

VIII. JACOBITE.

No. 277. When first my brave Johnie lad. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 309, entitled *Cock up your beaver*. The MS. not in Burns's hand, is in the British Museum. A fragment of the old song is in Herd's *Scots Songs*, 1769, 314. Burns made a few alterations in the first stanza, the second being entirely his.

The tune was popular in England as a *Scotch dance* in the seventeenth century. It is printed in the seventh edition of Playford's *Dancing Master*, 1686, also edition 1695, entitled *Johnny cock thy beaver*. It is also in Atkinson's *MS.*, 1694; in Durfey's *Pills*, 1719, i. 332, set to a semi-political song beginning 'To horse brave boys of Newmarket, to horse'; in *Sinkler's MS.*, Glasgow, 1710; in Oswald's *Companion*, c. 1755, vii. 2; and in McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 20.

No. 278. Our thrissles flourish'd fresh and fair. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 263, entitled *Awa, whigs, awa*. The MS. is not among the Burns papers in the British Museum. In Law's *MS. List*, 'Mr. Burns's old words.' In the fourth stanza Burns is indignant against the enemies of the Jacobites, for with all his democratic feeling he could not escape from his Jacobite proclivities. The Union in his day was not accepted as favourable to his country—the pride of the nation rebelled against occupying an inferior position. The feeling was expressed on the slightest provocation whether over the taxation of beer barrels, or a suggestion to abolish Bank notes. Sir Walter Scott astonished the Parliament of St. Stephen's by his furious attack on the proposal to amend the paper currency established for more than 150 years when the country was independent. In spite of Burns's feeble apologies for writing up the Jacobite cause, he embodied his sentiments in all the Jacobite songs, although this one like some of the others was not acknowledged.

The original of Burns's song is eight lines in the *Herd MS.* as follows:—

And when they cam by Gorgie Mills
They lickèd a' the mouter,
The bannocks lay about there
Like bandoliers and powder;
Awa, whigs, awa!
Awa, whigs, awa!
Ye're but a pack o' lazy louns,
Ye'll do nae guid ava!

Awa, whigs, awa, is still a very popular melody which was originally published in Oswald's *Companion*, 1754, vi. 19 without a second part and without the sharp minor seventh near the close of the fourth line. The tune is also in Aird's *Airs*, 1788, iii. No. 411. Another and different air is in *Songs Prior to Burns*, page 72 which R. Chambers said was sung to the song in the house of a Perthshire Jacobite family.

No. 279. Now Nature hangs her mantle green. *Edinburgh Edition*, 1793, ii. 177; entitled 'Lament of Mary Queen of Scots on the approach of Spring'; *Scots Musical Museum*, 1797, No. 404, signed 'B.' The first copy was enclosed to Dr. John Moore in a letter dated February, 27, 1791, while

Burns was reading Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Copies were sent to several other friends. Burns was particularly pleased with the ballad—a class of poetry he was not much attached to,—and he told Lady Constable ‘When I would interest my fancy in the distresses incident to humanity, I shall remember the unfortunate Mary. I enclose a poetic compliment I lately paid to the memory of our greatly injured, lovely Scottish Queen.’ He writes in the same strain to Mrs. Graham, and to Clarinda when sending them copies.

The ballad was printed in the *Museum* with the melody which Burns communicated to the editor.

A song *Queen Mary's lamentation* ‘I sigh and lament me in vain,’ with a melody by Giordani, is well known: but neither words nor music have any relation to the ballad of Burns. The absorbing interest in Queen Mary is the excuse for noticing here the fabricated verses so long attributed to her on bidding adieu to her beloved France. The song was written by Meusnier de Querlon and first printed in his *Anthologie Françoise*, 1765, i. 19, with music. He pretended that he obtained it from a manuscript of the Duke of Buckingham, which has never been discovered. His countryman, Fournier exposed this and other of Querlon's tricks, and Charles dubs the song ‘rimes barbares.’ As a curiosity—the following are the original verses in the rare *Anthologie* :—

‘Adieu, plaisir pays de France,
O ma patrie,
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France, adieu mes beaux jours.
La Nef qui déjoint nos amours
N'a cy de moi que la moitié:
Une part te reste, elle est tienne;
Je la fie à ton amitié,
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne.’

No. 280. O, cam ye here the fight to shun? *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 282, entitled *The battle of Sherra-moor*: ‘Mr. B. gave the words,’ Tunc, *Cameronian Rant*. Law’s MS. List. The battle of Sheriffmuir was fought on Sunday, November 13, 1715, between the Government forces commanded by the Duke of Argyle, and the rebels under the Earl of Mar. The battle was drawn, both sides claiming the victory, and the peculiar humour of the country which delighted to treat matters of serious political import in a ridiculous manner, chose this event as the subject of ballads to satirize both sides in an impartial manner. The two armies approached each other on the broad muir between the Ochils and the Grampians. It is an undulating platform of gentle hummocky hills, and neither army saw very clearly the position and movements of the other. When the forces came into collision, it was discovered that the right wing of each was the strongest. The rebels outnumbered the Government army, but lost the advantage by rushing the attack before the arrangements were completed.

Sir Walter Scott described how the Highlanders behaved in a campaign. While on the field they would desert in three cases: if much time was lost in bringing them into action, they would get tired and go home; if they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home; if they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home. These tactics were obviously perplexing and inconvenient to the leaders, but they were practised in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and explain how the rebel armies in both cases rapidly melted away. The ballad recites, as the only thing certain, that a battle was fought, and both sides ran away, but who won or who lost, the satirical rhymers knows not.

The Clan Campbell in general was much in evidence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was famed for making an intelligent forecast of events

with a view to promoting personal advancement. The enormous extent of territory in the possession of the family, stretching right across Scotland from sea to sea, is proof of inherited worldly wisdom. In 1715 the Duke of Argyle led the Government army; his kinsman, Breadalbane, the second great branch of the family, hedged and made himself safe whatever might happen. He secretly arranged with the rebels to bring twelve hundred active men on the field, but only three hundred arrived, and they merely surveyed the battle from a distance. When the war was over Breadalbane claimed a reward from the Government for having prevented his men taking part in the rebellion. It was an ingenious device to claim compensation for benevolent neutrality. Breadalbane is described thus by a contemporary—‘of fair complexion and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel.’ The celebrated Rob Roy—one of the clan—was a chip of the same block. He also was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir with his caterans. He sympathized with the Pretender, but was restrained from assisting the rebels, it is said, for fear of giving offence to his protector the Duke of Argyle. Rob stood on an eminence watching the progress of the battle as described in a stanza of one of the ballads. He was pressed to assist, but he coolly replied, ‘if they cannot do without me, they cannot do with me,’ and remained inactive. When the battle was over he and his followers impartially spoiled the wounded and dead on both sides, and went home laden with plunder.

The battle of Sheriffmuir practically closed the rebellion of 1715; when James arrived in the country and landed at Peterhead a few months later, his adherents were perplexed what to do with him, as they had no further plans for continuing the war, and the Pretender did not inspire the Highlanders with enthusiasm. As Burton observes, their principles of Royal Succession or Divine right of reigning were never very strong unless the personal character or appearance of the monarch coincided with these decrees of Providence. In this case they saw a small wizened man, listless, feeble, inanimate, with a body shaken by dissipation. This representative of the old race of the fair-haired Stuarts, was a little dark-complexioned man. They took unkindly to him from the first time they saw him, and in less than three months from landing on the shores of Scotland, he had embarked and returned to France. The following scurrilous description of his defects and suspected spurious origin extracted from a contemporary pamphlet, is worth reproduction, and shows that the Whigs were not altogether devoid of humour as has so often been alleged. ‘Whereas one James Stewart, alias Oglethrope, alias Chevalier, alias Pretender, alias King, alias No King; neither Caesar nor Nullus; neither a man nor a mouse, a man’s man nor a woman’s man, nor a statesman, nor a little man, nor a great man, neither Englishman nor Frenchman, but a mongrelion between both; neither wise nor otherwise; neither soldier nor sailor, nor cardinal: without father or mother, without friend or foe, without foresight or aftersight, without brains or bravery, without house or home, made in the figure of a man, but just alive and that’s all; hath clandestinely lately eloped from his friends through a back door and has not been seen or heard of since . . . and whereas the said alias pretended to come here, to watch and fight, to bring men and money with him to train an army and march at the head of them, to fight battles and besiege towns, but in reality did none of these, but skulked and whined, and speeched and cryed, stole to his head quarters by night, went away before morning, and having smelled gunpowder and dreamed of an enemy, burnt the country and ran away by the light of it,’ &c. &c.

It is a common remark that all the wit and humour of the Jacobite period was confined to the supporters of the Stuarts. This is scarcely correct, for any one can see some good Whiggish songs in *Political Merriment*, London, 1714.

Several well-known ballads exist on the battle of Sheriffmuir. The oldest, consisting of twenty-one stanzas and a chorus, in Herd’s *Scots Songs*, 1769, 267, was written immediately after the battle, and the names of some of those

satirized are indicated by initials. Burns ascribed it to the Rev. Murdoch McLennan, minister of Crathie. The ballad is in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1821, ii. 1, with three additional stanzas by himself.

A later version beginning *Pray came you here the fight to shun*, was written by another minister, the Rev. John Barclay, of Muthill in Perthshire. Barclay's ballad is entitled in the stall copies *A dialogue between Will Lickladle and Tom Cleancogue*, to the tune of the 'Cameron's March.' This was the ballad which Burns imitated and amended. He told the publisher of the *Museum* that the old words did not quite please him. A third ballad is entitled *From Bogie Side*, or *The Marquis's Raide*.

The London fugitive press was quite as active on Sheriffmuir, but it is dull compared with the specimens quoted. A dialogue between his Grace the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar begins 'Argyle and Mar are gone to war.' One of the two woodcuts on the sheet represents a kilted Scot riding woman-fashion, and playing the Scotch fiddle, i.e. scratching himself. A second is an excellent new ballad entitled *Mar's lament for his rebellion*; and a third *The Clan's lamentation for their own folly*. All three are dated 1715.

Cameronian Rant is a strathspey tune of considerable merit, and admirably adapted for expressing the humorous verses. It is in Bremner's *Reels*, 1761, 82; in Stewart's *Reels*, 1761, 6; it is entitled *The Cameronian's Reel* in McGlashan's *Strathspey Reels*, 1780, 16; in Campbell's *Reels*, 1778, 16; and Aird's *Airs*, 1782, i. No. 107. In Bremner's *Reels*, 1759, 49, is another spirited reel tune entitled *Will ye go to Sheriffmuir*. A third, different from either, is in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1821, ii. 250, but *Cameronian Rant* is the best of the three.

No. 281. Ye Jacobites by name. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 371. The MS. is in the British Museum. A pithy ironical satire couched in equivocal terms which may be read by either Whig or Tory.

The tune is a good English specimen inserted in Durfey's *Pills*, 1719, vi. 251, with a song beginning *A young man and a maid*. Stenhouse quotes the title of a song, 'You've all heard of Paul Jones have you not, have you not,' sung to the melody in the eighteenth century in Edinburgh. The fame of Paul Jones was extended by means of songs and broadsides from Seven Dials and elsewhere, after the buccaneer's visit to the East coast of Scotland in 1779. In one of his manuscripts Burns quotes an alternative title of the tune *Up black-nebs a'*, evidently as belonging to a song now unknown.

No. 282. O, Kenmure's on and awa', Willie. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 359. This song is in the *Edinburgh Edition*, 1877 and *Centenary Edition*, 1897, and although there is no reasonable doubt that Burns contributed these verses to the *Museum*, the authority for that rests solely on Stenhouse, who, in his *Illustrations*, says: 'Burns transmitted the ballad to Johnson in his own handwriting, with the melody to which it is adapted.' There is no mark in any edition of the *Museum* connecting Burns with the song, nor do I know where the manuscript is. Cromek was not aware that Burns wrote the verses, and inserted them in *Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 1810, with three stanzas which he pretended were old. With these additions it is reprinted in modern collections of Jacobite song as belonging to the Rebellion of 1715. The confirmation of Stenhouse's assertion is desirable. Neither the words nor the melody can be traced before publication in the *Museum*. The verses and music in the Appendix of Ritson's *Scotish Songs*, 1794, are an exact copy from the *Museum*. Sir Walter Scott, in a letter April 3, 1820, represented Lady Huntley playing *Kenmure's on and awa', Willie*, in a way enough to raise the whole country side.

Viscount Kenmure, the hero of the song, led the chevalier's army of the South-west of Scotland. He surrendered at Preston, and was marched through the streets of London to the Tower, accompanied by a howling mob with tin

kettles and other musical instruments of a like sort. He was condemned and beheaded on February 24, 1716.

*No. 283. *When we gaed to the braes o' Mar.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1788, No. 188. The MS. is in the British Museum. In the *Interleaved Museum* Burns describes how he obtained the verses, as follows: 'This edition of the song I got from Tom Niel, of facetious fame in Edinburgh. The expression "Up and warn a' Willie" alludes to the *Crantara*, or warning of a Highland clan to arms. Not understanding this, the Lowlanders of the west and south say, "Up and *waur* them a'" &c. It is now impossible to discover what alterations or amendments Burns made, but the verses in the text contain many variations from the original song of seven stanzas in *The Charmer*, 1752, i. 61, signed 'B. G.'; of which the following is the first stanza:—

'When we went to the field of war,
And to the weaponshaw, Willy,
With true design to stand our ground,
And chase our faes awa, Willy;
Lairds and lords came there bedeen,
And vow gin they were pra', Willy,
Up and war 'em a', Willy;
War 'em a', war 'em a', Willy.'

The song belongs to the Rebellion of 1715, and is one of the Sheriffmuir satires, in which both sides are treated in an impartial manner.

The tune is in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1751, iii. 1; Bremner's *Reels*, 1759, 60; M'Lean's *Scots Tunes*, c. 1772, 29; and in Johnson's *Museum*, 1788, as in the text. It contains the 'Scotch snap' in its best form so inordinately imitated by foreign composers.

No. 284. *Here's a health to them that's awa.* Partly in Cromek's *Reliques*, 1808, 429, entitled *Song: patriotic-unfinished*. MS. in the British Museum. Written when Burns had the Revolutionary fever about the end of 1792, and sent to Captain William Johnston, the editor of the new *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, who had started the periodical on 'progressive' principles. Johnston was subsequently charged with a treasonable conspiracy, and imprisoned. At this time Burns was suspected of holding opinions hostile to the Constitution, and it was alleged that he had proposed the following toast at a public meeting—'Here's the last verse of the last chapter of the last Book of Kings.'

Here's a health to them that's awa is founded on a Jacobite ballad of which Hogg has a copy in *Jacobite Reliques*, 1819, i. 50. The tune does not appear to have been printed before being set to a stanza of the ballad contributed by Burns to the *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 412. The music resembles that of song No. 282.

No. 285. *Wha in a brulzie.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 475. The MS. is in the British Museum. Framed on a seventeenth century ballad which may be seen in *Jacobite Relics*, 1819, i. 20. Hogg got it probably from Myln's manuscript. It is a trenchant satire on the Whigs and Covenanters, reputably written by Lord Newbottle in 1688. He was a professional politician, who believed that it was necessary for him to live, and acted on the principle that—

'A merciful Providence fashioned us holler
A purpose that we might our principles swaller.'

He changed from Whig to Tory, was made a Chief Justice, and Lord High Commissioner of the Kirk he had reviled. He died the first Marquis of Lothian. He sketches and satirizes in his ballad about forty of the principal

Whigs of his time. I quote two stanzas as a specimen of the verse from Maidment's *Scottish Pasquils*, 1868, 328.

'Next comes our statesmen, these blessed reformers,
For lying, for drinking, for swearing enormous;
Argyle and brave Morton, and Willie my Lordie—
Bannocks of bear meal, cakes of Crowdie.
My curse on the grain of this hale reformation,
The reproach of mankind, and disgrace of our nation;
Deil hash them, deil smash them, and make them a soudy,
Knead them like bannocks, and steer them like crowdy.'

A satirical song on an Argyle of the eighteenth century with the title *Bannocks o' barley meal* is in Herd's *Scots Songs*, 1769, 280; and in Herd MS. is a rhyme of the seventeenth century:—

<p>'Mass David Williamson, Chosen of twenty, Gaed up to the pulpit And sang <i>Killiecrankie</i>.</p>	<p>Saw ye e'er, heard ye e'er Siccan a soudie? Bannocks o' bear meal, Cakes o' crowdie!'</p>
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The tune *The killogie* was kept in use by a rustic song beginning '*A lad and a lassie lay on a killogie*.' The verses are neither edifying nor instructive. The tune rejoiced in a variety of names. It is *Bonox of bear meal* in *Sinkler's MS.*, 1710; as *Johnny and Nelly* in *Orpheus Caledonius*, 1725, No. 21; as *I'll never leave thee* in Watts's *Musical Miscellany*, 1730, iv. 74; McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1746, 8, to which Burns directed Johnson for the tune; and in the *Scots Musical Museum*, 1803, No. 507. Two settings are in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1751, iii. 6. One entitled *Banoks of Bear meal*, and the other in vol. vi. 1754, 26, as *There was a lad and a lass in a killogie*.

No. 286. The small birds rejoice. Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1799, 97. 'From a MS. by Robert Burns. Irish Air, *Captain O'Kane*.' Currie's *Works*, 1800, ii. 145. Several MSS. exist. On March 31, 1788, Burns wrote from Mauchline, to his friend James Cleghorn, farmer, as follows: 'Yesterday, as I was riding thro' a track of melancholy, joyless muirs, between Galloway and Ayrshire; it being Sunday, I turned my thoughts to psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; and your favourite air *Captain O'Kane* coming at length in my head, I tried these words to it. You will see that the first part of the tune must be repeated. I am tolerably pleased with these verses, but as I have only a sketch of the tune, I leave it with you to try if they suit the measure of the music.' Burns adopted Cleghorn's suggestion to complete the song with a Jacobite stanza, which is assumed to be sung by Prince Charles Stuart, after the Battle of Culloden. Some time early in 1793 he sent a complete copy of the song to Thomson.

The Irish tune *Captain O'Kane* is in McGlashan's *Reels*, 1786, 36; Aird's *Airs*, 1788, iii. No. 493; and Johnson's *Museum*, 1803, No. 508.

No. 287. My love was born in Aberdeen. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 272, entitled *The white cockade*. In Law's *MS. List*, 'Mr. Burns's old words.' The flying stationers of last century printed the original, which Herd copied into his *Scottish Songs*, 1776, ii. 179. Burns by a few touches turned it into a decided Jacobite song. Here is the first stanza from Herd:—

'My love was born in Aberdeen,
The bonniest lad that e'er was seen;
O, he is forced from me to gae
Over the hills and far away.'

The words and music in our text are from the *Museum*. The tune is also in Campbell's *Reels*, 1778, 7; and in Aird's *Airs*, 1782, i. No. 1, entitled *The ranting highlandman*.

No. 288. The noble Maxwells and their powers. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 364, signed 'R,' entitled *Nithsdale's welcome hame*. MS. in the British Museum. Lady Winnifred Maxwell Constable was the granddaughter of the rebel Earl of Nithsdale who escaped from the Tower by his wife's ingenuity and bravery. Lady Winnifred rebuilt in 1788 Terreagues House, the ancient seat of the family, where Burns dined more than once, and was impressed by the number of wax candles used in lighting the house. Sir Walter Scott sent a letter to Lockhart dated July 14, 1828, on Burns's connexion with Jacobitism in which he says: 'I see, by the by, that your life of Burns is going to press again, and therefore send you a few letters, which may be of use to you. In one of them (to that singular old curmudgeon, Lady Winnifred Constable) you will see he plays high Jacobite, and on that account it is curious; though I imagine his Jacobitism, like my own, belonged to the fancy rather than the reason, &c.'

The tune *Nithsdale's welcome hame* is the composition of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, one of his best melodies. It is in neither of his printed collections of tunes, but the following unpublished Note in the *Interleaved Museum* is in his handwriting, 'I composed the tune and, imparting to my friend Mr. Burns the name I meant to give it, he composed for the tune the words here inserted.'

No. 289. My Harry was a gallant gay. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 209. Tune, *Highlander's lament*. The MS. copy in the British Museum is not in Burns's handwriting, and it contains two stanzas not in the *Scots Musical Museum*. The additional stanzas refer to *The auld Stewarts back again*, a different tune to that in the text. In Law's *MS. List*, 'Mr. B—'s old words.' This and Nos. 292 and 297 are reminiscences of the Highland tour. 'The oldest title I ever heard to this air was *The Highland Watch's farewell to Ireland*. The chorus I picked up from an old woman in Dumblane; the rest of the song is mine' (*Interleaved Museum*). The 42nd regiment, or Black Watch, was quartered in different parts of Ireland for seven years between 1749 and 1756, and the latter year may be taken as the date of the tune which is entitled *Highland Watch's farewell to Ireland* in Stewart's *Reels*, 1762, 27, and as *Highlander's farewell* in Ross's *Reels*, 1780, 10.

No. 290. An somebody were come again. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 239. Tune, *Carl, an the King come*. Stenhouse is the sole authority for the statement that Burns wrote only the second stanza, but nothing is known of any early song of the kind. For the tune, Allan Ramsay wrote verses entitled *The promised Joy*, in the first volume of the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1724. A song in the 'Gentle Shepherd'—*Peggy, now the King's come*—is on the same page of the *Museum* as *Carl, an the King come*. Ritson could throw no light on the words, and on Burns's song in *Scottish Songs*, 1794, ii. 47, he quotes a fragment thus:—

'When yellow corn grows on the rigs,
And a gibbet's made to hang the Whigs,
O, then we will dance Scottish jigs,
Carle, an the king come.'

The tune was exceedingly popular in the eighteenth century. It is in most of the best collections of Scottish music, including Ramsay's *Musick*, c. 1726; Oswald's *Companion*, 1754, vi. 15; and McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 16. A considerable variation had taken place in the melody since the middle of the eighteenth century. The old form ends on the minor in the last two collections named. In the text the second part of the tune is an octave lower than that of the copy in the *Museum*.

***No. 291. Sir John Cope trode the north right far.** This is the first time that *Johnie Cope* has been inserted in the works of Burns. His name was

incidentally connected with it by Stenhouse, and it is necessary to produce the evidence for its insertion here. It is the original of three different ballads, and its anonymous publication in the *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 234, preceded the other two by four years. As may be seen in the facsimile of Law's MS., Burns marked it 'Sir John Cope trode the North &c.—Mr. Burns's old words.' The MS. of the song is at present unknown, but it is certain that he contributed it to Johnson's *Museum*. I was puzzled to reconcile this fact with his note in Cromeck's *Reliques*, 1808, 272, until I discovered from an examination of the *Interleaved Museum* that the first portion of the note in Cromeck was not written by Burns but by Robert Riddell thus: 'This satirical song was composed to commemorate General Cope's defeat at Preston Pans in 1745, when he marched against the Clans.' So far Riddell obviously did not know that Burns had anything to do with the verses; and the poet did not inform him in the studiously vague addition to the note which follows in his own handwriting: 'The air was the tune of an old song, of which I have heard some verses, but now only remember the title, which was *Will you go to the coals in the morning?*' This forgotten song, consisting of eight stanzas and a chorus very different from that in our text, was published as a foot-note in Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, 1794, ii. 84, beginning 'Conp sent a challenge fræ Dunbar,' the chorus ending with the title quoted by Burns. Ritson on the same page has printed a different song of nine stanzas without chorus, opening with the same line as the other, and he remarks that the version in the *Museum* 'is a copy differing very much from both.' Stenhouse confused matters by asserting that Adam Skirving, the author of the song *Tranent Muir*, wrote also *Johnie Cope* of the *Museum*; but Ritson, who published his collection nearly thirty years before Stenhouse's *Illustrations* were issued, and took infinite pains over his works, was ignorant of the author of *Johnie Cope*, and expressed a wish to know who wrote any of the three songs. On Stenhouse's unverified statement Skirving's name is repeated as the author to this day. Much of *Johnie Cope* is carelessly written in faulty rhyme, but the sarcastic verses and the rollicking melody have perpetuated the song; and the common-place knight Sir John Cope would long ere this have passed into oblivion but for the song. His circular march through the North of Scotland in 1745 and return voyage to Dunbar; his defeat at Gladsmuir, Preston Pans, or Tranent Muir are better known than the career of more distinguished men. Burns did not admire the air *Johnie Cope*, and his verses are in evidence as a reason why he did not acknowledge them except in the *MS. List* for the *Museum*. The tune is in Oswald's *Companion*, 1759, ix. 11; McLean's *Scots Tunes*, c. 1772, 23; Aird's *Airs*, 1782, ii. No. 52; and in Johnson's *Museum* as in the text.

No. 292. Loud blow the frosty breezes. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1788, No. 143, entitled the *Young highland rover*, signed 'R.' Tune, *Morag*. The MS. is in the British Museum and the song is in Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, 1799, 67. On September 7, 1787, Burns and his companion, being in the neighbourhood of Castle Gordon, the poet called on the Duke and Duchess, who received him with the greatest kindness and hospitality. He dined with the company at the Castle, and was pressed to remain, but he was obliged to refuse as he had left Nicol at Fochaber's Inn. The Duke sent a special messenger to invite Nicol to the Castle, but the irascible Schoolmaster had already exhausted his small stock of patience, and bluntly declined the invitation. Burns found him pacing in front of the Inn with a carriage and horses ready to start. The poet subsequently described himself 'as travelling with a blunderbuss at full cock,' and this time it went off. Writing afterwards to the Duke's librarian, he said: 'I shall certainly, among my legacies, leave my latest curse to that unlucky predicament which hurried—tore me from Castle Gordon. May that obstinate son of Latin prose be curst to Scotch-mile periods, and damned to seven-leagued paragraphs; while Declension and Conjugation, Gender, Number,

and Tense, under the ragged banners of Dissonance and Disarrangement, eternally rank against him in hostile array.' According to Stenhouse the song was written to commemorate the visit of Prince Charles Stuart to Castle Gordon, before his defeat at Culloden.

The tune *Morag* is a Celtic air justly admired by Burns. In 1794 he wrote to George Thomson, that this song was not worthy of the air. It is very little known and ought to be popular, if only on account of the melody. When sending a copy of the *Museum* containing the song to Rose of Kilravock and to the Duke's librarian, Burns spoke of the melody in enthusiastic terms. The tune is in Dow's *Scots Music*, c. 1776, 46. A bad copy is in Fraser's *Highland Airs*, No. 119. See No. 98.

No. 293. My heart is wae, and unco wae. Chambers's *Edition*, 1852. Tune, *Mary's Dream*. A facsimile is in the *Centenary Edition*, 1897, iv. 90. It is supposed to have been written immediately after the receipt of the news of the supposed marriage of Miss Walkinshaw with Prince Charles Stuart, who declared the legitimation of his daughter by a formal deed, registered in France in December, 1787. On his death the year following the putative Duchess of Albany was assumed to be his sole heir. The verses are more than a sentimental effusion of Jacobitism. The tune *Mary's Drcam* is the composition of John Lowe, a minor poet, and the author of the song *Mary, weep no more for me*. Lowe, the son of a gardener to the Earl of Kenmore, was born in Galloway in the year 1750. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a weaver; he educated himself, and entered the University of Edinburgh as a student of Divinity. He is said to have written a tragedy, was a skilful musician, and a player on the violin. He died in America in 1798. Kirkpatrick Sharpe severely censured Allan Cunningham for mutilating Lowe's song. All the mischief done by 'Honest Allan' as a literary forger will never be discovered.

The tune *Mary's Dream* is from the Perth *Musical Miscellany*, 1786, 96, where it is printed with Lowe's verses. The music is also in the *Museum*, 1787, No. 37; *Calliope*, 1788, 16; and Aird's *Airs*, 1788, iii. No. 480.

No. 294. Come boat me o'er, come row me o'er. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1788, ii. No. 187. The MS. is in the British Museum. This is a version which, according to Stenhouse, was revised and corrected by Burns. The refrain slightly varied belongs to the Jacobite events of 1745. The loyalist collections of the period contain several songs of the kind, but no model of this one is known. For note on the tune, see No. 290.

No. 295. O, I am come to the low countrie. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 498, entitled *The Highland widow's lament*. The MS. is in the British Museum. This, or the germ of it is supposed to have been obtained from the Highlands. The sentiment of the verses is noble, the loss of flocks and herds is not considered of any consequence compared with the defence of the rightful heir to the throne. On a different song, *Oh ono chrio*, i.e. *Lament for the chief* in the *Museum*, 1787, No. 89, Burns wrote the following note: 'Dr. Blacklock informed me that this song was composed on the infamous massacre of Glencoe' (*Interleaved Museum*). Burns contributed the melody of his song to the *Museum* where it was first printed. Schumann was impressed with the simple phrases and took them as the theme of an original composition for the verses of Burns. It is in his *Liederkreis*, Op. 25.

No. 296. It was a' for our rightfu' king. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 497. These stirring and romantic verses were from the hand of Burns, and Stenhouse first connected his name with them. Cunningham and afterwards Hogg and Motherwell inserted them in the *Works of Burns*, and finally Scott-Douglas, in the *Edinburgh Edition*, 1877, iii. 192, produced a facsimile of the Burns MS. A ballad which Motherwell printed in 1834 is the foundation of Burns's verses. But the original is a street ballad, *Mally Stuart*,

supposed to belong to the Rebellion of 1745 (see *Centenary Burns*, vol. iii.) which was reproduced in Chap books with considerable variations, and was popular in the streets of Edinburgh at the close of the eighteenth century. The only stanza which Burns borrowed is the last one in the ballad from a contemporary Chap book in my possession, as follows:—

‘The trooper turned himself round about
All on the Irish shore;
He has gi'en the bridle reins a shake,
Saying, “Adieu for evermore, my dear”;
Saying, “Adien for evermore.”’

The rest of Burns's song owes nothing to the original, except the rhythm. The street ballad of *Bonny Mally Stuart* of ‘bonny Stirling town’ in eleven stanzas, remarkable for its disregard of metre, describes the parting of the trooper with his sweetheart who, however, disguises herself in men's clothes and follows him.

The tune *Mally Stuart* is a variation of *The bailiff's daughter of Islington*, an English melody of the seventeenth century. In the black letter copies this ballad is directed to be sung to a *North country tune*, or *I have a good old mother at home*.

No. 297. Thickest night, surround my dwelling. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1788, No. 132, signed ‘B’: to the Tune, *Strathallan's lament*. The MS. is in the British Museum. Burns passed through Strathallan on August 28, 1787; shortly afterwards he wrote the song. William Drummond, Viscount Strathallan, was killed at Culloden. His son James, Viscount Strathallan, on whom the song was written, was attainted, and after the disastrous rout of the Chevalier's army fled to the hills, where he hid until he found an opportunity of escaping to France. He joined the Court of Prince Charles, remained abroad, and died an exile. From the Rebellion to the end of the eighteenth century almost every poet wrote Jacobite songs more or less sympathetic. Burns made the following memorandum on *Strathallan's lament*: ‘This air is the composition of one of the worthiest and best-hearted men living—Allan Masterton, School Master in Edinburgh. As he and I were both sprouts of Jacobitism, we agreed to dedicate the words and air to that cause. To tell the matter of fact, except when my passions were heated by some accidental cause, my Jacobitism was merely by way of *vive la bagatelle*’ (*Interleaved Museum*). The accidental causes were frequent, and he never wrote anything on the Hanover family to show he had any affection for it.

Another MS. of the song differs from that in the text. The first line is ‘Thickest darkness o'erhang my dwelling,’ and the first half of the second stanza is as follows:—

‘Farewell fleeting, fickle treasure,
Between mishap and folly shar'd;
Farewell peace and farewell pleasure,
Farewell flattering man's regard.’

The melody cannot be mistaken for an old air.

No. 298. There grows a bonie brier-bush in our kail-yard. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 492, marked ‘Z.’ *Centenary Burns*, 1897, iii. 180. The MS. in Burns's handwriting is in the British Museum. This is supposed to be an old song with alterations, but nothing of it is known prior to Burns's manuscript. Stenhouse, as the earliest commentator, need only be referred to: ‘This song, with the exception of a few lines which are old, was written by Burns for the *Museum*. . . . Burns likewise communicated the air to which the words are adapted’ (*Illust. p. 432*). I can find no song of the kind in any of the many collections examined. From the verses of Burns a pungent critic branded the modern school of Scottish sentimental fiction ‘Kailyard literature.’ Baroness Nairne wrote an imitation of *The bonie brier-bush*,

and in the *Scottish Minstrel*, 1821, i. 22, is a combination of Burns and Nairne, which is stated in the Index to be by Burns. The original publication of the tune is in the *Museum* with the verses, but it contains phrases of an older tune.

No. 299. The lovely lass of Inverness. *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 401, signed 'B.' *Select Melodies*, 1823, v. 17. 'Mr. Burns's old words (*Museum MS. Lists*). The MS. is in the British Museum. All but the opening four lines are by Burns, and form one of his best songs on a subject which deeply interested him. The Battle of Culloden, or Drumossie Moor, fought on April 16, 1746, finished the career of Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland. William, Duke of Cumberland, the Commander of the government army, was the most detested name in Scotland for half a century, and the subject of the strongest invective in prose and verse. Cromek, in *Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 1810, published *Cumberland and Murray's descent into Hell*, reprinted in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1821, ii. 199. It is unsurpassed for brutal sarcasm, and I suspect was written either by Hogg or Cunningham. Burns visited the field of Culloden in 1787, and in his diary of the Highland tour he has recorded his reflections on the final disaster of the Stuarts.

It may be remarked here that it was owing to the Rebellion that *God save the king* was first publicly performed and recognized as a national air. In September, 1745, it was sung in chorus from the stage of the London theatres, and the Duke of Cumberland was honoured with a complete stanza:—

‘O, grant that Cumberland
May, by his mighty hand,
Victory bring;
May he sedition hush,
And like a torrent rush,
Rebellious hearts to crush,
God save the king.’

The news of the defeat at Culloden arrived at Covent Garden theatre during a performance, which was interrupted while the actors sang the anthem.

The tune *The lovely lass of Inverness*, originally published in 1740, is the composition of James Oswald, and is in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1743, i. 9. Johnson, of the *Scots Musical Museum*, originally intended it for a song beginning ‘Upon the flowery banks of Tweed,’ but Burns directed his own song for it, and so it was printed.

No. 300. Whare hae ye been sae braw, lad? *Scots Musical Museum*, 1790, No. 292, signed 'Z,' entitled *Killiecrankie*. There is nothing directly connecting Burns with this song. The note in the *Interleaved Museum*, written by Robert Riddell, is only historical. Stenhouse says, ‘The chorus is old. The rest of it, beginning *Whare hae ye been sae braw, lad*, was written in 1789 by Burns on purpose for the *Museum*’ (*Illustrations*, p. 287). No one has disputed this statement. In the Highland tour, Burns passed through Killiecrankie on August 31, 1787.

Killiecrankie is represented as a malignant song in *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd*, a contemporary publication. The battle took place on July 27, 1689, in the celebrated pass which Burton, the historian, describes as the most picturesque of Scottish battlefields. Here John Claverhouse, the darling of the Cavaliers and the accursed of the Covenanters, was killed. The Highlanders won, but the loss of Claverhouse ('*Clavers got a clankie, O'*) and Haliburton, of Pitcur, outweighed the gain, and the cause of James VII declined from that time.

The tune *An' ye had been where I hae been* is a different melody from *Killiecrankie*, No. 256 supra, to which Burns drew the attention of Johnson. The music is in McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1755, 34; in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1758, ix. 18; Aird's *Airs*, 1782, ii. No. 57. The title is clearly part of the words

of the old song which Burns rewrote or amended. In Leyden's MS., 1692, the tune is styled *Killie Crankie*; and a phrase of *My mistres blush is bonie* in the Skene MS., c. 1630, is a part of the air.

No. 301. *The bonniest lad that e'er I saw.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 468. *Centenary Burns*, 1877, iii. 172, is in the British Museum. This sprig of militant Jacobitism is a revised version of a small portion of a long song of the 1745 period with the additional first stanza by Burns. The tune is entitled *If thou'l play me fair play* from the first line of a song in *Loyal Songs*, 1750. The music is earlier than the Rebellion of 1745. It is in Oswald's *Curious Scots Tunes*, 1742; in the *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1743, i. 36, without a title; in Bremner's *Scots Reels*, 1759, 47; Campbell's *Reels*, 1778, 70; Aird's *Airs*, 1782, i. No. 32. It is corrupted in the *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 468.

No. 302. *By yon Castle wa' at the close of the day.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 315. The MS. is in the British Museum. A copy was sent to Alexander Cunningham, Edinburgh, on March 12, 1791, in a letter, in which Burns says: 'You must know a beautiful Jacobite air *There'll never be peace till Jamie comes hame*. When political combustion ceases to be the object of princes and patriots, it then, you know, becomes the lawful prey of historians and poets. If you like the air, and if the stanzas hit your fancy, you cannot imagine, my dear friend, how much you would oblige me if, by the charms of your delightful voice, you would give my honest effusion to "the memory of joys that are past" to the few friends whom you indulge in that pleasure.'

The following note is in the *Interleaved Museum* by Burns. 'This tune is sometimes called "There's few good fellows when Jamie's awa," — but I never have been able to meet with anything else of the song than the title.' The song referred to is unknown; it was on the Stuarts, and was probably suppressed.

The tune is in Oswald's *Curious Scots Tunes*, 1740, 22, and the same publisher's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 1743, i. 20, with the title as in the text; and in McGibbon's *Scots Tunes*, 1742, 30, entitled *Ther'll never be peace till Jamie comes hame*. See No. 21 supra.

No. 303. *I hae been at Crookieden.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1792, No. 332, entitled *Bonie laddie, highland laddie*. The MS. is in the British Museum. This, with Nos. 301 and 306, is representative of a large class common to the eighteenth century which exercised considerable influence on the politics of the country. The present song appeared in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1821, ii. 202, considerably enlarged probably by Hogg, who let himself go in very violent language. A very inoffensive model of Burns is in a MS. of the period to which the song refers. 'Willie' and 'the Duke' of the text are the Duke of Cumberland, who is represented in Satan's hall waiting to be roasted and basted.

The tune, according to Mr. Glen, is in Rutherford's *Country Dances*, 1749, as *The new highland laddie*; it is in Oswald's *Companion*, 1754, vi. 1, entitled *The old highland laddie* as marked by Burns on the MS. of his verses.

No. 304. *'Twas on a Monday morning.* *Scots Musical Museum*, 1796, No. 428, entitled *Charlie he's my darling*. No signature, initial, or note. 'Written for this work by Robert Burns,' so often attached to songs in the later issues of Johnson's *Museum*, indicates the source, but there can be no doubt that the holograph of Burns in the British Museum is the original manuscript of the verses. No trace of any such song, not even a title, is in the musical and other Collections of Scottish song, and presumably *Charlie he's my darling* is a pure original. Stenhouse, in *Illustrations*, 1839, first connected Burns in these words: "'Twas on a Monday morning' was communicated by Burns to the editor of the *Museum*. The air was modernized by Clarke. The reader will find a genuine copy of the old air in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1821, ii. 92.' On this I may remark that Stenhouse is not known to

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.