

## VII. PATRIOTIC AND POLITICAL.

No. 254. Amang the trees, where humming bees. Cromek's *Reliques*, 1808, 453. Tune, *The King of France, he rade a race*. Niel Gow is the 'fiddler in the North' referred to in the song. The sarcasm on foreign music was intended to cool the rage for Italian compositions and vocalists that invaded the country before the middle of the eighteenth century. The *capon craws* of Farinelli, who was the lion of the operatic stage, stigmatized as one of the *castrati*, is sarcastic enough. The 'royal ghaist' refers to James I of Scotland, who was detained a prisoner in England for nineteen years. The royal author of *The King's Quair* was a distinguished poet and an accomplished musician. Hogg quotes an unintelligible Jacobite song beginning 'The King of

France he rade a race,' which may have been the model of Burns. The second stanza is :—

<p>'But there cam a fiddler out o' Fife, A blink beyond Balwearie, O, And he has coft a gully knife To gie the Whigs a bleary, O.</p>	<p>This fiddler cam wi' sword and lance, And a' his links o' leary, O. To learn the Whigs a morice dance That they lov'd wondrous deary, O.'</p>
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The tune is in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, c. 1756, viii. 26, and Campbell's *Reels*. 1778, 73, but it was printed previously in Bremner's *Reels*, 1757, 1, under the title *Lady Doll Sinclair's Reel*. The melody is very little known, and Burns's song is here for the first time printed with its tune.

No. 255. Scots, wha hæ wi' Wallace bled. *Scottish Airs*, 1799, 74, 'Written for this work by Robert Burns.' Two different accounts exist of the origin of *Scots, wha hæ*. Syme, the distributor of Government stamps in Dumfries, an intimate friend and neighbour of Burns, communicated to Dr. Currie a graphic account of a short excursion Burns and he made through Galloway in the end of July, 1793. In traversing Kenmure, the savage scenery and desolate appearance was intensified by bad weather. 'Next day,' Syme says, 'he produced me the Address of Bruce to his troops, and gave me a copy for Dalziel.' According to this statement related in Currie, *Works*, 1800, i. 209, 213, *Scots, wha hæ* was written and completed between July 28 and 30, 1793. Burns's own account is contained in a letter to Thomson, assigned to September 1, 1793, enclosing a copy of the ode. I quote the entire letter, as it formulates Burns's impressions of music. 'My dear Sir,—You know that my pretensions to musical taste are merely a few of nature's instincts, untaught and untutored by art. For this reason, many musical compositions, particularly where much of the merit lies in counterpoint, however they may transport and ravish the ears of you connoisseurs, affect my simple lug no otherwise than merely as melodious din. On the other hand, by way of amends, I am delighted with many little melodies, which the learned musician despises as silly and insipid. I do not know whether the old air *Hey, tutti, taitie* may rank among this number; but well I know that with Fraser's hautboy, it has often filled my eyes with tears. There is a tradition which I have met with in many places in Scotland, that it was Robert Bruce's march at the battle of Bannockburn. This thought, in my yesternight's evening walk, warmed me to a pitch of enthusiasm on the theme of liberty and independence, which I threw into a kind of Scots Ode, fitted to the air, that one might suppose to be the gallant royal Scot's address to his heroic followers on that eventful morning. So may God ever defend the cause of Truth and Liberty, as He did that day. Amen! R. B. P.S.—I shewed the air to Urbani, who was highly pleased with it and begged me make soft verses for it; but I had no idea of giving myself any trouble on the subject, till the accidental recollection of that glorious struggle for Freedom, associated with the glowing ideas of some other struggles of the same nature, *not quite so ancient*, roused my rhyming mania. Clarke's set of the tune, with his bass, you will find in the *Museum*, though I am afraid that the air is not what will entitle it to a place in your elegant selection.' From this letter several inferences may be drawn: first, that Burns suspected Thomson would not care for the tune *Hey, tutti, taitie*; second, that professional musicians considered it a pathetic air; and third, that the French revolution was a cause of the origin of *Scots, wha hæ*.

Dr. Currie made no attempt to decide when the song was written, and the subject is not of vital importance here. When Burns sent it to Thomson he may have finally drawn it up and corrected it fit for the press. As we know, he took an active interest in the stirring drama of the French Revolution, and it is interesting to remember that the struggles of the same nature, 'not quite so ancient,' produced a much more famous song in France. The *Chant de guerre pour l'armée du Rhin*, better known as *The Marseillaise Hymn*, was written and composed at Strasburg, by Rouget de Lisle, a Captain of Engineers in the

French Army, between the night of the 25th and the morning of the 26th April, 1792, or about seventeen months before Burns wrote *Scots wha hae* to commemorate an event more than five hundred years old.

It must be told how Burns's song was criticized, revised, altered, and finally printed in a different rhythm and to a wrong tune. Thomson having shown it to some friends, they agreed as to the merit of the verses, but 'reprobated the idea of giving it a tune so utterly devoid of interest or grandeur as *Hey, tutti, taitie*'; saying further, 'I never heard any one speak of it as worthy of notice.' Thomson and the committee of taste decided that the poet must have created some fanciful partiality for the air through connexion with the tradition concerning it, which was nearly correct, but not in the sense they meant; and then they proceeded to suggest what they thought as a more appropriate melody—*Lewie Gordon*; but as its measure differed, they recommended that a foot should be added to every fourth line of the song, thus:—Stanza 1, Or to glorious victory; 2, Chains, *chains* and slavery; 3, Let him, *let him* turn and flee; 4, Let him *bravely* follow me; 5, But they shall, *they shall* be free; 6, Let us, *let us* do or die. What was Burns to do? he had not a single supporter; every one disapproved of his tune—that melody for which the song was specially written, and over which he had wept when Fraser played it. Professional musicians, editor, and committee had declared *Hey, tutti, taitie* unsuitable, so he succumbed and agreed to alter the verses as suggested—in his own way. Thomson, having affected a material and emasculated alteration, proceeded to suggest further amendments but Burns now lost patience, straightened himself, and sent an ultimatum in the following terms: 'My Ode pleases me so much, that I cannot alter it. Your proposed alterations would, in my opinion, make it tame. I am exceedingly obliged to you for putting me on reconstructing it, as I think I have much improved it, . . . I have scrutinised it over and over; and to the world some way or other, it shall go as it is.' This closed the correspondence on the subject. *Scots wha hae*, as reconstructed, completely reversed Burns's invariable method of writing with the sound of some favourite melody ringing in his ears. The verses originally appeared in the *London Morning Chronicle*, May, 1794. Thomson printed them with the tune *Lewie Gordon*, in *Scottish Airs*, 1799, 74; or three years after Burns's death.

The public learnt from Currie, in *Works*, 1800, the struggle for existence of the Ode of Burns, and how the song had been altered; and demanded that the original words should be printed with its own tune. Thomson admitted his error and reprinted the song in his next volume, in 1801, 133, with a note that he thought that '*Hey, tutti, taitie* gave more energy to the words than *Lewie Gordon*.' The original draft in Burns's handwriting—that which he wrote on August 31, 1793—belonged to the late Frederick Lockyer, the author of *London Lyrics*.

*Hey, tutti, taitie* or *Hey now the day dawes*, the tune of *Scots wha hae*, requires an exposition in order to get rid of some misconception regarding its origin. There is no evidence supporting the tradition that it was played at Bannockburn, although one of the earliest fragments of Scottish song existing is in the peculiar rhythm of the tune. In the *Book of St. Alban's*—a chronicle relating to the time of Robert the Bruce—the stanza of a contemporary satirical song is quoted on the flamboyant dress of the officers of the English army who kept the country in check at that period. I quote in modern English: 'At that time the Englishmen were clothed all in coats and hoods painted with letters, and with flowers full seemly, with long beards: and therefore the Scots made a rhyme that was fastened upon the Church doors of St. Peter towards Stangate (York). And thus said the scripture in despite of Englishmen:—

"Longe berdes hertles,  
Paytyd hodes wytles,  
Gay cotes graceles,  
Makyth Englund thriteles."

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In Fabyan's *Chronicle* the same verses are repeated, but they are assigned to the time of David Bruce when he married the English Princess. 'To their more derision, they—the Scots—made divers truffes, rounds and songs, against the English.'

In Dunbar's poem *To the Merchants of Edinburgh*, written about the year 1500, a couplet runs:—

'Your common menstrallis hes no tone  
But *Now the day dawis*, and *Into Jone*.'

The common minstrels in Scotland were the Corporation pipers, maintained at the public expense. They were lodged by the householders in succession, and about the end of the fifteenth century Edinburgh appears to have supported three. Any one who found it inconvenient to billet them in their turn was liable to pay nincpence, 'That is to ilk pyper iiii at the leist.' A tune was popular in the time of Gavin Douglas. In the prologue of the 13th book of his translation of Virgil, printed in 1513, these lines occur:—

'Tharto thir byrdis singis in the shawis  
As menstralis playing, *The joly day now dawes*.'

In the *Fayrfax MSS.* (Addl. MS. 5465), a collection of English songs by different composers of the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries—is a song written in honour of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VII, entitled, *This day dawes, this gentill day*, with music for three voices.

One of Alexander Montgomery's poems, *Hey now the day dawis*, supposed to have been written before 1580, resembles a popular song:—

'Hey now the day dawis,	The thrissel cock cryis,
The jolly cock crawis,	Or lovers quha lyis
Now shrouds the shawis,	Now skaillis the skyis,
Through nature anone :	The nicht is neir gone.'

Montgomery's song was probably modelled from an earlier type parodied in the *Gude and Godlie Ballads*, beginning, 'Hay now the day dawes,' every stanza closing with 'the nicht is neir gone'—the identical line used by Montgomery. The following stanza ridicules the saving efficacy of the bone of St. Giles' arm, once the palladium of the Parish Church of Edinburgh:—

'Ye beguiled us with your hoods,  
Shawing your relics and your roods,  
To pluck fra us poor men our goods,  
Ye shaw us the heid of St. John  
With the arme of St. Geill;  
To rottan banes ye gart us kneill,  
And savit us frae neck to heill,  
The nicht is neir gane.'

*Hey now the day dawnes* is designated a celebrated old song in *The Muses Threnodie*, written in the reign of James VI, on the local affairs of Perth.

In *The Piper of Kilbarchan*, a humorous poem in Scots metre, the tune is named as one which Habbie Simson played. Robert Semple, the author, lived between 1595 and 1665, and the poem belongs to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A stanza is:—

'Now who shall play the *Day it Dawes*?  
Or *Hunts up* when the cock he craws?  
Or who can for our Kirktown cause,  
Stand us in stead?  
On bagpipes now no body blaws  
Sen Habbie's dead.'

Kirkpatrick Sharpe contributed to Stenhouse's *Illustrations* the copy of a local Annandale hunting song. In the first stanza the well known refrain is introduced:—

'The cock's at the crawling,  
The day's at the dawing,  
The cock's at the crawling,  
We're o'er lang here.'

Lastly, the concluding stanza of the bacchanalian *Landlady, count the lawin*, Song No. 227, contains the lines so often quoted:—

'Landlady count the lawin  
The day is near the dawin,' &c.

Stenhouse erroneously assumed that the music of the song in the *Fayrfax MS.* was that of *Hey, tutti, taitie*. Neither is *The day dawis* in *Straloch's MS.*, 1627, the tune of *Hey, tutti, taitie*, which from its construction may well be accounted an ancient melody, although the music is not in any collection prior to the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1751, iii. 13. It is also in McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 33; and with the Ode in Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1801. For another set of the air, see Song No. 227. The Rebellion doubtless brought it into more prominent notice, which would account for its publication, but that it was played at Bannockburn is most likely a pleasing fiction. According to Froissart, who obtained the particulars from three eye-witnesses, the Scottish foot-soldiers at the Battle of Otterburn, 1388, carried a large horn slung round the neck after the manner of hunters. To frighten the enemy these horns were sounded in chorus and, being of different sizes, the noise was so great that it could be heard miles off. The bagpipe is first named in Scottish records about the close of the fifteenth century. The figure of a piper is sculptured in Melrose Abbey of an earlier date than any written record of the instrument in Scotland, and in Rosslyn Chapel is a chiselled figure with bare legs and feet and wearing a kilt, playing the pipes.

No. 256. *O, wha will to St. Stephen's house.* *Gilbert Burns Edition*, London, 1820, from a manuscript entitled '*The fête champêtre. Tune Killi-crankie.*' The summer of 1788 is fixed as the date of the entertainment recorded in this programme ballad. According to Gilbert Burns, its origin was due to a garden-party given by William Cunninghame of Annbank, Ayrshire, on coming of age and entering into the possession of his grandfather's estates. The entertainment was then believed to have a political meaning. Burns knew the host, who some years later married a daughter of his dear friend and correspondent, Mrs. Stewart of Afton. Boswell and Dr. Johnson are referred to in the close of the first stanza.

For Notes on the tune, see song No. 328.

No. 257. *How can my poor heart be glad?* Currie, *Works*, 1800, iv. 156, entitled '*On the seas and far away. Tune, O'er the hills, &c.*' Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1805, 261. The MS. is in Brechin Castle. Sent to Thomson August 30, 1794. Later Burns withdrew the song saying that making a song 'is like begetting a son: you cannot know whether you have a wise man or a fool, until you produce him to the world and try him.' Thomson omitted the second stanza, and for a chorus repeated the first without variation. Burns was not much attached to this melody of doubtful origin, which belongs to a song referring to the wars in Queen Anne's reign, entitled, *Jockey's Lamentation*, printed with the tune in Durfey's *Pills*, edition 1709 and 1719, v. 326. Ramsay published an altered version in the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1725, beginning 'Jockey met with Jenny fair.' In the Pepsysian library is a black letter ballad in Scottish orthography printed about 1660 entitled *The wind hath blown my plaid away: or, a discourse betwixt a young man and the Elphin Knight to be sung to its own new pleasant tune.* The last line of every

stanza repeats the title *The wind hath blown my plaid away* which was probably an early name for *O'er the fields and far away*, very popular in England and did service in several operas of the eighteenth century.

The tune is in *Atkinson's MS.* 1694; *Sinkler's MS.*, 1710, entitled *My plaid away*; *Watts's Musical Miscellany*, 1730, iii. 192; *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, c. 1755, vii. 23; *McGibbon's Scots Tunes*, 1768, iv. 97; *Aird's Airs*, 1782, ii. No. 29; *Scots Musical Museum*, 1787, No. 62; and other musical collections.

**No. 258. There was on a time.** *Currie, Works*, 1800, iv. 354, entitled *Caledonia*. 'Tune: *Caledonian Hunt's delight*.' The MS. is in the Watson collection. The following letter, dated Jan. 23, 1789, was addressed to James Johnson of the *Scots Musical Museum*, enclosing a copy of the song 'I shall be in Edinburgh, my dear sir, in about a month, when we shall overhaul the whole collection and report progress. The foregoing I hope will suit the excellent air it is designed for.' The song was not printed in the *Museum*, because, I conjecture, Burns afterwards furnished a much better song—*The banks o' Doon* for the tune. See No. 123.

**No. 259. Dces haughty Gaul invasion threat?** *Currie, Works*, 1800, iv. 385, entitled *The Dumfries Volunteers*. Tune, *Push about the jorum*. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1803, No. 546. Burns was suspected of holding treasonable opinions, and he suffered for railing at the constitution. But he was decidedly of the opinion that British wrongs should be righted by British hands. The French Convention menaced the country in the early part of 1795, and two companies of volunteers were raised in Dumfries as a defence against invasion. Burns became a member, and shouldered the musket and pike. The irony of fate hemmed him in over this business. As a suspected rebel he was officially censured and reduced. But it is curious to note that his death was accelerated through patriotism. The most pathetic letter in his correspondence is that of June 12, 1796, nine days before his death, to his uncle James Burness, Writer, Montrose, begging a loan of ten pounds by return of post to save him from an attachment by the unpaid tailor who supplied his volunteer uniform. The ballad *The Dumfries Volunteers*, with music composed by Stephen Clarke, was printed on a sheet in March, 1795, for circulation among the volunteers. Thomson, in *Select Melodies*, set it to *Get up and bar the door*. But as stated by Currie it was written for *Push about the jorum*, a popular English melody, composed about 1770 for a song in the opera of *The Golden Pippin*. It is a good marching air with a free swing. This is the first time the *Dumfries Volunteers* has been printed with its proper tune, entitled *The jorum* in *Campbell's Reels*, 1778, 33; and *Push about the jorum* in *Aird's Airs*, 1782, i. No. 111. The tune was a particular favourite of Burns. In the *Merry Muses* three different songs are marked for it. This patriotic song with its tune has the true Burnsian ring; and although the events which produced it are now only historical the vehemence of the poet can still be felt.

**No. 260. As I stood by yon roofless tower.** *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 405, signed 'B.' Tune, *Cumnock Psalms*, named on the MS., is in the British Museum. The verses are known as *The minstrel of Lincluden*. Burns was wont to walk and muse among the ruins of the Abbey, situated on the angle of land at the junction of the Cluden with the Nith, about a mile and a half north of Dumfries. Pennant gives a description of this collegiate Church in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, which is accompanied with a fine engraving of the ruin. Parts of the chancel and nave were all that remained in Burns's time. Margaret, daughter of Robert III, the wife of Archibald Earl of Douglas, son of Bell-the-cat, is buried in the chancel.

The stanza and curious tune which Burns appropriated for the *Minstrel of Lincluden*, was known as *The grey goose and the gled* from an old erotic song of that name. Stephen Clarke transcribed the music for Burns, and in a letter

to Thomson about September, 1794. the poet writes: 'Mr. Clarke says that the tune is positively an old chant of the Romish Church, which corroborates the old tradition that at the Reformation, the Reformers burlesqued much of the old church music. As a further proof, the common name for this song is *Cummock Psalms*.' As shown in Note 212, Bishop Percy first accentuated this myth. A song for the tune is in the *Merry Muses* and it is very unlikely that Thomson knew it. The origin of the tune *Cummock Psalms* is obscure. It is framed upon no existing type of Scottish music, and it stands alone. It is chiefly recitative, with only the rudiments of a modern melody and a compass not extending beyond a musical fifth.

No. 261. The laddies by the banks o' Nith. In *The Spirit of British Song*, 1826, ii. 53, and Cunningham's *Burns*, 1834, entitled 'Election Ballad for Westerha.' In this second election ballad of 1789, the poet openly sympathizes with the Tory candidate. The Duke of Queensberry is held up to derision. Burns had a very poor opinion of the character of the Whig candidate, the son of his landlord. He is not named in the ballad but he is described in a letter to Graham of Fintry as 'a youth by no means above mediocrity in his abilities, and is said to have a huckster lust for shillings, pennies and farthings.' For a Note on the tune *Up and waur them a' Willie*; or, *Up and waur a'*, see No. 283.

No. 262. As I cam down the banks o' Nith. *Centenary Edition*, 1896, ii. 398. The MS. is in the possession of Lord Rosebery. This is another version of the preceding ballad for the tune of *The black watch*, for which see Song No. 269.

The two series of Election ballads which Burns wrote to assist his friends are not printed here in chronological order for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain. This and the preceding are the second and third of the election of 1789; and No. 267 'There was five Carlins in the South' is the first. After the close of the election in 1790 the exasperated Burns addressed to Graham of Fintry a vigorous invective chiefly directed against the Duke of Queensberry who supported the Whigs. It begins 'Fintry my stay in worldly strife,' and is in the metre of Suckling's celebrated ballad 'I tell thee, Dick, where I have been,' and can be sung to that melody, but as Burns did not name any tune for his ballad, and evidently had no mind that it should be sung, it is not in this collection. The various versions can be seen either in the Edinburgh, 1877 edition or the Centenary edition of his *Works*. The ballads of the 1795-6 contest are in order of time as follows—our Nos. 275, 270, 274 and 273. The result of this election was not known at the time Burns died.

No. 263. Farewell to the Highlands. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 259, signed 'Z.' Tune *Faillte na miosg*. The MS. is in the British Museum. 'The first half stanza of this song is old; the rest is mine': (*Interleaved Museum*). 'Mr. Burns's old words,' (Law's *MS. L. list.*) C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe refers to the original as a broadside of seven stanzas and a chorus entitled *The strong walls of Derry*. The ballad is a mixture of Scottish and Irish affairs of the eighteenth century, and the fifth stanza is the chorus of *My heart's in the Highlands*. The ballad was a favourite of Sir Walter Scott, who sometimes sung it to his friends at convivial meetings. Nature had not endowed the great novelist with the gift of true intonation—he was what the Scots call 'timmer-tun'd'—so he very properly confined himself to vocal performances with his intimates only, and at the stage of the proceedings suggested in the following chorus of the ballad.

'There is many a word spoken, but few of the best,  
And he that speaks fairest, lives longest at rest;  
I speak by experience—my mind serves me so,  
But my heart's in the highlands wherever I go.

*Chorus.* Let us drink and go hame, drink and go hame,  
If we stay any longer we'll get a bad name.  
We'll get a bad name, and we'll fill ourselves fon,  
And the strong walls of Derry it's ill to go through.'

The tune *Faillte na miosg* or *The musket salute* is Celtic. The second part is inferior to the opening four lines, and is probably an excrescence. The tune is in Oswald's *Curious Collection Scots Tunes*, 1740, 39, and the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1743, i. 22. English and foreign composers have set to original music these melodious verses of Burns.

No. 264. Fareweel to a<sup>r</sup> our Scottish fame. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 378, entitled *Such a parcel of rogues in a nation*. The original MS. is in the British Museum. 'Mr. B— words,' (Gray's *MS. Lists*). An invective in twenty-seven stanzas entitled *Upon the rogues in Parliament, 1704* is in Maidment's *Scottish Pasquils*, 1868, 379. The union of the two countries was execrated in Scotland, except among the Whig nobles. The Commissioners who carried through the treaty were styled the thirty-one rogues, and were made targets for the most bitter satire, and held up individually to public ridicule. The rhyming ware of that period is not very well known. I quote the penultimate stanza of *The Rogues Pasquil*.

'In such an array of rogues Argyle may come in,  
Whose blood bears the stain of original sin,  
And if he's like to go on, as they did begin,  
Then he'll follow the fate of his grandsire.'

*The Curse*, written and circulated immediately after the Union was completed, is still more violent, and swears at large. It is as follows:—

<p>'Scotland and England now must be United in one nation; So we again must perjured be, And talk the abjuration. The Stuarts antient true born race, We must now all give over; We must receive into their place, The mungrells of Hanöver. Curst be the papists who first drew Our King to their persuasion; Curst be the covenanting crew, Who gave the first occasion To strangers to ascend the throne, By a Stuart's abdication!</p>	<p>Curst be the wretch who seized his throne And marred our Constitution; Curst be all those who helped on Our cursed Revolution! Curst be those treacherous traitors who, By their perfidious knaverie, Have brought the nation now unto Ane everlasting slaverie! Curst be the Parliament that day They gave the Confirmation; And curst for ever be all they Shall swear the abjuration.'</p>
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Lockhart of Carnwath states the amounts paid by England to each of the Scottish Union Commissioners—the thirty-one rogues. The blood money ranged from £1104 15s. 7d. paid to the Earl of Marchmont down to Lord Banff, the most easily squared traitor, who agreed to dispose of himself for £11 2s. sterling besides throwing in his religion, in order that he might qualify himself to act. The key note of the stanzas of Burns is that what could not be effected by reason or force, was at last obtained by gold and guile.

The model of Burns's verse has been lost, and no existing song fits the rhythm of the tune. *A parcel of rogues in a nation* is in Oswald's *Companion*, 1752, iv. 26, and in M<sup>r</sup>Gibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 19.

On the *Museum* manuscript of the song Burns wrote, 'I enclose what I think the best set of the tune,' but this like nearly all Burns's musical MS. has disappeared.

No. 265. The Thames flows proudly to the sea. *Scots Musical*

*Museum*, 1790, No. 295, signed 'B,' entitled *The Banks of Nith*. 'Tune, *Robie donna gorach*' (Daft Robin). Burns intended this air for his verses, but although it is so marked in the *Museum*, the music of the *Banks of Nith*, the composition of Robert Riddell was engraved instead. In the *Law MS.* the direction is '*The Banks of Nith—Tune, Robie donna gorach*. Mr. Burns's words.' The verses are now for the first time set in the text with the proper tune. It may be stated here that *The Captive Ribband* beginning 'Dear Myra the Captive ribband's mine,' which for sixty years has been printed as a song of Burns, is the work of Dr. Blacklock. As may be seen in the *Law MS.* the holograph note of Burns is 'Dr. B— gave the words,' which definitely settles the question. This song, No. 257 in the *Museum*, is set to *Robie donna gorach*, hence the substitution of another tune for that in our text.

The Celtic air is in *McFarlane's MS.* c. 1740; in Dow's *Scottish Music*, c. 1776, 25; and Mc'Donald's *Highland Airs*, 1784, 25.

**No. 266.** When wild war's deadly blast was blawn. In Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1793, i. 22. 'Written for this Work by Robert Burns.' Air, *The mill, mill O'*. In September, 1792, Thomson asked Burns to touch up and amend the verses of a song in Ramsay's *Miscellany*, but Burns declined to have anything to do with such insipid stuff. He declared he would alter no song unless he could amend it. Thomson had been pegging at the poet to write in English and got the following reply in April, 1793: 'These verses suit the tune exactly as it is in the *Museum*. There is a syllable wanting at the beginning of the first line of the second stanza; but I suppose it will make little odds. There is so little of the Scots language in the composition that the mere English singer will find no difficulty in the song.' Thomson maintained that the third and fourth lines must be altered in order to suit the music. Burns declined to make any change. 'I cannot alter the disputed lines in *The mill, mill O*. What you think a defect I esteem as a positive beauty.' Thomson substituted two lines of his own for the third and fourth of Burns. Currie, in *Works*, 1800, iv. 50, restored Burns's words. The original, or at least a song evidently prior to Ramsay's, is in the *Merry Muses*, beginning:—

'Chorus. The Mill, Mill O, and the kill, kill, O,  
 And the coggin o' Peggie's wheel O,  
 The sack and the sieve, and a' she did leave,  
 And danc'd the Millers reel, O.  
 As I cam down yon waterside,  
 And by yon shellin-hill, O,  
 There I spied a bonie, bonie lass,  
 And a lass that I lov'd right weel, O.'

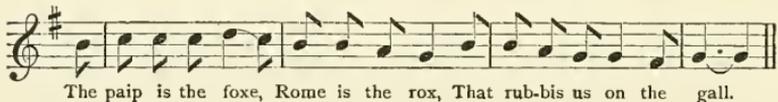
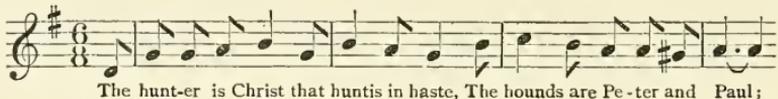
Cromek interpolated in *Reliques* these verses with a note, neither of which is in the *Interleaved Museum*. A version is in Herd's *MS.*, and there is a second song of the kind in the *Merry Muses*, which obviously Cromek had consulted.

The tune was very popular in the eighteenth century. It is in *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1725, No. 20; Ramsay's *Musick*, c. 1726; Watts's *Musical Miscellany*, 1731, vi. 76; Mc'Gibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1746, 14; *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1751, iii. 2; Bremner's *Scots Songs*, 1757, 30; *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 242, and many other collections. It is said to be in a *MS.* of 1709.

**No. 267.** There was five carlins in the South. Stewart's *Burns*, 1802. Lockhart, *Life*, 1829, entitled, *The five carlins*. Tune. *Chevy chase*. A *MS.* is in the British Museum. Written on the contested election of a member of Parliament for the five boroughs in the shires of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. Dumfries is 'Maggie by the banks o' Nith'; Lochmaben, 'Marjory o' the monie lochs'; Annan, 'Blinkin Bess'; Kirkcudbright, 'Whisky Jean'; and

Sanquhar, 'Black Joan.' The candidates were the sitting Tory member, Sir James Johnston, of Wester-hall—the 'belted knight,' and Captain Patrick Miller—the 'Soger Youth'—son of Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, Burns's landlord. As will be seen elsewhere Burns actively supported the Tory side, chiefly because 'Old Q,' the notorious Duke of Queensberry, assisted the Whigs. On December 9, 1789, a copy of the ballad was sent with a letter to Graham of Fintry. 'The election Ballad, as you will see, alludes to the present canvass in our string of burghs. I do not believe there will be a harder run match in the whole general election. The *great man* here, like all renegadoes, is a flaming zealot kicked out before the astonished indignation of his deserted master, and despised, I suppose, by the party who took him in, to be a mustering faggot at the mysterious orgies of their midnight iniquities, and a useful drudge in the dirty work of the country elections. . . . Dumfries and Sanquhar are decidedly the Duke's to 'sell or let'; so Lochmaben, a city containing upwards of fourscore living souls, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left—for drunkenness—has at present the balance of power in her hands. The honourable council of that ancient burgh, are fifteen in number; but alas! their fifteen names endorsing a bill of fifteen pounds, would not discount the said bill in any banking office.'

The tune in the text—the Scottish *Chevy Chase*—is in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, 1830. It is in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1753, v. 32; in M<sup>c</sup>Gibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1768, iv, 108; and in Dale's *Scotch Songs*, 1794, i. 54. How long it was known before the earliest date named is quite uncertain, and it is useless to speculate. At least three different English tunes of the name are known. The earliest is entitled *Flying Fame*, because it is directed to be sung to the oldest copy of the *Chevy Chase* ballads. The next, with the distinctive title of *The Children in the wood*, belongs to the well-known ballad of that name. It is the traditional melody of the gravedigger in Hamlet, the music of which can be seen in song No. 274 below. The third is *In pescod time*; or, *The hunt's up*. The unravelling of the history of these three melodies can be seen in Chappell's *Popular music*, and because the last is connected with Scotland as the melody of one of the *Gude and Godlie Ballads*, I subjoin the music of *The hunt's up*, with a stanza of the curious parody:—



**No. 268. You're welcome to despots, Dumourier.** Cromeek's *Reliques* 1808, 421. Entitled 'Address to General Dumourier:—a parody on *Robin Adair*.' General Dumourier, like General Monk and the Marquis of Montrose, began his military career as a rebel, but changed sides in the course of the game. Dumourier was one of the best generals of the French Revolution, but, events proving distasteful to him, he abjured Republican principles. As soon as he heard that the Directory proposed to arrest him, he took refuge in Austrian quarters and nearly succeeded in bringing his army with him. He is briefly and picturesquely described by Carlyle 'A most shifty wiry man; one of Heaven's Swiss: that wanted only work. Fifty years of unnoticed toil and valour; one year of toil and valour not unnoticed, but seen of all countries and centuries, the thirty other years again unnoticed, of memoir writing, English Pension, scheming and projecting to no purpose.'

The model of Burns's 'Impromptu' is a bacchanalian closing thus :—

'Come let us drink about, Robin Adair,  
Come let us drink about, Robin Adair,  
Come let us drink about, and drink a hogshead out,  
Then we'll be drunk, no doubt, Robin Adair.'

For the tune *Robin Adair* or *Aileen a roon*, see Song No. 45.

No. 269. When Guilford good our pilot stood. *Edinburgh Edition*, 1787, 311, entitled, 'a fragment.—Tune: Gillicrankie.' In *Scots Musical Museum*, 1788, ii. No. 101, it is set to the tune in the text according to the instructions of Burns contained in Gray's *MS. Lists*. It is the first song in the *Museum* over which he had control, and he changed the melody because *Killicrankie* had already been printed in the collection. The ballad refers to events between 1775 and the close of 1783 in Canada and North America. Pitt became Premier in December, 1783, after the fall of the Coalition ministry of North and Fox. There are Hogarthian touches in most of the political ballads of Burns, and Pitt's rival is well drawn in the two lines :—

'An' Charlie Fox threw by the box  
An' lows'd his tinkler jaw, man.'

Fox is said to have often come straight from the gaming room knee-deep in cards to the House of Commons.

The Gaelic tune, *M. freicedan* or *The black watch* is entitled *The highland watch* in Dow's *Ancient Scots Music*, c. 1776, 42, and *The Earl of Glencairn's* in Mc'Glashan's *Strathspey Reels*, 1780, 6. The 42nd Regiment or *The black watch* was embodied to keep down rebellion in the Highlands.

No. 270. *Fy, let us a' to Kirkcudbright*. *Broadside 1795*; Cunningham's *Burns*, 1834. Tune *Fy, let us a' to the bridal*. The first seven stanzas satirize and ridicule the opposite political party; and the rest, except the closing lines, eulogize the Whig candidate. The butchering invective is not nearly so amusing as *The holy fair* or *Orthodox who believe in John Knox*. Lockhart declined to print some of these political ballads in his *Life of Burns*, 1828, on the ground that 'perhaps some of the persons lashed and ridiculed are still alive—their children certainly are so'. These reasons cannot now be advanced, and Time has solved the propriety of printing them. The ballad which gave its name to the tune is in Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Poems*, Edin. 1706, the first miscellaneous collection of poetry published in Scotland. The first stanza is :—

'Fy, let us a' to the briddel,  
For there will be lirting there,  
For Jockie 's to be married to Maggie  
The lass with the gauden-hair;  
And there will be lang-kail and pottage  
And bannocks of Barley-meal,  
And there will be good salt herring  
To relish a cog of good ale.'

This song and the tune *The blythsome Wedding* or *Fy, let us a' to the bridal*, are in the *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1725, No. 36, the music is in Craig's *Scots Tunes*, 1730, 41, entitled *An the Kirk wad let me be*; the *Scots Musical Museum*, 1787, No. 58; Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, 1794, i. 208; Dale's *Scotch Songs*, 1794, iii. 141; also in Mc'Gibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 32, and Aird's *Airs*, 1782, i. No. 123. The modern copies of the music differ considerably from the older, as indeed they do between themselves. Durfey printed a paraphrase of *The blythsome Wedding* in *Pills*, 1720, vi. 350. The editor's ignorance of the Scottish vernacular produced a cacophonous parody of meaningless words. The tune in the *Pills*, although from the same source as that in the

*Orpheus Caledonius*, 1725, differs particularly in the chorus. The oldest verses to *The blythsome bridal*, or *Kirk wad let me be* are in Herd's *Scots Songs*, 1769, 114, and several songs in Ramsay's *Miscellany* are marked for the tune. The title *Silly old man* in Walsh's *Caledonian Country Dances* coincides with a song referred to in Cromek's *Reliques*, 253, as part of an interlude performed in Nithsdale.

No. 271. O Logan, sweetly didst thou glide. Currie, *Works*, 1800, iv. 74. 'Tune, *Logan Water*.' Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1801, 116. Two stanzas, of which the following is the first, is in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, 1776, ii. 230, and in the *Merry Muses*. It is not a plaintive song:—

'The Logan burn, the Logan braes,  
I help'd a bonie lass on wi' her claes,  
First wi' her stockings, and syne wi' her shoon,  
But she gied me the glaiks when a' was dune.'

A different song in Ramsay's *Miscellany* is marked for the tune. Several ballads to the tune *Logan Water* were popular in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. About 1675, a white letter ballad was printed for C. Bates and Jonah Deacon, entitled *The Frolicsome wager*, the first line of which is 'Behold what noise is this I hear, to the tune *Logan Water*.' Also printed about the same time is a black letter broadside, containing two ballads, *The Devonshire Damsels frolick* and *The Devonshire Boys Courage*. The latter is 'To an excellent new tune call'd the *Devonshire Boys Delight* or the *Liggan Waters*, &c.' The popularity of the tune is confirmed in another broadside of the seventeenth century entitled '*The bonny Scottish lad and the yielding Lass to an excellent new Tune much in request called Liggan Waters*.' One of the stanzas in dialogue form is here given as a specimen:—

'Bonny lass, I love thee well,  
'Bonny lad, I love thee better.'  
'Wilt thou pull off thy hose and shoon  
And wend with me to Liggan Water?'

This evidently is connected with the verse previously quoted. The author of *The Seasons* wrote a song for the tune which is in the *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1733; lastly, about the year 1781, John Mayne, the author of *The Siller Gun*, wrote *By Logan's Streams that rin sae deep*, &c., often sung publicly in London about the end of eighteenth century. Burns incorrectly thought that this latter was old, and incorporated two lines of it in his own song which he forwarded in a letter dated June 25, 1793, to Thomson, who thanked him for it, but, being a government official and not likely to interfere in politics, handed it to Currie.

The tune *Logan Water* is in Ramsay's *Musick*, c. 1726; *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1733, No. 23; McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1742, 35; *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1753, v. 18; *Scots Musical Museum*, 1787, No. 42; Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, 1794, i. 37; and in many other collections. A very emasculated set of the tune entitled *The Logan water is so deep* in the opera *Flora*, 1729, contains only four lines of music.

No. 272. Farewell, thou fair day. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 385, entitled *Oran an Aoi* or *The Song of Death*; Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1799, 76, with a wrong tune. 'The circumstance that gave rise to the verses was—looking over with a musical friend McDonald's *Collection of Highland Airs* (1784), I was struck with one, an Isle of Skye tune, entitled *Oran an Aoi*, or *The Song of Death*, to the measure of which I have adapted my verses.'—*Letter to Mrs. Dunlop*, undated (May, 1791). The short prefatory note usually printed with the song is an interpolation for which there is no authority.

Dr. Currie states that Burns intended to print the song with music in sheet form, but owing to the inflammable state of the country was dissuaded from doing so.

This beautiful melody is in Mc Donald's *Airs*, 1784, No. 162; Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, 1794, ii. 259.

**No. 273.** *Wha will buy my troggin?* Cunningham's *Edition*, 1834, entitled 'The trogger, tune, *Buy broom besoms*.' The Parliament elected in 1795 was dissolved in May, 1796, and Heron of Heron was again cast on another turbulent political sea. This time he was opposed by the Hon. Montgomery Stewart, a younger son of the Earl of Galloway. Burns, although confined to the house by severe illness, assisted his friend with *The trogger*. Before the election took place Burns was dead. Heron won, but was unseated on a petition and died shortly afterwards.

To appreciate the satire it is necessary to remember that a 'trogger' or 'troker,' is the Autolycus of Scotland. The word is an example of French influence on the Scottish language. *Troquer* means to exchange, to barter, to do business on a small scale. The two following examples from Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* illustrate the term :—

'How could you *troke* the mavis note  
For penny pies all piping hot.'—*Ferguson*.

'Nae harm, tho I hae brought her ane or twa  
Sic bonny *trocks* to help to mak her braw.'—*Shirrefs*.

The tune *Buy broom besoms* is ascribed without authority to William Purvis or Blind Willie, an eccentric blind fiddler, born in Newcastle, 1752. *Buy broom besoms* was Willy's *chef d'œuvre* in the streets and public houses that he frequented. He died in the Newcastle poor house in 1832 upwards of 80 years of age. The music of the text is from *Northumberland Minstrelsy*, 1882, 118. The fact of Burns having written his ballad for the tune is evidence that it was popular in the south of Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century. It is not in any Scottish collection.

The characters in this, the last election ballad written by Burns, are as follows :—Stanza 2 : The Earl of Galloway, a sour Puritan whom Burns did not love. His son was the Tory candidate. St. 3 :—Murray of Broughton, who eloped with a lady and left his wife; Thomas Gordon of Balmaghie, his nephew. St. 4 : A Galloway laird, David Maxwell of Cardoness, whom Burns described as 'a stupid, money-loving dunderpate.' St. 6 and 11 : John Bushby of Tinwald, a lawyer and a banker. St. 7 : Rev. James Muirhead of Urr, who satirized Burns in an epigram. He invented a crest and armorial bearings. St. 8 : Walter Sloan Lawrie, of Redcastle. St. 9 : Douglas of Carlinwark, which latterly was changed to Castle Douglas. St. 10 : Copeland of Colliciston. St. 12 : The Devil.

**No. 274.** 'Twas in the seventeen hunder year. Hogg and Motherwell's *Edition*, 1834 (with the exception of three stanzas), entitled *John Busby's lamentation*. Tune : *Babes in the wood*. Written to celebrate the election of the Whig candidate Heron of Kerroughtrees. *Black-nebbit* John Bushby was a solicitor and bank agent, a man of capacity whose taste lay in money-making. Burns was an unsympathetic acquaintance, and, when in an opposite camp, he attacked his quondam friend without reluctance. (For reference to tune see No. 267.)

**No. 275.** *Wham will we send to London town?* *Broadside*, 1795; Cunningham's *Edition*, 1834. This is another ballad belonging to the local politics of the early part of 1795. With characteristic fervour Burns threw himself into the midst of the election warfare. The Stewarty of Kirkcudbright was in want of a parliamentary representative, and a friend of the poet, Heron of that Ilk and Kerroughtrees, became the Whig candidate.

He was opposed by a Tory, Thomas Gordon of Balmaghie, who had the support of most of the landed proprietors of the district. Burns knew most of the principal supporters on the other side, and his personal aversion to some of them whetted his pen. In his only known letter to Heron early in 1795 he sent a copy of this and No. 270 *supra*, which had been previously printed in broadsides for circulation among the electors. He informs Heron: 'In order to bring my humble efforts to bear with more effect on the foe, I have privately printed a good many copies of both ballads, and have sent them among friends all over the country. . . You have already as your auxiliary the sober detestation of mankind on the head of your opponents; and I swear by the lyre of Thalia to muster on your side all the votaries of honest laughter and fair, candid ridicule!' Whether it is fair or not, there can be no question of the candidness of the ridicule. In these ballads we get a glimpse of the manners and high jinks at parliamentary elections a hundred years ago.

For the tune *For a' that*, see Songs Nos. 252 and 309.

No. 276. *Dire was the hate at old Harlaw.* Cromek's *Reliques*, 1808, 416, entitled '*The Dean of Faculty*. A new ballad. Tune, *The dragon of Wantley*.' The last stanza is wanting in Cromek. The MS. is in the British Museum. Towards the close of 1795 the ferment of politics was very brisk in Scotland. Henry Erskine, the eloquent Dean of Faculty and the most brilliant member of the Scottish bar, presided at a public meeting in Edinburgh to discuss political reform. His action displeased the members of the Edinburgh Bar, and at the next election of a Dean, Robert Dundas, the mediocre son of a distinguished father, was nominated and was elected by a large majority. Burns had an old score to settle with the new Dean, who slighted him in 1787. At the instigation of the physician of the late Lord President Dundas, who had then just died, Burns wrote a eulogy and sent it to the son in a letter. Neither the poem nor the letter was acknowledged, and in writing the pungent satire *Dire was the hate*, Burns was paying tribute to his old friend and adviser, the witty Henry Erskine, and scoring off Robert Dundas. The first line of the ballad refers to the battle of Harlaw, which took place in 1411 at Garioch in Aberdeenshire, between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders. It is celebrated in minstrelsy, and is memorable as being the last contest for political supremacy in Scotland between the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon races. Next to Bannockburn it was the most decisive battle in Scottish history. The ballad of *Harlaw* is named in the *Complaynt of Scotland* c. 1549, and an old pibroch bears the title, the tune of which in a modern form set to verses printed by Allan Ramsay in 1724 is in the *Scots Musical Museum*, No. 512.

The latter part of the first couplet of Burns's verses refers to the Battle of Langside, which determined the career in Scotland of Mary Queen of Scots. After this short introduction the poet proceeds to impale the new Dean and his heretic supporters.

The tune and ballad of *The Dragon of Wantley* are in Duffey's *Pills*, 1719, iii, 10. The words alone in *A Collection of old ballads*, 1723, 37, entitled *An excellent Ballad of a most dreadful combat fought between Moore of Moore-hall and the Dragon of Wantley*. The verses are coarse, but the wit and humour are undeniable and superior to the ordinary class of narrative ballads. A specimen is the following stanza:—

'This dragon had two furious wings,  
 Each one upon each shoulder;  
 With a sting in his tail, as long as a flail,  
 Which made him bolder and bolder.  
 He had long claws, and in his jaws  
 Four and forty teeth of iron;  
 With a hide as tough, as any buff,  
 Which did him round environ.'

The ballad certainly belongs to the seventeenth century. A black letter copy is in the Pepys collection, which is reproduced in Child's *Ballads*, 1861, viii. 128, where the editor says that he thinks it a parody of some early heroic tale. This is the first time Burns's ballad has been printed with its tune, which, it is needless to say, is English.

