzas in Herd's collection do not even name the hero; and the corrupted Kertonha', and the omission of Milescross tend to conceal any At what time Tam Lin of the text was composed must be left to the imagination, and from its character it is one of the oldest of its kind. It is specifically Scottish, no counterpart of it is known abroad and no legend outside of the island has been discovered. The earliest copy is in the Glenriddell MS. 1789, and again in 1791. Burns went to Ellisland in the summer of 1788, and immediately formed a close friendship with Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, a noted and enthusiastic antiquarian. I have not ascertained whether Burns communicated to Riddell the ballad of Tam Lin, or vice versa. The fact that the Museum copy was not in print before 1796 goes for nothing, because many of Burns's songs sent before 1789 to Johnson were not published until 1796 and 1803. Professor Child remarks that both Burns and Riddell may have obtained the ballad from the same source. The first twenty-two stanzas of Glenriddell's copy differ from the corresponding Burns (one to twenty-three, omitting stanza sixteen) by only a few words; after that there are considerable verbal differences,

including two stanzas in Burns entirely new. These are the eight lines beginning-

'Gloomy, gloomy was the night,'

The ballad has been often reprinted: Mat Lewis, in Tales of Wonder, altered Burns; and Sir Walter Scott's version is compounded of the Museum, Riddell, and Herd copies, with several recitals from tradition. Scott subsequently expunged some modern additions which he previously had made. The minute differences in the various versions can be seen in Child's Ballads, 1884, No. 39. The scene of Tam Lin's adventures, Carterhaugh, on the river Ettrick near its junction with the Yarrow, is the centre of Scottish ballad minstrelsy. The belief in Elves and Elf-land permeated the whole Teutonic race, and furnishes a large selection of interesting tales of the unsubstantial beings antagonistic to the human family. At the close of the eighteenth century three rings on Carterhaugh were shown where it is said the milk cans of the fairies stood and upon which grass never grew.

The tune named in the Complaynt has not been identified, if it now exists. That in the text was communicated by Burns, and is not found in any earlier collection. Leyden, in the Preliminary to the Complaynt of Scotland, 1801, 274, states that the tune of Tamlene is extremely similar to that of The Jew's daughter. The present air does not resemble The Jew's daughter in Rimbault's Musical Reliques, 1850, 46, taken from Smith's Musica Antiqua from tradition, and it will not fit the rhythm of any of the known versions of Tam Lin.

\* No. 345. Aften hae I play'd at the cards and the dice. Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 462. The original MS. of Burns is in the British Museum. Stenhouse states that Burns sent the air with the verses to the editor of the Museum, and Scott-Douglas conjectures that the ballad was picked up in the Highlands during his tour with Nicol. Since that time it has been known as The bonie rantin laddie, Lord Aboyne, &c. Another set of the verses is in The Thistle, 1823, 7; and the two lines in brackets in the eighth stanza of the text are taken from that work to complete the hiatus in Burns. See Child's Ballads, 1892, iv. No. 240.

According to Buchan, who printed a poor version, the hero was Viscount Aboyne, ultimately created Earl in 1661. He appears to have married the daughter of the Laird of Drum (see above, No. 340), but whether the plebian

Maggy Coutts was the mother I have not ascertained.

The tune was afterwards printed in Gow's Repository, 1802, under the title Lord Aboyne. The melody is captivating, and a distinct acquisition to the folk music of Scotland. There is a tune entitled Rantin ladie in Guthrie's MS. c. 1670, but I have no account of it.

- \*No. 346. Our young lady's a huntin gane. From Burns's MS. in the British Museum compared with the original publication in the Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 424. Stenhouse, in Illustrations, p. 379, states that 'This ancient fragment, with its original air, were recovered by Burns.' The 'lords' of the ballad were the noble Maxwells, whose castle of Terreagles stood on the banks of the Nith near its confluence with the Cluden. Burns knew Lady Winnifred, the representative of the house, to whom he sent copies of some of his Jacobite songs. No exact prototype of the present ballad is known. Stenhouse erred when he stated that the melody was recovered by Burns. As a North Highland Air it is in McDonald's Airs, 1784, No. 57, entitled My love is fixed on Donald.
- \*No. 347. 'O, for my ain king,' quo' gude Wallace. From a holograph in the British Museum, compared with the Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 484. Stenhouse stated in Illustrations, p. 426, that he was in possession of the manuscript at the time he wrote. The incidents related in the ballad are derived from an Edinburgh Chap-book about 1745, entitled On an honourable achievement of

Sir William Wallace, near Falkirk, containing some constructive and many verbal alterations, and in a different metre from that of our text. The source of the tale is in Henry the Minstrel's Wallace, close of book five (edition, 1869, 99). Burns's version and that of the Chap-book curiously enough are almost the only existing specimens of numerous popular songs on Wallace once current in Scotland. Wynton, born about fifty years after Wallace was executed, records that the exploits of Wallace were celebrated in popular song which in his day were traditionary. He says (modernized)

'Of his good deeds and manhood
.Great gestes I heard say are made;
But so many I trow nought
As he into his days wrought.'

Bower, the historian, about the middle of the fifteenth century, says that after the battle of Roslyn, Wallace went to France, and distinguished himself in suppressing piracy and the English on the continent, as ballads both in France and Scotland testify. The mythical and other astounding deeds of Wallace were orally evident in the time of Henry the Minstrel, circa 1470, and the inevitable fate of popularity is furnished in a parody of two fragments in Constable's MS. of the middle of the seventeenth century:—

'Now will ye hear a jollie gest, How Robin Hood was pope of Rome And Wallace king of France.

Wallace parted his men in three And sindrie gaits are gane.'

Bishop Nicolson, 1696, says that Wallace had his exploits recorded by several hands. (Burton's *Scotland*, chap. xx.) An English ballad, written in the autumn of 1306, contains some interesting particulars about Wallace and his friend Simon Fraser, and is curious, as repeating the nickname of Edward:—

'Tprot Scot, for thi strif
Hang up thyn hatchet and thi knyf
Whil him lasteth the lyf
With the longe shonkes.' (Ritson's Anc. Bal. 1790.)

The active public career of Wallace in Scotland may be counted by months in the years 1297–8. He has been designated by the Scots an heroic patriot, and by his enemies as a pestilent ruffian. Edward decapitated Wallace on August 23, 1305, and fixed his head on London Bridge. To quench his wounded vanity or pride, Edward paid unpardonable honour to the memory of his implacable enemy by ferociously cutting his dead body in pieces for public exhibition in

different parts of the two countries.

The verses in the text are virtually those of all the recent ballads preserved, e.g. Finlay's Ballads, 1807, i. 97; Maidment's Scotish Ballads, 1859, 83, and others; and the reader may be referred to Child's Ballads, 1889, No. 157, for further information. The incidents partake of the marvellous and mythical. Wallace, meeting a 'gay ladye' washing at the well, is told that there are fifteen men in 'yon wee ostler house' who are seeking Wallace, who, disguising himself as an 'auld crookit carl' leaning on a stick, presents himself to the officer disguised in liquor, who, after insulting Wallace, announces that he will give fifteen shillings to any 'crookit carl' who will tell him where Wallace is. The hero replies by breaking the officer's jaw and sticking the rest at the table where they sat. Another fifteen appeared at the gate, and with the help of the host he killed these also.

The tune is only interesting as an archaic example of a melody gathered from the ruins of time. Two melodies, Wallace's March and Wallace's Lament, are

in the Caledonian Pocket Companion, c. 1755, but neither has any resemblance

to Gude Wallace in the text.

[The four numbers following were sent by Burns in a letter to his friend William Tytler of Woodhouslee, as 'a sample of old pieces' of which he said: 'I had once a great many of these fragments and some of them here entire; but as I had no idea that anybody cared for them, I have forgotten them.' Burns here, as elsewhere, indicated how little he was affected by the historical or narrative ballad, and he paid little attention to the metrical tales which Percy and Ritson edited—a subject so much developed a little later by Sir Walter Scott. The budget collected by Tytler was subsequently utilized by Scott, Jamieson, Motherwell, and others. The four fragments of Burns are here reprinted from the text of Cromek, the originals from Tytler being missing.]

\*No. 348. Near Edinburgh was a young son born. Cromek's Scotish Songs, 1810, ii. 204, entitled 'Young Hynhorn, to its own tune.' This is the earliest version of a vernacular ballad founded on the most ancient metrical tale connected with the South of Scotland or the kingdom of Northumberland. Whether Burns added anything of his own when he sent the fragment to Tytler in 1787 is immaterial from a literary point of view, but at any rate he was the first to discover the popular version. The tale exists in three English and three French MSS. of the thirteenth century, all more or less differing in detail from one another. A seventh version in one of the Auchinleck MSS. is a Northumberland legend in Scottish orthography, of which the following is an outline:-Hutheolf, king of Northumbria, fought and defeated the invading Danes on 'Allerton more' in Cleveland, gave a feast at Pickering, afterwards went to York and proclaimed his son Horn his successor. Nine months later, three Irish kings with an army invaded his country, his forces were victorious, but Hutheolf was slain. Taking advantage of Horn's youth and inexperience, an 'erl of Northumbria' seized the kingdom, and compelled Horn to fly 'fer South in Ingland' to the court of king Houlac, who educated him for apparently the space of seven years. His beauty fascinated the king's daughter Rimineld, but the father was obdurate and offensive, and Horn fled under an assumed name; not however before receiving a gold ring from Rimineld, which she said would change its colour when she became unfaithful to his memory. Seven years afterwards when sailing the seas, or on Sarascenic land fighting the infidels, the ring of priceless virtue and value 'grew pale and wan,' and compelled him to come back: meeting a palmer he exchanged dresses, and in this disguise was hospitably received by King Houlac. Rimineld served the guests with wine, and when she came to the palmer he dropped into the cup the ring which she recognized. In due time she discovered her long lost lover, to whom she related her unwilling betrothal to a knight of her father's choice. Horn, having recovered his kingdom of Northumbria, was wedded to Rimineld with Houlac's consent, 'and they all lived happily ever after.'

Chaucer refers as follows to this tale in 'the second fit' of his satirical ballad

'Sir Thopas':-

'Men speke of romances of prys,
Of Horn child and of Ypotys,
Of Bevis and Sir Gy,
Of Sir Libeux and Pleyn-damour,
But Sir Thopas, he bereth the flour
Of loyal chivalry.' (Skeat's *Chaucer*, iv. 196.)

The verses in the text, like those of Tam Lin, are remarkable examples of the vitality of popular poetry. Burns could not possibly have got the ballad in a modern Scottish dress except from tradition, for the metrical tale of King Horn had not then been printed, and was not known except to a very few literary antiquarians. Until 1827, when Motherwell published the 'complete' ballad made up from the Burns version and 'from recitation,' nothing but the Burns

was in print. In Kinloch's Scottish Ballads, 1827, 135, is the most complete version. One of the imaginative editors closes with the following:—

'He stood up erect, let his beggar weed fall, And shone there the foremost and noblest of all; Then the bridegrooms were chang'd and the lady re-wed To Hynde Horn thus come back, like one from the dead.'

A complete analysis of Young Hyn Horn will be found in Child's Ballads, 1882, i. No. 17. The legend of King Horn is known in all European countries.

I have failed to discover in any English or Scottish collection of music the tune of *Hynd Horn*, and the music in the text is taken from Motherwell's *Minstrelsy*, 1827, App. No. 13, which there is said to be the traditional air of the ballad.

\*No. 349. What merriment has taen the Whigs? From Burns's MS. in the British Museum, entitled *The German lairdie*, which is referred to in Gray's MS. Lists. The verses were sent to Johnson, but were not inserted in Museum. In Hogg's Jacobite Relics, 1819, i. 146, is a song of twelve stanzas, without a chorus, beginning:—

'What murrain now has taen the Whigs? I think they're all gone mad, Sir, By dancing one-and-forty jigs,
Our dancing may be bad, Sir.'

The second stanza is a variation of that of Burns, but neither is an improvement. The Ettrick Shepherd obtained his verses from the collection of Sir Walter Scott. The present well-known popular song The wee, wee German lairdie, partly if not entirely written by Allan Cunningham for Cromek's spurious antique Nithsdale and Galloway Songs, 1810, has no resemblance to Burns's words, which are probably the remnant of Jacobite verses. The tune from the MS. of Burns, now in the possession of John Adamson, Esq., of Brooklands, Dumfries, is not in any printed collection, is quite unknown, and is now printed for the first time. The music in the MS. is obviously imperfect, and wants two bars in each of the two sections to complete the rhythm. These I have added by repeating the fifth bar and doubling the measure of the sixth in each of the two sections.

\*No. 350. O, that I were where Helen lies. Scots Musical Museum, 1788, ii. No. 155, from Burns's MS. now in the British Museum. Hitherto Burns's name has not been coupled with this well-known ballad, and his connexion with its appearance in literature may properly be described here. Writing to George Thomson in July, 1793, he says: 'The old ballad, "I wish I were where Helen lies," is silly to contemptibility. My alteration in Johnson is not much better. Mr. Pinkerton, in his what he calls Ancient Ballads, has the best set. It is full of his own interpolations.'

The earliest notice is the title of an air Where Helen lies, in lute tablature in Blaikie's MS., 1692, without words. The music fits the verses in the text, and incidentally confirms the existence of the ballad in its present rhythm before

the close of the seventeenth century.

The ballad, or at least the melody, was known to Allan Ramsay, who wrote for it a song entitled, 'To — in mourning' beginning, 'Ah! why those tears in Nelly's eyes,' printed in the Tea-Table Miscellany, 1724. The verses were in honour of one of Ramsay's patrons, and have nothing in common with the legend of the tragic ballad, which was told by Pennant in Tour of Scotland, 1774, 88, often reprinted, and too well known to require repetition. The 'ballad' was not quoted by Pennant, but in 'Poetical Legends [John Tait] London: printed and sold by John Donaldson, 1776,' is the original publication in thirteen stanzas. Tait, the editor, takes care to state that he collected it

before Pennant's *Tour* was published. Pinkerton's version in six stanzas referred to by Burns is in *Tragic Ballads*, 1781, 79, and it is in the same incorrect metre as Ramsay's verses, the last stanza of which is:—

'Take, take me to thy lovely side,
Of my lost youth, thou only bride!
O take me to thy tomb!
I hear, I hear the welcome sound,
Yes, life can fly at sorrow's wound,
I come, I come, I come.'

In the Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1783, there are four stanzas—quoted by Ritson—written by 'Thomas Poynter, a pauper,' the first being:—

'T' other day as she worked at her wheel, She sang of fair Eleanor's fate, Who fell by stern jealousy's steel As on Kirtle's smooth margin she sate.'

The next publication in order of time is that of Burns in the text, to which I will refer farther on.

In Lawrie's Scottish Songs, 1791, i. 257, there are four stanzas, being the first,

third, sixth, and seventh of Burns.

Ritson, who states that he obtained his version from Tytler the historian (the friend and correspondent of Burns), printed it in *Scotish Songs*, 1794, i. 146, as the first, sixth, and seventh verse in the text, with a fourth made up from the rest.

In Sinclair's Stat. Account of Scotland, 1794, xiii. 275 (footnote), is a version of fourteen stanzas, chiefly founded on that of the Poetical Legend version. It is only remarkable for an interpolated stanza which has never been reprinted. A note supplementary to that of Pennant states that the ballad 'is said to have been written by Adam Fleming when in Spain.'

Sir Walter Scott, in *Minstrelsy*, 1802, appropriated almost the whole of the *Statistical* version, dividing it into two parts: the first, consisting of six stanzas (now disregarded) beginning, 'O, sweetest sweet, and fairest fair,' and the second part of ten stanzas containing the whole of that in the text, with the following new verse which Scott got from the *Glenriddell MS*:

'As I went down the water-side None but my foe to be my guide; None but my foe to be my guide On fair Kirkconnel Lee.'

The second part of Scott's version is that which is now reprinted in all modern collections, including Child's Ballads and Palgrave's Golden Treasury. In the Glenriddell MS., 1791, or three years subsequent to the publication in Johnson's Museum, is a version of sixteen stanzas, the most comprehensive discovered, and which Riddell states that he got from 'Mr. Henderson's MS.' At the time the ballad was collected Burns was on terms of close intimacy with Riddell, and the poet may have been instrumental in procuring the version. To the Poetical Legends of 1776 we must undoubtedly return for the original publication; and Burns's version agrees closest with it. The eight stanzas in our text are Nos. 13, 5, 8–12, and again the 13th of the Legend copy more or less varied. Of Burns, the third, fourth, and fifth are nearly identical; the first, sixth, seventh, and eighth contain verbal alterations and amendments; and the second is considerably varied and improved, as may be seen on comparing it with the original, as follows:—

'O Helen fair, beyond compare, I'll wear a garland of thy hair, Shall cover me for evermair,
Until the day I die.'

The tune attached to the ballad in Johnson's Museum is a masterpiece of musical dullness, and it retarded the vocal popularity of the verses for more than half a century. The music in Barsanti's Scots Tunes, 1742, and in McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 1768, iv. 93, is evidently a remote and unsingable translation of the tablature tune of 1692. Where Helen lies now given in the text is from Mr. John Glen, who favoured me with a copy. Various traditional melodies of the ballad are in use, but the simplest is that in Graham's Songs of Scotland, 1849, iii. 104.

\*No. 351. O, heard ye of a silly harper? The title of this ballad The Lochmaben harper is in Burns's handwriting in Gray's MS. Lists before the year 1790, as an instruction for the insertion of the verses in the Scots Musical Museum, which however were not published until 1803. Several songs of Burns named on the same sheet were not published in the Museum before 1796 and 1803. It is necessary to make this statement because Professor Child does not appear to have known that Burns contributed the ballad to the Museum, where it was originally published with its melody, and because very nearly the same copy is in the Glenriddell MS. 1791. Burns's connexion with Riddell is described in the note on No. 344 supra, and the same remark is applicable to the Lochmaben harper as to Tam Lin. Stenhouse says: 'This fine old ballad with its original melody was recovered by Burns and transmitted to Johnson for his Museum.' (Illust., p. 497). The manuscript has disappeared. None of the original Burns papers belonging to the sixth volume of the Museum are in the British Museum. They seem to have been dispersed in Edinburgh shortly after publication, and some have not yet been recovered. The Lochmaben harper was originally published in Scott's Minstrelsy, 1802, considerably varied and altered, but I have no doubt that the Museum MS was in Burns's handwriting. The last unnecessary stanza in Scott is a modern interpolation, as follows:-

> 'Then aye he harped, and aye he carped, Sae sweet were the harpings he let them hear; He was paid for the foal he had never lost And three times ower for the gude gray mare.'

Both the versions of Burns and of Scott can be seen in Child's Ballads. The Lochmaben harper is an excellent humorous specimen of Scottish ballad literature, and is notable as containing one of the very few references to the harp in Scotland. Since the end of the fifteenth century the use of the instrument has ceased, and even then it was little used. The harp of Mary Queen of Scots is said to be preserved, but at no time for many centuries has the harp been a national instrument. Its introduction and cultivation were Celtic.

The tune in the text is from the Glenriddell MS. 1791, and, with the exception of a clerical error in the MS. here corrected, is the same as that printed in the Museum, No. 579, with the verses.

\*No. 352. Nae birdies sang the mirky hour. Cromek's Scotish Songs, 1810, ii. 196. This fragment sent to Tytler belongs probably to more than one song, and refers to events occurring at least as early as the seventeenth century. Sir Walter Scott supposed that one of the characters might be John Scott, the sixth son of the Laird of Harden, murdered in Ettrick Forest by his kinsmen the Scotts of Gilmancleugh. There is also a tradition that the hero was murdered by the brother either of his wife or betrothed bride. The first printed 'Yarrow' verses are not the oldest. From some tradition similar to that in the text, both Ramsay and Hamilton of Bangour wrote ballads with almost the same opening line 'Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny bonny bride'; both published in the Tea-Table Miscellany, 1725. Hamilton's song was reprinted in a small unauthorized edition of his Poems in 1748, remarkable for a preface attributed to Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations. The well-known 'Willy's rare and Willy's fair' was first printed in the Orphous

Caledonius, 1733, No. 49. The subject of all these is the same as the verses in the text, but there is no verbal or metrical connexion. In the Herd MS. is a variation of the eighth stanza in a different metre, as follows, marked for the tune Mary Scott:—

'O, when I look east, my heart is sair, But when I look west it's mair and mair; For then I see the braes of Yarrow, And there I lost for aye my marrow.'

This fragment is all that was known of the traditional ballad until Burns sent his contribution to Tytler. What alteration or variation he made it is now

impossible to say.

The tune Willy's rare was first printed in the Orpheus Caledonius, 1733, No. 49, and the copy there is that now printed in all collections of Scottish song. The music Sweet Willy, as in the text, is a translation from Blaikie's MS. 1692, and, if anything, is a better set than that usually printed.

\*No. 353. Bob Roy from the Highlands eam. Cromck's Scotish Songs, 1810, ii. 199. It is stated in Motherwell's Minstreity, 1827, p. xciii, that this ballad first appeared in The Thistle, 1823, which of course is incorrect. In Maidment's North Countrie Garland, 1824, 44, there is a complete version from the MS. of R. Pitcairn, 'who took it from the recitation of Widow Stevenson.' This version, like that of Burns, is distributed between two melodies, but not the same as those in the text. Young Rob Roy, son of the celebrated cateran, was a chip of the old block. At twelve years of age he shot a man, and was outlawed, fled to the continent, enlisted in the British army, was wounded and taken prisoner, was exchanged and returned to Scotland, where he married a respectable woman who lived only a few weeks. Thus Professor Child, in Ballads, 1890, iv. No. 225, out of Maclaurin's Criminal Trials. For the crime of abducting Jane Key, aged 19, heiress of Edinbelly, Stirlingshire, and compelling her to go through a sham marriage ceremony, Robert Oig was tried, convicted, and executed in 1753 at the age of thirty-one. Abductions of various kinds were not uncommon in Scotland, and illustrate marriage by capture as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. The tune is that of Song No. 266.

\*No. 354. Rob Roy was my father ca'd. The tune in the text was known in Scotland up to the year 1733 as Jenny beguil'd the webster, its title in the Orpheus Caledonius, 1733, No. 37, as in the text. It is so named for a song in Ramsay's Miscellany, 1725. Afterwards it becomes Jenny dang the weaver, as in Bremner's Reels, 1759, 54; Stewart's Reels, 1761, 13; Campbell's Reels, 1778, 23; and the Scots Musical Museum, 1788, No. 127.

## APPENDIX.

## UNCERTAIN.

\*No. 355. O, Donald Couper and his man. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 334, entitled Donald Couper. On the authority of Stenhouse alone this is inserted as an amended fragment by Burns from Herd's Scottish Songs, 1776, ii. 229, and further evidence is desirable. The verses are a reminiscence of an English ballad printed without music entitled A nosegay of pleasure growing in Venus's garden, in 180 Loyal Songs, 1685, 354, marked for 'the tune Daniel Cooper,' and beginning:—

'A bony lad came to the Court, .

His name was Donald Cowper;

And he petitioned to the king

That he might be a Trowper.'

The tune is in the *Dancing Master*, 1697, and both words and music in Durfey's *Pills*, 1719, v. 88. The hero obviously was one of the many soldiers of fortune whom Scotland shed, and a trooper in the army of Montrose, who was executed in Edinburgh in 1650. The licentious and satirical ballad relates the adventures of Donald in London, where he went to seek his fortune. The music was sufficiently well known to attract the attention of the writer of the *Highland Host*, 1697, where it is named as a dance tune. The music in our text (not the same as the English tune) was printed originally in the *Museum*. In Aird's *Airs*, 1782, ii. No. 12, is a much corrupted copy of that in Durfey's *Pills*.

\*No. 356. O'er the moor amang the heather. The only excuse for inserting here this fine song is the fact that it was entirely unknown until it was printed in the Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 328, from Burns's MS. The explicit account of the anthoress by Burns in the Interleaved Museum forbids its entrance among his works. How much or how little is his own cannot be ascertained; but as the discoverer, at least, he will always be associated with it. His extraordinary statement is as follows: 'This song is the composition of a Jean Glover, a girl who was not only a w— but also a thief; and in one or other character has visited most of the correction houses in the west. She was born, I believe, in Kilmarnock. I took the song down from her singing as she was strolling the country with a slight-of-hand blackgnard.' Some previous verses with the title must have existed, because the tune O'er the muir amang the heather is in Bremner's Keels, 1760, 77, published, according to C. K. Sharpe, when Glover was only two years old. The tune was well known, for it is repeated in Stewart's Reels, 1761, 9; Campbell's Reels, 1778, 15, and elsewhere. A tune We'll all go pull the hadder is named in Gedde's Saints Recreation, 1683.

\*No. 357. As I lay on my bed on a night. Scots Musical Museum, 1803, No. 581. Stehhouse remarks: 'This fragment of an ancient ballad, with its melody, was recovered by Burns, and transmitted to Johnson for the Museum.' (Illust. p. 498.) There is no Burns MS. to confirm this statement. It is quite certain that Burns knew the melody Go from my window, love, do, for when he was comparatively young he wrote for it one of his earliest songs; see No. 307. More than three hundred and fifty years ago a popular song with a similar title was parodied in The gude and godlie Ballads, and the imitation begins:—

'Quho is at my windo? quho, quho? Go from my windo, go, go! Quho callis thair sa lyke a strangair? Go from my windo, go.'

(Reprint Scottish Text Soc.)

The 'profane' song was not confined to Scotland, for there were several versions and at least two different melodies of the song current in England for nearly a century. In 1588 a licence was granted to print a black-letter ballad Goe from the Window. In Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle, 1611, Old Merrythought sings:—

'Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy; Begone, my love, my dear; The weather is warm, 'Twill do thee no harm, Thou canst not be lodgèd here.'

Different songs of the same rhythm were sung in the dramas of the close of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. The English tune 'Goe from my window' is in A new book of Tablature, 1596; and as follows without words in the Fitzwilliam MS. c. 1650 (1895, i. 153). The words are from Beaumont's burlesque:—



The melody is repeated on page 42 of the same collection with variations by Thomas Morley, proving its popularity. It will be observed that this English set is not the same as the tune in the text originally published in Johnson's Museum.

\*No. 358. The auld man's mare's dead. Johnson's Museum, 1796, No. 48f. In a letter to Johnson about March, 1795, Burns refers to this song as follows: 'See the air in Aird's Selection and the words in the Scots Nightingale.' The song is such an excellent specimen of the Scots vernacular, with a very characteristic Scottish melody, that I give here Burns's recension of the verses, and the melody. He rewrote the second stanza, and verbally altered the rest. The author of the original is stated by Allan Ramsay to have been Pate Birney, an itinerant fiddler in Fife; but the verses in the Scots Nightingale, 1779, 336, are stated to be 'By Mr. Watt,' and the earliest record of the tune is in Aird's Airs, 1782, ii. No. 138. From these two facts it may be inferred that the song referred to by Ramsay is not that which Burns amended, but some earlier and now unknown song.

\*No. 359. She sat down below a thorn. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 320. No MS. of these verses is known, and Stenhouse is the authority: 'This ancient and beautiful air with the fragment of the old ballad were both transmitted by Burns to Johnson for the Museum.' (Illust. p. 308.) A smaller fragment of four disconnected stanzas on a similar subject, but more obscure, is in Herd's Scottish Songs, 1776, ii. 237. Since the time of Burns five or six different and expanded versions have been published. Under the head of Lady Anne it is in Scott's Minstrelsy, 1803, iii. 239; and more completely as The Cruel Mother in Motherwell's Minstrelsy, 1827, 161. In Child's Ballads, 1882, No. 20, the whole tale is evolved. The fragment in our text contains descriptive touches, but there is no means of ascertaining what is original. In one of the recensions the child's nurse is described as the murderer. A Scottish Act of Parliament in 1690 prescribed that a mother in certain circumstances was guilty of murder if she concealed a birth, or did not call in assistance in child-bed. The chief point of the tale is dispersed over Europe.

The sweet simple tune is from the original in the Museum. Another and inferior melody is in the Appendix to Kinloch's Ballads, 1827.

\*No. 360. It's whisper'd in parlour. This is the fragment of a ballad here reprinted, simply because Burns was the medium by which the verses and the melody were originally published in the Scots Musical Museum, 1796, No. 461. The original MS. has been lost, and Stenhouse is the authority, as follows: 'This fragment of an ancient song, together with the elegant original little air of one strain, to which the words are adapted, were recovered by Burns,' (Illust. p. 404.) The complete tale—mad and revolting—in Motherwell's Minstrelsy, 1727, 189, describes how 'Lady Marget' was killed by her brother, and how—

'He has howkit a grave that was lang and was deep,
The broom blooms bonnie and says it is fair,
And he has buried his sister wi' her babie at her feet,
And they'll never gang down to the broom onie mair.'

Sheath and Knife, as the ballad is now known in Child's Ballads, 1882, No. 16, is a specimen of several gruesome metrical tales which mark antiquity, and with no particular locality attached to them, as the legends are dispersed throughout Europe.

The tune is rather commonplace, with no particular Scottish flavour.

\*No. 361. A nobleman liv'd in a village of late. Scots Musical Museum, 1792, No. 372, entitled The poor thresher, which Burns transmitted to the editor with the following note: 'It is rather too long, but it is very pretty, and never that I know of was printed before.' The MS. of this poor sentimental ballad in the handwriting of Burns is in the British Museum, and it appealed to him as a tiller of the soil out of which he could not extract a living. In sixteen stanzas it describes the work and life of an honest hardworking peasant who, when out walking, casually met a nobleman. The result was a gift of 'forty good acres of land,' and the penultimate stanza is:—

'Because thou art loving and kind to thy wife, I'll make thy days easy the rest of thy life; I give it for ever to thee and thy heirs, So hold thy industry with diligent cares.'

The luck of this peasant was better than 'the three acres and a cow' of the modern politician. I have not thought it necessary to print the sixteen stanzas of the original, which is of English ancestry. A different version is The nobleman and the thresherman in Bell's Songs of the Peasantry. As The thresher and the squire another Oxford traditional set of verses has recently been published in English County Songs, 1893, 68, with a tune quite different from that in our text, which was originally published in the Museum with the verses of Burns.

## SONGS UNKNOWN.

Cockabendy. This title is in the handwriting of Burns in Gray's MS. Lists with the note 'Mr. B-words.'

Wha's fou now, my jo is in the same list marked 'Mr. B-words.'

Fair Emma. The note here is 'Fair Emma follows Charlotte a song, the original name unknown'; with the remark from Burns's hand 'Mr. B. next, Dr. B[lacklock].'

Can ye leave me so, laddie? This is the title, with the note in Burns's handwriting 'Mr. Burns's old words,' contained in Law's MS. List. The following fragment in Herd's MS. is most probably the material on which Burns based his verses:—

'Can ye leave me so, laddie, Can ye leave me so; Can ye leave me comfortless For anither jo?'

