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Mapping changes to the songs in *The Gentle Shepherd*: 1725-1788

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Allan Ramsay's (1684-1758) *The Gentle Shepherd* continues to be the most famous and enduring of his works. Editions were printed regularly throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the Andrew Foulis (1756-1829) edition from 1788 is perhaps one of the most luxurious.¹ The edition included a portrait of the author, eighteen pages of typeset music scores with underlaid text for each of the songs, and twelve aquatint images by David Allan (1744-1796) depicting key scenes.² Until this point, no other edition of the ballad opera had provided this level of detail, especially when it came to the songs. As such, it typifies how more information was introduced into print editions, such as music notation and underlaying the lyrics within the musical text, to solidify the structure of the songs.³ Initially, Ramsay provided no music notation, only titling each song to indicate the correct tune. This issue alone has been discussed by Leith Davis, Ian Brown, Claire Nelson, David McGuinness and Aaron McGregor, in part because it suggests Ramsay assumed his readers were familiar enough with the tunes and their known titles.⁴ McGuinness and McGregor interrogate this

¹ Andrew Foulis inherited the business from Robert and Andrew Foulis. See Craig Lamont, "Allan Ramsay and Edinburgh: Commemoration in the City of Forgetting," *Scottish Literary Review*, 10.1, (Spring/Summer 2018): 128.

² Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd: a pastoral comedy*, (Glasgow: printed by A. Foulis, 1788).

³ Lydia Goehr devised the 'work-concept model' where a musical work appears 'in full score, thereby allowing it to be regarded as having a fixed structure with a sharply defined beginning and end'. In relation to *The Gentle Shepherd*, I have been unable to review all editions published between 1725 to the present day, therefore, it is beyond the scope of this article to definitively say when the fluidity of musical text solidified into a clearly defined musical structure, and that all editions thereafter subscribed to this structure. However, it will lay the groundwork for a more in-depth study examination of the songs highlighting elements of the musical text that regularly changed in editions published throughout the eighteenth century. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford university Press, 1992): 249.

⁴ Leith Davis, "At 'sang about': Scottish song and the challenge to British Culture," in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, Janet Sorensen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 190.; Ian Brown, "Public and Private Performance," in *Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Drama*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004): 31.; Claire Nelson, "Tea-Table Miscellanies: The Development of Scotland's Song Culture, 1720-1800," *Early Music*, 28.4 (2000): 597.

assumption directly in their 2018 article, noting that many variations of these tunes were in circulation, making it difficult to determine which version of tune Ramsay had in mind when he penned his song lyrics.⁵ The same issue applies to readers engaging with the text as each individual could have experienced a different *Gentle Shepherd* because they had their own version of the tune and method of underlaying the song lyrics.

Four songs were included in the play version of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed by Ramsay's publisher, Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757), in 1725. However, when the play was reconceived as a ballad opera in 1729, not only were an additional seventeen songs introduced, but edits were made to the original song content. By the 1734 edition, also printed by Ruddiman, further alterations were made to a few of the songs. The popularity of the ballad opera encouraged printers from Scotland, England and Ireland to capitalise on its success, though within these printings, similar variances appear within the song material, which have stemmed from alterations made between 1725-1734. This article will contextualise these reoccurring variances and will consider how the introduction of music notation, and the development of how the music notation and lyrics were presented, stabilised much of the musical content. While this article does not refute the possibility that there is a myriad of minor, localised inconsistencies unique to each edition, it will only focus on irregularities within the song material that reappear across several editions. It should be noted; this article will focus on changes made to the songs specifically, rather than their integration into *The Gentle Shepherd* text.

⁵ David McGuinness, Aaron McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources: Reconstructing a Poet's Musical Memory," *Scottish Literary Review*, 10.1, (Spring/Summer 2018): 49-71.

The song material in flux

Ramsay's song material presents several unique issues already outlined by McGuinness and McGregor. They question 'the present-day fetishisation of composers' supposed original intentions' in relation to reconstructing an edition of Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*.⁶ It would be naïve to suggest an authentic, idealised version of *The Gentle Shepherd* can be reconstructed since no music notation was included in an edition until the year of Ramsay's death.⁷ Though the tunes Ramsay indicated can be found in manuscript and print sources contemporary to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland, McGuinness and McGregor state these 'surviving sources function as witnesses to points in the transmission process, rather than as idealised copy texts'.⁸ Nelson notes printing song collections without accompanying musical scores was not uncommon in the period.⁹ In the broadside ballad and chapbook printing traditions, indicating a text should be sung 'To the tune of [...]' or 'To their own proper Tune' without providing music notation was customary.¹⁰ Likewise, most music collections published in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth-century did not include lyrics, even if the tunes were known as songs.¹¹ Ramsay did publish one music book – Alexander Stuart's *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* (hence *Collection of Scots Songs*)– which provided musical accompaniments for the songs found in his successful 1723 collection *The Tea-Table Miscellany*.¹² Fifteen tunes found in *The Gentle Shepherd* also

⁶ McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources," 56.

⁷ There is no evidence Ramsay was involved in the production of the 1758 edition, which was the first to include music scores.

⁸ McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources," 49.

⁹ Nelson, "Tea-Table Miscellanies," 597.

¹⁰ Adam Fox, "The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 31.2 (2011): 175.

¹¹ See Adam Craig, *A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes*, (Edinburgh: R. Cooper fecit, 1727); Francis Barsanti, *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes, with the bass for Violoncello or Harpsichord*, (Edinburgh: A. Baillie, 1742); William McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes Some with Variations for a Violin Hautboy or German Flute With a Bass for a Violoncello or Harpsichord*, (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1742-1746).

¹² Alexander Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, (Edinburgh: Printed by Allan Ramsay. Engrav'd by R. Cooper, 1726?). For more on this music book see *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of 71 Scots Songs with an introduction by Kirsteen McCue*, (Carolina, University of South Carolina Libraries, 2017).

appear in Stuart's collection, and yet, even this music book did not offer specific guidance on how a singer might fit the song lyrics to the tune.¹³

In fact, it was William Thomson (fl.1695–1753) who first set Ramsay's song texts to music in his *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725).¹⁴ This was the first book of Scottish music printed in London.¹⁵ It provided consumers with the tunes, the underlaid texts and bass accompaniments. Though several song texts were taken directly from *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, Ramsay received no acknowledgement in the publication. As such, Ramsay publicly highlighted the error stating:

From this and the following Volume Mr Thomson (who is allowed by all, to be a good Teacher and Singer of Scots Songs) call'd his Orpheus Caledonius, the *Musick for both the Voice and Flute and the Words of the Songs finely engraven in a Folio Book, for the use of Persons of the Highest Quality in Britain, and dedicated to her Royal Highness, now her Majesty, our most gracious Queen*. This by the by I thought proper to intimate, and do my self that Justice which the Publisher neglected, since he ought to have acquainted his Illustrious List of Subscribers, that the most of the Songs were mine, the Musick abstracted.¹⁶

Though Ramsay disapproved of the publication, *Orpheus Caledonius* further promoted Scottish songs both north and south of the border.¹⁷ Even the Edinburgh Musical Society

¹³ McGuinness and McGregor are sceptical about the book is designed for singing. See McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources," 51.

¹⁴ William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, (London: engrav'd & printed for the author, [1725]).

¹⁵ Stephen W. Brown, *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Vol. 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011): xvii.

¹⁶ Copied from Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany: Or, Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Sangs*, (London: J. Watson, 1730): iiiiv-ix.

¹⁷ Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 15.

purchased ten copies of 'Thomson's Collection of Scots Songs' in 1733.¹⁸ Thomson's approach reflects the differences in publishing practices between Scotland and England during the early eighteenth century. It was more common to see music with text in English publications. An example is Theophilus Cibber's (1703-1758) *Patie and Peggy* (1731), which could be described as a rearranged, English translation of Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, included music notation for each of the songs.¹⁹ Though the texts were not underlaid, the intended tune is explicit.

Music notation was introduced into editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* after Ramsay's death. Frequently, these editions were transparent about addition of music notation on the title page, though there is some confusion as to whether this music is to be sung or played. Similarly, there are examples of editions, which are transparent about cuts, changes and rewrites. West Digges' (1720–1786) edition printed after a performance of *The Gentle Shepherd* took place 'at the theatre in Edinburgh' highlighted the changes on the title page stating 'now adapted to publick representation'.²⁰ The edition cut vast sections of text and almost half of the songs, though what remained was consistent with Ramsay's original work.

Yet, there are several examples of editions, which attempted to accurately reprint an earlier version of the work, but ultimately introduced variances within the song titles and lyrics. These variances are subtle, often stemming from alterations made to the song material found in editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed between 1725-1734, and are only apparent once multiple editions have been consulted. This reveals there were multiple, subtly changed versions of *The Gentle Shepherd* in circulation. Readers and performers may not have been

¹⁸ Edinburgh Musical Society minutes and index of music, 1733, NRA(S)3563, Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh.

¹⁹ Jeff Strabone, *Poetry and British Nationalisms in the Bardic Eighteenth Century: Imagined Antiquities*, (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan: 2018): 109.

²⁰ West Digges, *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy: As it was acted with great applause at the theatre in Edinburgh / written by Allan Ramsey; and now adapted to publick representation by Mr. Digges*, (Edinburgh: Printed for Hulton Bradley, at the King's-Arms and Two Bibles in Dame-street, 1759).

aware that their copy did not exactly conform to Ramsay's authorised editions from 1725 or 1729 or the edition printed by Thomas Ruddiman in 1734. While it could be argued that these subtle divergences further contribute to the fluidity of the song content, the issue in play is intentionality. There is no evidence to suggest these variances were intentional and were designed to showcase the work as part of an ever-changing living tradition. However, the intentional introduction of music notation after 1758 was a more deliberate step toward stabilising the previously unstable song material.²¹

The editions and mapping the global changes to the song material

Eighty-six editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published between 1725-1788 are extant in libraries and archives.²² Sixty-six of these editions are of the ballad opera, a clear indication that this version of the work was the most popular and long-lasting. Most editions included the text and the songs, though there are some outliers. The songs are not printed in the original 1729 ballad opera; instead, these can be found in the 1729 edition of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*. This issue is unique to the 1729 *Gentle Shepherd* and will be discussed in detail in the new edition edited by David McGuinness and Steve Newman, currently under contract with Edinburgh University Press. In the 1730 edition printed in London by John Watson (fl. 1739) and Ruddiman's 1734 edition printed both the songs and the dialogue together. Another outlier appeared in 1781 when Thomas Linley the elder (1733-1795) set Ramsay's songs to new musical arrangements. This updated version of *The Gentle Shepherd* was performed at Drury Lane with Patie played by Ann Cargill (1760-1784)²³ in breeches. The songs were

²¹ The Foulis edition has been selected as a stopping points, since it is the first edition to provide clean, underlaid musical texts, clearly designed for singing.

²² Alexander Law identified sixty-six editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in the eighteenth century, but he did not state if this was in total, of just the ballad opera. See Alexander Law, "Allan Ramsay and The Gentle Shepherd," *Library Review*, 22.5, (1970): 247-251.

²³ Cargill was a singer and actress, performing in prominent London theatres including Covent Garden, Haymarket and Drury Lane. Notable roles included Titania in George Colman's *The Fairy Prince*, Polly in John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and Clara in *The Duenna*. In 1782, she travelled to India. She is reported to have

published as fully typeset music scores with underlaid text, but the play text for this performance is extant.²⁴ Most other editions of the ballad opera integrate spoken dialogue and the song texts.²⁵ While Linley's 1781 edition diverges from the standard versions of *The Gentle Shepherd*, it is nonetheless included as part of the forthcoming discussion.

After analysing the songs in all editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published between 1725-1788, there are only four regularly appearing variances:

1. Number of verses in Bauldy's song
2. Sang X title change
3. Cutting 'Song XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen'.
4. Replacing 'Corn Riggs' with the 'Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn'

The first three variances are directly linked to Ramsay and the alterations he made between 1725-1734. The fourth inconsistency surfaced in editions produced after Ramsay's death, and, as such, appears with enough regularity also to merit discussion below. With regards to alterations made to the song material between 1735-1734, four songs appeared in the original 1725 play, though no tunes were specified, nor were the songs numbered. By the 1729 ballad opera, the number of songs increased to twenty-one, with most given a tune title and number. Further changes were made for the 1734 edition. A global overview of these changes has been displayed in the table below:

performed in Calcutta in 1783, before returning to England. Unfortunately, the ship was wrecked off the Isles of Scilly in around 4 March 1784. She was buried at St Mary's Church, Isles of Scilly. See Olive Baldwin, and Thelma Wilson. Cargill [née Brown], Ann (c. 1760–1784), singer and actress. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004; Accessed 31 Jul. 2020.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4660>.

²⁴ Thomas Linley, *The Gentle Shepherd, A Pastoral Opera*. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The Overture, Songs & Duets and Accompaniments, (London: Printed for Harrison, Cluse & Co., 1781).

²⁵ Other outliers include the 1759 edition printed in Dublin by Dillon Chamberlaine, which only includes the songs and West Digges, 1759 edition printed for Hulton Bradley, which cuts half of the songs and material to create a two-act structure for the ballad opera. Digges' edition was reprinted in Dublin 1773 by Thomas Walker.

Table 1: Charting changes to the titling and the number of songs from the 1725-1729

Act	Scene	Song no	1725 First line ²⁶	1729 Tune title ²⁷	1734 Tune title ²⁸
1	1	1		SANG I. To wauking of the Faulds	SANG I. To wauking of the Faulds
1	1	2		SANG II. Fy gar rub her o'er with strae	SANG II. Fy gar rub her o'er with strae
1	2	3		SANG III. Polwart on the Green	SANG III. Polwart on the Green
1	2	4		SANG IV. Oh dear Mother, what shall I do?	SANG IV. Oh dear Mother, what shall I do?
1	2	5		SANG V. How can I be sad on my wedding day	SANG V. How can I be sad on my wedding day
1	2	6		SANG VI. Nansy's to the Green Wood gane	SANG VI. Nansy's to the Green Wood gane
2	1	7		SANG VII. Cald Kale in Aberdeen	SANG VII. Cald Kale in Aberdeen
2	1	8		SANG VIII. Mucking of Geordy's Byer	SANG VIII. Mucking of Geordy's Byer

²⁶ Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd; a Scots pastoral comedy [in five acts and in verse]*, (Edinburgh: Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, etc., 1725).

²⁷ The titles are taken from *The Tea-Table Miscellany*. See *The Tea-Table Miscellany; or, Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Sangs. Volume Second*. The Fifth Edition. (Edinburgh: Printed for and sold by Allan Ramsay, 1729): 169-188.

²⁸ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy*, (Edinburgh: printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans', 1734).

2	3	9	PEGGY, now the King's come	SANG IX. Carle and the King come	SANG IX. Carle and the King come
2	4	10		SANG X. Winter was cauld, and my Cleathing was thin	SANG X. Winter was cauld, and my Cleathing was thin
2	4	11	By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth	SANG XI. By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth	SANG XI. By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth
3	1	12		SANG XII. Happy Clown	SANG XII. Happy Clown
3	3	13		SANG XIII. Leith-Wynd	SANG XIII. Leith-Wynd
3	3	14		SANG XIV. O'er Bogie	SANG XIV. O'er Bogie
3	3	15		SANG V. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen	[removed]
4	1	---	JOCKY said to Jenny, Jenny wilt thou do' t;	[No tune title given] *First line is the same as 1725.	[No tune title given] *First line is the same as 1725.
4	2	16		SANG XVI. Kirk wad let me be	SANG XV. Kirk wad let me be
4	2	17		SANG XVII. Woe's my heart that we should sunder	SANG XVI. Woe's my heart that we should sunder

4	2	18		SANG XVIII. Tweed-side	SANG XVII. Tweed-side
4	2	19		SANG XIX. Bush aboon Traquair	SANG XVIII. Bush aboon Traquair
5	1	20		SANG XX. Bony gray ey'd Morn	SANG XIX. Bony gray ey'd Morn
5	3	21	MY PATIE is a Lover gay	<i>Sings to the Tune of</i> Corn Riggs are bonny *First line is the same as 1725.	SANG XX. Corn Riggs are bonny *First line is the same as 1725

While significant structural changes such as the addition and removal of songs have been briefly discussed by Murray Pittock,²⁹ Alexander Law,³⁰ Leith Davis,³¹ Ian Brown,³² Claire Nelson,³³ Valentina Bold³⁴ and David McGuinness and Aaron McGregor,³⁵ the alterations to SANG X. or Bauldy's song have not been discussed in-depth, nor has been considered how these changes affected later editions of *The Gentle Shepherd*.

Number of verses in Bauldy's song

'Jocky said to Jenny', otherwise known as Bauldy's song, was given no number nor was the tune indicated in any of Ramsay's editions.³⁶ It was also not included in the section devoted to

²⁹ Murray Pittock. "Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre." *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 58.235 (2007): 316-37.

³⁰ Alexander Law, "Allan Ramsay and The Gentle Shepherd," 247-251.

³¹ Davis, "sang about," 188-203.

³² Brown, "Public and Private Performance," 22-40.

³³ Nelson, "Tea-Table Miscellanies," 597-618.

³⁴ Valentina Bold, *James Hogg: A Bard of Nature's Making*, (Bern, Peter Lang, 2007).

³⁵ McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources," 49-71.

³⁶ It should be noted the first line of the text is commonly given as the tune title, but it is unclear if this is a result of Ramsay's publication or if he was preserving a commonly known song. This issue is discussed in more detail in the new edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*.

The Gentle Shepherd found in the 1729 *Tea-Table Miscellany*.³⁷ Throughout the ballad opera, the majority of the songs are short, but Bauldy's is just one verse long and is more of a comical interlude than a noteworthy solo. However, in the 1725 play, the song, sung in Act IV, scene I, is more prominent, in part because it is four verses long and there is more of a comedic exchange between a drunken Bauldy and Mause, who he later accuses of being a witch. After Bauldy sings the first verse, Mause interrupts him to say 'WELL likit, *Bauldy*, that's a dainty Sang'. This only spurs Bauldy on to sing the remaining three verses proclaiming 'I'll gie ye't a', 'tis better than 'tis lang'.³⁸

Not only is this song unique because it is given no number or tune title, but it is also the only song in *The Gentle Shepherd*, where Ramsay did not pen new lyrics to be sung to an existing tune. Instead, he reprinted lyrics he had already published in the 1723 edition of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*.³⁹ Within *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, he attached the letter 'Z' to the lyrics denoting them to be old in their origin and the author unknown, so its inclusion may have been a nod to a well-known song in circulation.⁴⁰ This also might explain the lack of tune or title, since its presence added to the comedic value within the scene, by explicitly referencing a popularly-known song. Unfortunately, there are no manuscript or print sources, prior to Ramsay's publications extant, which could prove these lyrics were in circulation. It is also possible reusing the same lyrics as they appeared in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, was a clever marketing ploy, reminding readers this little ditty could be found in his other, popular song collection. After Ramsay's publication, the lyrics were more widely disseminated, appearing in the second edition of Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1733), *Bacchus and*

³⁷ Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd*, (1729), 57.

³⁸ Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd*, (1725), 57-58.

³⁹ Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1723): 141-142.

⁴⁰ Ramsay gave most of the songs in *The Tea-Table Miscellany* volume 1 a letter, indicating their origin. He appears to have been the first to commit the lyrics for 'Jocky said to Jenny' to print.

Venus (1737),⁴¹ *The Lark* (1740),⁴² *The Aviary* (1745), *Orpheus* (1749)⁴³ and *The Charmer* (1749)⁴⁴ as well as other song collections published in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

By the second edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in 1726, the song was shortened and intervening dialogue removed.⁴⁵ This edit remained in all other editions printed by Ruddiman, though there were presses that continued to print the additional verses and dialogue. The Dublin press of S. Powell, for example, produced an edition in 1727 which mirrored the original from 1725.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the title page claimed it had been 'carefully corrected according to the Edinburgh copy', perhaps hinting that the 1726 edition had been consulted.⁴⁷ S Powell also printed an edition of the ballad opera in 1733 and still retained the additional verses and dialogue.⁴⁸ It is possible the printer did not realise three verses from this song had been edited out.

The additional verses and dialogue did not appear in another edition until Andrew Miller's⁴⁹ 1752 edition of the ballad opera.⁵⁰ Miller, who was originally from Glasgow and

⁴¹ *Bacchus and Venus : or, a select collection of near 200 of the most witty and diverting songs and catches in love and gallantry, Many whereof never appeared in Print before*, (London: printed for R. Montague at the Book-Warehouse and General Post-Office, that End of Great Queens-Street next Drury lane, 1737): 1.

⁴² *The Lark, containing a collection of above four hundred and seventy English and Scotch Songs*, (London: printed for John Osborn, at the Golden Ball, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1740): 258.

⁴³ *Orpheus. A collection of one thousand nine hundred seventy-four of the most celebrated English and Scotch songs*, Vol. 2, (London: C. Hitch & J. Osborn, 1749): 182

⁴⁴ *The charmer; a choice collection of songs, English and Scots*, (Edinburgh: printed for J. Yair, and sold at his shop in the Parliament-Close, 1749): 334.

⁴⁵ Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy*, (Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, 1726): 57.

⁴⁶ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Carefully corrected according to the Edinburgh copy*. (Dublin: printed by S. Powell, 1727): 38.

⁴⁷ The press was owned by Deborah Powell (fl.1722-1731), after the death of her husband Stephen in 1722. Their son, Samuel, was assigned ownership in 1731. See Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000): 465.

⁴⁸ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Carefully corrected according to the Edinburgh copy*. (Dublin: printed by S. Powell, 1733): 409-410.

⁴⁹ Even though Andrew Miller (1705-68) had been in direct communication with Ramsay as early as 1735, where he declined to published one of Ramsay's poems. See "The Andrew Millar Project," *Circulating Enlightenment*, Edinburgh University. Accessed July, 15 2020. http://www.millar-project.ed.ac.uk/manuscripts/html_output/11.html.

⁵⁰ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy*, (London: printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1752): 41.

was closely connected with several Edinburgh presses, was a bookseller and publisher in London.⁵¹ Yet, his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* is remarkably similar to the 1733 S Powell edition.⁵² Both print the same title of 'SANG X' and 'SANG XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen' (hence SANG XV.), a song that Ramsay removed in his 1734 edition. Miller did spend some time in Dublin in the late 1740s, where he may have acquired a copy of the S Powell edition.⁵³

Twenty-six more editions printed by a variety of presses in Scotland, England and Ireland included all four verses and additional dialogue. These editions are listed below:

- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which are added, several poems, and an alphabetical glossary. By the same author.* (Edinburgh, James Reid bookseller in Leith, 1753).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy, written by Allan Ramsay.* (Edinburgh, printed for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, 1755).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. With new songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (printed by James Magee, at the Bible and Crown in Bridge-street, Belfast, 1755).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1758).
- *All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay.* (Dublin, printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).

⁵¹ See Richard B. Sher, Forging the Edinburgh-London Publishing Axis, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America*, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 265-401.

⁵² See "The Andrew Millar Project."

⁵³ Neassa Therese Doherty, "The Dublin Group: Irish mezzotint printmakers and the Dublin print trade c. 1740 to 1750," (PhD Dissertation, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2015): 20.

- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1760).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary. By the same author.* (Edinburgh, A. Donaldson and J. Reid. For A. Donaldson, 1761).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1763).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1763).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. With new songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (printed by James Magee, at the Bible and Crown in Bridge-street, Belfast, 1765).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1768).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for W. Strahan, J. & F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1772).
- *The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ's Kirk on the Green. A poem in three cantos.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).

- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by J. Robertson, (successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman), 1774).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (Aberdeen, printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. With new songs. By Allen Ramsay.* (Northern Ireland, printed by D. Carpenter, Sugar-Island, Newry, 1776).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-Market. Written by Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for Harrison and Co. No 18, Paternoster-Row; and sold, likewise by J. Wenman, Fleet-Street; and all other bookseller, 1779).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossery [sic], with other select pieces, by Allan Ramsay.* (Edinburgh, Robert Jameson, 1780).
- *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (Dundee, printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1780).
- *The select songs of The gentle shepherd. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. [Music arranged by Thomas Linley].* (London, printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand, 1781).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. With new songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (printed by James Magee, at the Bible and Crown in Bridge-street, Belfast, 1782).

- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by J. Robertson, (successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman), 1783).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. With new songs. By Allen Ramsay.* (Northern Ireland, printed by D. Carpenter, Sugar-Island, Newry, 1784).
- *The select songs of The gentle shepherd. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. [Music arranged by Thomas Linley].* (London, printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand, 1784).
- *The gentle shepherd: A scots pastoral comedy. (as acted upon the Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh.) By Allan Ramsay. [Music arranged by Thomas Linley].* (Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Alston. Sold by Patrick Anderson, bookseller, 1784).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for W. Strahan, J. & F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1786).

Though S Powell and Miller printed all three variances; four verses of Bauldy's song, titling Song X 'Winter was Cauld' and including 'Wat ye wha I met yestreen', the same cannot be said for all the printers listed above. However, Millar's influence on the printing industry both in Edinburgh and London was undeniable, and several of the printers listed in the above table were closely connected to Millar and his press. Thomas Cadell (1742–1802) was Millar's junior partner and successor, and Thomas Becket (fl. 1760-1785) was his former apprentice. Alexander Donaldson (1727-1794) was also known to publish reprints of works that were no

longer protected by the Statute of Anne⁵⁴ and was closely connected to Millar and Becket, albeit through difficult court cases that challenged his printing strategy.⁵⁵ It is unsurprising that these printers would use Millar's edition as a model in their reprintings of *The Gentle Shepherd*. Printers may have also assumed editions with one verse of the song were incomplete, not realising the song had been edited down as early as the 1726 edition. This is likely why Robertson, who was the successor to Ramsay's publishers, Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, included all four verses in two of their editions.

'Sang X' title change

In 1734, the title of song ten changed from 'SANG X. Winter was cauld, and my cleathing was thin sung by Peggy and Patie'⁵⁶ (hence Winter was Cauld') to 'SANG X. The yellow hair'd Laddie'.⁵⁷ Initially, there is no obvious link between these two titles; and yet, the line 'The Weather was Cauld, and my Cleathing was thin' is the first line of the second verse found in the original lyrics associated with the tune 'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie'. Ramsay published the original lyrics in the second volume of *The Tea-Table Miscellany* under the title 'The Auld Yellow Hair'd Laddie' as well as setting several of his own lyrics to the tune.⁵⁸

There is no evidence to suggest this tune was ever titled 'Winter was cauld'. Though no source for the original lyrics before *The Tea-Table Miscellany* is extant, the tune title,

⁵⁴ The Statute of Anne, or the Copyright Act 1710 was the first statute to provide for copyright regulated by the government and courts. A work could be copyrighted for a period of fourteen years, with the possibility of renewing the copyright for a similar term thereafter. Only the author and the printers could license the work. Following this, the work's copyright would expire, with the material falling into the public domain. See Mark Rose, *The Public Sphere and the Emergence of Copyright: Areopagitica, the Stationers' Company and the Statute of Anne*. *Tulane Journal of Technology and Intellectual Property*. Tulane University Law School. 12.1, (2009): 123-144.

⁵⁵ Ronan Deazley, 'Commentary on Donaldson v. Becket (1774)', in *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, eds L. Bently & M. Kretschmer, (2008). Accessed 1 August 2020. www.copyrighthistory.org.

⁵⁶ Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, (1729): 176.

⁵⁷ Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd*, (1734): 34.

⁵⁸ Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany; or, a Collection of Scots Sangs. Volume the Second*. (Edinburgh: [Ruddiman] for Ramsay, 1726): 142.

'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie', can be traced back to the seventeenth-century.⁵⁹ There are three broadside ballads printed between 1672-1701 that invite readers to sing the printed song to this tune and all three print different lyrics.⁶⁰ Three different versions of 'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie' are musically notated in *The Balcarres Lute Book* (c.1700) under the titles 'The yellow haired ladie, mr beck's way', 'My own dear honey, be kind to me, or the yellow haired ladie, by mr lessly' and 'The yellow haired ladie, heneretta imbries way, by mr beck, much helped'.⁶¹ The notated tune can also be found in Mrs Crockat's Music Book (1709) under the title 'yellowhaired laddie'⁶² and the Gairdyn MS (1700-1739), titled 'The yellow hair'd Ladie'.⁶³ Even music collections contemporary to Ramsay such as John and William Neal's 1724 Dublin publication *A Collection of the most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the violin*,⁶⁴ Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*,⁶⁵ Alexander Stuart's *Collection of Scots Songs*⁶⁶ and Adam Craig's 1727 *A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes* (hence *Scots Tunes*)⁶⁷ give the same title for the tune. No other manuscript or publication extant uses the title 'Winter was Cauld' or 'The Weather was Cauld' excepting the 1729 edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*.

The decision to replace the updated tune title with something more familiar was likely a practical one. After all, this particular scene already included a new composition titled 'By thy delicious warmness of thy mouth', which would not have been widely known.⁶⁸ As such,

⁵⁹ See Murray Pittock, (ed). *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns: Volumes II and III: The Scots Musical Museum*. Volume 2-3. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁶⁰ "The Country-mans care in choosing a Wife". (London, Printed for P. Brooksby, 1672-1696?.); "THE / Royal Shepherd's / Happy Life," (Edinburgh, 1700); "BONNY HELEN / A New Song," (Edinburgh, 1701).

⁶¹ The full manuscript is published in Matthew Spring (ed), *The Balcarres Lute Book*, (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2010): 16-17, 82-83 and 127.

⁶² *Mrs Crockat's music book* [with date '1709'], KET BH6 (formerly K-11-17), in the library of Duke of Buccleuch, Boughton House Northamptonshire.

⁶³ John Gairdyn music book [with dates '1710', '1729', '1735']. *En Glen 37* [MS 3298], National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

⁶⁴ *A Collection of the most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the violin*, (Dublin: John and William Neal, [ca. 1724]): 11.

⁶⁵ Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, (1725), 7.

⁶⁶ Stuart, *Collection of Scots Songs*, 84-85.

⁶⁷ Adam Craig, *Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes*, (Edinburgh: SN, Engraved by R. Cooper, 1727): 15.

⁶⁸ The music of 'By thy delicious warmness of thy mouth' is titled 'Patie & Peggy' in Stuart *Collection of Scots Songs*, 150-151.

titling one song with an obscure tune title as well as including a completely new composition may have done more to confuse his readers than intrigue them.

After 1734, most editions printed the new song title, 'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie', but there were nine exceptions. Miller printed the old song title, 'Winter was Cauld', in all three of his editions (1752, 1758 and 1763). The other publishers who included this old title in their editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* are listed below.

- *All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay.* (Dublin, printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).
- *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy: As it was acted with great applause at the theatre in Edinburgh / written by Allan Ramsey; and now adapted to publick representation by Mr. Digges.* (London, printed for Hulton Bradley, at the King's-Arms and Two Bibles in Dame-street, 1759).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for W. Strahan, J. & F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1772).
- *The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ's Kirk on the Green. A poem in three cantos.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (Aberdeen, printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).
- *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* [Reprint of the 1772 edition], (London, Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1786).

Again, Millar's influence is apparent: Willian Strahan (1715-1785) purchased many of his titles after his death and collaborated with Millar's successor, Cadell on several publishing ventures, including the 1772 edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*. It is likely Chamberlaine, Duncan and Boyle were using Millar's 1752 edition as a model, as they printed all three variances, including 'Wat ye wha I met yestreen', discussed below. Digges made so many cuts to the work, it is difficult to determine if he too were working from an earlier edition that included the old title, but this is likely to have been the case.

Cutting 'SANG XV Wat ye wha I met Yestreen'

Though there is no definitive reason why 'SANG XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen.' (hence SANG XV.) was cut from the 1734 edition its exclusion does not affect the narrative or structure of the ballad opera. The lyrics complement crucial themes in the plot – refinement and learning – but this issue was already established earlier in the narrative.⁶⁹ As such, this song added to the run time without contributing anything new to the story.

Even the tune was not the most circulated in contemporary sources. Indeed, there is no evidence to support John Glen's claim that the melody appeared in most Scottish music collections, excepting *Orpheus Caledonius* and Craig's *Scots Tunes*.⁷⁰ The only collection it appears in before 1734 is Stuart's *Collection of Scots Songs*, and this is because of its relationship to Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*.⁷¹ Even after 1734, it did not appear in prominent collections such as McGibbon's *A Collection of Scots Tunes* (1761) and Barsanti's *Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (1742), though it can be found in later collections such as

⁶⁹ Bold, *James Hogg*, 30.

⁷⁰ John Glen, *Early Scottish Melodies*, (Edinburgh: J. & R. Glenn, 1900): 117.

⁷¹ The tune is used in *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723). 'Now wah ye wha ye met yestreen' is the first line to the song titled 'The young laird and Edinburgh Katy' printed in *Poems* (Edinburgh: Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, 1721).

James Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (1756),⁷² Robert Bremner's *A collection of Scots reels or country dances* (1758)⁷³ and Neil Gow's *Second Collection of Niel Gow's Reels* (1788).⁷⁴ This suggests the tune may have been familiar to readers as early as 1729 but it may not have been popular enough, at this early stage, to have justified its continued inclusion in *The Gentle Shepherd*, especially when the lyrics offered no new material to support the overall narrative.

Even so, it continued to be printed in eighteen editions between 1734-1788, and it should be noted that eight of the printers did not update the title of SANG X. All eighteen editions also printed all four verses of Bauldy's song and the additional dialogue. These printers may have aimed to provide a *complete* edition.

List of publishers who printed Sang XV and included SANG X 'Winter was Cauld'

- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1752).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1758).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1763).
- *All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay.* (Dublin, printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).

⁷² James Oswald, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Vol 8., (London: Printed for J. Simpson, [1756]): 40.

⁷³ Robert Bremner *A collection of Scots reels or country dances* (London: Robert Bremner, 1765): 25.

⁷⁴ Niel Gow, *Second Collection of Niel Gow's Reels*, (Edinburgh: Printed for Corri & Sutherland, 1788): 11.

- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for W. Strahan, J. & F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1772).
- *The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ's Kirk on the Green. A poem in three cantos.* (Glasgow, Printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for W. Strahan, J. & F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1786).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay.* (Aberdeen, printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).
-

List of publishers who printed Sang XV and did not included SANG X 'Winter was Cauld'

- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which are added, several poems, and an alphabetical glossary. By the same author.* (Edinburgh, James Reid bookseller in Leith, 1753).
- *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy, written by Allan Ramsay.* (Edinburgh, printed for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, 1755).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1760).
- *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary. By the same author.* (Edinburgh, A. Donaldson and J. Reid. For A. Donaldson, 1761).

- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1763).
- *The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words.* (SN. printed in Newcastle, 1768).
- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by J. Robertson, (successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman), 1774).
- *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (Dundee, printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1779).
- *The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay.* (Dundee, printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1780).
- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary.* (Glasgow, printed and sold by J. Robertson, (successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman), 1783).

Ten printers updated the title of SANG X but did not remove SANG XV.⁷⁵ As such, this created a higher number of variant editions. Throughout the eighteenth century, the following variant editions were in circulation:

- Reprints of the 1729 with the edited Bauldy's song, the original SANG X. title, and SANG XV.
- The 1729 edition with four verses in Bauldy's song, the original SANG X. title, and SANG XV.

⁷⁵ Digges edition cut several songs, including 'Sang XV Wat ye wha I met yestreen'. It is difficult to determine if the song would have remained in the edition otherwise.

- Reprints of the 1734 edition with the edited Bauldy's song, the updated title SANG X and no SANG XV.
- Editions with four verses in Bauldy's song, the original SANG X. title and no SANG XV.
- Editions with four verses in Bauldy's song, the updated title for SANG X and SANG XV.

Overall, these variances are minor considering the rest of the work is unchanged from the original printings, with no evidence to suggest these printers were deliberately altering the song material. The desire was to capitalise on repeatedly reprinting the ballad opera, not to change or update it. Had the 1729 or 1734 edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, been marked as the final version, these later variances may not have occurred with the same regularity. Of course, there are instances where a printer introduced new errors and one particular error was replicated by others in the industry, though these further demonstrate the close connections between printers during this time.

Replacing 'Corn Riggs' with the 'Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn'

One minor anomaly stemmed from a misprint made by Harrison and Co. in 1779, where 'The Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn', and 'Corn Riggs' were both titled 'Sang XX'.⁷⁶ Two subsequent editions printed by R. Morison and Son⁷⁷ and for Robert Jameson⁷⁸ in 1780 titled the penultimate *and* final songs 'Sang XIX' and stated they should both be sung to the same tune: 'The Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn'. The tune 'Corn Riggs' was removed entirely. Though Morison

⁷⁶ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-Market.* (London: printed for Harrison and Co., 1779): 17 and 20.

⁷⁷ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossary,* (Perth: Printed by and for R. Morison and Son, 1780): 99 and 115.

⁷⁸ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossary [sic], with other select pieces, by Allan Ramsay.* (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Jameson, 1780): 100 and 115.

reprinted the error in 1788, no other editions mis-sequenced the song numbers or suggested the final song should be sung to the tune 'The Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn' instead of 'Corn Riggs'.

The arrival of musical notation in editions of *The Gentle Shepherd*

Thus far, the article has highlighted variances occurring that may have been unknowingly introduced into editions printed after 1734. However, the appearance of music notation within editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* was a deliberate addition, marking a transition point in the history of the work, where the musical material became more definitive. John Robertson, the younger (fl.1739-1774)⁷⁹ was the first to offer an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* with typeset music scores.⁸⁰ While including music usefully indicated the correct tune, the notation was not designed for singing. The ornamental signs, such as the old-fashioned double stroke indicating a 'shake' is distinctly instrumental and the note beaming does not follow the text setting as it would in vocal music.⁸¹ Even the title page states the music is the 'Overtures to the Songs' and not the songs themselves. Five other editions reprinted Robertson's musical notation:

- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay.* (Aberdeen, printed by David Willison: for Alexander Angus and Son, Booksellers, 1769).
- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay.* (London, printed for John Donaldson, corner of Arundel Street, No. 195. Strand, 1775).

⁷⁹ John Robertson was described as a bookseller in Thomas Ruddiman's list of debts for books bought between 1 January 1739-15 December 1739. Robert Hay Carnie, and Ronald Paterson Doig. "Scottish Printers and Booksellers 1668-1775: A Supplement," *Studies in Bibliography* 12 (1959): 154.

⁸⁰ Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy; adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary*, (Glasgow: printed for John Robertson Jnr., 1758).

⁸¹ See McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources", 53.

- *The gentle shepherd: A scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay.* (Edinburgh, printed by Robert and Richard Wilsons, for J. Wood and W. Darling booksellers, 1776).
- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay,* (London, printed for Charles Elliot, Parliament-Square, 1776).
- *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy, by Allan Ramsay. A new edition, with the sangs, carefully corrected. To which is added, familiar epistles between Lieutenant William Hamilton and the author.* (printed by Gavin Alston. Sold by W. Wood bookseller, 1783).

'SANG XV Wat ye wha I met yestreen' does not appear in any of these editions and music notation is not provided for Bauldy's song, though the lyrics are printed.

J. Brown, a printer in Perth, used Robertson's instrumental overtures but made them appear suitable for singing by adjusting some of the note beaming (a line connecting multiple consecutive notes to indicate rhythmic groupings) and underlaying the song texts. The title page was also revised, replacing the reference to overtures with 'original music'.⁸² As a result, the settings are awkward and inaccurate. Some lyrics are crammed into too few notes and the fast-paced, instrumental-style writing, easily negotiated on a violin or flute, has not been revised to suit a singer. Jenny's song 'Were I assured you'd constant prove' sung to the tune 'Leith Wynd' is a prime example of the instrumental stylings at odds with the underlaid text.⁸³ While some editing has been carried out –the beaming has been changed in the final bar to match the rhythm of the lyrical text– the notation is a direct lift from Robertson's edition.

⁸² Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd, by Allan Ramsay: with the original music. To which are added, the familiar epistles, and a complete glossary.* (Perth: Printed by J. Brown, 1786).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

Were I as-sur'd you'd con-stant prove, You should nae mair com-plain, the ea-sy mi-nd be set wi'
 love, few words will quick-ly gain. For I must owe, now since you're free this too fond heart of mine has lang a
 bla-ck sole true to thee Wish'd to be pai-
 -r'd wi' thine. Wish'd to be pai- - - -r'd wi' thine. Wish'd to be pair'd wi' thine.

Figure 1: 'Were I assur'd you'd constant prove' sung by Jenny. From *The Gentle Shepherd*, (Perth: Printed by J. Brown, 1786). All notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming are diplomatically transcribed.

Figure 2: 'Leith Wynd' from *The Gentle Shepherd* (Glasgow: printed for John Robertson Jnr., 1758): 58. The only differences between this musical text and the 1786 is the beaming and the inclusion of 'shakes'. The 1786 edition also included a few more slurs. All notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming are diplomatically transcribed.

Most of the songs in Brown's edition include upbeat notes, an unaccented beat that comes before the first downbeat of a bar, but not in every case. The song 'I yield dear lassie' sung to the tune 'Nancy's to the greenwood gane' is missing the upbeat, leaving the first 'I' in the sentence without a note. As such, the singer would be forced to squeeze the word into the first available note or to ignore the textual underlay.⁸⁴

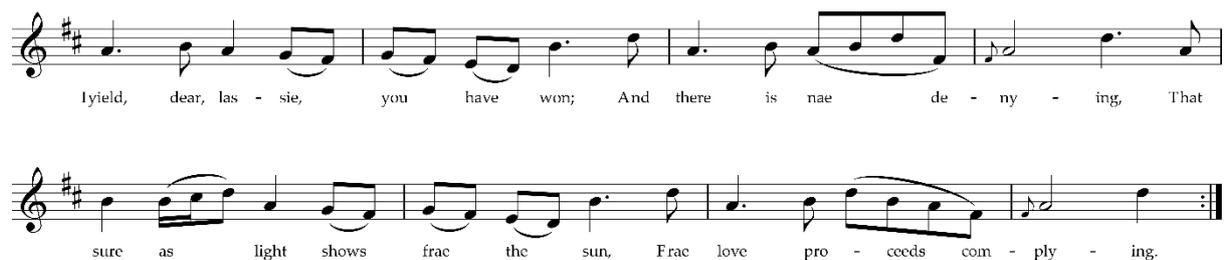


Figure 3: First half of 'I yield dear lassie'. Note, 'I' has no assigned note and is crammed into 'yield. From *The Gentle Shepherd*, (Perth: Printed by J. Brown, 1786): 19. All notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming are diplomatically transcribed.

Just a few scenes later, Mause's song 'Peggy now the King's come' sung to the tune 'Carle and the King come' has too many lyrics to fit into the melody line, so the two quaver upbeat notes remain without any underlaid text. While an instrumental accompaniment could easily cover these, no other song in the edition includes extraneous notes, and there is no indication instruments are required to play the music.



Figure 4: First line of 'Peggy now the king's come'. Note, the first two notes have no corresponding lyrics. From *The Gentle Shepherd*, (Perth: Printed by J. Brown, 1786): 27. All

⁸⁴Ibid., 19.

notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming are diplomatically transcribed.

Unlike the previous editions, Bauldy's song –appearing as a single verse– is musically notated and underlaid. Though there are a few rhythmic differences, it is the same tune found in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*⁸⁵ and Stuart's *Collection of Scots Songs*.⁸⁶

As noted by McGuinness and McGregor, other editions produced in the 1780s which included musical texts became, 'increasingly confident and professional in their presentation'.⁸⁷ Linley's new arrangements and settings of the songs from *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in London in 1781 is a fine example; however, this edition includes the songs alone, without the additional Ramsay text. Linley reused most of the same tunes for his arrangements, but the melodies have been simplified and are designed for a vocalist.⁸⁸ The melody line is cleaner, more straightforward and aligns with the sung syllables. These arrangements also provide simple and supportive bass lines, and short instrumental introductory and concluding symphonies.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, vol. 2, (1733), 7.

⁸⁶ Stuart, *Collection of Scots Songs*, 142-143.

⁸⁷ McGuinness and McGregor, "Ramsay's Musical Sources", 55-56.

⁸⁸ Thomas Linley, *The Gentle Shepherd, A Pastoral Opera*. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The Overture, Songs & Duets and Accompaniments, (London: Printed for Harrison, Cluse & Co., 1781).

⁸⁹ Linley did not set all of the songs found in *The Gentle Shepherd* and the original tunes associated with Bauldy's song changed. Patie's song 'At setting day', originally set to the tune 'The Bush Aboon Tranquair' was also replaced for a melody composed by Samuel Howard (1710?–1782). See Steve Newman's article in this special issue.

Moderato

Were I as-sur'd ye'd con-stant prove ye shou'd nae mair com - plain the ea-sy maid be - set wi' love few words will quick - ly

gain *Sy.* for I must ain now syn yere free this too fond hear - to' mine wi'

con - stan - cy still true to thee wish'd to be pair'd wi' thine. *Sy.*

1. 2.

Figure 5: 'Were I assur'd you'd constant prove'. From Thomas Linley, *The Gentle Shepherd, A Pastoral Opera*. As performed at the Theatre Royal, (London: Printed for Harrison, Cluse & Co., 1781): 29. All notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming are diplomatically transcribed.

Linley did a good job to maintain the essence of the original tunes, while also adapting them to suit a London theatre audience. The edition is indicative of sheet music publications designed for the amateur, domestic music-making market. Indeed, it is just one of the many

examples of theatre songs repackaged as music to be played in the home, which became commonplace in the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁹⁰

There are many similarities between Linley's settings and those found in the 1788 edition and it is possible Foulis had seen Linley's arrangements. The melody lines are clear, the beaming has been adjusted to align with the underlaid text, slurs have been introduced to provide further clarification regarding the textual underlay, and a simple figured bass line provides harmonic support. The melody is not as simple as that used by Linley, maintaining more of the original rhythmic flavour from the musical texts found in the 1758 Robertson edition, but it is distinctly vocal in style. Between the two editions, many of the songs are in the same key, perhaps an indication Linley's settings directly influenced how Foulis chose to print the musical text in the 1788 edition.

The 1788 Foulis edition incorporates Ramsay's final edits from 1734, with one exception. The one-verse version of Bauldy's song is musically notated and correctly placed within the song material printed at the end of the edition. It is consistent with the edited version from 1734, but it is now titled 'Enter Bauldy singing'. Any uncertainties appearing in previous printings are 'fixed' and this is quite fitting for an edition that effectively memorialised the author and his most successful work since it preserved Ramsay's final edits.⁹¹

Conclusion

While this article has shown that the same four variances appear in several editions printed between 1734-1788, the rest of the song material is consistent with the 1729 and 1734

⁹⁰ See Kirsteen McCue, "About the project", *Romantic National Song Network*, accessed July, 15, 2020, <https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/about-the-project/>.

⁹¹ See Craig Lamont, "Allan Ramsay and Edinburgh: Commemoration in the City of Forgetting," *Scottish Literary Review*, 10.1, (Spring/Summer 2018): 128

edition. Few printers or editors were willing to significantly alter the songs other than to provide further supporting material, such as music notation. Even where variances do occur, they mostly stem from edits made to the song material found in editions printed by Ruddiman between 1725-1734. These may have been incorporated into later editions produced by other printers, simply because they were unaware some of the song material had been altered. Though there are editions that make more radical edits, such as Digges' 1759 edition or Linley's new arrangements of the songs, these are rare exceptions. Even in these two cases; they remain faithful to the majority of the existing song material. More research will need to be carried out to determine if the variances were eliminated after the publication of Foulis's 1788 edition. Still, this article has shown that the song material resolved to a more solidified state after 1734. Throughout the eighteenth century, the songs continued to settle into a stable structure once music notation was introduced and specific editions aimed for a more professional and luxurious presentation of the work.