Mapping Changes to the Songs in The Gentle Shepherd, 1725-1788

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Allan Ramsay’s *The Gentle Shepherd* continues to be the most famous and enduring of his works. Editions were printed regularly throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but perhaps the most luxurious is that printed by Andrew Foulis in 1788.¹ Along with the frontispiece portrait and the well-known aquatint illustrations by David Allan (1744-1796), the Foulis edition included eighteen pages of typeset music scores with underlaid text for each of the songs.² Until this point, when it came to the songs, no other edition of the ballad opera had provided this level of detail, and it typifies how introducing more information into print editions, such as music notation and underlaying the lyrics within the musical text, would solidify the structure of the songs.³

Initially, Ramsay had provided no music notation, only titling each song to indicate the correct tune. This issue has been discussed by Leith Davis, Ian Brown, Claire Nelson, David McGuinness and Aaron McGregor, in part because it suggests Ramsay assumed his readers were familiar enough with the tunes and their known titles.⁴ McGuinness and

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⁴ Leith Davis, “At ‘sang about’: Scottish song and the challenge to British Culture,” in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and
McGregor have interrogated this assumption, noting that many variations of these tunes were in circulation, making it difficult to determine which version of Ramsay had in mind when he penned his song lyrics. The same issue applies to readers engaging with the text as each individual could have experienced a different *Gentle Shepherd* because they had their own version of the tune and method of underlaying the song lyrics.

The play version of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in 1725 by Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) included just four songs. However, when the play was reconceived as a ballad opera in 1729, an additional seventeen songs introduced, and edits were also made to the original song content. The 1734 edition, again printed by Ruddiman, made further alterations to a few of the songs. The popularity of the ballad opera encouraged printers from Scotland, England and Ireland to capitalise on its success, though within these printings, similar variations appear in the song material, which have stemmed from alterations made between 1725-1734. By contextualising these reoccurring variations, this essay considers how the introduction of music notation, and developments in how the music notation and lyrics were presented, stabilised much of the musical content. While it remains possible that there is a myriad of minor, localised inconsistencies unique to each edition, the focus here is on irregularities within the song material that reappear across several editions, and on the songs themselves rather than on how they were integrated into *The Gentle Shepherd* text.

### The song material in flux

Ramsay's song material in *The Gentle Shepherd* presents several issues for scholars and editors. McGuinness and McGregor rightly question "the present-day fetishisation of composers' supposed original intentions" (ibid., 56), and it would be naive to suggest that an authentic, idealised version can be reconstructed, in the absence of any published music notation before 1758. Though the tunes Ramsay indicated can be found in manuscript and print sources contemporary to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scotland, McGuinness and McGregor argue that these “surviving sources function as witnesses to points in the transmission process, rather than as idealised copy texts” (ibid., 49). Nelson notes

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printing song collections without accompanying musical scores was not uncommon in the period. It was customary on broadside ballads and in chapbooks to indicate that a text should be sung “To the tune of ....,” or “To their own proper Tune,” without providing music notation. Likewise, most music collections published in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth-century did not include lyrics, even if the tunes were known as songs. Ramsay published one music book, Alexander Stuart’s Musick for Allan Ramsay’s Collection of Scots Songs, which provided musical accompaniments for the songs found in his successful 1723 collection The Tea-Table Miscellany. Fifteen tunes found in The Gentle Shepherd also appear in Stuart’s collection, but even this music book did not offer specific guidance on how a singer might fit the song lyrics to the tune.

Ramsay’s song texts were first set to music by William Thomson (fl.1695-1753) in his Orpheus Caledonius (1725), the first book of Scottish music printed in London, which provided consumers with the tunes, the underlaid texts and bass accompaniments. Though several song texts in Thomson were taken directly from The Tea-Table Miscellany, Ramsay received no acknowledgement in the publication, and Ramsay publicly highlighted the omission:

> From this and the following Volume Mr Thomson (who is allowed by all, to be a good Teacher and Singer of Scots Songs) call’d his Orpheus Caledonius, the Musick for both the Voice and Flute and the Words of the Songs finely engraven in a Folio Book, for the use

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6. Nelson, as in n. 4, 597.
8. See Adam Craig, A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes (Edinburgh: R. Cooper, 1727); Francis Barsanti, A Collection of Old Scots Tunes, with the bass for Violoncello or Harpsichord (Edinburgh: A.Bailie, 1742); William McGibbon, A Collection of Scots Tunes Some with Variations for a Violin Hautboy or German Flute With a Bass for a Violoncello or Harpsicord (Edinburgh: Richard Cooper, 1742-1746).
10. McGuinness and McGregor (51) are sceptical whether Stuart’s collection was ever intended for singers.
of Persons of the Highest Quality in Britain, and dedicated to her Royal Highness, now her Majesty, our most gracious Queen. This by the by I thought proper to intimate, and do my self that Justice which the Publisher neglected, since he ought to have acquainted his Illustrious List of Subscribers, that the most of the Songs were mine, the Musick abstracted.12

Despite Ramsay’s disapproval, Orpheus Caledonius promoted Scottish songs both north and south of the border.13 Even the Edinburgh Musical Society purchased ten copies of “Thomson's Collection of Scots Songs” in 1733.14 Thomson’s approach reflects the differences in publishing practices between Scotland and England during the early eighteenth century. It was more common to see music with text in English publications. An example is Theophilus Cibber’s (1703-1758) Patie and Peggy (1731), which could be described as a rearranged, English translation of Ramsay’s The Gentle Shepherd, and which included music notation for each of the songs.15 Though the texts were not underlaid, the intended tune is explicit.

Music notation was not introduced into editions of The Gentle Shepherd till after Ramsay’s death. Frequently, the addition of musical notation would be announced on the title page, though there is some doubt whether this music was expected to be sung or just played. Similarly, some editions were explicit about incorporating cuts, changes and rewrites to Ramsay’s text made for a particular performance, as is common in editions of other eighteenth-century plays. performance based edition. The 1759 edition by West Digges (1720-1786), published after a performance of The Gentle Shepherd “at the theatre in Edinburgh,” stated on its title page that the play was “now adapted to publick representation.”16 Digges cut vast sections of text and almost half of the songs, though what remained was consistent with Ramsay’s original work.

Several editions attempting an accurate reprint of an earlier version nonetheless introduced variants in the song titles and lyrics. These variances, often stemming from alterations made to the song material

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14 Edinburgh Musical Society minutes and index of music, 1733, NRA(S)3563, Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh.
16 West Digges, The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy: As it was acted with great applause at the theatre in Edinburgh written by Allan Ramsey; and now adapted to publick representation by Mr. Digges (Edinburgh: Printed for Hulton Bradley, at the King’s-Arms and Two Bibles in Dame-street, 1759).
found in editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed between 1725-1734, are only apparent if multiple editions have been consulted. Readers and performers may not have been aware that the edition they used did not exactly conform to Ramsay's authorised editions from 1725 or 1729 or the edition printed by Thomas Ruddiman in 1734. While these subtle divergences exemplify the fluidity of the song content, the underlying issue is intentionality. There is no evidence to suggest these variances were intentional or designed to showcase the work as part of an ever-changing living tradition. By contrast, the intentional introduction of music notation after 1758 was a more deliberate step toward stabilising the previously unstable song material.17

**The editions and mapping the global changes to the song material**

To date, eighty-six editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* have been identified as published between 1725-1788.18 Sixty-six of these editions are of the ballad opera, a clear indication that this version of the work was the most popular and long-lasting. Most editions included the text and the songs, though there are some outliers. The original 1729 edition of the ballad opera did not print the songs, since they could be found instead in the 1729 edition of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*.19 The 1730 edition printed in London by John Watson (fl. 1739) and Ruddiman's 1734 edition printed both the songs and the dialogue together. A later outlier appeared in 1781 when Thomas Linley the elder (1733-1795) set Ramsay's songs to new musical arrangements, in an updated version of *The Gentle Shepherd* performed at Drury Lane, with Patie played in breeches by Ann Cargill (1760-1784).20

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17 The Foulis edition has been selected as a stopping points, since it is the first edition to provide clean, underlaid musical texts, clearly designed for singing.
19 This arrangement, unique to the 1729 *Gentle Shepherd*, will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming Edinburgh Edition, edited by David McGuinness and Steve Newman.
20 Thomas Linley, *The Gentle Shepherd, A Pastoral Opera. As performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The Overture, Songs & Duetts and Accompaniments*, (London: Printed for Harrison, Cluse & Co., 1781). Cargill’s other roles in such prominent London theatres as Covent Garden, Haymarket and Drury Lane, included Titania in George Colman’s *The Fairy Prince*, Polly in John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* and Clara in *The Duenna*. In 1782, she travelled to India, performing in Kolkata, but the ship in which she was returning to England. wrecked off the Isles of Scilly in March 1784, and she is buried at St Mary’s Church, Isles of Scilly. See Olive Baldwin, and Thelma Wilson, “Cargill [née
While most other editions integrate spoken dialogue and the song texts, the stext and songs for the Linley adaptation, were published separately, with the songs as fully typeset music scores with underlaid text. While Linley's edition diverges from the standard versions of The Gentle Shepherd, it is nonetheless included as part of the forthcoming discussion.

An analysis of the songs in all editions of The Gentle Shepherd published between 1725-1788 shows four variations appearing regularly:

1. The number of verses in Bauldy's song
2. Change of title for “Sang X.”
3. Presence or omission of “Song XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen.”
4. Replacement of “Corn Riggs” with the “Bonny Grey Eye’d Morn.”

The first three variances are directly linked to Ramsay and the alterations he made between 1725-1734. The fourth inconsistency surfaced in editions produced after Ramsay's death, and, as such, appears with enough regularity also to merit discussion below. With regards to alterations made to the song material between 1735-1734, four songs appeared in the original 1725 play, though no tunes were specified, nor were the songs numbered. By the 1729 ballad opera, the number of songs increased to twenty-one, with most given a tune title and number. Further changes were made for the 1734 edition. A global overview of these changes is given in Table 1.

Such significant structural changes as the addition and removal of songs have been briefly discussed by Murray Pittock, Alexander Law, Leith Davis, Ian Brown, Claire Nelson, Valentina Bold and David McGuinness and Aaron McGregor. However, the alterations to SANG X or Bauldy's song have not been discussed in depth, nor has it been considered how these changes affected later editions of The Gentle Shepherd.


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

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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>1725 First line</th>
<th>1729 Tune title</th>
<th>1734 Tune title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SANG I. To wauking of the Faulds</td>
<td>SANG I. To wauking of the Faulds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SANG II. Fy gar rub her o'er with strea</td>
<td>SANG II. Fy gar rub her o'er with strea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>SANG III. Polwart on the Green</td>
<td>SANG III. Polwart on the Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>SANG IV. Oh dear Mother, what shall I do?</td>
<td>SANG IV. Oh dear Mother, what shall I do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>SANG V. How can I be sad on my wedding day</td>
<td>SANG V. How can I be sad on my wedding day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>SANG VI. Nansy's to the Green Wood game</td>
<td>SANG VI. Nansy's to the Green Wood game</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>SANG VII. Cald Kale in Aberdeen</td>
<td>SANG VII. Cald Kale in Aberdeen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>SANG VIII. Mucking of Geordy's Byer</td>
<td>SANG VIII. Mucking of Geordy's Byer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>PEGGY, now the King's come</td>
<td>SANG IX. Carle and the King come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>SANG X. Winter was cauld, and my Cleathing was thin</td>
<td>SANG X. Winter was cauld, and my Cleathing was thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Changes to the titling and the number of songs from the 1725-1729 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>1725 First line</th>
<th>1729 Tune title</th>
<th>1734 Tune title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11 By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth</td>
<td>SANG XI. By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth</td>
<td>SANG XI. By the delicious warmness of thy Mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12 JOCKY said to Jenny, Jenny wilt thou do't;</td>
<td>SANG XII. Happy Clown</td>
<td>SANG XII. Happy Clown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13 SANG XIII. Leith-Wynd</td>
<td>SANG XIII. Leith-Wynd</td>
<td>SANG XIII. Leith-Wynd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14 SANG XIV. O'er Bogie</td>
<td>SANG XIV. O'er Bogie</td>
<td>SANG XIV. O'er Bogie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15 SANG V. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen</td>
<td>[song omitted]</td>
<td>[song omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--- [No tune title given] First line is the same as 1725.</td>
<td>[No tune title given] First line is the same as 1725.</td>
<td>[No tune title given] First line is the same as 1725.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16 SANG XVI. Kirk wad let me be</td>
<td>SANG XV. Kirk wad let me be</td>
<td>SANG XV. Kirk wad let me be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17 SANG XVII. Woe's my heart that we should sunder</td>
<td>SANG XVI. Woe's my heart that we should sunder</td>
<td>SANG XVI. Woe's my heart that we should sunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18 SANG XVIII. Tweed-side</td>
<td>SANG XVII. Tweed-side</td>
<td>SANG XVII. Tweed-side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19 SANG XIX. Bush aboon Traquair</td>
<td>SANG XVIII. Bush aboon Traquair</td>
<td>SANG XVIII. Bush aboon Traquair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20 SANG XX. Bony gray ey'd Morn</td>
<td>SANG XIX. Bony gray ey'd Morn</td>
<td>SANG XIX. Bony gray ey'd Morn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21 MY PATIE is a Lover gay</td>
<td><em>Sings to the Tune of Corn Riggs are bonny</em> First line is the same as 1725.</td>
<td><em>Sings to the Tune of Corn Riggs are bonny</em> First line is the same as 1725.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of verses in Bauldy's song

“Jocky said to Jenny,” otherwise known as Bauldy's song, was not given a number, and no tune was indicated for it, in any of Ramsay's editions. It was also not included in the section devoted to The Gentle Shepherd found in the 1729 Tea-Table Miscellany. Throughout the ballad opera, the majority of the songs are short, but Bauldy’s is just one verse long and is more of a comical interlude than a noteworthy solo. However, in the 1725 play, the song, sung in Act IV, scene I, is more prominent, in part because it is four verses long and there is more of a comedic exchange between a drunken Bauldy and Mause, whom he later accuses of being a witch. After Bauldy sings the first verse, Mause interrupts him to say “WELL likit, Bauldy, that's a dainty Sang.” This only spurs Bauldy on to sing the remaining three verses proclaiming “I'll gie ye’ a’ , ’tis better than ’tis lang.”

Not only is this song unique because it is given no number or tune title, but it is also the only song in The Gentle Shepherd where Ramsay did not pen new lyrics to be sung to an existing tune. Instead, he reprinted lyrics he had already published in the 1723 edition of The Tea-Table Miscellany. Within The Tea-Table Miscellany, he attached the letter 'Z' to the lyrics denoting them to be old in their origin and the author unknown, so its inclusion may have been a nod to a well-known song in circulation. This also might explain the lack of tune or title, since its presence added to the comedic value within the scene, by explicitly referencing a popularly-known song. Unfortunately, there are no manuscript or print sources extant that could prove these lyrics were in circulation prior to Ramsay’s publications. It is also possible reusing the same lyrics as they appeared in The Tea-Table Miscellany was a clever marketing ploy, reminding readers this little ditty could be found in his other, popular song collection. After Ramsay's publication, the lyrics were more widely disseminated, appearing in the second edition of Thomson's Orpheus Caledonius (1733), Bacchus and Venus (1737), The Lark (1740), The Aviary (1745), Orpheus (1749)

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23 It should be noted the first line of the text is commonly given as the tune title, but it is unclear if this is a result of Ramsay’s publication or if he was preserving a commonly known song. This issue is discussed further in the new edition of The Gentle Shepherd.
24 Ramsay, Gentle Shepherd (1729), 57.
25 Ramsay, Gentle Shepherd, (1725), 57-58.
26 Ramsay, The Tea-Table Miscellany (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1723), 141-142.
27 Ramsay gave a letter to most of the songs in The Tea-Table Miscellany, vol.1, indicating their origin. He appears to have been the first to print the lyrics for “Jocky said to Jenny.”.
and *The Charmer* (1749) as well as other song collections published in the latter half of the eighteenth century.28

By the second edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in 1726, the song was shortened and intervening dialogue removed.29 This edit remained in all other editions printed by Ruddiman, though there were presses that continued to print the additional verses and dialogue. The Dublin press of S. Powell, for example, produced an edition in 1727 which mirrored the original from 1725.30 Unfortunately, the title page claimed it had been “carefully corrected according to the Edinburgh copy,” perhaps hinting that the 1726 edition had been consulted. The Powell press also printed an edition of the ballad opera in 1733, still retaining the additional verses and dialogue.31 It is possible the printer did not realise three verses from this song had been edited out.

The additional verses and dialogue did not appear in another edition until Andrew Millar’s 1752 edition of the ballad opera.32 Millar, who was


30 Allan Ramsay, *The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Carefully corrected according to the Edinburgh copy* (Dublin: printed by S. Powell, 1727), 38; After Stephen Powell’s death in 1722, the press was owned by his widow Deborah Powell (fl.1722-1731), and their son, Samuel, was assigned ownership in 1731; see Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), 465..


originally from Glasgow and was closely connected with several Edinburgh presses, was a bookseller and publisher in London. Yet his edition of The Gentle Shepherd is remarkably similar to the 1733 Powell edition. Both print the same title of “SANG X” and “SANG XV. Wat yea wha I met Yestreen” (hence SANG XV), a song that Ramsay removed in his 1734 edition. Millar spent some time in Dublin in the late 1740s, where he may have acquired a copy of the Powell edition. Twenty-six more editions printed by a variety of presses in Scotland, England and Ireland included all four verses and additional dialogue. These editions are listed below:

The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which are added, several poems, and an alphabetical glossary. By the same author (Edinburgh: James Reid bookseller in Leith, 1753).


All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay (Dublin: printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).

The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., Newcastle, 1760).

The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary. By the same author (Edinburgh: A. Donaldson and J. Reid, for A. Donaldson, 1761).

The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., 1763).


34 See “The Andrew Millar Project.”

The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., 1768).


The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ's Kirk on the Green. A poem in three canto. (Glasgow: printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. Robertson, successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, 1774).

The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay (Aberdeen: printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).


The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-Market. Written by Allan Ramsay (London: printed for Harrison and Co. No 18, Paternoster-Row; and sold, likewise by J. Wenman, Fleet-Street; and all other bookseller, 1779).

The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossery <sic>, with other select pieces, by Allan Ramsay (Edinburgh: Robert Jameson, 1780).

The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay (Dundee: printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1780).

The select songs of The gentle shepherd. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. [Music arranged by Thomas Linley] (London: printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand, 1781).


The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary (Glasgow, printed and sold by J. Robertson, successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, 1783).


The select songs of The gentle shepherd. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. [Music arranged by Thomas Linley] (London: printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand, 1784).


Powell and Millar printed all three variances (with four verses of Bauldy’s song, the title Song X “Winter was Cauld,” and inclusion of “Wat ye wha I met yestreen”), but that cannot be said for all the printers listed above. However, Millar’s influence on the printing industry both in Edinburgh and London was undeniable, and several of the printers listed in the above table were closely connected to Millar and his press. Thomas Cadell (1742–1802) was Millar’s junior partner and successor, and Thomas Becket (fl. 1760-1785) was his former apprentice. Alexander Donaldson (1727-1794) was also known to publish reprints of works that were no longer protected by the Statute of Anne and was closely connected to Millar and Becket, albeit through difficult court cases that challenged his printing strategy.  

It is unsurprising that these printers would use Millar’s edition as a model in their reprints of The Gentle Shepherd. Printers may have also assumed editions with one verse of the song were incomplete, not realising the song had been edited down as early as the 1726 edition. This is probably why Robertson, who was the successor to Ramsay’s publishers, Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, included all four verses in two of their editions.

'Sang X' title change

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

There is no evidence to suggest this tune was ever titled “Winter was cauld.” Though no source for the original lyrics before The Tea-Table Miscellany is extant, the tune title, “The Yellow Hair’d Laddie,” can be traced back to the seventeenth-century. There are three broadside ballads printed between 1672-1701 that invite readers to sing the printed song to this tune, and all three print different lyrics. There are also three different versions of “The Yellow Hair’d Laddie” musically notated in The Balcarres Lute Book (c.1700) under the titles “The yellow haired ladie, mr beck’s way,” “My own dear honey, be kind to me, or the yellow haired ladie, by mr lessly,” and “The yellow haired ladie, heneretta imbries way, by mr beck, much helped.” The notated tune can also be found in Mrs Crockat’s Music Book (1709), under the title “yellowhaird laddie,” and in the Gairdyn MS (1700-1739), titled “The yellow hair’d Ladie.”

Even music collections contemporary to Ramsay such as John and William Neal's 1724 Dublin publication A Collection of the most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the violin, Thomson's Orpheus Caledonius, Alexander Stuart's Collection of Scots Songs, and Adam Craig's 1727 A Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes (hence Scots Tunes) give the same title for the tune. No other manuscript or publication extant uses the title “Winter was Cauld” or “The Weather was Cauld” excepting the 1729 edition of The Gentle Shepherd.

The decision to replace the updated tune title with something more familiar was probably a practical one. After all, this particular scene already included a new composition titled “By thy delicious warmness of

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41 Matthew Spring, ed., The Balcarres Lute Book (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2010), 16-17, 82-83, 127.
43 A Collection of the most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the violin (Dublin: John and William Neal, [ca. 1724]), 11; Thomson, Orpheus Caledonius (1725), 7; Stuart, Collection of Scots Songs, 84-85; Adam Craig, Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes (Edinburgh: engraved by R. Cooper, 1727), 15.
thy mouth,” which would not have been widely known. As such, titling one song with an obscure tune title as well as including a completely new composition may have done more to confuse his readers than intrigue them.

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

All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay. (Dublin, printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).

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


The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ’s Kirk on the Green. A poem in three cantos. (Glasgow, printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).

The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay. (Aberdeen, printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).


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

Cutting “SANG XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen”

Though there is no definitive reason why “SANG XV. Wat ye wha I met Yestreen” (hence SANG XV) was cut from the 1734 edition its exclusion

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44 In Stuart’s Collection, the music of “By thy delicious warmness of thy mouth” is titled “Patie & Peggy”; Stuart, 150-151.
does not affect the narrative or structure of the ballad opera. The lyrics complement crucial themes in the plot—refinement and learning—but this issue was already established earlier in the narrative.\textsuperscript{45} As such, this song added to the run time without contributing anything new to the story.

Even the tune was not the most circulated in contemporary sources. Indeed, there is no evidence to support John Glen’s claim that the melody appeared in most Scottish music collections, excepting Orpheus Caledonius and Craig’s Scots Tunes.\textsuperscript{46} The only collection it appears in before 1734 is Stuart’s Collection of Scots Songs, and this is because of its relationship to Ramsay’s Tea-Table Miscellany.\textsuperscript{47} Even after 1734, it did not appear in such prominent collections as McGibbon’s A Collection of Scots Tunes (1761) and Barsanti’s Collection of Old Scots Tunes (1742), though it can be found in later collections such as James Oswald’s Caledonian Pocket Companion (1756), Robert Bremner’s A collection of Scots reels or country dances (1758), and Neil Gow’s Second Collection of Niel Gow’s Reels (1788).\textsuperscript{48} This suggests the tune may have been familiar to readers as early as 1729 but it may not have been popular enough, at this early stage, to have justified its continued inclusion in The Gentle Shepherd, especially when the lyrics offered no new material to support the overall narrative.

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

\textbf{Publishers who printed Sang XV and included SANG X “Winter was Cauld”}


\textsuperscript{45} Bold, James Hogg, 30.
\textsuperscript{46} John Glen, Early Scottish Melodies (Edinburgh: J. & R. Glenn, 1900), 117.
\textsuperscript{47} The tune is used in Tea-Table Miscellany (1723). “Now wah ye wha ye met yestreen,” is the first line to the song titled “The young laird and Edinburgh Katy” in Poems (Edinburgh: Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, 1721).
All the songs, with their tunes, In the Scots pastoral comedy of the Gentle Shepherd. Written by Allan Ramsay (Dublin: printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, in Smock Alley, 1759).


The gentle Shepherd, A pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, Christ’s Kirk on the Green. A poem in three cantos (Glasgow: printed and sold by R. and T. Duncan, 1772).


The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay (Aberdeen: printed for, and sold by J. Boyle, 1776).

Publishers who printed Sang XV and omitted SANG X “Winter was Cauld”

The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which are added, several poems, and an alphabetical glossary. By the same author (Edinburgh: James Reid bookseller in Leith, 1753).


The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., 1760).

The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary. By the same author (Edinburgh: A. Donaldson and J. Reid. For A. Donaldson, 1761).

The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., 1763).

The gentle shepherd: A Scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay. To which is added, a new and complete glossary, or explanation of the Scots words (Newcastle: s.n., 1768).

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. Robertson, successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, 1774).

The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay (Dundee: printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1779).

The gentle shepherd, a scots pastoral comedy. By Allan Ramsay (Dundee: printed and sold by T. Colvill & Company, 1780).

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: by Allan Ramsay. To which is added, an alphabetical glossary (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. Robertson, successor to Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, 1783).
Ten printers updated the title of SANG X but did not remove SANG XV.\textsuperscript{49} This created a higher total number of variant editions. In the eighteenth century, the following variant editions were in circulation:

- Reprints of the 1729 with the edited Bauldy’s song, the original SANG X. title, and SANG XV.
- The 1729 edition with four verses in Bauldy’s song, the original SANG X. title, and SANG XV.
- Reprints of the 1734 edition with the edited Bauldy's song, the updated title for SANG X, and no SANG XV.
- Editions with four verses in Bauldy’s song, the original SANG X. Title, and no SANG XV.
- Editions with four verses in Bauldy’s song, the updated title for SANG X, and SANG XV.

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

**Replacing “Corn Riggs” with the “Bonny Grey Eye’d Morn”**

One minor anomaly stemmed from a misprint made by Harrison and Co. in 1779, where “The Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn” and “Corn Riggs” were both titled “Sang XX.” Two subsequent editions printed by R. Morison and Son and for Robert Jameson in 1780 titled the penultimate and final songs “Sang XIX” and stated they should both be sung to the same tune: “The Bonny Grey Eye'd Morn.”\textsuperscript{50} The tune “Corn Riggs” was removed entirely. Though Morison repeated the error in 1788, no other editions mis-sequenced the song numbers or suggested the final song should be sung to the tune “The Bonny Grey Eye’d Morn” instead of “Corn Riggs.”

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\textsuperscript{49} Digges’s edition cut several songs, including “Sang XV Wat ye wha I met yestreen.” It is difficult to determine if the song would have remained in the edition otherwise.

\textsuperscript{50} Ramsay, \textit{The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossary} (Perth: Printed by and for R. Morison and Son, 1780), 99 and 115; \textit{The gentle shepherd, a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts and a complete glossary <sic>, with other select pieces, by Allan Ramsay} (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Jameson, 1780), 100 and 115.
The arrival of musical notation in editions of The Gentle Shepherd

Thus far, this essay has highlighted variances occurring that may have been unknowingly introduced into editions printed after 1734. However, the appearance of music notation within editions of The Gentle Shepherd was a deliberate addition, marking a transition point in the history of the work, where the musical material became more definitive. The first to offer an edition of The Gentle Shepherd with typeset music scores was the Glasgow bookseller John Robertson, the younger, in 1758.\textsuperscript{51} While including music usefully indicated the correct tune, the notation was not designed for singing. The ornamental signs, such as the old-fashioned double stroke indicating a “shake,” are distinctly instrumental, and the note beaming does not follow the text setting as it would in vocal music.\textsuperscript{52} Even the title page states the music is the “Overtures to the Songs,” not the songs themselves. Five other editions reprinted Robertson’s musical notation:

\begin{quote}
The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay (Aberdeen: printed by David Willison: for Alexander Angus and Son, Booksellers, 1769).

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay (London: printed for John Donaldson, corner of Arundel Street, No. 195. Strand, 1775).

The gentle shepherd: A scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay (Edinburgh:printed by Robert and Richard Wilsons, for J. Wood and W. Darling booksellers, 1776).

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy. Adorned with cuts, the overtures to the songs, and a complete glossary. By Allan Ramsay (London: printed for Charles Elliot, Parliament-Square, 1776).

\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{52} See McGuinness and McGregor, “Ramsay’s Musical Sources,” 53.
“SANG XV Wat ye wha I met yestreen,” does not appear in any of these editions, and music notation is not provided for Bauldy’s song, though the lyrics are printed.

In his 1786 edition, J. Brown, a printer in Perth, used Robertson’s instrumental overtures but made them appear suitable for singing by adjusting some of the note beaming (a line connecting multiple consecutive notes to indicate rhythmic groupings) and underlaying the song texts. The title page was also revised, replacing the reference to overtures with “original music.” As a result, the settings are awkward and inaccurate. Some lyrics are crammed into too few notes and the fast-paced, instrumental-style writing, easily negotiated on a violin or flute, has not been revised to suit a singer. Jenny’s song “Were I assured you’d constant prove” sung to the tune “Leith Wynd” (Fig. 1) is a prime example of the instrumental stylings being at odds with the underlaid text. While some editing has been carried out—the beaming has been changed in the final bar to match the rhythm of the lyrical text—the notation is a direct lift from Robertson’s edition.

The only differences between the 1786 version above and Robertson’s musical text (Fig. 2) are the beaming and the inclusion of “shakes.” The 1786 edition also included a few more slurs.

53 Allan Ramsay, The gentle shepherd, by Allan Ramsay: with the original music. To which are added, the familiar epistles, and a complete glossary (Perth: printed by J. Brown, 1786).
54 Ibid., 47-48.
55 In these examples (Figs. 1-5 below), the music has been diplomatically transcribed, to include all notes, spellings, articulation markings, stem directions and beaming.
Most of the songs in Brown's edition include upbeat notes, an unaccented beat that comes before the first downbeat of a bar, but not in every case. The song “I yield dear lassie” sung to the tune “Nancy’s to the greenwood gane” (Fig. 3) is missing the upbeat, leaving the first “I” in the sentence without a note, and crammed up against “yield.” The singer would be forced to squeeze the word into the first available note or to ignore the textual underlay.

Just a few scenes later, Mause’s song “Peggy now the King's come,” sung to the tune “Carle and the King come” (Fig. 4) has too many lyrics to fit into the melody line, so the two quaver upbeat notes remain without any underlaid text. While an instrumental accompaniment could easily cover these, no other song in the edition includes extraneous notes, and there is no indication that instruments are required to play the music.
Unlike the previous editions, Bauldy’s song, appearing as a single verse, is musically notated and underlaid. Though there are a few rhythmic differences, it is the same tune found in Thomson’s *Orpheus Caledonius* and Stuart’s *Collection of Scots Songs.*  

As noted by McGuinness and McGregor, other editions produced in the 1780s which included musical texts became, “increasingly confident and professional in their presentation.” A fine example is Linley’s new arrangements and settings of the songs from *The Gentle Shepherd* printed in London in 1781. Linley includes the songs alone, without the additional Ramsay text, using most of the same tunes as earlier editions, but simplifying the melodies so they are better suited to a vocalist.

![Fig. 5: “Were I assur’d you’d constant prove”](image)

As illustrated in Fig. 5, the melody line is cleaner and more straightforward, aligning with the sung syllables. Linley’s arrangements also provide simple and supportive bass lines, and short instrumental introductory and concluding symphonies. Linley did a good job in maintaining the essence of the original tunes, while also adapting them to suit a London theatre audience. The edition is indicative of sheet music publications designed for the amateur, domestic music-making market. Indeed, it is just one of the many examples of theatre songs repackaged as music to be played in the home, which became commonplace in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

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

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

Conclusion

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

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59 Linley did not set all of the songs found in The Gentle Shepherd. The original tunes associated with Bauldy’s song were changed, and for Patie’s song “At setting day,” the original setting to “The Bush Aboon Tranquair” was replaced with a melody by Samuel Howard (1710?-1782). See Steve Newman’s article in this special issue.


61 Craig Lamont, “Allan Ramsay and Edinburgh,” as in n. 1 above, 128.
willing to significantly alter the songs other than to provide further supporting material, such as music notation. Even where variances do occur, they mostly stem from edits made to the song material found in editions printed by Ruddiman between 1725-1734. These may have been incorporated into later editions produced by other printers, simply because they were unaware some of the song material had been altered. Though there are editions that make more radical edits, such as Digges’s 1759 edition or Linley’s new arrangements of the songs, these are rare exceptions. Even in these two cases; they remain faithful to the majority of the existing song material. More research will need to be carried out to determine if the variances were eliminated, or simply disappeared, after the publication of Foulis’s 1788 edition. This article has shown how the song material resolved to a more solidified state after 1734. Throughout the eighteenth century, the songs continued to settle into a stable structure once music notation was introduced and as specific editions aimed for a more professional and luxurious presentation of the work.

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