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The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries

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THE EMERGENCE OF THE SCOTTISH BROADSIDE BALLAD IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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The broadside ballad has long been recognised by students of cheap print and ephemeral literature, no less than by historians of social life and popular culture, as being a unique and valuable source. The simple song produced on one side of a single sheet, often set to a well-known tune and sometimes adorned with a crude woodcut, was one of the formative instruments of the mass media in early modern Europe. From the late fifteenth century, the production of these ballads in thousands of copies made them one of the most ubiquitous and familiar manifestations of the printed word and one that served to transform the nature of edification and entertainment throughout society.

The English broadside ballad has been the subject of intensive scholarly investigation for many generations. Pioneering editorial endeavours in the Victorian period helped to make some of the surviving collections more readily accessible.[1] In the early twentieth century, studies by the American literary critic Hyder E. Rollins and the English historian C. H. Firth did much to explore the content and explain the significance of such material.[2] Claude M. Simpson's painstaking identification and recovery of the music accompanying many of these

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[1] J. Lilly (ed.), *A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides, Printed . . . between the Years 1559–1597* (London, 1867); W. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth (eds), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols (London, 1871–99); J. W. Ebsworth (ed.), *The Bagford Ballads*, 2 vols (London, 1878); *Bibliotheca Lindesiana: Catalogue of a Collection of English Ballads of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (privately printed, 1890*)*. Subsequent editions include A. Clark (ed.), *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616* (Oxford, 1907); H. E. Rollins (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads*, 8 vols (Cambridge, 1923); J. Holloway (ed.), *The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads* (Glasgow, 1971); W. G. Day (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 1987).

[2] For example, Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 34 (1919), pp. 258–339; Hyder E. Rollins (ed.), *A Pepysian Garland: Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595–1639* (Cambridge, 1923); C. H. Firth in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 2 (1908), pp. 21–50; 3 (1909), pp. 51–124; 5 (1911), pp. 21–61; 6 (1912), pp. 19–64; C. H. Firth, 'Ballads on the Bishops' Wars, 1638–40', *Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1906), pp. 257–73.

popular songs in the 1960s superseded the work in this context begun by William Chappell in the mid nineteenth century.[3] More recently, fine studies by Natascha Würzbach and Tessa Watt have added greatly to our understanding of this form as it blossomed in England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[4] Meanwhile, building upon the foundations laid by Rollins and Cyprian Blagden, Angela McShane Jones has sought to illuminate the far more voluminous, although far less intensively analysed, material extant after 1640.[5]

Such scholarship reveals just how ubiquitous and important the broadside ballad became in English popular culture of the period. The survival rate of this most fragile of media was disastrously low, but this should not disguise the enormous extent of its production. Although only some 250 specimens of single sheet prints containing ballads, 'ABCs' and 'godly tables' survive from England before 1600, Watt has estimated that between three and four million individual copies of them may have been run off the presses in the last four decades of the sixteenth century alone. In subsequent generations the scale of this output was transformed and the nature of its subject matter significantly elaborated, partly as a legacy of the printing explosion of the Civil War era. McShane Jones calculates that around 10,000 individual ballads are extant from the period c.1640–c.1690: applying Watt's multiplier this would imply a total output well in excess of one hundred million single sheets.[6] A range of evidence reveals the way in which these broadsides were habitually pasted up in cottages, displayed on alehouse walls, and dispersed around public places. They were performed by professional balladeers as well as sung at work and in leisure by all manner of people. Collected by learned bibliophiles they were no less beloved of children. Employed for religious instruction and political propaganda, they also provided the staples of fiction and fantasy for the widest audience. From the Tudor period, when they first insinuated themselves into the heart of popular culture, until the late nineteenth century when they were eventually overtaken by other media, they remained a powerful and pervasive feature of the English soundscape.[7]

[3] W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* 2 vols (London, 1859); C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966).

[4] N. Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, trans. G. Walls (Cambridge, 1990); T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

[5] H. E. Rollins (ed.), *Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broadside Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640–1660* (New York, 1923); C. Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), pp. 161–80; I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 8; A. McShane Jones, '"Rime and Reason": The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640–1689' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Warwick University, 2005).

[6] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 11, 42; McShane Jones, ' "Rime and Reason" ', ch. 1. Thousands of these ballads are now accessible online: those in the Bodleian Library Oxford, at http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads; those from the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge, and the Roxburghe collection in the British Library at http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

[7] See, for example, L. Shepherd, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973); V. E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: a History and a Guide* (London, 1977); R. Palmer, *The Sound of*

Much as we now understand about the nature of the broadside ballad, and widely appreciated as its cultural significance may be, major gaps still remain in our knowledge of the form and its influence. The huge surviving material of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still remains far less well studied than that extant from the periods both immediately before and after.[8] Moreover, while in the British context much attention has been paid to English production, the output of the presses in early modern Scotland has been almost entirely neglected.[9] This essay seeks to redress some of that imbalance by examining the broadside ballads of 'north Britain' in the two generations following the beginnings of their production in significant quantities from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Its focus is on the output of the Edinburgh presses which, until at least the late eighteenth century, were the dominant force in Scottish printing. The broadside ballads and other forms of ephemeral literature that they produced may be said to have been no less significant in informing the mental world of Lowland Scotland than was the output of the London printers in England. The Scottish material bore many resemblances in form and function to its neighbouring equivalent, but it is also striking just how independent and distinctive much of it was. In its relatively small scale, its crude production quality, and its limited content, the Edinburgh imprints of this period were a poor provincial relation to those flooding from the metropolitan presses, but they were highly instrumental in their local context. These broadside ballads provide a neglected but important aspect of the development of Scottish publishing and the commercialisation of popular culture in the age of Enlightenment.

I

As early as the second half of the sixteenth century the broadside ballad was clearly being utilised in Scotland as a tool of Protestant propaganda no less than was the case in England. More than twenty surviving ballads and polemics, written by the poet and Protestant controversialist Robert Sempill, were published on a single sheet between 1567 and 1581. All of them were printed by Robert Lekprevik,

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History: Songs and Social Comment (Oxford, 1988); S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London, 1999).

[8] A selection of examples from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been reproduced in J. Holloway and J. Black (eds), *Later English Broadside Ballads*, 2 vols (London, 1975–9). See also D. Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850* (Cambridge, 1989); P. Fumerton and A. Guerrini (eds), *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800* (Farnham, 2010). On the Victorian period, it addition to material in the general surveys cited in note 7 above, see M. Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse: A Study of British Nineteenth Century Working-Class Literature* (London, 1974); J. S. Bratton, *The Victorian Popular Ballad* (London and Basingstoke, 1975).

[9] Exceptions are T. Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: a Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), ch. 8; J. Morris, 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', in P. Isaac and B. McKay (eds), *Images and Texts: their Production and Distribution in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Delaware, 1997), pp. 89–119.

mostly from his base at the Netherbow, Edinburgh, but also in Stirling and St Andrews, and they seem to have been widely disseminated.[10] At the same time it is possible that the spiritual songs compiled by the Wedderburns of Dundee may have circulated individually as well as being collected in the volume later known as *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, first printed by John Scot in 1565.[11] By the seventeenth century, however, the broadside ballad appears to have fallen from favour as an evangelising tool, perhaps because sufficient among the second generation of Scottish reformers deemed it an inappropriate vehicle for edification and education.[12]

Output from the Scottish presses remained small in scale and relatively conservative in content throughout much of the seventeenth century. Very few broadside ballads appear to have been produced, or to have survived, in Scotland until its last decades and little of any kind was printed on a single sheet other than Acts of Parliament, royal proclamations, and other official publications.[13] In England the years 1678–9 saw a burst of printing activity as the Licensing Act lapsed temporarily and the supposed Popish Plot caused a frenzy of polemical publication. In the much smaller world of Scottish printing these years also witnessed a marked expansion in output, perhaps stimulated by events surrounding the battle of Bothwell Bridge. The thirty imprints issued from Scottish presses in 1677 rose to sixty-eight in 1678 and eighty-one by 1679. Published titles then shot up to 267 in 1689 following the Glorious Revolution, and reached a peak of 313 in 1695, an annual total that would not be exceeded until the middle years of the eighteenth century when 396 titles were issued in 1747 and 512 in 1748.[14]

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[10] T. G. Stevenson (ed.), *The Sempill Ballates* (London, 1872), pp. 1–239; Morris, 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', p. 94.

[11] A. F. Mitchell (ed.), *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis'* (Edinburgh and London, 1897), pp. xxxiii–xxxiv. On these songs, see also W. Dauney, *Ancient Scottish Melodies, from a Manuscript of the Reign of King James VI* (Edinburgh, 1838), pp. 30–40; H. Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 25–33; E. J. Cowan, 'Calvinism and the Survival of the Folk', in E. J. Cowan (ed.), *The People's Past: Scottish Folk, Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 36–40.

[12] On this change of attitude towards the ballad among English Protestants, see P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1988), ch. 4; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 41–50; K. Thomas, 'From Edification to Entertainment', *Times Literary Supplement* (23 Aug. 1991), pp. 5–6.

[13] A rare survival is *The wandering Ievv or, the shoe-maker of Ierusalem* (Edinburgh, John Wreirtoun, 1624–40?), copy in the National Records of Scotland, GD 297/123; another early example is, *A proper New Ballad, Entitled the Gallant Grahames* (Edinburgh? 1650?), copy in the National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], R.y.III.a.10 (5).

[14] On England see M. Bell and J. Barnard 'Provisional Count of *Wing* Titles 1641–1700', *Publishing History*, 44 (1998), p. 91; J. Bernard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume IV, 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 784–5; on Scotland, H. G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1970); A. J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 214–18. These figures are derived from a count of imprints in the *English Short Title Catalogue*, accessible through the British Library at http://www.estc.bl.uk.

Throughout the early modern period Edinburgh remained overwhelmingly the biggest hub of Scottish publishing. Only in the last two decades of the eighteenth century did Glasgow begin its rapid development as a major centre of commercial printing, but even in the 1790s Edinburgh was still publishing three times as many titles as its expanding rival.[15] The great majority of the ephemeral publications on a single sheet in prose and verse at this time derived from Scotland's capital and it is therefore Edinburgh that will be the focus here. Only a relatively small part of this increased publishing activity in the period was devoted to the broadside ballad. Of the almost 13,000 surviving imprints believed to have been issued in Edinburgh in the seventy years between 1679 and 1749, a mere 173 fall into this category. This figure includes only texts printed on one side of a folio sheet that were in rhyme and clearly intended to be sung. Many more verses were published on single sheets in the form of elegies and epithalamiums, panegyrics and poems, but it is compositions specifically meant for musical rendition that are of present concern. The actual number of ballads printed in this period was no doubt considerably larger than that which now remains and the small extant sample is testimony to the extremely poor survival rates of this most ephemeral of printed forms. The great majority of these imprints lacked a colophon containing information about printer or publisher, and place or date of issue. In most cases, therefore, such details can only be inferred from the physical characteristics of the text or the internal evidence of its contents.

Relatively small though this corpus of 173 titles may be, it constitutes a body of material sufficiently large to be able to identify the salient features and particular characteristics of Scottish broadside balladry in its formative stages. While much has been written about the ballad traditions of Scotland, this scholarship has been concerned almost exclusively with the rural folk song transcribed from oral tradition by singers such as Mrs Brown or gathered by collectors like Walter Scott and F. J. Child.[16] This material only began to be written down from the later eighteenth century and most of it was recorded in the Victorian era. Very little attention has ever been paid to the printed balladry produced in an urban context, and to the songs that can be demonstrably traced to seventeenth-century publication. These broadsides deserve much more attention as an important part in the making of popular print in Scotland. Their relationship to the much better known corpus of rural balladry, mostly collected

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[15] The annual total of extant Glasgow imprints is just five from 1680, twenty-seven from 1740, seventy-four from 1780, and 150 from 1799. On the rapid development thereafter of Glasgow's Saltmarket as the major centre of popular publishing in Scotland, see A. McNaughtan, 'A Century of Saltmarket Literature, 1790–1890', in P. Isaac (ed.), *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (Winchester, 1990), pp. 165–80; E. J. Cowan and M. Peterson (eds), *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750–1850* (Edinburgh, 2007).

[16] D. Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk* (London, 1972); E. J. Cowan (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History* (East Linton, 2000).

from the Borders region and the rural north-east of the country, would also repay further investigation.

II

The watershed in Scottish publishing history that the last decades of the seventeenth century represent was characterised by the emergence of a group of young Edinburgh printers whose output greatly elaborated the nature and scale of the nation's press. Among them was John Reid who, between 1682 and his death in 1716, operated from premises in Bell's Wynd on the south side of the High Street near the Tron Kirk. His output of ballads and chapbooks, elegies and last dying speeches, marks him out as an important figure in the making of the Scottish popular press. Reid's daughter, Margaret, carried on the enterprise from her printing office at the foot of Horse Wynd in the Cowgate and maintained the flow of cheap print for which her father had become renowned. As a consequence of pirating a poem by the famous literary figure and bookseller Allan Ramsay, she herself became the object of a satirical *Elegy on Lucky Reid* for which she assumes a minor place in the history of Scottish letters. Simultaneously, another John Reid, perhaps a nephew of his namesake, was also at work from various premises in Edinburgh, most notably from Pearson's Close, across the High Street from the old Parliament and St Giles' Cathedral, from where, until about 1720, he became one of the most prolific producers of Scottish ephemeral literature.[17]

Other important figures in this renaissance of Scottish printing were the Dutchmen Joshua van Solingen and John Colmar, brought to Edinburgh in 1680, where they worked in partnership with David Lindsay from the foot of Heriot's Bridge in the Grassmarket. Their business was taken over by James Watson and, in turn, by his son James who became another major producer of broadsides and small books between 1695 and 1722. Others included George Jaffrey who set up a printing house in 1696 and collaborated for a time with John Reid junior; Robert Brown based in Forrester's Wynd for twenty years from 1713, who specialised in last dying speeches and children's books; John Moncur, who became an important figure in the birth of Scottish newspapers, printing the *Scots Postman* in 1709, before it was taken on by John Reid junior, and the *Evening Post* from 1712 to 1716; and William Adams junior, based opposite the Tron Kirk from 1717 and then in Carubber's Close from where he printed the *Caledonian Mercury* between 1720 and 1723. The extent of broadside production of any of these printers is impossible to establish since single sheets were so often put out

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[17] M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1665 to 1680* (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 355; J. Watson, 'The Publisher's Preface', in *The History of the Art of Printing* (Edinburgh, 1713), pp. 12–19; A. Mann, 'Book Commerce, Litigation and the Art of Monopoly: The Case of Agnes Campbell, Royal Printer, 1676–1712', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 18 (1998), pp. 142–3; H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 250–1; NLS, Scottish Book Trade Index, at http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html.

without attribution. Orders of the Edinburgh council in 1703 and 1708 that none of them should 'presume to print any papers or pamphlets without affixing their names thereto as printed by them' were only partially observed.[18]

The single sheet publications issued by these printers had much in common with similar material that had long been produced in large quantities in London. They included ballads and poems; the last dying speeches of criminals and the sensational tales of gruesome crimes; epithalamiums written to celebrate the marriages of the rich and famous and elegies penned upon their deaths; songs of unrequited love and personal tragedy; stories of historical heroes and satires on the times; news items and political propaganda; pieces of popular piety and sectarian apologetic. A number of ballads were produced as 'slip songs' where, in the interests of economy, two texts were printed on the same folio sheet and intended for separation.[19]

As with most English broadside ballads of the later seventeenth century and beyond, many Scottish texts of this period indicated the tune that was to accompany them. Almost sixty per cent of the 173 surviving songs on a single sheet printed in Edinburgh between 1679 and 1749 specify their accompaniment to a named air. This figure includes those said to be set 'To their own proper Tune', where the title of the song seems also to have been the name of the melody. Of the remainder, some were simply advertised as to be sung 'To an excellent new Tune', while others make no reference to their musical support. Fifteen of the refrains are named on more than one ballad making a total of eighty separate specimens in total. The frequency with which tunes are given in this Scottish material rather contradicts Claude Simpson's suggestion that 'the onset of the eighteenth century saw the gradual disappearance of the tune direction from ballads old and new, depriving us of the links between printed ballad and singing traditions'.[20] At least during the first half of the century, the majority of the ballads printed in Edinburgh continued to contain this kind of musical direction.

By the late seventeenth century, London printers were moving from the use of black letter, or gothic, typeface for their popular prints towards white letter, or roman, type and the Edinburgh material of the period also followed this form. In general, the production quality of Scottish broadsides was crude even by the generally low standards of such publications. Only around one-quarter of the ballads printed on a single sheet in Edinburgh between the late seventeenth and mid eighteenth centuries were adorned with any kind of illustration, for example.

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[18] Watson, *History of the Art of Printing*; Plomer, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers*, pp. 2, 54, 79, 168–9, 189, 209, 276, 303–4; W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, 2 vols (Stirling, 1908), pp. 21–38; NLS, Scottish Book Trade Index; H. Armet (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1701 to 1718* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 63, 147. The locations of these printers can be identified on the excellent contemporary map, W. Edgar, *The Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh* (1742).

[19] For a good review of each of these genres in England see O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, ch. 2.

[20] Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. xi–xii.

Those that were tended to recycle a small stock of rough woodcut images that often bore scant relation to the subject of the text.[21]

Although it can be dangerous to try to identify printers from such ornaments, since workshops could share the same woodblocks, it is possible to speculate about the provenance of some ballads on the basis of their repeated use of combinations of cuts. Thus when a ballad such as *The Four Drunken Wives that live at Belsiehil* (1710) advertises its printer to have been John Reid junior, of Pearson's Close, the use of its two woodcuts on another broadside, and of one of them on another, suggests that these other productions may also have originated from the younger Reid's print shop.[22] The ballads *In Heriot's-Walks* (1715) and *The New Way to Bonny Jean* (1719) also reveal their printer to have been Reid. The two woodcuts stamped on each, one of a woman and one of a man, and intended to convey immediately to a customer, possibly unlettered, that what followed was a love song, also appeared together on *A Bonny Lad of High Renown*. The deployment of one or both of these cuts on further otherwise unattributed items, suggests that these too might have originated in the same workshop.[23] Another image definitely attributed to Reid also appears on *The Contract of Enster*, and one of the other cuts appearing alongside it provides a link to *The Noble Man's Generous Kindness*, which in turn leads to *A Dialogue between his Grace the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar*.[24] If these visual clues can be trusted, John Reid junior emerges more clearly than would be suspected from his occasional imprint information as the principal producer of broadside ballads in early eighteenth-century Edinburgh.

The environment in which this cheap print was disseminated bore some similarities to England's more developed metropolitan marketplace. Edinburgh was then the second largest city in Britain with a population of between 25,000 and 30,000 in 1660, doubling to around 60,000 a century later. Levels of literacy were exceptionally high: according to one calculation only ten per cent of the city's male tradesmen and craftsmen could not sign their names on aggregate over the period 1650–1770, a figure comparable to the same social group in London during the 1720s. Given that levels of basic reading ability are likely to have been much in excess of the capacity to make a signature, the Edinburgh environment clearly provided a large number of potential customers and a highly receptive audience for simple printed works.[25]

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[21] For the superior woodcuts and even finer quality engravings that illustrated London broadsides of the period, see Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, ch. 4; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999); Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London, 1998), chs 5 and 12; O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London, 2010).

[22] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (82, 28, 30).

[23] NLS, 6.365 (2); Ry.III.a.10 (118, 69), and see also (3, 8, 51, 47).

[24] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (3, 40); RB.1.106 (73).

[25] R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1, 7; R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and*
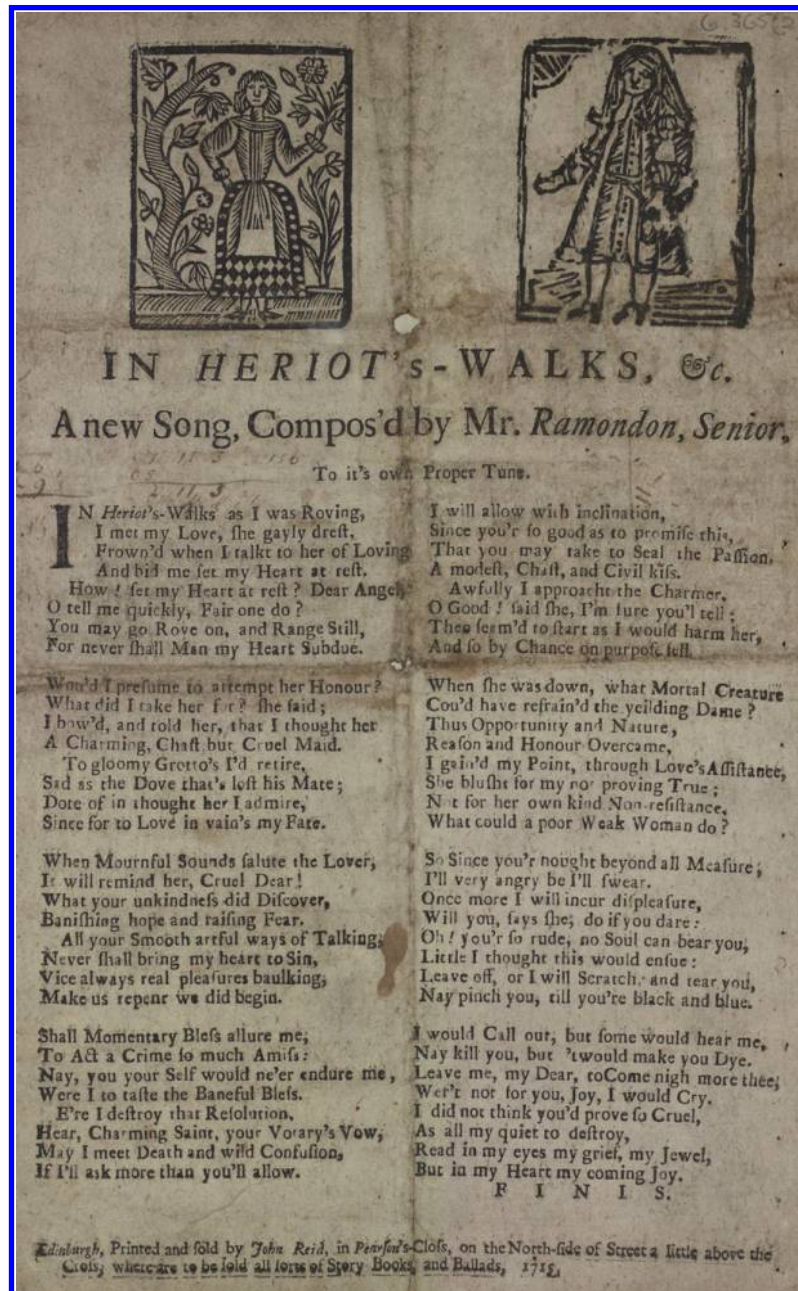
IN *HERIOT's*-WALKS, &c.

A new Song, Compos'd by Mr. *Ramondon, Senior.*

To it's own Proper Tune.

IN *Heriot's*-Walks as I was Roving,
I met my Love, she gayly drest,
Frown'd when I talkt to her of Loving,
And bid me set my Heart at rest.
How! set my Heart at rest? Dear Angel,
O tell me quickly, Fair one do?
You may go Rove on, and Range Still,
For never shall Man my Heart Subdue.

Wou'd I presume to attempt her Honour?
What did I take her for? she said;
I bow'd, and told her, that I thought her
A Charming, Chast but Cruel Maid.
To gloomy Grotto's I'd retire,
Sad as the Dove that's loft his Mate;
Dote of in thought her I admire,
Since for to Love in vain's my Fate.

When Mournful Sounds salute the Lover,
It will remind her, Cruel Dear!
What your unkindnefs did Discover,
Banishing hope and raising Fear.
All your Smooth artful ways of Talking,
Never shall bring my heart to Sin,
Vice always real pleasures baulking,
Make us repent we did begin.

Shall Momentary Blefs allure me;
To Act a Crime so much Amifs:
Nay, you your Self would ne'er endure me,
Were I to taste the Baneful Blefs.
E're I destroy that Refolution,
Hear, Charming Saint, your Votary's Vow;
May I meet Death and wild Confusion,
If I'll ask more than you'll allow.

I will allow with inclination,
Since you'r fo good as to promife this,
That you may take to Seal the Paffion,
A modest, Chalt, and Civil kifs.
Awfully I approache the Charmer,
O Good! said she, I'm sure you'l tell:
Thee seem'd to start as I would harm her,
And so by Chance on purpofe fell.

When she was down, what Mortal Creature
Cou'd have refrain'd the yeilding Dame?
Thus Opportunity and Nature,
Reafon and Honour Overcame,
I gain'd my Point, through Love's Affiftance,
She blufht for my not proving True;
Not for her own kind Non-refiftance,
What could a poor Weak Woman do?

So Since you'r nought beyond all Meafure;
I'll very angry be I'll swear.
Once more I will incur difpleafure,
Will you, says she; do if you dare:
Oh! you'r fo rude, no Soul can bear you,
Little I thought this would enfue:
Leave off, or I will Scratch, and tear you,
Nay pinch you, till you're black and blue.

I would Call out; but fome would hear me,
Nay kill you, but 'twould make you Dye.
Leave me, my Dear, toCome nigh more thee;
Wer't not for you, Joy, I would Cry.
I did not think you'd prove fo Cruel,
As all my quiet to destroy,
Read in my eyes my grief, my Jewel,
But in my Heart my coming Joy.
            F I N I S.

Figure 1. *In Heriot's-Walks, &c* (1715). NLS 6.365(002). Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 2. *The Cloak's Knavery* (1719). NLS Ry.III.a.10(121). Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

In this physically confined and densely populated burgh no one would have lived very far from the centrally located printers' shops that also acted as retail outlets. Thus, 'Printed and sold by John Reid in Pearson's Closs, North-side of the Street a little above the Cross, 1710' appears on the colophon of one broadside, while on another the same name and address is followed by the advertisement: 'where are to be sold all sorts of Story Books, and Ballads'. 'Printed for William Adams Junior, and sold at the Printing-House opposite to the Trone-Church. Anno Dom. 1716' appears on another single sheet imprint. A 'pasquinade' of 1697–8 attacking Louis XIV, *The Character of the French King*, advertised its sale from the shop of bookseller Alexander Henderson, 'at the upper end of the Lucken-booths'.[26]

In addition, hawkers and ballad singers carried these single sheets through the closes and wynds. They were known locally as 'paper criers' and in 1710 the burgh council prescribed a fixed rate at which they should buy their wares from the printers: 'each quair of new papers or pamphlets sixteen shillings per quair, ballads seven shillings per quair, storie books of one sheet five shillings per dozen'. At the same time street sellers were required to pay 'six pennies Scots for each new print' to the stationer James Wardlaw, who was appointed to regulate and oversee their activities.[27] In 1714 the council incorporated all of the 'cadees, errand-men, news-cryers, or pamphlet-sellers in Edinburgh' into a company limited to twenty in number, or more as magistrates thought fit. Town officers and soldiers were empowered to apprehend 'all persons, that shall be found crying ballads or other papers upon the streets of Edinburgh, except those that are incorporate in the Society of Paper Criers'.[28] Internal evidence within the broadside texts themselves offers some hint of these figures at work. The first verse of *The Ballad of the Cloak*, surviving in a late seventeenth-century version and in one of 1719 printed by William Adams junior with musical notation, began with the time-honoured patter of the balladeer:

> Come buy my New Ballad,
> I have't in my Wallet,
> Tho't will not, I fear, please every Palate:
> Then mark what ensu'th,

Northern England, 1600–1800 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 46–7; R. A. Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh', *History*, 78 (1993), pp. 374–80. Cf. D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 154. It is likely that many people who were unable to make a signature were, nevertheless, able to read: see K. Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 102–3.

[26] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (82); 6.365 (2); Ry.III.c36 (34b); L.C.Fol.76(49). Henderson also sold the *Scots Postman* from his shop, 1708–9: Plomer, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers*, p. 152.

[27] Armet (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1701 to 1718*, pp. 199–200.

[28] W. Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh from its earliest Foundation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh, 1753), pp. 326–7.

For I swear by my Youth,
That every Line in my Ballad is Truth:
A Ballad of Wit, a brave Ballad of Worth,
'Tis newly Printed and newly come Forth.[29]

Other ditties opened with the familiar refrain enjoining customers to 'give ear', indicating that they were intended to be sung in public as the familiar means of advertisement. 'Come all good people, give an Ear / unto these lines I've penn'd', begins *The Wedding Song of Gibbie and Marjorie*.[30]

As in England it is clear that some purchasers of broadsides collected them for continued enjoyment or preserved them as a reflection of the times. One such was possibly a Robert Carpenter, who bound together a volume of 124 single sheets dating from between about 1679 and 1730.[31] On a number of items he added annotations in pen, supplying identifying details such as date of publication and other incidental information. Given that no prices were ever printed on these texts it is instructive to find written on the back of some the cost of 2d. Scots.[32] Well-to-do contemporaries who were prepared to have such perishable material 'booked', as this collector described it, provide one of the few means by which it has been preserved in any quantity.[33]

III

In a number of other ways the production of broadside ballads in Edinburgh was obviously influenced by trends in the contemporary metropolitan market. The last decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a significant elaboration and diversification of the ballad trade in London. The dramatic constitutional events of the period provided ample material for political songs and the appearance of

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[29] NLS, Crawford.EB.235 and 236; L.C.Fol.76 (39); NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (121). For another example of a ballad printed with (meaningless) musical notation, see *A New Scotch Whim* (Edinburgh, 1693).

[30] NLS, Ry.III.c.36 (106).

[31] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (124 'Old Scotch Ballads, Broadsides &c. 1679–1730'). For the suggestion of ownership by Robert Carpenter, see Morris, 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', pp. 90–1.

[32] For prices written on the verso, see NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (41, 51, 57). A good example of a contemporary English collector who added such annotations is Narcissus Luttrell: see British Library [hereafter, BL], C.20.f.3–5.

[33] In addition to the contents of NLS, Ry.III.a.10, this essay utilises, among other sources, the following collections of broadsides in the NLS: Ry.III.c.36 (154 'Last Speeches and Confessions of Criminals, Elegies &c'); RB.I.106 (126 pamphlets and single sheets of the early eighteenth century); S.302.b.2 (125 broadside ballads and poems, 1562–1846; mostly Scottish of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries); L.C.Fol.76 (134 'Broadsides, Proclamations etc. 1689–1754'); NLS, 6.314 (58 Scottish pamphlets and broadsides, 1639–1838). A total of 241 Scottish broadsides in the NLS collection, containing various contents and dating from between 1679 and 1746, can be viewed with accompanying 'commentary' on its website, 'The Word on the Street', at: http://www.nls.uk/broadsides.

party groupings fuelled the growth of sectarian propaganda.[34] At the same time, popular music was developing, both in concert performances and on the stage, and a new group of professional writers emerged to provide material that sometimes crossed over between song books, broadside ballads, and theatrical scores.[35]

To some extent, Edinburgh printers were happy to ride on the crest of this wave by reprinting ballads of either proven popularity or topical appeal in the London market. Thus *The Ballad of the Cloak, or the Cloaks Knaverie*, printed by David Lindsay and partners about 1681, was an English composition sung to 'Packington's Pound', the Elizabethan melody described as 'the most popular single tune associated with ballads before 1700'.[36] A recently fashionable import was *An excellent new ballad, entituled Doll the diar[y] maid, the Dovenshire damsel's resolution [to] marry*, set to Thomas D'Urfey's tune 'Ladies of London', which appeared on as many as thirty English ballads before 1688.[37]

In some cases, compositions of Scottish provenance were augmented by being set to tunes that were long-established favourites or commercial successes of London broadside balladry. Thus 'An old courtier of the Queen', a classic English tune, appeared on *Samson's Foxes, A New Litany*, a Scottish ballad with a religious theme printed by James Watson junior in 1713.[38] The ever-green dirge 'Fortune My Foe', played at public executions and often the vehicle for mournful laments, appeared on two Edinburgh imprints of the period to emphasise their melancholic theme. 'Take your old cloak about you', was another air familiar to ballad and song drama in Shakespeare's England; like 'The Lady's Daughter', and 'Robin Hood and the Tanner', it was an old stand-by from south of the border apparently redeployed to enhance the appeal of otherwise Scottish songs.[39]

More recently fashionable was the ubiquitous tune 'The Abbot of Canterbury', or 'Derry Down', which would become 'one of the most popular in the eighteenth century'. Despite its English provenance it accompanied at least three different Edinburgh broadside ballads printed before 1746.[40] 'An old woman poor and blind' was certainly well known in London before it was used for *The Wedding Song of Gibbie and Marjorie; who were married in Edinburgh, on the 13th of June 1718.*[41] The tune 'March, boys' came to prominence in a ballad celebrating the battle of

[34] See, for example, T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles* II (Cambridge, 1987); G. S. De Krey, *A Fractured Society: the Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688–1715* (Oxford, 1985).

[35] J. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: the Social Background* (London, 1968), ch. 8; I. Spink, 'Music and Society', in Spink (ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 9–23.

[36] NLS, L.C.Fol.76 (39); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 111–12, 564–70.

[37] NLS, S.302.b.2 (125); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 421–3.

[38] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (72); L.C.Fol.76(87); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 591–4.

[39] NLS, Ry.III.a.10(16); NLS, S.302.b.2(52); NLS, Ry.III.a.10(25); NLS, Ry.III.a.10(32); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 225–31, 536, 111–12, 608–11.

[40] NLS, 3.641 (6); Ry.III.a.1 (3), and L.C.Fol.79 (9a); BL, Rox.III.710, and L.R.271.a.2/1.2 (85); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 140, 172–6.

[41] NLS, Ry.III.c.36 (106); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 552–5.

the Boyne together with other topical compositions of the 1690s in England. It was soon pressed into service in Scotland to accompany *The Merry Bagpipes Or, a Pleasant Pastime between a Jolly Shepherd and a Country Damsel, on a Mid-Summer-Day, in the Morning*.[42]

One element within the expanding London ballad market after the Restoration was a repertoire of compositions that purported to describe 'northern' or 'Scottish' themes and to be set to supposedly 'Scotch' tunes.[43] Sometimes party politics was wrapped in this modishly Caledonian livery such as *The Whigg-feast: a Scotch ballad, made to the tune of a new and pleasant Scotch dance*, printed for Joseph Hindmarsh and the Black Bull, Cornhill, in 1682; or *A Tory in a Whig's coat: a new English ballad, set to an old Scotch tune, Up with Ayley, &c.*, printed for Allen Banks in the same year.[44] Other metropolitan productions of the period reported on events in Scotland from an English perspective, such as *Monmouth and Bucleugh's welcome from the North: or the Loyal Protestants Joy for his Happy Return. To the tune of York and Albany's return to England*; and *A New Scotch Ballad call'd Bothwell Bridge: Or Hamiton's Hero* printed for T. B. in 1679.[45] Some London ballads invented Scottish characters such as 'Peggy' and 'Moggy', or 'Jocky' and 'Willy', in compositions set to supposedly 'northern' or 'Scotch' airs. Typical of the genre was *A New Scotch Ballad of Jealous Nanny: Or False-hearted Willy turn'd True: to the tune of Moggies Iealousie*, printed for Philip Brooksby in West Smithfield; and *Jockey and Willy, The Scotch Rivals: or, Moggy's constancy*, printed for Brooskby and partners.[46]

The purportedly 'Scotch tunes' to which these pieces were set were often the work of contemporary English composers such as Henry Purcell and Peter Motteux, or the playwright Aphra Behn and the prolific song writer Thomas D'Urfey. So it was that the London musician Thomas Farmer provided the accompaniment to *The Scotch Lass Deceiv'd By her Bonny Lad Jockey. To a New Scotch Tune of Mr Farmers*, one of about a dozen such ballads that Samuel Pepys added to his collection.[47] However, this English provenance did not prevent many of these tunes being adopted north of the border, or even entering the repertoire of 'Caledonian airs' so much collected and reprinted during the eighteenth century. Refrains such as 'Bonny Dundee', 'Valiant Jockey', 'The Scotch Haymakers', otherwise known as ''Twas within a Furlong of Edinbrough Town', and a number named after 'Sawny' the Scotsman, are all examples of compositions attributable to Thomas D'Urfey that became enduring favourites in North Britain. For the Scots,

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[42] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (60); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 483–4.

[43] Spink, 'Music and Society', p. 6; J. Playford, *Apollo's Banquet: Containing Instructions, and Variety of New Tunes, Ayres, Jiggs and Several New Scotch Tunes for the Treble-Violin* (London, 1690).

[44] Bodleian Library [hereafter, Bod. Lib.], Ashm. G 16 (149); Bod. Lib., Vet. A3 c.29 (11).

[45] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (35); Bod. Lib., Ashm. G 16 (176).

[46] NLS, Crawford EB.848; EB.607. In total there are some 36 of these 'Scotch' ballads of English provenance and printed in London contained in the NLS Crawford collection.

[47] Day (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads*, v, pp. 259–70; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. 554n.

it was said in 1715, 'split their wems in hollowing out – *Bonny Dundee, Valiant Jocky, Sawny was a Dawdy Lad*, and *'twas within a Furlong of Edinborough Town*'.[48]

The Edinburgh printers aided this process of adoption by reprinting some of these English ballads or utilising their tunes on other songs. Thus *An Excellent New Song, Intituled, Valiant Jockie His Ladies Resolution*, and *Valiant Jockie, or the Maiden Warriour*, were both published in Scotland around 1700.[49] A ballad under the title *Bonny Dundee* also appeared in Edinburgh about this time: the text was very different from the versions of D'Urfey's *Bonny Dundee: or Jockey's deliverance*, printed for the London bookseller Charles Bates in the 1690s, but it no doubt invited singing to the same tune.[50] *An Excellent new Scotch Song; call'd, The bonny Grey-Ey'd Morn; Or, Jockey Rous'd with Love* was produced in Edinburgh, likely by the younger John Reid, some time in the second decade of the eighteenth century. This was a reprint of another piece of invention for the English stage that appeared on London broadsides in the late 1690s.[51] Reid was also likely responsible for *The New Way of Catharin Ogie*, probably set to the melody of that name, which was being described in London as 'a new Scotch song' in the late seventeenth century.[52] Thus the enduring popularity of these tunes in Scotland owed much to the dissemination by the Edinburgh printers of this period of what was essentially English metropolitan invention.[53]

In some cases English lyricists also provided the words for new ballads which were set to refrains that became popular in Scotland. One such appears to be David Ramondon, father of the London song-writer and theatrical singer Lewis Ramondon, who was known as a maker of popular ballads by fitting verses to existing tunes. 'Mr Ramondon senior' is credited as the author of the lyrics to *Victory and beauty, a new song*, set 'to the good old tune of Catharine Ogie'. He also wrote the words to the melodies of 'In Heriot's–Walks' printed by the younger John Reid in 1715, together with those for another two 'new songs', one set to 'I am a silly old man' and the other to 'Peggie I must love thee', both of which appeared on Edinburgh broadsides of similar date.[54]

[48] NLS, Crawford EB.1334; EB.1235; EB.154; EB.1221; EB.125; NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (31, 26); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 49–51, 561–3, 733–4, 630–8.

[49] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (26); S.302.b.2 (82); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 733–4.

[50] NLS, Ry.III.a.10(31); Crawford EB.1334; Day (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads*, v, p. 262; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 49–51.

[51] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (30); Crawford EB.182; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 51–2.

[52] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (28); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 54–5.

[53] Another good example of the adoption north of the border of a tune from the 'Scotch' productions of late seventeenth-century London is 'My Nanny O' which originated in the wooing ballads of 'Willy and Nanny': NLS, Crawford EB.115; EB.83; Ry.III.a.10 (84); A. Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh, Allan Ramsay, 1725?), pp. 86–7; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 505–7.

[54] BL, C.121.g.9 (183); NLS, 6.365 (2); S.302.b.2 (74); BL, C.121.g.9 (180); and cf. *A new song, to an Irish coranoch*, Bod. Lib., Vet.A1 c.1 (25); O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'Ramondon, Littleton [Lewis]', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004) [hereafter, *ODNB*].

In many of these cases it is difficult to discern whether or not the tunes were really original to Scotland or actually invented in England in order to render Scottish themes and simply returned north of the border. Thus 'Peggy I must love thee' was described as 'a Scotch Tune in fashion' and 'a new Scotch tune' when it appeared on English publications of the late 1680s and Purcell is credited with a keyboard arrangement. On the one hand, such billing usually announced tunes that were only imagined in London to be Scottish; on the other hand, this air is included in all of the major compilations of native songs, both in manuscript and print, collected in Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century.[55] It is equally difficult to disentangle the provenance of the tune 'The broom of Cowden Knowes', otherwise known as 'The bonny broom'. It appeared on the Edinburgh ballad, *An excellent New Song Entituled, the New way of the Broom of Cowden Knows*, in the voice of someone apparently exiled after the Jacobite rising of 1715. It was also named as one of two possible accompaniments for an early eighteenth-century version of *The Gentle Montgomeries*, a song chronicling the foundation of that clan in Scotland, as well as providing the setting for other Jacobite ballads. Thereafter it was a staple of all the popular Scottish song books of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, it was first referred to on a broadside published in London in 1632 when *The lovely Northern Lasse* was set 'To a pleasant Scotch tune, called, The broom of Cowdon knowes', and a variety of other evidence suggests its English provenance.[56] In both of these cases, therefore, it remains debateable whether these were really native Scottish refrains, or merely became so thanks to the influence of the Edinburgh press.

Equally the popular tune 'Over the Hills and Far Away' may well have been another of D'Urfey's. It appears to derive from *Jockey's Lamentation*, a song first published by him, and this was the refrain to which he set *The Hubble Bubble*, his satire on financial speculation penned at the time of the South Sea Bubble, printed as a broadside in Edinburgh about 1720. At the same time, the tune also accompanied *An excellent new ballad. He's or'e the hills and far away, to its own proper new tune*, printed by the younger John Reid around the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the 1730s Allan Ramsay included a song of that name in his *Tea-Table Miscellany* and it was certainly enduringly popular in Scotland thereafter.[57] Meanwhile, a poem penned in about 1643 by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, incorporated the refrain, 'I'll never love thee more'. But this was an accompaniment familiar to ballads printed in England from at least the early seventeenth century, described on one as 'a rare Northern Tune'. Montrose's

[55] Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 573–5.

[56] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (7); Bod. Lib., Harding B.4 (20); NLS, MS.2960, fol. 88; Ry.III.a.1 (21); Chappell and Ebsworth (eds), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, I, p. 588; Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany: Or, a Collection of Scots Sangs*, 9th edn (London, 1733), pp. 192–4; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 68–71. Its relation, if any, to 'Brume brume on hil', referred to in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549), is unclear: J. A. H. Murray (ed.), *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (London, 1872), p. 64.

[57] NLS, Ry.III.c.36 (130); Ry.III.a.10 (18); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 561–3.

verse set to this tune was printed as a broadside in Edinburgh about 1710 and became a favourite in the subsequent collections of Caledonian airs.[58]

IV

For all of these importations and appropriations from the musical and popular publishing scenes of London, however, there is also much evidence that the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed the emergence of a more genuinely indigenous repertoire of broadside balladry in Scotland. Although most of the ballad texts were anonymous, it is clear that lyrics by Scottish authors were finding their way into the ephemeral literature of the period. Thus, *Leader-haughs and Yarow. To its own proper Tune*, is attributed to Nicol Burne of Selkirkshire and is a sophisticated piece of writing, blending classical allusion with Scots vernacular in an unusual rhyme scheme.[59] *The Banishment of Poverty . . . To the Tune of the Last Good-night* is an equally-skilled piece of work in Scots, possibly by Francis Sempill (1616–82), the son of Robert Sempill of Beltrees. It is constructed in 'French octave' where the meter is iambic tetrameter and the rhyme scheme ABABBCBC.[60] The first line of this ballad mentions the phrase 'pultron poverty' and this is the name of the tune accompanying another attributable ballad, *Poverties coat turn'd by a taylor in* [*Hamilton*], thought to be the work of John Mather and printed as a broadside around 1702.[61]

Thomas Rutherford, governor of the paper mill at Colinton outside Edinburgh, was credited with having 'newly corrected and amended' the *Four drunken Wives that live at Belsiehil*, printed by the younger John Reid in 1710.[62] Meanwhile, the *Bonny Lass of Branksome*, said to have been written by 'Auld Hobbie o' Skelfhill' and also published as a broadside around the turn of the eighteenth century, was a detailed verse of 180 lines that merited a mention in Ramsay's famous pastoral play *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) and went on to be re-published in the 1733 edition of William Thomson's songbook, *Orpheus Caledonius*.[63] Among the many compositions of Ramsay himself in the first decades of the century were two 'slip-songs', *The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy*, and *An Excellent New Ballad Intituled, Bessy Bell and Mary Gray*. They

[58] BL, C.20.f.9 (579); Rox.III.579; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 355–7.

[59] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (13). See also Ry.III.a.10 (12) for the same song under a slightly different title. For the words and music see W. Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius: Or, a Collection of Scots Songs*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (London, 1733), ii, pp. 21–5.

[60] NLS, APS.4.94.22; see 'commentary' at: http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14448.

[61] NLS, S.302.b.2 (101); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. 207.

[62] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (82).

[63] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (63); see 'commentary' at: http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14529; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, ii, pp. 78–9. On Thomson see D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 140–1.

allude respectively to the tunes 'Bonny Kate of Edinburgh' and 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray' to which they were no doubt intended to be sung, both of them examples of tunes of seventeenth-century English origin that came to be adopted in Scotland.[64]

In addition to utilising the work of Scottish authors the Edinburgh-printed ballads of the period did more than simply adopt and insinuate the 'northern' or 'Scotch' airs that came up from London. They also recovered and encouraged a range of native tunes and played an instrumental role in the dissemination and promotion of an indigenous tradition of popular music in Scotland. In 1723, for example, Ramsay printed on a broadside *A new Song. Tune Lochaber no more* which helped to fix this old Scottish melody in the musical repertoire of street performance and drawing room recital alike. It was reprinted for one audience in *The Loyal Scotsman's Garland*, a chapbook of 1726, and for another in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* a few years later.[65] A further piece in this chapbook collection of three songs was 'The bonny boatman' and the tune, which seems to be another Scots native, was used again on *R . . . P . . . 's Complaint of his hard Fate, Or the Town Officer's Lament for the Loss of his Coat*, an Edinburgh broadside of about 1730.[66] *The New Way of Pithcathly Well*, set to the tune of 'Pollwarth on the Green', featured both a Scottish lyric and melody, the one referring to the mineral springs in Perthshire and the other to the village south of Edinburgh.[67]

Similarly the Scots tune 'Killiecrankie' was composed to accompany ballads commemorating the battle there in 1689, while the 'The Race of Sheriffmuir' and 'The Horseman's Sport' were both airs associated with songs about the Jacobite rising of 1715.[68] Another ballad, *The true way of The Bonnie Bruiked Lassie*, was set to the tune of that name first recorded in a Scottish manuscript of about 1692.[69] Another native tune 'poultrane poverty', used in Mather's *Poverties coat*, was also employed in a broadside of later date, *The Good-man of Achter Muchty: Or, The Wife turned Good-man*.[70] Among others, 'The bonny lad of high renown', 'The Lass of Peaties Mill', 'I'll oe'r Bogie we him', 'Lang unken'd', 'Clavers and his highland men', 'The Campbels are coming, aha aha', 'Leader-haughs and Yarow', and 'Willie Winkies farewell' all appear to be tunes of genuinely Scottish provenance that are named on Edinburgh broadside ballads of the period.[71]

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[64] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (114). For the music to each of these, see Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, pp. 106–7; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 53–4.

[65] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (46); *The Loyal Scotsman's Garland* (Edinburgh? 1726); Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, ii, pp. 50–1. It has been suggested that 'Lochaber' was originally an Irish tune, the work of the harpist Miles Reilly, b. 1635: Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. 662n.

[66] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (77); Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, pp. 38–9.

[67] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (52); Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, pp. 6–7; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, i, pp. 49–50.

[68] NLS, 302.b.2 (92); Ry.III.a.10 (8); BL, 1876.f.1 (76).

[69] NLS, S.302.b.2 (54).

[70] NLS, Crawford EB.636.

[71] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (69, 59); R.B.I.262 (77); Ry.III.c.36 (114); Ry.III.a.10 (9); 1.14 (11); Ry.III.a.10 (13); R.B.I.262 (113).

The Scottish tune of 'The Gaberlunzie Man' may be of sixteenth-century origin. It is not referred to as being in print, however, until 1684 when 'the Dutch printing house' of Joshua van Solingen and John Colmar went out of business in Edinburgh leaving amongst its stock 'the ballad of the Gaberlunye man', probably the surviving *An Excellen Balladt Intituled The Gaberlunzie-Man*. The air also accompanied the different *The new Way of the Gaberlunzy Man. To it's own proper Tune*, issued perhaps by James Watson who acquired the Dutchmen's premises, and again in early eighteenth-century versions possibly the work of Watson junior.[72] Many of the other Scottish tunes accompanying ballads that made it into print as broadsides were probably old and very well known by this period. 'The Blythsome Wedding' was a Scottish song and tune first to appear in the early eighteenth century, but a version of the air was known much earlier as 'And the Kirk would let me be'.[73]

Some traditional Scottish songs were published as broadside ballads in this period before later being reworked and republished by significant writers. Thus *The Berks of Aberfeldy* first appeared in print in the late seventeenth century and was originally the song accompanying a reel, or country-dance for three couples, before being popularised anew in the version later rewritten by Robert Burns.[74] *Auld Lang Syne* was long established before it appeared on a single sheet and subsequently enjoyed versions by Allan Ramsay and most famously by Burns. Its tune was employed in other broadside ballads of the day and single-sheet publication clearly played a large part in establishing the place in Scottish popular culture that it has retained.[75] The Scottish tune 'John Anderson, my Jo', first recorded in the mid seventeenth century, was the accompaniment to two broadside ballads of the early eighteenth century indicating that it was thoroughly familiar well before Burns adopted it for his celebrated song.[76]

In many other senses the broadside ballads produced in Edinburgh during this period helped to create or disseminate a diet of distinctive Scottish material. Internal references in many of them reflect the fact that they were printed in the burgh and were intended for circulation among those familiar with the surrounding landscape. A number mention 'this town' and describe individuals and places that would have been well known to an Edinburgh audience. Thus when *Who but I quoth Finlay*, 'a new song much in request', begins 'There dwells a man into this town', it is local people who are being addressed. Equally the

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[72] Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh', p. 380; NLS, Crawford EB.1055; EB.976; BL, 1876.f.1 (34); NLS, R.B.I.106 (107); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 246–7.

[73] NLS, Ry.III.c.36 (128); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 638–40; Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, pp. 42–3; Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, i, pp. 76–9.

[74] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (57). On the universality of much song culture in this period, see T. Crawford, 'Lowland Song and Popular Tradition in the Eighteenth Century', in A. Hook (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 2, 1660–1800* (Aberdeen, 1987), pp. 123–39.

[75] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (70); Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, i, pp. 66–7.

[76] BL, C.121.g.9 (175); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 394–5.

immediate setting of *John of Landwart's Dream upon the High-Cock-Upps*, is evident in the first line, 'To Edinburgh Town where he did come once'.[77]

Other ballads allude to well-known landmarks in and around the city. *The Widdows Rant, Or a Wedding-Song, upon Widdow Jackson in Borthuicks-Close. Composed by one of her own Sexes*, was one such. Another was *Arthur's-Seat Shall be my Bed, &c. Or, Love in Despair. A New Song much in Request.* Equally geographically specific was *An Excellent new Ballad, intituled, The Four drunken Wives that live at Belsiehil. To the Tune of The Four drunken Maidens at the Nether-bow*, as was *In Heriot's-Walks*, which alluded to the popular promenade below Edinburgh Castle. Meanwhile, *The Picture of Poverty, in a Morning Walk from the Castle-hill, to the Abbay* took the consumer on a satirical jaunt down Edinburgh's High Street. In this way, therefore, the broadside literature gives the impression of communicating to a very well-defined market, of helping to create a rhetorical community through allusion to a shared local knowledge and mutual understanding.[78]

Another sense in which this material was both quite distinctive and invoked a specific audience was the language in which it was rendered. The revival of the broadside ballad in late seventeenth-century Scotland coincided with a renaissance in the Scots vernacular. Indeed, the two developments had an important reciprocal relationship. The emergence of a thriving trade in broadside ballads carrying songs intended to be sung aloud was both cause and effect of a burgeoning of dialectical verse during the period. Much of this language was quite different from the stylised phonetic idiom of some of the 'Scotch ballads' concocted in late seventeenth-century London, reproducing instead a version of Scots that would have made it difficult to understand beyond the Lowlands. Thus in one ballad of 1703 a man arrives in Edinburgh Town and comments on the 'the vain apparel of the female sex'.

> I vo these giglats are gane glaked
> That gangs so with their shoulders naked
> Fy! put them in Hurlie backet?
>   and huie them down to Leith:
> Parke ye their Hurdie with a Ruug
> Upon their Rigging gar it bung
> Gar ye them fast till they grow clung
>   They'll not need pike their Teith.[79]

In *The Highland Man's Lament* of 1723 a Gaelic speakers' pronunciation of English is rendered to comic effect, with 'Sh' being substituted for 'G', and 'T' for 'D',

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[77] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (43, 15).
[78] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (103, 10, 56, 82); 6.365 (2); RB.I.106 (70).
[79] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (15). On the back of this is written 'Booked 1703'.

and certain phraseology aped, such as 'her nane sels' meaning 'his'. At the same time, however, certain rather more authentic Scots phrases are interspersed:

> Tonald Bayn her nane dear Shoy,
> Maks a' Folk sad save Robin Roy
> Who kend him sin he was a Boy,
>   her nane sell Swons,
> To think he'd hangs like Gilderoy,
>   by Loulan Louns.[80]

No one was more influential in the revival of Scots vernacular literature in a variety of forms during the period than Allan Ramsay. His bawdy ballad, *An Excellent Song Intituled Fy gar rub her o're wi Strae*, was actually self-styled 'an Italian Canzone . . . imitated in braid Scots'.[81] Such features emphasise the essentially oral nature of these ballads and the fact that they were couched in the language actually used by local people no doubt aided their dissemination and performance.

V

The contents of the broadsides printed in Edinburgh during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reflect many of the themes and subjects that concerned the equivalent English material of the period. Ballads with historical topics mixed with those commenting on current affairs. Songs of a spiritual nature contrasted with biting satires and bawdy burlesques. Religious polemic and political propaganda always held a significant place in the market, but no more than tales of romance or love unrequited. The rich variety of this material sheds valuable light on contemporary popular culture and the mental world of urban Scotland in the period.

Among those ballads of an historical nature was *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, or *Chevy Chase*, which finally appeared on a Scottish broadside for the first time. Versions of this famous song were clearly widely known on both sides of the border during the sixteenth century but it is not extant on a single sheet in England before 1624. Despite the fact that the first known recording of the tune is in a Scottish manuscript dating from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, it is not until the beginning of the eighteenth that Edinburgh copies of the ballad survive in this form or that the ubiquitous air is mentioned as an accompaniment

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[80] NLS, Ry.III.a.10(36), and another copy in L.C.Fol.76 (118). Reference is made here to the famous outlaws Rob Roy and Gilderoy. For fuller discussion of this ballad, see Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, pp. 154–5.

[81] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (47); Ry.III.c.36 (118). For the music to this, see Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs*, pp. 148–9. Other good examples of dialect verse can be found in NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (124); RB.I.106 (89).

to other broadsides printed in the city.[82] Similarly, the celebrated *Iohn Armstrongs last farewel* relates the story of the famous border reiver executed by James V in 1530. It seems unlikely that some version of the song was not known in sixteenth-century Scotland, but the first reference to it in print appears when Francis Grove began publishing it in London in 1658 'To a pretty Northern Tune, called, Fare you well guilt Knock-hall'. The first Scottish broadside copy to survive is from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Ramsay included a version allegedly transcribed from an Armstrong descendant in his 1724 collection of Scots poems said to have been written before 1600.[83]

Another prominent feature of the Scottish balladry of the period, as of the English, was political comment. Certain tunes used on topical and partisan ballads in England were reused north of the border, the particular associations of some helping to convey their message no less than the song lyrics.[84] For example, the tune 'Hey boys up we go' became a favourite accompaniment to political ballads from at least the 1680s and for half a century thereafter. It was the refrain for *Murder out at last*, a Tory satire of 1683 on the Rye House Plot.[85] Equally, 'Hark I hear the cannons roar', to which was set *Captain Gordon's welcome home*, a ballad of about 1701 advocating independence from England, was a well-known accompaniment to political songs of the early 1680s and much used about the time of the Glorious Revolution.[86] Similarly popular was 'Lilliburlero', the refrain for anti-papist and anti-Irish ballads of the same period, and this came to be deployed to reinforce the message of Jacobite song in 1715.[87]

The two generations between the battles of Bothwell Bridge in 1679 and Culloden in 1746 were ones of particularly strained relations between England and Scotland and the events of these years occasioned propaganda from many quarters in a variety of media. Events surrounding the Act of Union in 1707 precipitated a war of words in both prose and verse that spread across many different literary genres.[88] Broadside ballads were just one of the vehicles for opinion on both sides of the Union divide to be expressed in an accessible and mnemonic form. Thus

[82] NLS, RB.I.262 (4); Ry.III.a.1 (16); and for the tune RB.I.181 (102); 1.10 (57); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 96–101.

[83] NLS, S.302.b.2 (64); Bod. Lib., Wood 401 (94); NLS, Crawford EB.700; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 401–3; Allan Ramsay, *The Ever Green*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1724), ii, pp. 190–6. That Ramsay was less than scrupulous as an editor of this collection has long been commented upon: Murray G. H. Pittock, 'Ramsay, Allan', in *ODNB*.

[84] On the associative qualities of ballad tunes, see C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), ch. 6.

[85] Bod. Lib., Firth b.20 (151c); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 304–8. The refrain 'hey then up go wee' occurs in English political verse of the 1640s: see Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 170.

[86] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (22); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 287–9.

[87] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (85); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, pp. 449–55.

[88] For a bibliography of the pamphlet material, see W. R. and V. B. McLeod, *Anglo-Scottish Tracts, 1701–1714: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Lawrence, KA, 1979). An exchange of broadside poems on the Union between Daniel Defoe and his respondents can be followed in NLS, S.302.b.2 (45, 129, 130, 131); S.320.b.2 (97); RB.I.106 (111).

in one song, ostensibly lamenting the execution of a Captain Green on a charge of piracy at Leith in 1705, anti-Union sentiment was insinuated:

> And tho' it's true, Wallace is dead,
>   You take no Hope from that,
> For sure there are some in his stead,
>   Who some way fill his Hat.[89]

When some did attempt to fill his hat at the time of the Jacobite rising of 1715, a number of ballads circulated in support of this cause. For example, in *The Hanoverian and Whig Rant . . . To the Tune of, Sit thee down my Philis*, and in *The Tincklarian Doctor's Lamentation For the Absence of his Majesty King George, and the old Antient Parliament*, the personal attributes and style of governance of the new King were subtly ridiculed and criticised. In a ballad dialogue between the *Duke of Argyll, and the Earl of Mar*, and in *Brigadier M'Intosh's Farewel to the Highlands*, the defeat of Jacobite forces at the battles of Sheriffmuir and Preston respectively were described and bewailed. In the wake of these incidents *The True Scots Mens Lament for the Loss of the Rights of their Ancient Kingdom* invoked the spirit of Wallace, Black Douglas and The Bruce, calling on their descendants to 'rouse your selves like Scotish Lads / and quit you selves as Men: / And more and more strive to maintain / good old long sine'.[90]

The Jacobite rebellion of a generation later witnessed a propaganda war in which forces both for and against the 'young pretender' contended in print no less than in armed conflict. Among the many surviving poems and verses printed on a single sheet during the three years 1745–7 are fifteen that were ballads and clearly intended to be sung. The first verse of *An ode on the victory at Gladsmuir*, penned by the Jacobite poet William Hamilton on the rebels' success at Prestonpans in 1745, was actually accompanied by engraved music.[91] Each of the two sides appealed to the loyalty of their countrymen by utilising melodies that were, or had become, favourites of Scottish song. The tune of 'Killiecrankie' was adopted on ballads both for as well as against the Jacobite cause.[92] One Jacobite song was set to 'The bonnie black ladie', while one anti-Jacobite composition was sung to 'Highland ladie, bonnie ladie'.[93] A Jacobite ballad was entitled 'The ballad of Preston', while an anti-Jacobite broadside was put to the tune of 'The Battle of Preston'.[94] Those loyal to the Hanoverian State chose the evocative Scottish air 'The broom of

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[89] NLS, Ry.III.a.10(105).

[90] NLS, RB.I.106 (105); Ry.III.c.36 (83); RB.1.106 (73); S.302.b.2 (48); Ry.III.a.10 (117). For a full discussion of the Jacobite songs of this period, drawn from a range of sources, see T. Crawford, 'Political and Protest Songs in Eighteenth-Century Scotland I: Jacobite and Anti-Jacobite', *Scottish Studies*, 14 (1970), pp. 1–33.

[91] NLS, Hall.195.f.4 (7).

[92] Chetham's Library, Manchester, H.P. 3045; NLS, Ry.III.a.1 (19).

[93] NLS, RB.m.294 (11); Blk.667.

[94] Chetham's Library, Manchester, H.P. 3045; NLS, 6.314 (55).

Cowden Knowes' for one of their lyrics; while supporters of Bonnie Prince Charlie employed 'Auld Lang Syne' for their *Excellent new Song* beginning:

> O Caledon, O Caledon,
> How wretched is thy Fate
> I, thy St. Andrew do lament,
> Thy poor abandon'd State.
>   O Caledon, O Caledon,
> Hoe griev'd I am to think;
> That thy sad Story written is,
> With Blood instead of Ink.[95]

More ballads survive in favour of the King and his forces than in opposition, perhaps a reflection of the fact that it was easier to print material loyal to the Crown without fear of prosecution. Typical was *Arms and the Man, I Sing*, which proclaimed:

> The Scots, as the Swiss, making Fighting a Trade,
> (For ever betraying, for ever betray'd)
> Like the Frogs, sick of Log, chuse a King of the own;
> 'Twill ne'er out of the Flesh what is bred in the Bone.[96]

In addition to political sentiment, the broadside ballads published in Edinburgh during this period carried a diet of topical comments and criticism which offers insight into the world of contemporary society. From the late seventeenth century the burgh witnessed a number of developments in its economic, social and cultural life, of which the explosion of printing was itself an important manifestation. The influence of the Calvinist Kirk was clearly weakening at this time and the expanding size and prosperity of the Scottish capital helped to gestate a more dynamic, commercial and permissive environment. The first coffee houses arrived in Edinburgh in the late 1670s, plays started to be performed more regularly from the 1690s, and by the early eighteenth century a variety of clubs and societies were making a significant impact on the urban scene. Emerging from this milieu, a range of the ballads of the late Stuart and early Hanoverian era reflect certain moral values and social attitudes that would scarcely have found expression in popular print before this time.[97]

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[95] NLS, Ry.III.a.1 (21); Ry.III.a.10 (71).

[96] NLS, L.C.Fol.76 (126). For songs and poems of similar tenor, see NLS, L.C.Fol.76 (127); 6.314 (55, 56).

[97] On these social and cultural developments see Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh*, pp. 100, 187, 212; M. W. Stuart, *Old Edinburgh Taverns* (London, 1952), ch. 8; D. D. McElroy, *Scotland's Age of Improvement: a Survey of Eighteenth-Century Clubs and Societies* (Washington, DC, 1969); Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, pp. 11–13, 32–3, 45–9; A. Cameron, 'Theatre in Scotland

There was, for example, a bawdy quality and a celebration of sexuality in many of the romantic songs of the period that suggests this rapidly changing context. On the one hand, a number of such pieces were written from the male perspective in which young men succeed in persuading young women to succumb to their advances. In *A New Song of Mallinger, Or, The Female-Dear-Joy tricked of her Maiden-Head*, a lad describes his meeting the beautiful Peggie at a fair: 'But when we had Drunken / two Bottles of Wine / I found my Dear Mistriss / both Loving and Kind . . . I tipt her a Wink / and backward she fell / and twenty weeks after / her Belly did swell'.[98] In *The Coalier Lassie* another suitor rather cynically recounts his seduction technique with a miner's daughter: 'This was the method that I us'd / While she was denying; / And ay the more that she refus'd / the more I was applying: / Till the key of her Virginity / to me she did deliver; /Tho' I like not the Affinity / to receive it was clever'.[99] On the other hand, composed from the female perspective were some wry observations of male sexual inadequacies and foibles. *A Rare new Ballad, Entitled My Husband has no Courage in Him* features the frustrations of a libidinous wife whose partner is inert: 'At night when I go to my Bed, / thinking to get some Venus sporting, / No sleep at all goes in my head, / my Husband lyes by me a snorting; / Yet often times I tickle him; / he cannot choise, but know my meaning, / And with my heels I rubb his shins, / Yet I can put no courage in him'.[100]

VI

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a formative age in the making of the broadside ballad in Scotland and in the emergence of Scottish street literature more broadly. The first appearance of the form in the Reformation era had proved to be something of a false start, curtailed perhaps by a conservative Kirk and Privy Council who closely regulated the small domestic printing industry. Not until the 1680s did ballads and other genres of edification and entertainment appear on single sheets in any numbers and in any variety. Over the following two generations this kind of imprint formed a small but significant element within the publishing repertoire in Scotland and established itself as an important part of popular culture in the urban Lowlands. Edinburgh was the centre of its production and probably the biggest single market for its consumption. The efflorescence of cheap print in London in this period had some influence on the nature of output north of the border. In particular

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1660–1800', in Hook (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Volume 2, 1660–1800*, pp. 191–205; Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 204–30.

[98] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (68).

[99] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (44).

[100] NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (53). Cf. *Lucky Spence's Last Advice*, the bawdy poem written by Allan Ramsay in the words of a famous Edinburgh brothel keeper and printed as a broadside about 1718: copies at NLS, Ry.III.a.10 (113); Ry.III.c.36 (135); S.302.b.2(100).

the English invention of 'northern' themes and imagination of 'Scotch' airs seems to have been in large part self-fulfilling, as the utilisation of these topics and tunes in Edinburgh broadside ballads helped to ensure their adoption and naturalisation in Scotland. At the same time, however, these years also witnessed the encouragement of a more indigenous vein of balladry and other forms of popular literature. Lyrics written in the Scots language, set to music of native composition, and concerning subject matter of genuinely Scottish interest and perspective were salient characteristics of this material. As a result, the broadside ballads of this period shed valuable light on the political opinions, social values and cultural life of Lowland Scotland in general, and of Edinburgh in particular, on the eve of the Enlightenment.