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Ramsay's Musical Sources: Reconstructing a Poet's Musical Memory

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Ramsay's Musical Sources: Reconstructing a Poet's
Musical Memory

Abstract

This article sets out the editorial issues in preparing music for an edition of Ramsay's songs, assessing the relevance and usefulness of various sources in developing an understanding of his musical language. Ramsay only specified the titles of the intended airs rather than providing musical texts of his own; however, the musical sources most directly associated with him and his song texts tend either to be instrumental in conception, or to relate to performance practices quite removed from his apparent intentions. This paper argues that individual musical sources should be viewed as witnesses to points in the transmission process, rather than definitive instructions for performance. The function of musical notation can be subtle when the music is also aurally or orally transmitted, and in order to reveal Ramsay's most likely conception of a tune when composing a song, earlier musical sources may be more relevant than those with a clear connection to Ramsay's own texts.

THE EDITORIAL PROBLEM — WHAT IS THE MUSICAL TEXT?

The main challenge to presenting a detailed account of the music for Allan Ramsay's songs is that Ramsay did not provide a musical text of his own. From the *Scots Songs* of 1718–1720 onwards, he gave only the title of the air to which each song was to be sung, and it was later that musical notation for his songs began to appear in print, either with the play text of *The Gentle Shepherd*, or published in separate volumes alongside *Tea-Table Miscellany*.

This music was already in transmission by aural/oral and printed means, and the surviving sources function as witnesses to points in this trans-

mission process, rather than as idealised copy texts. It will become clear that when comparing the musical texts to Ramsay's songs, the most relevant musical witnesses are not necessarily those with the most direct relationship to Ramsay himself.

In the preparation of an edition of Ramsay's songs, an ideal musical text is unlikely to present itself, given the extent of variation in the extant sources. An alternative aim, and a complex but more pragmatic one, is to understand something of what Ramsay meant when he specified the use of a particular tune. To do this, we will have to investigate further the implications of the testimony from contemporary witnesses.

EARLY MUSICAL SOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH *THE TEA-TABLE MISCELLANY*

The lack of an authoritative extant musical text emphasises that Ramsay expected the music of the songs to be heard rather than read. He had no need to present musical notation, because he could hear the tunes in his head, and could assume to some extent that his readers had knowledge of a similar repertoire: what has been described as a 'common stock' of tunes.¹

However, the success of *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (TTM) made it clear that there could be a market for printed music to accompany the song texts: the first to capitalise on this was William Thomson in London, with his *Orpheus Caledonius* of 1725–6, followed later by a less lavish edition in 1733 (henceforward OC1 and OC2).² Thomson was probably born in Edinburgh in the 1680s, the son of Daniel Thomson, one of the King's trumpeters for Scotland. He is listed as singing solos in a St Cecilia's Day concert in Edinburgh which took place sometime between 1695 and 1710. By 1722, he was in London and known for singing fashionable Scots songs for the nobility.³

The first edition of *Orpheus Caledonius* is clearly intended for an affluent readership: it is a high-quality folio edition, at the cost of one guinea, with an illustrious list of over 300 mainly upper-class subscribers and a dedication to the Princess of Wales. The presentation and musical style, possibly based on Thomson's own performances, appear far removed from the naturalistic oral culture Ramsay referred to, and quite different in character from the genteel domestic performances Ramsay described in the prefatory verse of TTM.

The setting of 'The Lass of Patie's Mill' is fairly representative of

Thomson's style. The vocal writing is technically demanding, with a range of a twelfth ($d' - a''$),⁴ wide leaps, and melismatic writing, where a single syllable is set to several notes. The melody line includes fairly dense ornamentation, incorporating ornament symbols (trills and appoggiaturas), and written-out vocal flourishes. The accompaniments are in the form of an elegant, flowing, Italian baroque-style bass line.⁵

Ramsay's initial response to Thomson (if indeed Thomson's book was published first, which is not entirely certain)⁶ was to issue his own musical volume in collaboration with the violinist Alexander Stuart in Edinburgh.⁷ *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* of c. 1726, a very small, oblong book measuring 8 x 12.5cm in contrast to the opulence of *OCI*, was sold in six numbers and aimed at a similar, but possibly more local, market to that for *TTM*. There is no list of subscribers, but each of the book's six sections is inscribed to a patron, including 'the Right Honourable Countess of Eglintoun', Susanna Montgomery (*née* Kennedy), also the dedicatee of the 1725 edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*.⁸ The book contains 71 tunes in the order that they appear in *TTM*, set with active but simple unfigured bass lines. The arrangements are much starker than *OCI*, with almost no prescribed ornaments, and simpler melodic writing. At first sight, this collection offers a primary source of music for Ramsay's texts: it was produced in collaboration with Ramsay, and its straightforward musical settings are perhaps more reflective of wider oral practice.⁹

However, there are still some significant issues. Stuart's arrangements were clearly not designed purely as vocal settings: no song texts are included with the music, and although no instrumentation is named, the frontispiece features an illustration of a violinist holding an unexpectedly large violin, and a spinet player whose instrument has been engraved in reverse. While lacking the dense ornamentation of *OCI*, many vocal difficulties are also present in Stuart's melodies, including the use of a high register, wide leaps, and written out flourishes and melismas. Even more problematic is the fact that the music often fails to comfortably fit Ramsay's songs. Extended passages of short notes can obscure the rhythms of the verse, line endings have extra notes which seem to imply more syllables per line than Ramsay provides, and on many occasions the only possible fit of words to music leads to awkward wide leaps on a single syllable.

There is no evidence that Stuart's book was a commercial success, and given that volume sales could not be guaranteed, some eighteenth-century

publishers saved themselves the work and expense of preparing new musical material for Ramsay's songs simply by basing their own volumes upon Thomson's work. An early example of this, *The Scotch Orpheus* of 1731,¹⁰ was intended to be sold alongside Watson's 1730 edition of *TTM*,¹¹ and designed as a cheaper alternative to *OCI*, at the far lower price of 2s. 6d. On the title page of *The Scotch Orpheus*, we read that the volume 'contains all the tunes in Mr. Thomson's Folio Edition', and the only changes to *OCI*'s musical texts are that Watson has stripped away most of the musical decorations: to see all of Thomson's baroque ornamentation, the reader would have to pay Thomson's full price. As a result, *The Scotch Orpheus* is far closer both in shape and in spirit to *TTM*.

Whether as a reaction to this or not, William Thomson's next move in



FIG. 1: 'The lass of Paties Mill', *The Scotch Orpheus* (London: J. Watson, 1731). Collection of William Zachs, Edinburgh.

1733 was to issue a second, less ostentatious, edition of *Orpheus Caledonius* in two volumes, in a smaller, cheaper format, with recomposed arrangements in a less fussily ornate style. *OC2*'s engraved music was printed separately from the typeset texts, and each has its own sequence of page numbers: copies survive with only one of the sequences, so they may also have been available for sale separately.¹² This would provide Ramsay with a further reason to be concerned about Thomson's plagiarism of his work: in the preface to his 1733 edition of *TTM*, Ramsay noted that

From this and the following volume, Mr Thomson (who is allowed by all, to be a good teacher and singer of Scots Songs) cull'd his *Orpheus Caledonius* [. . .]. 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.

Thomson's book provides a record of one fashionable professional London singer's approach to the songs, and in the second edition we can see his moderation of some of his own stylistic excesses, after a rival publisher had simply removed them from his musical text.¹³ Stuart's book, on the other hand, is a guide to how one might play the tunes in order to learn them. Neither of these is a book of popular songs, as *TTM* is.

EARLY MUSICAL SOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH *THE GENTLE SHEPHERD*

Turning to *The Gentle Shepherd*, printed musical texts from the time of its first performances are scarce. The first candidate is Theophilus Cibber's 1730 London play text of *Patie and Peggy: or, The Fair Foundling. A Scotch ballad opera*. [. . .] *With the Musick prefix'd to each Song*.¹⁴ The play is largely derived (with attribution) from *The Gentle Shepherd*, and the tunes are given as single treble lines in a block of simple staff notation, above the texts of the songs. The first printing of *The Gentle Shepherd* to incorporate the tunes in this manner is Robertson's Glasgow edition of 1758.¹⁵ Robertson's titlepage is more explicit about the nature of the musical content: it is 'the Overtures to the Songs' which are included, and the musical text includes a sprinkling of ornament signs, in the old-fashioned English form of the double-stroke 'shake', which suggests that these are primarily instrumental settings, and

possibly taken from earlier printed or MS collections. This may well also have been the case with Cibber's *Patie and Peggy*: the term 'musick' rather than 'air' carries some implication of the use of instruments rather than voice, and this makes sense with respect to Stuart's *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* too.

The popularity of the songs outside their dramatic context is illustrated in the publication of Robert Bremner's *The Songs in the Gentle Shepherd. Adapted for the Guitar* (Edinburgh: Bremner, [c. 1765]). This contains eighteen of the songs, and he notes that he had previously published the others in his *Instructions for the Guitar* (Edinburgh: Bremner, [1758]). The type of guitar in question (sometimes spelt 'guittar' in this context) is also known as the English Guitar or Portuguese Guitar, a small cittern-like instrument with double courses of metal strings which are tuned to an open major chord.¹⁶ While it was a relatively cheap instrument to buy (Bremner advertised guitars at two to six guineas on the titlepage of his *Instructions*), it became fashionable particularly for ladies, who can be seen holding or playing them in many portraits from the 1760s to the end of the century.¹⁷

Bremner provided the simplest of arrangements, presenting the tunes with only the occasional chord or chain of parallel thirds below, and he kept within the narrow selection of keys which are available in the guitar's open tuning. On the final page of his *Instructions*, he explains some of the difficulties of singing with the instrument, suggesting a twelfth from *a'* (or an octave below this for men) as a 'proper Compass on it for the Generality of Voices', and noting that 'those Guitars that have moving Bridges on the Neck have the Advantage of the others; as by such, the Instrument is enabled to suit the voice with any Pitch of Song.' The *Gentle Shepherd* melodies are left almost undecorated, and they have their texts underlaid, giving the clear impression that Bremner's publication is a songbook intended for widespread amateur use.

Some eighteenth-century publications carry songs from *The Gentle Shepherd* along with material from TTM. Bremner's handsome *Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord. The Music taken from the Most genuine Sets extant, the Words from Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh: Bremner, [1757]; also a London edition of c. 1770 in two books) contains straightforward arrangements for one and for two voices with figured bass. The first verse is underlaid in each case, and subsequent verses appear on separate typeset pages, but within the same sequence of page numbers. Neil Stewart, in his

Thirty Scots Songs Adapted for a Voice and Harpsichord (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, [c. 1780]) copied Bremner's title down to the mis-spelling of Ramsay's name on its title page (the London edition of Bremner's volume has 'Allen Ramsey'; Stewart's has 'Allan Ramsey'), but Stewart's musical text is a little more sophisticated in its presentation, with introductory and concluding symphonies, and occasionally more fluent basslines.

Similar symphonies, and even interludes in the middle of a verse, are given with the songs in the publication of *The Overture, Songs & Duets in the Pastoral Opera of the Gentle Shepherd as Performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London: S. A. & P. Thompson, [1782]). The arrangements from a 1781 production of Richard Tickell's English version are mostly by the elder Thomas Linley, and the overture includes Linley junior's violin concerto movement on 'Kate Dalrymple', compressed onto two staves in short score. The singers in this production are named above their songs, but even in a souvenir edition such as this one, the vocal lines are far from ostentatious, and there is none of the baroque decoration familiar from Thomson fifty years earlier. In 'The Wawking of the Fauld' the tune has been subtly rewritten, but to suit Ann Brown (Mrs Cargill)'s preferred soprano register, rather than to showcase her repertoire of virtuosic ornamentation.¹⁸

The Foulis edition of the playtext of *The Gentle Shepherd* was the first to include comprehensive engraved musical material at the back of the volume (Glasgow: A. Foulis, 1788). The songs have figured basses, and tempo indications: 'Slowish', 'Lively but not Quick', and for 'Corn Riggs are Bonny', the only Italian term, 'Andante'. There are no introductory or concluding symphonies, which might suggest that these arrangements were as much for private use as public performance, or it could simply be that performances in Scotland were less musically elaborate than those at London's Theatre Royal. The vocal writing appears to be designed to span a range of styles. The first song, Patie's 'The Wawking of the Fauld' is presented as simply as possible, whereas the carefully composed opening section of Patie and Peggy's duet at the end of Act 2 has precisely notated rhythmic detail in the vocal line, and a self-consciously elegant bass. Peggy's 'Woes my heart that we shou'd sunder' and 'Bush aboon Traquair' are both ornate enough to suggest that they represent stage versions by a professional singer: the first of these has notated pauses which might allow for *mezza di voce* or even short cadenzas.

By the 1780s, these musical texts have become increasingly confident and

professional in their presentation, and they are very useful in indicating the basic outline of the tunes to the modern reader; however, they are also weighed down with up to fifty years of performance traditions, whether domestic or theatrical, rather than relating more directly to what Ramsay's original conceptions of the music may have been. The present-day fetishisation of composers' supposed original intentions and of works' first performances can become tiresome, and indeed it can be argued that the works *in performance* now have no need to be faithful to idealised notions of Ramsay's intentions, which may have been diverse rather than restrictive. Nonetheless, some exploration of these original intentions is still necessary to understand how the songs were constructed, and how they formed the basis for later performance traditions.

FUNCTIONS OF NOTATION WITHIN AN ORAL/AURAL CULTURE

In 2001, David McGuinness prepared and directed the music for two concert performances of *The Gentle Shepherd* with Concerto Caledonia at the Edinburgh International Festival, drawing on an assortment of sources from the later eighteenth century, as appropriate for the particular group of specialist musicians. Rather than aiming for historical veracity, the aim was to cherry-pick some of the more interesting musical settings, supplementing the Foulis edition with material from William McGibbon, James Oswald, William Thomson, Francesco Barsanti, even Thomas Linley and Pietro Urbani. This was the first EIF production since Tyrone Guthrie's in 1949: Guthrie's musical arrangements were provided by Cedric Thorpe Davie, who had recruited a young Kenneth McKellar to sing the part of Patie two years earlier for a BBC broadcast.¹⁹

As preliminary preparation, Concerto Caledonia recorded the finale 'Corn Riggs are Bonny' with soprano Mhairi Lawson as Peggy, to appear on an album of eighteenth-century Scottish-Italian music entitled *Mungrel Stuff*.²⁰ The musical text used was Francesco Barsanti's *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes With the Bass for Violoncello or Harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Alexander Baillie, 1742), a source twenty years too late to tell us what might have been in Ramsay's head, but which presents similar issues to those from Ramsay's contemporary sources, or indeed earlier ones. The use of an Italian's setting was not accidental: Ramsay's *A Scots Cantata* was written in

collaboration with the Italian cellist Lorenzo Bocchi in the 1720s.²¹ Foreign musicians can easily be written out of the history of vernacular traditions: even Robert Burns may have been guilty of this, omitting composer and cellist Christoff Schetky from the drinking company in 'Willie brew'd a peck o' maut', possibly because his name wouldn't sit well in the Scots verse.²² Barsanti's presentation of the tune in his *Scots Times* is ornate:²³ he may have been attempting to record the decorations of the tune made by native musicians, using the only notational tools he had available, which were designed to represent a different language of ornamentation.²⁴ However, in the recorded performances, neither Mhairi Lawson (voice) nor Chris Norman (flute and whistle) adopted the details of Barsanti's ornamentation, despite having it within sight on the music stands. Rather, each implemented their own repertoire of stylistic decoration around the basic melody outlined in Barsanti's version. It would have been possible to play Barsanti's notation in precise detail on the baroque flute in either low or high register (Barsanti was a wind player himself), but sung, this would obscure the melody so much as to sound ridiculous. Oddly enough, in Geminiani's Scots song settings, the instrumental parts are sometimes grotesquely overloaded with ornamentation, whereas the vocal parts have almost none.²⁵

This reluctance on the part of the musicians to follow slavishly the detail of the notation demonstrates an important distinctiveness about the use of notation in aural/oral traditions of transmission. A composer uses notation to circumscribe a range of musical possibilities which can be recognised as the 'work',²⁶ but in music which does not have a composer to delineate these limits, notation presents only one of a set of musical outcomes: these are not bounded by the notated material, but rather built upon the structure which underpins it. The limited devices of staff notation which were available to the eighteenth-century musician or engraver, with their focus on pitch and rhythm, were usually unable to present this particular form of ambiguity in a convincing way.²⁷

The underlying melodic structures might represent the kernel of a musical idea that Ramsay considered when he specified a tune. His texts were hung upon these skeletal forms, and the musical sources similarly flesh them out in different ways, analogous to the shape of Ramsay's texts to a greater or lesser extent. The essential elements of the tunes can change over time as practice changes,²⁸ and the added decoration and embellishment are

not simply ‘making it up’ out of thin air, but involve recognisable stylistic parameters, whether these are explicit or unspoken.

STYLE AND REGISTER

These repertoires of ornamentation and idiom interact with another aspect of the music in practice: considerations of style and register. At a very basic level, it is possible to ask, as a singer recently did when rehearsing some Ramsay songs, ‘Is this folk music?’, and two superficially credible answers to such a blunt question are ‘Yes, of course’ (it’s not like classical music), and ‘No, of course not’ (it doesn’t sound like folk music either). We now know that the distinction between ‘art’ & ‘folk’ is a nineteenth-century consideration rather than an eighteenth-century one,²⁹ but even so, Ramsay is a particularly interesting case. By only specifying the names of the intended tunes, he seems to be referring to aural/oral or popular culture, but contemporary musical sources such as *OC1* can be ornate and require specialised technical training to perform.

There is a parallel example of material being performed simultaneously in two registers in David Allan’s celebrated painting of 1780, *Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl*.³⁰ The bridegroom in the foreground is dancing the same figure as the kilted man behind him, but their deportment, dress, and repertoires of movement are quite different.

The present-day gulf between folk and art registers in vocal practice is possibly much wider than it was in the eighteenth century: from the evidence of recordings, it could be considerably wider than it was one hundred years ago. The vocal delivery on the 1905 recording of nineteenth-century operatic soprano Adelina Patti singing ‘On the Banks of Allan Water’ in her retirement has more in common with that of twentieth-century Scots ballad singers such as Sheila Stewart than one might expect, even if the nuances of the style differ.³¹ Twenty-first-century ‘art’ singers usually have to fill very large halls unamplified in order to earn a living (a legacy of the increasing size of opera houses from the second half of the nineteenth century on), and as a result they are trained in a quite different set of techniques from those of eighteenth-century singing. In particular, the now almost universal use of a low larynx position to enhance resonance in classical singing is most likely a development from only a small subset of practice in the late nineteenth

century,³² and the historical performance movement of the 1970s onwards has had very little impact on the predominance of this form of vocal education in conservatoires.³³

All of this suggests that it would be unwise to consider the eighteenth-century sources in terms of present-day 'folk' or 'classical' vocal practice. Nevertheless, as the narrative of *The Gentle Shepherd* is about finding nobility in the apparently untutored, some consideration of how registers of gentility and rusticity are played out in the sources and musical practices of the time will be relevant: it is striking, for example, that Patie and Peggy's duet at the end of Act 2, 'By the delicious warmness of thy mouth', appears to be set to a composed piece of music, rather than a tune from the 'common stock'.

SCOTTISH INSTRUMENTAL SOURCES IN MANUSCRIPT

For material pre-dating the publication of *TTM* and *The Gentle Shepherd*, virtually all extant Scottish sources consist of instrumental settings in manuscript. The printing of Scots tune collections in Scotland only became widespread in the 1740s,³⁴ with the exceptions of Stuart's *Musick* and the two editions of Adam Craig's *A Collection of the choicest Scots tunes* for keyboard of c. 1727 and 1730.³⁵ The local popularity of Ramsay's tunes is attested by their appearance in dozens of Scottish manuscript sources from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, set for keyboard, string and wind instruments.³⁶ These settings cannot be sung to Ramsay's texts without some alteration, but they present the tunes in forms that he may have recognised.

Over the first three decades of the eighteenth century, Scottish instrumental manuscripts show a fashion for increasingly ornate musical settings. For example, 'The Lass of Patie's Mill' is recorded in relatively stark, skeletal form in two keyboard manuscripts compiled in Angus between 1660 and 1680, and the Balcarres Lute Book of c. 1695 follows the contemporary practice of appending elaborately embellished variations following the statement of the basic tune.³⁷ Three manuscripts for unnamed treble instrument from the first three decades of the eighteenth century show a gradual move towards more ornamentation for the opening statement of the tune itself,³⁸ and Adam Craig's version for harpsichord or spinet from his c. 1727 *Scots*



FIG. 2: Adam Craig, 'The Lass of Patie's Mill', *A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1730). By kind permission of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensberry KBE.

Tunes incorporates ornament symbols, written-out figuration, and a far more active bass line than those used by Thomson and Stuart.

Comparing all of these instrumental settings with Stuart's *Musick* and *OCi* suggests that the more challenging elements of the printed musical texts are the result of a cross-fertilisation with instrumental idioms: the wide range, more active figuration, melismas, and leaps of an octave or more pose far less technical difficulty for the violin, keyboard, lute or even woodwind instruments than for the voice. In manuscript sources from Scotland, instrumental versions of the tunes had already been in circulation for decades by the publication of *TTM* in 1724, but until the 1760s, there are few surviving locally-written examples of vocal versions of Ramsay's melodies. The ornate and difficult settings in *OCi* may record Thomson's accomplished performance practice, but some of the more awkward vocal writing, particularly in Stuart's collection, might be a direct result of a textual relationship between instrumental and vocal sources, rather than a reflection of versions which were actually being sung at the time.

While most instrumental settings of Ramsay's tunes require significant alterations to be sung, there are some which fit Ramsay's texts well. For example, there are several manuscript tune settings by Ramsay's close friend and patron, the violinist, composer and polymath Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.³⁹

Within the Clerk papers is a setting of 'Saw ye not my Meggie', for unnamed treble instrument (probably violin), and harpsichord, written in Clerk's hand, and dated 1720.⁴⁰ Ramsay used the same tune for 'The Toast', a light-hearted drinking song in *TTM*. Thomson's setting in *OCI* confirms the song's social function, noting that the names 'Robie' and 'Peggy' could be replaced by the names of those giving and receiving the toast. However, this informal tone contrasts with the vocal difficulties characteristic of Thomson's settings: a high register, a range of a thirteenth (*d'* to *b''* flat), and at one point a leap downwards of a tenth (*a''* to *f'*).⁴¹

Very few alterations are needed to set Ramsay's text to Clerk's initial statement of the tune: his idiomatic instrumental writing is largely restricted to the 'divisions' or variations that follow, and his setting is also less elaborate and easier to sing than that of *OCI*. Both versions are in the same key, but Clerk gives the second strain at the far more comfortable vocal register of an octave lower. His setting has an overall range of an eleventh (*e'* to *f''*), but most of the tune fits within the range of an octave (*d'* to *d''*).

The setting in Stuart's *Musick* adopts Clerk's narrower range and lower tessitura, but includes a difficult octave leap in the second strain. One is not more highly decorated than the other with consistency; rather, they represent two different realisations of the 'skeleton' of the tune.⁴²

'SCOTCH' MUSIC COLLECTIONS

More direct access to contemporary vocal settings of Ramsay's tunes is offered within volumes published in London as 'Scotch songs' and 'Scotch tunes'. These were popular with London audiences from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, appearing in dance collections, broadside ballads, and as songs and incidental music in theatrical productions.⁴³ Descriptions by contemporary English writers tend to highlight the wild, uncultivated character of Scotch music; its popularity seems to have been in large part as a 'natural' foil to the perceived excesses of fashionable Italian musical style.⁴⁴

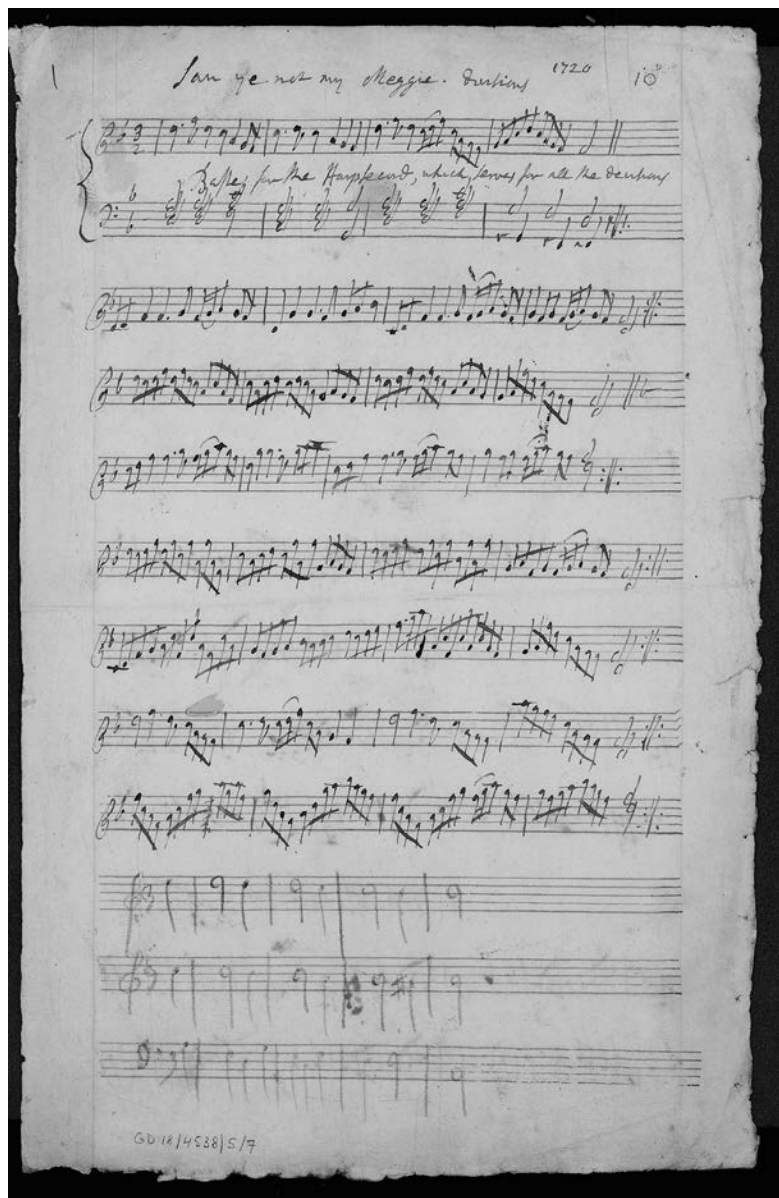


FIG. 3: John Clerk of Penicuik, 'Saw ye not my meggie', GB-Enas GD18/4538/5/1-7.
Copyright of, and reproduced by kind permission of Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik.

Scotch songs have often been derided by scholars of Scottish music as inauthentic sources due to the nature of the song texts, which have been viewed as parodies of Scottish culture.⁴⁵ Much energy has been spent in assessing the authenticity of Scotch tunes,⁴⁶ but rather than tracing the national origins of melodies, what is more pertinent here is an assessment of the relevance to Ramsay and Edinburgh musical culture in the 1720s. Many Scotch tunes were in wide circulation in Scotland regardless of their origin, including some that were probably written by London theatre composers.⁴⁷ Significant concordances between settings in Scottish manuscripts and the collections of John and Henry Playford show that some London collections were in use by musicians in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland,⁴⁸ and conversely, some Scotch tune collections published in London were compiled by musicians in touch with the Edinburgh scene. One such example is Daniel Wright's c. 1725 instrumental volume *Aria da Camera*, where the Scots material is attributed to the Edinburgh musician Alexander Urquhart.⁴⁹

One of the most relevant London vocal sources is Thomas D'Urfey's song collection *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, published in six volumes in London between 1698 and 1720.⁵⁰ Ramsay certainly knew the collection, incorporating and rewriting several of D'Urfey's songs for inclusion in *TTM*,⁵¹ and it has been suggested that Ramsay first began publishing 'Scots songs' as a response to the Scotch songs of D'Urfey and others.⁵² Unlike Ramsay's printed volumes, *Pills* includes musical notation, in the form of unaccompanied melodies, simpler and more vocal in character than the versions discussed above. They commonly have a lower, more limited range, with fewer notes per syllable, and little embellishment.

The style of the tunes in *Pills* matches those in printed English ballad operas from the 1720s and 1730s. Cibber's 1730 ballad opera *Patie and Peggy* includes most of the same tunes, and incorporates Ramsay's original song texts. For Song XVI, 'Duty and Part of Reason', Cibber has replaced Ramsay's original choice of tune 'Kirk wad let me be' with 'The Lass of Patie's Mill', which after the anacrusis in the opening line fits Ramsay's words comfortably. Cibber's setting of the tune is much simpler than any of the vocal versions highlighted above, and is more comfortable to sing. It is in the lower key of C major, and whilst the overall range is a tenth (c' to e''), less of it is in the difficult high register, and there are no wide leaps, dense embellishment or technically demanding melismatic writing.⁵³

Even more striking is Cibber's version of 'Corn Riggs are Bonny', which is a closer fit with Ramsay's words than any other vocal source.⁵⁴ After 1733, most printed versions of this tune follow OC2 in including line-end flourishes which do not have corresponding syllables in Ramsay's text.⁵⁵ It is possible to sing these extra notes as vocal ornaments, but they provide an awkward and artificial fit to Ramsay's metre, stressing and lengthening the unstressed final syllable in each line. In those sources where the syllable placement is unequivocal either through clear text underlay or the use of slurs, most compound the problem by setting one note to the stressed syllable, and three to the unstressed one (for example, 'muddy-y-y'). Bremner's *The Songs [. . .] Adapted for the Guitar*, and Neil Stewart's *Thirty Scots Songs* both alleviate this slightly by slurring the first three notes to give 'mu-u-ud-dy', which is less awkward, but still leaves little time for the singer to breathe before the next line: this in turn could explain the abundance of 'slow' or 'andante' markings for this song in some printed versions.

Barsanti's 1742 version above includes these extra notes at the end of the first, second, and fourth lines, but even so, Mhairi Lawson omitted all of them when she sang on the 2001 recording with Concerto Caledonia, and the resulting rhythmic pattern corresponds with the musical text given in *Patie and Peggy*.

The line-end flourishes found in most of the 'Corn Riggs' settings are in fact derived from the tune as it is set to a D'Urfey Scotch song from his 1680 London play *The Virtuous Wife*, 'Sawney was tall'. This was printed in John Playford's 1681 *Choice Ayres and Songs*, and in the 1719 edition of *Pills*.⁵⁶ Here the additional notes make perfect sense, as the text of D'Urfey's song matches them with a final stressed syllable at the end of each line.

In c. 1695, the Balcarres Lute Book still included a version with the shorter line endings as found in *Patie and Peggy*, so it was in the course of the eighteenth century that the 'Sawney' version of the tune became more widespread, and eventually associated with Ramsay's 'Corn Riggs' despite its confusing extra notes. To find the tune as Ramsay would have imagined it when composing the song, we have had to return to sources dating either from around the time of the song's composition or from before it.

316 SONGS Compleat,

A SONG.

317 Pleasant and Divertive.

Sawney was tall and of Noble Race,
 And lov'd me better than any eane;
 But now he ligs by another Lais,
 And Sawney will ne'er be my love agen:
 I gave him fine Scarb Sarke and Band,
 I put 'em on with mine own hand;
 I gave him Houfe, and I gave him Land,
 Yet Sawney will ne'er be my Love agen.

I robb'd the Groves of all their store,
 And Nofegays made to give Sawney one;
 He kiss'd my Breast and feign would do mere,
 Geud feth me thought he was a bonny one:
 He squeeze'd my fingers, gras'd my knee,
 And carv'd my Name on each green Tree,
 And sigh'd and languish'd to lig by me,
 Yet now he wo't not be my Love agen,

My Bongrace and my Sun-burnt-face,
 He prais'd, and also my Ruffet Gown;
 But now he doats on the Copper Lace,
 Of some leud Quean of London Town:
 He gangs and gives her Curds and Cream,
 Whilst I poor Soul sit fighting at heam,
 And near joy Sawney unlefs in a Dream,
 For now he ne'er will be my Love again.

P 3

FIG. 4: Thomas D'Urfey, 'Sawney was tall and of Noble Race', *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to purge Melancholy*, 6 vols, (London: J. Tonson, 1719–20), vol. 1, pp. 316–17. University of Edinburgh Main Library, Special Collections: reproduced under a CC-BY licence.

CONCLUSION

The musical sources connected with Ramsay's songs vary widely in their presentation of the material. They assume many contrasting positions on a spectrum between purely instrumental and purely vocal music, they reflect different musical styles and performance practices, and they even vary in the degree to which they align with the correct number of syllables in Ramsay's verse. When seeking to understand how Ramsay perceived the basic frame-

work of the tunes when writing, earlier sources can be as useful as, or more useful than those which came to be directly associated either with the songs or with Ramsay himself. In order to deal seriously with questions of style and of detail, it is necessary to consider a wide range of musical publications and manuscripts, and to assess their contents for orality, style, and an effective fit for Ramsay's texts.

Notes

- 1 The term 'common stock' as applied to music in folk traditions is used in Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 31, and was defined in Marie Slocombe, 'Some "English" Ballads and Folk Songs Recorded in Ireland, 1952-1954', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 7 (1955), pp. 239-44, as items 'which from the evidence of the earlier published collections, or from our own collecting in other areas, have been widely current elsewhere' (p. 239). It is unlikely that this term began as a metaphor from bagpipe design, but the choice of *Common Stock* as the title of the Lowland and Border Pipers' Society journal recognises the phrase's ambiguity.
- 2 William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius or a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs* (London: for the author, 1725); William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius: Or, a Collection of Scots Songs*, 2 vols (London: for the author, 1733).
- 3 Peter Holman, Peter, 'An Early Edinburgh Concert', *Early Music Performer*, 13 (2004), pp. 9-17.
- 4 Pitches are represented here with the Helmholtz system, where *c'* is middle C.
- 5 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner/74569734 (direct link to page), or digital.nls.uk/74569734, image (10), p. [8].
- 6 Thomson advertised that subscribers could pick up their copies from the following day, in the *Daily Post* of 31 December 1725. On the dating of Stuart's volume, see Kirsteen McCue, 'Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of 71 Scots Songs [Introductory Essay for University of South Carolina Digital Collections]', 2006 library.sc.edu/digital/collections/ramsaysg-mccue.html [accessed 28 March 2017].
- 7 Alexander Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, (Edinburgh: Allan Ramsay, [?1726]). There are payments to Stuart in the accounts of the Edinburgh Musical Society over a forty-year period, between 1727 and 1767, where he was paid both as a performer and for supplying strings and instruments. Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797' (Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2001), pp. 150-51.
- 8 Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Montgomerie, Susanna, countess of Eglinton (1689/90-1780)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66421 [accessed 30 March 2017]. Elizabeth Cary Ford, 'The flute in musical life in eighteenth-century Scotland' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016), pp. 74-76.

- 9 Digitisation by University of South Carolina at digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/rbc/id/3104, pp. 80–81.
- 10 *The Scotch Orpheus. Containing Fifty of the Best Scotch Tunes* (London: J. Watson, 1731).
- 11 The title page notes that the volume has been printed 'on the same Size and Paper as the last Edition of the Scotch Songs, Printed at London'. The title page also notes two different prices: 'The Songs and Musick together Five Shillings. Separately Two Shillings and Six-pence each.' The 'Scotch Songs' Watson refers to must be his edition of *TTM* from the previous year. This is further confirmed by the sole surviving copy of the volume, which has the two volumes bound together.
- 12 The London Library copy contains only the text sequence.
- 13 In the preparation of his *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (Edinburgh, 1799–1818), George Thomson set out deliberately to improve on *Orpheus Caledonius*, and annotated his own copy with numerous pencil markings. Karen McAulay, *Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Era*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 51–53.
- 14 Theophilus Cibber, *Patie and Peggy: Or, the Fair Foundling* (London: J. Watts, 1730).
- 15 Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy* [...] *Adorned with Cuts, the Overtures to the Songs, and a Complete Glossary* (Glasgow: John Robertson junr., 1758).
- 16 The Scottish contribution to the repertoire for this instrument is summarised in Rob MacKillop, 'The Scottish Contribution to the 18th-century Wire-strung Guittar', in *A guitarra portuguesa: actas do simposio internacional: Universidade de Évora, 7–9 setembro 2001*, ed. by Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon, Estar: Universidade de Évora, Centro de História da Arte, 2002), pp. 37–82. MacKillop gives the date of publication for Bremner's *Instructions* at scottishguittar.com/publications/bremner/ [accessed 29 March 2017].
- 17 Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, 'The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750–1810' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011).
- 18 *The Edinburgh Magazine* praised her for 'the truth with which she sung Patie's ballads, and the strict regard she paid to the stile of the original airs' (vol. 54, 7 November 1781, p. 160).
- 19 Nicholas, Jeremy, 'Kenneth McKellar: Obituary', *Gramophone*, 26 April 2010 www.gramophone.co.uk/classical-music-news/kenneth-mckellar-obituary [accessed 8 March 2017].
- 20 Concerto Caledonia, dir. David McGuinness, *Mungrel Stuff: Scottish-Italian Music by Francesco Barsanti & Others* (Linn Records, 2001) www.linnrecords.com/recording-mungrel-stuff-hdcd.aspx [accessed 8 March 2017]. The individual track is also available at soundcloud.com/concal/corn-riggs [accessed 8 March 2017]. The text of the song is as found in *OC2* vol.2, where Ramsay's 'He's comely in his wauking' became 'He's stately in his wawking'.
- 21 Lorenzo Bocchi, *A Muscull Entertainment For a Chamber* (Dublin: John and William Neal, 1725). See also Peter Holman, 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi: An Italian in Edinburgh and Dublin', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 61–86.
- 22 Schetky's son, later the marine painter John Christian Schetky, found his father dining at Willie (Nicol)'s house with Rob (Burns) and Allan (Masterton) according to an anecdote given in S. F. L. Schetky, *Ninety Years of Work and Play: Sketches from the Public and Private Career of John Christian Schetky* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1877), pp. 17–18.

- 23 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner/120554365 (direct link to page), or [digital.nls.uk/120554365, image \(11\)](http://digital.nls.uk/120554365/image/11), p. 5.
- 24 No-one has yet satisfactorily explained why every tune in the book is marked 'Slow', but it could be an indication that the music was not intended for dancing. A comprehensive figuring of the bass, as given here by Barsanti to outline the harmonic structure, is rare in Scottish sources. While chordal accompaniment was by no means unheard of, and a competent player could easily have provided this without figures in any case, a simple two-part texture of melody and bass appears to have been commonplace until the influence of the piano gathered momentum around 1800: this chord-less approach prevailed in fiddle music for another century or so, as attested by J. Scott Skinner, *A Guide to Bowing: Strathspeys, Reels, Pastoral Melodies, Hornpipes, &c* (London: Bayley & Ferguson, c. 1900), p. 30.
- 25 These appear in Francesco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: [the author], 1749).
- 26 Ian Pace has described how notation can aid the musician not to find the 'right' way to perform a work, but rather to develop a solution which is 'not wrong': Ian Pace, 'Notation, Time and the Performer's Relationship to the Score in Contemporary Music', in *Unfolding Time: Studies in Temporality in Twentieth-Century Music*, edited Darla Crispin (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), 151–92, p. 155. See also Ian Pace, 'Hierarchies in New Music: Composers, Performers, and "Works"', *Desiring Progress*, 2013 ianpace.wordpress.com/2013/09/29/hierarchies-in-new-music-composers-performers-and-works/ [accessed 8 March 2017].
- 27 Figured bass accomplished this more successfully, but not with melodic music. One well-known eighteenth-century publication which did tackle the issue is the Roger edition of Corelli's op. 5 violin sonatas, which presented the slow movements in the skeleton of Corelli's original published versions, below supposed transcriptions of the highly decorated music he actually played. Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cimbalo* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, c. 1710).
- 28 In Gaelic psalm singing, the skeletons of the tunes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries as sung can be divergent from their original published forms in places.
- 29 Gelbart, *Invention*, pp. 191–224.
- 30 National Galleries of Scotland, accession number NGL 001.81. An image is available at commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Allan-highlandwedding1780.jpg [accessed 8 March 2017].
- 31 'On the Banks of Allan Water', Adelina Patti, soprano, Landon Ronald, piano. Recorded December 1905, Craig y Nos Castle, Powys. The Gramophone Co. Matrix no. 555f. Reissued on Symposium CD 1324.
- 32 David Mason, 'The Teaching (and Learning) of Singing', in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. by John Potter (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 204–20, p. 215. See also Richard Wistreich, 'Reconstructing Pre-Romantic Singing Technique', in the same volume, pp. 178–91.
- 33 Richard Wistreich and John Potter, 'Singing Early Music: A Conversation', *Early Music*, 41/1 (2013), 22–26 doi.org/10.1093/em/cas155 pp. 24–25.
- 34 For example, James Oswald, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh, [1740]); William McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1742, 1746, 1755). A Scots tune publication was brought out by a Scot in Paris in the 1730s: A[lexander] Munro, *Recueil Des Meilleurs Airs Ecossois* (Paris, 1732). For discussion

- on the identity of Munro, see David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2005), p. 162; Aaron McGregor 'Alexander Munro: Highland music master?' in *Fillocks, fiddlers and others of that band: research blog on the early history of the violin in Scotland*. fillocksfiddlers.com/2014/11/06/alexander-munro-highland-music-master/ [accessed 28 March 2017].
- 35 Adam Craig, *A Collection of the choicest Scots tunes*. (Edinburgh, [1727?]; 2nd ed. 1730). Edinburgh violinist Adam Craig (d.1742) was another musician of the same musical circle as Stuart and Ramsay. Along with singer John Steill and harpsichordist Henry Crumbden, Craig ran a concert series at St Mary's Chapel on the Cowgate in the 1710s, which eventually evolved into the Edinburgh Musical Society, which was formally constituted in 1727. Craig was one of the first professional musicians employed by the society in 1727, alongside Alexander Stuart and William McGibbon, and continued to be paid as a violinist up until his death. See Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), pp. 33–35. Macleod, pp. 60–61, 140–41.
 - 36 Scottish music manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are listed and described in: Evelyn Florence Stell, *Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603–1707*, 2 vols, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999); Warwick Edwards, 'The Musical Sources', in *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by James Porter (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 47–72; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 248–9; Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 209–11.
 - 37 Robert Edward's commonplace book [c. 1655–1670] GB-En MS 9450 (formerly Panmure MS 11); Panmure keyboard manuscript [c. 1670–1680] GB-En MS 9458 (formerly Panmure MS 18); Balcarres Lute Book [c. 1695] GB-En Acc.9769 84/1/6. For more information on these manuscripts see: Stell, *Sources*, vol. 1, pp. 20–37, 80–86, 143–47; *The Balcarres Lute Book*, ed. by Matthew Spring, 2 vols, *Music of Scotland 2* (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2010); Kathryn Lavinia Cooper, *Robert Edward's Commonplace Book* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013).
 - 38 John Campbell's notebook (1708) University of Glasgow Library (GB-Gu) Gen 12; Tunes for flute [1715–30], Montagu Music Collection (GB-KET) 353. Hundriwood manuscript, GB-KET 8 [1720–40].
 - 39 National Archives of Scotland (GB-Enas) GD18/4538/5/1–7. In 1722, Ramsay wrote a poem in memorial of Clerk's son, who had died at the age of twenty. Clerk in turn wrote a 'Roundlet in Mr Ramsay's own way', inscribed on the back of the portrait of Ramsay which hung in Penicuik House, where the verse is dated 5 May 1723. A letter written by Ramsay in the 1750s mentions Clerk's private music making, and Clerk noted in his memoirs that Ramsay stayed as a house guest in 1753. *Memoirs of the life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, baronet, baron of the Exchequer, extracted by himself from his own journals 1676–1755*, ed. by John Miller Gray, Scottish History Society 13 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1892), pp. 107, 229. Kenneth Elliott, 'Introduction', in *Five Cantatas of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, ed. by Kenneth Elliott, Musica Scotica 4 (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2008), pp. xxxviii–xxxix.
 - 40 There is a similar setting for violin in the Margaret Sinkler manuscript of 1710, which has a close concordance with strains 1–4 and 6 of Clerk's version. National Library of Scotland (GB-En) MS 3296.
 - 41 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/page/turner/74569806 (direct link to page), or digital.nls.uk/74569806, image (46), p. [44].

- 42 Digitisation of Stuart's setting by University of South Carolina at digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/rbc/id/3104, pp. 46–47.
- 43 For more detailed discussion on 'Scotch' music and its relationship with late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scottish musical culture, see: Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 130–49; Gelbart, *Invention*, pp. 27–39; Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–30. Steve Newman, 'The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay: "Lyrick" Transformation, Popular Culture, and the Boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment.' *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2002), pp. 277–314.
- 44 One of the most famous examples is Samuel Pepys' description in 1666 of a violin-playing servant of the Duke of Lauderdale, who performed 'Scotch tunes [. . .] the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast.' *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London, 1972); vol. 7 [1666], pp. 224–25. In 1700, John Dryden wrote of Chaucer's verse: 'There is a rude Sweetness of a Scotch Tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect.' From Dryden's *Fables Ancient and Modern* (London, 1700), preface; quoted in Johnson, *Music and Society*, p. 131.
- 45 Scotch songs are most often pastoral or bawdy in style, and commonly incorporate stock 'Scotch' characters Jocky, Sawney, and Moggy; snippets of pseudo-Scots dialect; generic references to Scottish place names; and some satirical comment on the English–Scottish political relationship. See Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 131–32. Newman, 'Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay', pp. 286–87.
- 46 John Glen, *Early Scottish Melodies* (Edinburgh: J. & R. Glen, 1900). William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell Johnson, [1855–56]). Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 130–49. Fiske, pp. 1–30.
- 47 One example is "'Twas Within a Furlong of Edinborough Town', a Scotch song written by Thomas D'Urfey, with music by Henry Purcell or Thomas Farmer. The tune is found in numerous Scottish sources between the 1690s and 1750s, including: the Balcarres Lute Book [c. 1695] p. 68; John Leyden lyra-viol book [c. 1700] Newcastle-upon-Tyne University Library Bell-White 46, fol. 53; Margaret Sinkler manuscript [1710], fol. 65. McFarlane manuscript [1740], 2 vols, GB-En MS 2084–5, vol. 3, no. 214. Thomas D'Urfey, "'Twas Within a Furlong of Edinborough Town', *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (London, 1719–1720) vol. 1, pp. 326–27.
- 48 This two-way relationship is particularly clear between the London publications of John and Henry Playford, and two Scottish manuscripts connected to the Edinburgh violinist John McLachland (d. 1702): The Balcarres Lute Book (c. 1695) and the Bowie Manuscript (c. 1695) GB-En MS 21714. On the one hand, both manuscripts contain several close concordances with sets of divisions from John Playford's *The Division Violin* (London: John Playford, 1684), some of which were probably copied directly from the printed source. Conversely, Henry Playford incorporated McLachland's musical settings in his *A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes [OST]* (London: Henry Playford, 1700). There are twelve concordances between *OST* and the Balcarres Lute Book, six of which include instrumental divisions attributed in Balcarres to John McLachland. *OST* also includes a tune probably written by McLachland, 'Mr McClauklaines Scotch-Measure'. See Matthew Spring, 'Introduction' in *The Balcarres Lute Book*, vol. 2, pp. xxvi–xxxii.
- 49 Alexander Urquhart, Dermot O'Connar, Hugh Edwards, *Aria da Camera being A Choice Collection of Scotch, Irish & Welsh Airs for the Violin or German Flute* (London: Daniel Wright, [1725?]). On the title page, the three 'masters' responsible for the

- settings are named as: 'Mr Alex: Urquahart of Edinburgh, Mr Dermt. O'connor of Limrick, Mr Hugh Edwards of Camarthen'. For more information on Alexander Urquhart, see Ford, pp. 186–87.
- 50 For the publication history of *Pills* between 1698 and 1720, see G. Legman 'Pills to Purge Melancholy: "A Bibliographical Note."' *Midwest Folklore*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1959, pp. 89–102.
- 51 The five songs in *TTM* based on Scotch songs by D'Urfey are: 'She rose and let me in'; 'In January Last'; 'As I sat at my Spinning Wheel'; 'Young Philander Woo'd Me Long'; 'O Jenny, Where Has Thou been'. See Johnson, *Music and Society* p. 135.
- 52 Johnson, *Music and Society* p. 130–39; Newman, 'Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay', pp. 286–87. Matthew Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 9/1 (2012), pp. 81–108.
- 53 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner/91302799 (direct link to page), or digital.nls.uk/91302799, image (33), p. 19.
- 54 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner/91302667 (direct link to page), or digital.nls.uk/91302667, image (22), p. 8.
- 55 Digitisation by National Library of Scotland at digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner/91481402 (direct link to page), or digital.nls.uk/91481402, image (90), p. [76].
- 56 John Playford, ed., *Choice Ayres and Songs* Vol. 3 (London: John Playford, 1681); D'Urfey, *Pills*, vol. 1, pp. 316–17.

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