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## Scots Songs in the Kitty Hartley Manuscript

I thought Emily might like the following piece about the *Kitty Hartley manuscript* in the Ewart Library, Dumfries. I am grateful to Ruth Airley for allowing me access to this manuscript, and permission to quote it. The piece was first delivered in Kiev in 2005, during the 35<sup>th</sup> International Ballad Conference, accompanied by recordings by Kathy Hobkirk. It is work in progress, waiting for detailed revision and Emily's comments. This is the spirit in which it is offered.

The Hartley manuscript consists of three large notebooks, with one hundred and eighty seven pages, containing songs, 'charades' (or riddles) sketches and letters, collected in Yorkshire by Kitty Hartley (1728-1799) between 1739 and 1785. It is written in several hands yet to be identified. By considering some of its 'Scots songs', I hope to show the manuscript is eminently suitable for publication, perhaps in facsimile and, perhaps, with an accompanying CD.

To give you a sense of what's in the collection, here is Hartley's 'Johnny Cope'. This is, of course, one of the best known Jacobite songs, usually attributed to Adam Skirving (1719-1803) (see Skirving 1826). It mocks Lieutenant General Sir John Cope, commander of the

British forces in Scotland, whose 3000 troops were routed by Prince Charles Edward Stuart, at the Battle of Prestonpans on the 21st of September 1745. Hartley's version is as follows:

Charley said to his Highland Men  
& Charley said to his Highland Men,  
Come on Brae Lads for now's the Time  
To Waken Cope in the morning  
Hey Cope, Cope are ye Waken yet  
& Hey Cope Cope are ye Waken yet  
Johny Cope, I'd have ye to Wit  
We'll Waken ye Soon in the morning——

As soon as the Prince he did appear  
Johny Cope he Sweat for Fear  
With his Brae' Dragoons a in the Bear  
& ran fou Fast in the morning, Hey Cope &c.

For all your Bombs and your Bomb Shells  
For all your Bombs & your Bomb shells

but when they saw the Prince his Sell  
they ran fou Fast in the morning, Hey Cope &c.

When Johny Cope to Berwick Came  
Lord Mark Kerr asked where was his Men  
Faith Lord Mark I Dinna' Ken  
For I left them Soon in the morning, Hey Cope, &c.

Faith Johny Cope you are no Blait  
to come & tell of your Defeat  
& leave your Men in Sicken a State  
at Four o Clock in the morning. Hey Cope &c.

The song, from an unknown source, was probably collected in late 1745 (it is close in the manuscript to a song dated 21<sup>st</sup> November), not long after the battle. At this point, the Stuarts were in the ascendancy, having just taken Carlisle and pausing en route for Derby. The immediacy of the collection date, of course, adds to the resonances of the song.

The most obvious difference from Skirving is the chorus: here a cutting ‘Cope, Cope’ adds an even more contemptuous feel than ‘Hey Johnny Cope’. The clicking it generates accurately reflects the low esteem in which Cope was held after Prestonpans, by his own forces as by the Jacobites. The Hanoverian Lord Mark Kerr, for instance, mentioned in Hartley’s version, met Cope’s fleeing commanders, Brigadier Thomas Fowke and Colonel Lascelles, in Berwick and remarked: ““Good God! I have seen some battles, heard of many, but never of the first news of the defeat being brought by the general officers” (qtd Duffy: 22). Horace Walpole commented: “I pity poor him [Cope], who with no shining abilities, and no experience, and no forces, was sent to fight for a crown” (qtd Maclean 1989: 54).

There are, of course, many ‘Jonny Cope’s from the late eighteenth century to the present, including one in Greig-Duncan (Greig and Duncan 1981 vol 1: song 125). Regarding the *Scots Musical Museum* version, Burns noted ‘the air was the tune of an old song, of which I have heard some verses, but only now remember the title, which was:--“*Will ye go to the coals in the morning*” (Johnson and Burns 1991, vol 2: 46). Obviously, the title is appropriate to the coalfields of Prestonpans. William Stenhouse, referring to the same

collection, mentioned a nineteenth century peasant who sang 'nineteen versions' of 'Johnnie Cope' (see Hogg 2002: notes to song LVIII). The song appears widely in print and manuscript, with broadsides in the National Library of Scotland and in Glasgow University (one of the Glasgow versions is Peter Buchan's), two manuscripts in Aberdeen University Library and the version by Burns. James Hogg includes two versions in his *Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (1819-21), and detailed notes on the battle (see Hogg 2002: song LVIII, LIX and associated notes).

Hartley's is slightly different from these. Skirving, for instance, does not mention Kerr although Burns does. It is intriguing that Hartley's contemporary version makes this specific reference, suggesting, perhaps, that Skirving edited it out of the printed versions. Hogg's first version (LVIII) is subtly different. It opens: 'Sir John Cope trode the north right far, / Yet ne'er a rebel he came naur, ' Until he landed at Dunbar, / Right early in the morning'. This song's chorus, apart from that last 'Cope, Cope', is fairly close to Hartley's: 'Hey Johnnie Cope, are ye wauking yet? / Or are ye sleeping, I would wit? / O haste ye, get up, for the drums do beat! / O fie, Cope rise in the morning.' Hogg's second version (LIX) also mentions the

'challenge frae Dunbar', unlike Hartley's and, like Hartley, has Cope riding into Berwick; the Berwickers, as well as Kerr (Carr in other versions), are appalled to see Cope without his men.

Allan Cunningham's version, in *Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern* (1825), is more elaborate, including, in the first verse, a unique threat from Cope to Charles:

My men are bauld, my steeds are rude;  
They'll dye their hoofs in highland blood,  
And eat their hay in Holyrood  
By ten to-morrow morning.

So, too, he has Cope fly, 'like a frighten'd bird / That's chased frae its nest in the morning'. Noting he used 'various versions' for his own, Cunningham adds: 'Johnie Cope is an universal favourite in Scotland; and no song in existence has so many curious variations'. He added, 'the charm lies more with the music than the poetry' (Cunningham 1825: 225-26). Incidentally, the air is now used for reveille in a bagpipe setting, and at military remembrance services.

Hartley's version is shorter than many of cited, lacking the feature of the letter in which Charlie usually sends his 'challenge' but progressing in a similar vein. One element appears in her version only: the reference to 'all your Bombs and your Bomb Shells' not daunting Cope until he saw Charles (verse 3). In general Hartley's has rather a more basic feel than other versions, including Skirving, Hogg's and Cunningham's, with their rhythmic Highland 'claymores and philabegs'. Hogg's, in particular, matches verbal rhythms to the tune, with Cope fearing the 'swords, and guns, and rungs, and gauds' (I) of the Highlanders.

The main interest in Hartley's copy, perhaps, lies in its date, close to the time of composition. Equally its collection, by a seventeen year old girl in Yorkshire, was risky—thirty years earlier, in 1712, ballad singers had been prevented from performing songs encouraging sedition and riot in England. At a time when the Jacobites were progressing south, in an alarmingly successful way, Hartley's actions placed her in political danger.

Before going further, I'd like to tell you what I know about the manuscript and about Hartley, bearing in mind what I said about this being work in progress. I encountered the manuscript while browsing



through the Frank Miller collection in the Ewart. The Annan collector made use of Hartley's 'Pray cam ye here the fight to shun' in his note on 'The Original of Burns's Song "The Battle of Sherra-Muir" in the *Scottish Historical Review* in the 1920s (Miller 1925-26). Miller bought the manuscript from the antiquarian booksellers, Maggs Brothers of London; they are still in operation but, sadly, have no record of the sale. It may be that the manuscript passed into circulation when the library of Leonard Lawrie Hartley, descended from her family estates, was sold in the 1880s. It is not mentioned in his catalogue, but the 'manuscripts' section includes 'Miscellaneous' items (see Hartley 1885: 481-92).

Hartley came from a long-established North Yorkshire family, as I discovered on a 2005 trip to Northallerton, to the North Yorkshire Records Office, and to Middleton Tyas. I would like to thank Ms M.J. Boustead, Senior Archivist in Northallerton, and James Allison, of Middleton Lodge, for their help. Middleton Tyas, today, is a small village nestling among other villages, including Moulton, Kneeton and Barnton (the Hartleys held lands in all of these) and near the county town of Richmond. In Kitty's lifetime, immigrant miners from Cornwall added to the local population, and there were several public houses

in Middleton Tyas; the current population is around 500, and was similar in Hartley's lifetime.

The Hartleys are mentioned in parish records from 1569 onwards as 'yeomen', or landed gentry, living in East Hall, Middleton Tyas (and, later, in West Hall). Kitty's generation became extremely wealthy, after finding copper deposits on their land, and developing lead mines. Her brother, George, was an astute businessman, barrister and a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge; his son, Leonard William, was educated at Eton. George built the new family seat, Middleton Lodge, in 1779: this Palladian mansion is a far step up from the previous, relatively modest, farmhouse at East Hall.

Katherine Hartley was christened on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1728, married on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1770 and buried on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1799, aged 71. All three events were marked in St Michael's and All Angels Church in Middleton Tyas; Hartley family graves cluster round this church. Kitty was the twin sister of Leonard Hartley and they were the youngest of ten children born to Sir Leonard Hartley and Margaret, Lady Hartley, who died in 1731.

Of eight older siblings, several died in infancy: Marmaduke, the first Catherine, Steven and Margaret; Alice, too, died young. George,

christened in 1726, and Mary, christened in 1727, played the greatest role in Kitty's life (the manuscript includes a love letter to Mary, who never married); and Kitty's twin, Leonard, died in 1774. George's son, Leonard William, born in 1775, died in 1815, and may have been the last of the line; the inheritance passed to a cousin who took the family name.

Kitty's childhood home, at East Hall, was where most of her collecting was undertaken. She married the Rev John Whaley, rector of Huggate in East Yorkshire; after his death in 1780, it is likely she returned to her brother at Middleton Lodge, where her sister Mary was already living. At the moment, I don't know if she had any children but the Hartley family had died out by the 1940s, when the remaining parts of the estates were sold. The Lodge itself has only been sold once again, in 1980, to the Allison family.

Incidentally, not only did the Hartleys prosper, but so did the ministers, as copper was found on glebe land. There were three ministers during Kitty's lifetime: the Rev. George Bell, who christened her, came to the parish in 1713; the Rev John Mawer, who arrived in 1731, married her; and the Rev Daniel Watson, who arrived in 1763 and died in 1804. Mawer, in particular, was a learned man, who

spoke and wrote in twenty one languages. It is tempting to speculate his presence encouraged Kitty in her collecting.

The presence of Jacobite songs like 'Johnny Cope' in the collection is intriguing. While, as yet, I have no reason to believe that the Hartleys were active Jacobites, it may be that they were 'sleeper' supporters, as Evelyn Lord calls them in *The Stuarts' Secret Army* (2004). There were Jacobites in Richmond, including John Dalston, and Yorkshire Jacobites included Sir Marmaduke Constable (as Marmaduke was a Hartley family name, I can't help speculating if there's a link). Captured Jacobites were interred, and executed, at Richmond after the failure of the Uprising, and it is possible that Kitty had some of her songs from prisoners. Other than the evidence offered by the songs, then, it is possible that this Protestant family had some sympathy for the Stuarts; they bought property from the Franks family from nearby Moulton, who were practising Catholics, prepared to lose property for their beliefs in the seventeenth century.

To return to the songs, and to contradict the theory that Hartley's sympathies were with the Jacobites, here is her 'Bannocks o' Barley Meal', associated with John Campbell, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Argyll and Greenwich (1683-1743), who commanded the army that

defeated the Jacobite forces in 1715. It appears in David Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, etc.* (1776), without music (Herd 1776: 130-31), and in the *Scots Musical Museum* (Johnson and Burns: song 560) with a pacy air. When Kathy Hobkirk sang it, she set it to 'The White Cockade', which seemed to her to fit the words and the rhythm better. As the *Musical Museum* version is later than Hartley's, this seemed an acceptable decision:

My name is Argyle, you may think it strange  
To live at the Court & never to change  
For flashood & brib'ry I always disdain  
And my secret thoughts to myself will remain  
My King & my Country's foes I have fac'd  
In place or battle I never disgrac'd  
Er I keep any place against my Country's Will  
Ill live upon bannocks o barley Meal.

[Adieu]? to the tricks of London town  
[To]? my own Country I'll gang down.  
At the sight of Kircauldy anes again

Ill cock up my bonnet & march aman  
Oh the muckle de'el take your noise & strife  
Im fully resolved for a Country Life  
Where a' the young lasses, whae kens me well,  
Will treat me wi' bannocks o' barley meal.

Ill quickly lay down my sword & gun  
Ill put a plaid and my bonnet on  
With my pladding stockings & leather heel'd shun  
[?] me with her lovely [?]  
Which will make me look like a sprightly lun  
And when I am drest from top to tae  
Haime to my dear Maggy I mean for to gae  
With my swaggering hanger hangs down to my heel  
Ill whang all their bannocks o' barley meal.

4.

Ill buy a fine present to carry my dear  
A pair of garters for maggy to wear  
And something else I do declare

When she gaes with me to Paisly fair  
Oh when that were married, well keep a Cow  
Maggy will milk & I will plow  
Well feel all the Winter on beef & lang kale  
And thumping brae bannocks o' barley meal.

5.

And if Maggy should chance to bring me a Son  
He's fight for his king, as his daddy has done  
We'll first send him to Flanders some breeding to [learn?]  
And then into Scotland to keep a farm  
So we will live by industry  
And whae lives so happy as Maggy & me  
We'll soon grow as fat as Norway Seal  
By feeding on bannocks of barley meal.

6.

Ill leave of the kissing with citizens wife  
I'm fully resolved for a Country life  
With kissing & sporting Ill spend the long day

With a pretty lass on a cock of hay  
When elk bonny lad gees his bonny lass  
A kiss & a tumble upon the green grass  
Ill into the highlands, as fast as cans reel  
And live upon bannocks of barley meal.

7.

Adieu to you citizens all at yance  
Ye jolting of coaches & drury lanes  
Ye bites [?] & bear gardens, who fight for gains  
And fops, that's got more wigs than brains  
Ye cullies & bullies, I bid you adieu  
For whoring & swearing I leave unto you  
Your woodcocks, & pheasant, your duck & teal  
I leave them for bannocks of barley meal.

As you can see, it's a comical song in praise of Argyle, highlighting his integrity and identification with the simple Scottish peasantry. His devotion to the Hanoverian monarch is implicit and, even in his



imagined bucolic idyll, the hero dreams of a son to 'fight for his king, as his daddy has done'.

Hartley's version is almost identical to Herd's; her Argyll rejects 'bribery' rather than 'flattery'; hers serves his country's 'will' as opposed to Herd's 'weal'; hers bids farewell to the 'tricks', his the 'courtiers' of London town; in short, they are the sort of minor differences usually associated with oral transmission.

The *Scots Musical Museum* version is very close to Hartley's, but three stanzas shorter, and less detailed regarding Scottish life; the broadsides, too, are briefer. There are three shorter broadsides, for instance, in the Bodleian library including an early nineteenth century version by the London printers Catnach (Harding B 25 (114)); another similar version is Harding B 15 (9a) printed by T. Birt of Great St Andrew's Street, London. Both are similar to Hartley's, except in a few words: 'I do disdain' falshood and flattery, rather than 'always disdain' in Hartley; the lines on 'never disgraced' and 'king and country fac'd' are reversed in the Birt version.

The Herd and Hartley verses disparaging the 'tricks of London town' is missing (not surprisingly) from both Birt and Catnach, given their own locations. This verse is missing, too, from the version on a

sheet of 'Scotch songs' which is different to Hartley's, omitting the mention of Argyle and using the words of 'an auld sodger just come from camp', on a 'tramp' to the Highlands for a reunion with 'Nancy'. Then, 'Baith care and its cankers may gae to the deil' to be replaced with 'gude bannocks of barley meal'.

The tune, often played as a fiddle air, and as a pipe tune, was identified as 'Scotch' in the O'Farrell collection of 1805, although there are similarities, apparently, with the Irish 'Munster Cloak'. Hayden, in his *Musique vocale*, also made an arrangement of the tune for use by polite audiences. More recently, it has been recorded by The Clutha on *Scotia!* (Clutha 1971).

Incidentally, the allegiance to barley bannocks, as a symbol of peasant life, is expressed elsewhere in Scots songs. There is, for instance, 'Bannocks o' Barley', in Greig-Duncan, where an 'auld Hielan' couple' sits talking of how, in times of war, with 'Geordie the Third' 'a Hielandman's hert is upheld wi' a haggis / Ay, and weel-buttered bannocks o' barley meal' (Greig and Duncan, vol 3: song 526). Burns, too, wrote a song (set to 'the Killogie') 'Bannocks O' Bear Meal' in which those 'loyal to Charlie' are 'the lads/ Wi the bannocks o' barley' (Johnson and Burns: song 475). In *Popular Tales*

*of the West Highlands* (vol IV), Campbell mentions this as a song 'which, for popularity, almost equals "The roast beef of old England"'. He adds a reference to the duke being invited to a 'barley meal brose' dinner by courtiers: 'He praised the food set before him, and acted up to his principles; dined on the barley meal, but slew the man who had tried to make game of him' (Campbell 1983: 348).

The presence of songs, too, like 'Pray cam ye here the fight to shun', better known as 'Sherriffmuir', suggests ambivalence to the Jacobites. As Miller notes, such an early copy dispels Stenhouse's theory the song was written by an Edinburgh minister, John Barclay (1734-1798); Hartley's was transcribed on November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1745, when Barclay was eleven years old (Miller 1925-26). Published in the *Scots Musical Museum*, it is listed as 'Written for this work by Robt Burns', although Burns's brother said it was, 'not my Brother's, but more ancient than his birth' (Johnson and Burns: song 282). The battle of 1715 was claimed as a victory by Jacobites and Hanoverians, but marking a turning point in the Uprising: the Jacobite forces at Preston surrendered a day later.

Pray come you here the Fight to shun

or keep the sheep with me Man  
or were you at the Sherriff Moor  
And did the Battle see man  
Pray tell which of the parties won  
For wot I well, I saw them run  
Both South, and North and they begun  
To pell, and mell, and kill and fell  
And Musquets knell, and pistols fell  
And some for Hell did flee man  
But my dear Will, I know not still  
Which of the two did lose man—  
Or well I wot, they had great skill  
To put upon their foes man:—  
The red Coats they were trained you see  
The Clanns and all disdained to flee  
Who then should gaine the Victory;  
But the Highland Race  
All in the Chase without Disgrace  
Put on the Chase their Foe man  
But how deel Tom can this be true

I saw the Chace at North man  
For well I wot I did pursue  
Them even to the North man  
They past dumblain in my own sight  
Got o'er the Bridge with all their Might  
And those from Sterling took their flight  
But if aney of you had been with me  
To see them flee in each Degree  
For fear to die with Sloth man—  
My sister Kate came up the Hill  
With Crowdie unto me Man  
She swore she saw them running still—  
From perth unto Dundee man.  
The left wing'd General had me no skill  
The Angus Lads had no good will  
That day their Neighbours Blood to spill  
For fear by Foes, that they should lose  
Their Cogs of Browse and Cries annoys  
Yonder he goes, do you see man  
I see but few like Gentlemen

Among the frightened Crew man  
I fear My Lord Panmuir is slain  
Or that hees ta'en just now man  
For Tho' his Officers woud obey  
his cowardly Commons run away  
For fear the red coats should them slay  
But a soldier's Health maide their heart fail  
See how they scale and turn Tail  
And runs to Flail and plow man  
But now brave Angus comes again  
And with the sword to fight man  
He swears heell either die or gain  
No foes shall turn him afright man  
His enemies Forces heell withstand  
Heell fight and close with heart and hand  
Give him A General to command  
A man of might who can but fight  
And take delight to set them right  
And neer desire to flee man  
Your Flanderkins had no good skill

To lay the scotish Force man  
I fear their Notions do a spoil  
And put us to a loss man  
Yowl hear of no far better News  
When we have taken their Highland Trows  
To hash and slash and mash and bruise  
Till all the Field be over spred—  
With Coats and plaids  
And their Cold beds be made man—  
Two Generals from the Field did run  
Lord Huntley and Seaforth man  
They run to try grim Death to shun  
These heroes of the North man—  
Eeer they came there they might well ken  
That Highland Brands  
Argyle in Bands and counter hands  
That puts them over the Forth man  
The Cameronians cowardly they were mad  
Liftin their Neighbours Cows man  
The Mackenzies & the stuart's stood,

To Fight with a Croked trew man  
Had they behaved as Daniel score  
Who beat all those that were before  
Their Friends had gone to France no more  
Than the [?] W\_\_g and saint did soon repent,  
And straight resent the Covenant  
And ranged at the News man—  
But scotland has not much to say,  
For such a Fight as this man  
They all did Fight and run away  
The Devil take the last man  
That every officer were not slain—  
That run that day and wear not taen  
From flying here unto Dumblain—  
Then its W\_\_g and T\_\_y in their Folly  
Strove for Glory to their said story—  
And thus our Tale is hush man.—

Finis, November the 23 1745



Hartley's version has intriguing differences from Burns's: for instance, she places more emphasis on the idea the battle had no victor: the observation to Will, 'I know not still / Which of the two did lose man' is not in Burns's version, which notes only, 'Some fell for wrang, and some for right'. These sentiments are echoed in another, similar song on 'The Battle of Sherriffmuir' starting 'There's some say that we wan, / and some say that they wan, / And some say that nane wan at a' man', included in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics* (Hogg 2002: song 1 ).

Hartley's ninety lines is considerably longer than Burns's sixty. Hers is more detailed, and politically revealing. There are mentions, for instance, of the Jacobite generals, Lord Huntley and Seaforth as 'heroes of the north' who fled the field. This slanderous remark is not present in Burns. The prejudices of Hartley's version are evident: 'Cameronians cowardly', for instance, take a break from the battle to steal cows.

I feel that there should be an edited collection of Hartley's manuscript: it is an important collection, with new versions of well known songs collected at particularly early dates. Aside from Miller's reference, Hartley's manuscript is, and was, not widely known. The Jacobite pieces were not used by Hogg in his seminal *The Jacobite*

*Relics of Scotland* (1819-21). My plan is to continue my research, and to explore the Hartley records further. I want to visit Huggate, where Kitty spent her married life, and revisit Middleton Tyas, to find out what more I can about its politics. Following the *Song Repertoire of Amelia and Jane Harris*, edited by Emily Lyle, Kaye McAlpine and Anne Dhu McLucas (2002) I would like to produce a scholarly edition, with annotation and contextual information, and hope to discuss this with Emily in the near future.

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