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Sir Walter Scott And Lady Anne Lindsay: New Light On Their Relationship

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND LADY ANNE LINDSAY: NEW LIGHT ON THEIR
RELATIONSHIP

by

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ABSTRACT

While Sir Walter Scott is best known for his *Waverly* novels and *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, he also played an important role in helping lesser known writers publish their work. In particular, he was known for helping women writers. Scott's relationship with Lady Anne Lindsay (later Barnard), however, is especially interesting. Lindsay is best known for her poem, "Auld Robin Gray." There is far more to Sir Walter Scott's relationship with Lady Anne Lindsay than first meets the eye. The two knew of each other through family and social connections, but they never met in person. They did, however, have a correspondence from July 8, 1823, to November 11, 1824, in which they wrote to each other about publishing Lady Anne's work for the Bannatyne Club. Scott's reputation as a collector and publisher of historical material stood to gain from exploiting his association with the author of "Auld Robin Gray" and publishing her poetry. But Lady Anne also benefited from their family connections and correspondence. Scott's success as an author and his social connections to Lindsay made him an appropriate literary patron, and his qualifications gave him the authority to name her as the author of "Auld Robin Gray" fifty years after it was written. Their relationship was complicated, however, by the fact that Lady Anne later rescinded her desire to publish *Lays of the Lindsays* due to family pressures. Lady Anne had always expressed reservations about putting her name to her work, but publishing *Lays of the Lindsays* because of concern about embarrassing her sister, Lady Elizabeth, as well as others in her family. Although Scott's role as editor of "Auld Robin Gray" is well known, besides casual mention in several biographies, the

extent of their relationship remains largely unexplored by scholars. Because their interactions all occurred through correspondence, the letters offer scholars a unique opportunity to explore how family pressures and social connections could affect publication, as well as how these pressures could necessitate the mutually beneficial mentorship of an established author.

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND LADY ANNE LINDSAY: NEW LIGHT ON THEIR RELATIONSHIP

While Walter Scott is best known for his literary works, he also played an important role in helping lesser known writers, particularly women, publish their work. Scott most famously helped Joanna Baillie, though there were numerous others. Scott's relationship with Lady Anne Lindsay (later Barnard)¹, however, is especially revealing of how class and gender affected an author's social ability to publish. Lindsay is best known for the popular ballad, "Auld Robin Gray," and a collection of letters, *South Africa a Century Ago*, but she also wrote a volume of poems with contributions from several members of her family, titled *Lays of the Lindsays*. As an author, Lindsay avoided public attention, and only claimed "Auld Robin Gray," nearly a century after its composition, after Scott revealed her authorship in 1822 in his novel, *The Pirate*. Until then, the anonymous ballad, originally penned in 1772, was enormously popular in oral form. In 1825, after Lindsay's death, Scott edited and introduced "Auld Robin Gray" for publication in the Bannatyne Club, a small literary club which strove to preserve Scottish literature. Other poems by Lindsay were destined for *Lays of the Lindsays*, which Scott planned to edit for another Bannatyne edition. However, after heeding her family's objections in 1824, Lady Anne and her family decided that only "Auld Robin Gray" should be published, and today, only three copies of the manuscript of *Lays of the*

¹ To avoid confusion, I will refer to Lady Anne as "Lindsay" or "Lady Anne" instead of her married name, "Anne Barnard" because "Auld Robin Gray" and most of the poems from *Lays of the Lindsays* predate her marriage.

Lindsays exist. But the relationship between the two writers is complex; their story is highly revealing of family pressures and connections involved in publishing, as well as editorial gains, even from a document that did not circulate in the general public.

There is far more to Sir Walter Scott's relationship with Lady Anne Lindsay than first meets the eye, and their correspondence from June 8th, 1823, to November 11th, 1824, offers a unique account that allows us to examine issues of publication and ballad collecting among the Scottish aristocracy. First, the two were connected through family and friends, and this connection is integral to Lady Anne's decision to work with Sir Walter to edit her poetry. Second, because their relationship occurred only through their correspondence, which Lady Anne begins after Scott's mention of her in *The Pirate*, their letters record the complicated social issues involved with publishing. Sir Walter was a baronet, while Lady Anne was the daughter of an earl. Although "Auld Robin Gray" was intended to be published only for members of the Bannatyne Club, and not in a collection of poetry, such as Sir Walter's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the reversal of the social standing between ballad writer and editor / collector disrupts the usual social hierarchy involved in ballad collecting. Anne later rescinded her desire to publish *Lays of the Lindsays*, but her decision was a reflection of her family's concerns. Many women who published, such as Felicia Hemans or Frances Burney, usually did so for profit. Although the Bannatyne Club only published for its members, and its editions were printed with the purpose of preserving Scottish culture and history; as an aristocrat, publishing anything beyond the already popular "Auld Robin Gray" would have been unseemly for Lady Anne, as it would imply that she intended to profit from her work, or that she was seeking attention. Lady Anne had always expressed reservations about putting her name to her

work; she prevented the publication of *Lays of the Lindsays* due to concerns of review and embarrassment that her sister, Lady Elizabeth Hardwicke, conveyed to both Lady Anne and Sir Walter. Although Scott's role as editor of "Auld Robin Gray" is well known, other than casual mention in several biographies, the extent of their relationship remains largely unexplored. The letters from their correspondence are highly telling of their relationship because Lady Anne and Sir Walter never met as adults, and the correspondence between them encapsulates their entire personal and business relationships. These letters are important because they allow scholars insight into how family pressures and social connections could affect publication, as well as how these pressures could necessitate the mutually beneficial mentorship of an established author.

Lady Anne Lindsay and her Social Connections to Sir Walter Scott

Lindsay's early social connection to Scott is an important aspect of their editing relationship and correspondence. When giving this brief explanation of Lindsay's background, I will focus on the points in her life which are most relevant to her poetry writing and her connection with Scott, and thus I will not cover her time in South Africa. Although Lindsay is a relatively obscure author, at least as we know her today, several biographies are devoted to Lindsay's life, such as Madeleine Masson's 1948 *Lady Anne Barnard*, and Stephen Taylor's 2017 *Defiance: The Extraordinary Life of Lady Anne Barnard*. Unfortunately, both of these works gloss over Scott and his editing relationship to Lindsay. This thesis focuses on Lindsay's time in Scotland and England, especially in Lindsay's early and later years there, as these are most relevant to understanding her relationship with Scott.

Long before the two began their correspondence, their families and social circles laid the scene that would eventually lead to Scott's discovery of Lady Anne's authorship. Born in 1750, Lindsay was significantly older than Scott, who was born twenty-one years later in 1771. Lindsay's birth was surrounded in as much mystery as any of Scott's tales. According to Sarah Tytler, "Her birth at Balcarres in 1750 had been looked forward to by the Jacobites as the fulfilment of a prophesy, that the first child of the last descendent of so loyal a house would restore the exiled Stuarts" (1).² Lady Anne humorously describes the disappointment that her gender caused the community, explaining "in due course of time, the partisans of the Pretender, the soothsayers, wizards, witches, the bards, fortune-tellers, and old ladies, were all in a group, amazed, disconcerted, and enraged that Lady Balcarres was brought to bed of a daughter after all" (Crawford Lindsay 2: 301). Lindsay may not have restored the Stuart line, but she would write the most popular ballad of her time, which was subversive in its own right. Lindsay was the eldest of eleven children: three daughters and eight sons (Tytler 5). Lady Anne's childhood was not entirely happy; she recounted that her mother punished "misdemeanors...as crimes" and that "it was not the system of that century (1700) to treat children with gentleness" (Crawford Lindsay 2: 303). The injurious nature of Lady Balcarres is an important piece in the history of "Auld Robin Gray;" Lady Margaret, Lady Anne's sister, convinced Lady Anne and the other siblings to run away to their neighbor's house to escape their mother, only to be discovered by the shepherd, Robin Gray, who returned the children home for punishment (Crawford Lindsay 2: 306). While Lady Anne never confirmed it, the decision to name her poem after the shepherd seems to be her own form of revenge. Despite her strict

² As it turns out, the prophesy was not simply family lore. Lord Balcarres refers to it in a letter to Lady Cunningham regarding his daughter's birth (Crawford 2: 302).

upbringing and rural family home, Lindsay grew up in a family that would shape her poetry and connect her with others in Edinburgh's literary circle, and most importantly, Sir Walter Scott.

Sir Walter Scott and Lady Anne Lindsay would eventually develop a friendship and editing relationship through their early family and social connections. Lindsay describes her "society at home" as "so numerous that we did not much feel the want of any other" (Crawford Lindsay 2: 312). She grew up in the company of her "grandmother, Lady Dalrymple," "the Miss Keiths, three maiden cousins of my mother," and "Miss Cockburn, an intimate friend of Lady Balcarres" (Crawford Lindsay 2: 312). As she and her siblings grew older, they frequently visited Lady Dalrymple in Edinburgh (Crawford Lindsay 2: 320), who allowed Lady Anne and Lady Margaret to stay with her for six months as young teenagers; later when Lady Anne was fifteen, she held "Dinners of the Eaterati," where they were introduced to important Edinburgh figures, such as David Hume (Taylor 19). In their correspondence, Scott would explain that he, too, attended Lady Dalrymple's dinners as a child, even mentioning Sophia Johnston, who lived with the Lindsay family (Grierson 8:39). Another important connecting figure is Alison Cockburn, who is known for writing ballads such as "The Flowers of the Forest." She was a friend of the family, and Lady Anne recalls that she was a "familiar from Balcarres" (20). Sarah Tytler writes "through Sir Walter Scott's mother, a Rutherford, as well as through her kindred, the Swintons, Sir Walter and Mrs. Cockburn counted cousinship" (1: 65). Scott's "cousinship" with Alison Cockburn would have put him in contact with the same social circle in which Lady Anne grew up, albeit somewhat later. Lady Anne mentions in *Lives of the Lindsays* that the connection between the Lindsays

and Cockburns was so meaningful that Lady Balcarres viewed Alison Cockburn as a second mother (Crawford Lindsay 2: 317). Lindsay cites Scott as praising Alison Cockburn for her imagination, intellect, and kindness to youth (Crawford Lindsay 2: 317), indicating their fondness for this shared figure in their childhood. Tytler notes that Alison Cockburn “helped mould and direct the social life of the old, aristocratic parlours of Edinburgh, as the De Rambouilletts and the Dudevants had prevailed and ruled with a rod of bright steel in the salons of Paris” (1: 75). However, Tytler does not address the fact that that Alison Cockburn inadvertently helped “mould and direct” a new literary connection – that between Scott and Lindsay. Although Lady Dalrymple and Alison Cockburn were the most literary of Scott’s and Lindsay’s familial network, the personal connections between the two families do not end here.

The Keiths were equally important to Scott’s and Lindsay’s social circles. Lady Anne writes that “of all her society, Mrs. Anne Murray Keith, Lady Balcarres’ cousin-german...was her dearest friend through life” (Crawford 318). Indeed, the two were inseparable. Once Lady Balcarres moved to Edinburgh after her husband’s death, she “settled there with her cousin, dear friend, and protector, whom she thenceforth styled her ‘husband’ – Mrs. Anne Murray Keith” (Tytler 2: 31). Madeleine Masson details the social geography of the area surrounding Balcarres, and notes that “Near at hand lived the family of Doctor John Rutherford, grandfather of Sir Walter Scott, whose aunt, Jeanie Rutherford, remarked that the young Sir Walter had ““more mind and more genius than any of his age that she had ever seen”” (29). Masson also remarks that “Another intimate friend was Mrs. Anne Murray Keith, Lady Balcarres’ cousin and closest confidante” (29). Mrs. Keith was also tied to Sir Walter as well, for “From her the young Walter Scott

gleaned many an ancient Scottish legend, one of which he immortalised in *The Bride of Lammermoor*” (Ibid). This was not the only work of Scott’s to which Keith was tied, as she “was also supposed to be the original Mrs. Bethune Baliol in *The Chronicles of the Canongate*” (Ibid). Through Anne Murray Keith, then, Scott’s childhood was tied to Balcarres and the Lindsays.

Despite their common connections through their families and social circles, Sir Walter and Lady Anne did not know each other personally until their correspondence began in 1823, most likely due to the age gap of twenty-one years. Upon Lady Anne Lindsay’s return to England in 1802, she found that “Miss Jeanie Rutherford’s wonderful little nephew had brought out the ‘Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border’ – a work after Lady Anne’s heart. He was just about to publish ‘Marmion’” (Tytler 2: 58). However, “Lady Anne did not quit her own sphere, not even to meet Sir Walter when, in the zenith of his fame, he went up, once and again, to London, to be *fêted* and lionized” (Tytler 2: 59). Despite Lindsay’s and Scott’s lack of a personal relationship at this point, the Lindsay family remained a part of Sir Walter’s social circle. In a letter to John S. Morritt on September 11, 1811, Scott declares his happiness about the marriage between Lord Lindsay (Lady Anne’s eldest brother) and Maria Pennington. He further explains his relationship to the Lindsay household: “Lady Balcarres used to be my patroness many a day ago when like a great shy lubberly boy as I was I used to be very proud of the shelter of her countenance at parties and at a seat in her box at the theatre where she was a constant attendant” (Grierson 2: 542). He also states that “a brother of Lord Balcarres” dined with him (Grierson 2: 542). Moreover, Scott clearly remembered Lady Anne, remarking of her that she “had great taste particularly for painting. She does not indeed

place mountains on their apex like that of Taranta in Bruce's travels or those of Selkirkshire in Miss Lydia White's drawings but what her representations lose in the wonderful they gain in nature and beauty" (Grierson 2: 542). Scott's familiarity with Lindsay's artwork would later become part of the editorial process of "Auld Robin Gray." Although they did not meet, their peripheral social connections would eventually allow Scott to shed light on the anonymous author of "Auld Robin Gray."

Auld Robin Gray Background and Analysis

Sir Walter's social connections would lead him to help Lady Anne edit "Auld Robin Gray" and her other poems in 1823 and 1824, but Lindsay wrote the ballad in 1772, when Scott was only a year old, and it has an equally important history that coincides with its editing and publication issues. The poem was widely popular in both Scotland and England, and there were several attempts by others to claim the song, including a clergyman who set the original words to music; it was also attributed to David Rizzio, and Italian courtier who lived in the 1500s (Masson 330). The clergyman Masson refers to "was the Rev. William Leeves, Rector of Wrington in Somerset, who composed the more elaborate tune that quickly replaced the traditional air to which the words had originally been composed and sung" (Millgate 427). Lindsay wrote the poem in a time of great distress; her sister, Lady Margaret, had just married an older wealthy man, Alexander Fordyce³, after losing her "first sweetheart" (Taylor 46). Although they

³ Alexander Fordyce was wealthy at the time of his marriage to Margaret Lindsay (Taylor 37), but the financial crisis of 1772 resulted in his downfall (66). When Fordyce escaped his creditors by going to France, and Margaret's family funds served as their source of income: "Anne was left with twelve guineas, Margaret with four. Otherwise, they each held gifts of £50 from their grandmother, and inheritances of £600, held in trust by their brother, of which they were entitled to the interest alone. The marriage contract purportedly guaranteeing Margaret £500 a year would, it was said, be claimed by Fordyce's creditors" (70). Anne was only twenty-one, and Margaret was nineteen" (70).

were aristocrats, the Lindsays experienced (to a limited degree) the pressures of finances and gender first-hand. After Lord Lindsay's death, the family was left with "an aging house, an income of £350 a year and the interest from sums of £600 placed in trust for each of the children" (Ibid), which put pressure on the Lindsay daughters to make financially advantageous marriages. The match between Lady Margaret and Alexander Fordyce was prompted by their mother, who insisted on marrying her daughters to wealthy men, with more regard for the family finances than her daughters' marital happiness (Taylor 26). The marriage was loveless (Taylor 44), and Anne was miserable without Margaret (43). Unlike Margaret, Lady Anne later married on her own terms; her selective search for a compatible husband was misconstrued by the public, and even her biographers, as coquettish (Taylor 37). Many believed she would marry Henry Dundas, 1st Vicount Melville (Taylor 83), and while she was certainly on friendly terms with him, she made a somewhat unconventional decision to marry Andrew Barnard at the age of forty-two in 1793; Barnard was untitled and younger by twelve years (Taylor 170). She used her friendship with Henry Dundas to obtain a position for her husband as colonial secretary at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, where she wrote the letters for which she is best known (Taylor 84). Lady Anne refused a conventional marriage, and "Auld Robin Gray" indicates that she viewed financially-based marriage as tragic to both husband and wife.

The poem is a clear reflection of Lady Anne's views on the female body as a type of commerce, but it also deals with the financial realities of the poor; "Auld Robin Gray" is far from the pastoral representations of shepherds and their loves. Lindsay's choice to make Jenny, the protagonist, a woman and a peasant is meaningful because the ballad

closely matches Margaret's situation. From Lindsay's perspective, gender levels out class differences between women; as in the poem, the Lindsay family finances were dependent on the marriage of a daughter. Lindsay's choice to replicate the Scottish accent is also closely connected with class. Jenny does not speak in the elevated language usually associated with pastoral poetry. By using the Scottish dialect, Lindsay ensures that those who sing or read the ballad associate it with poverty, for characters who speak in an accent were usually perceived as poor. Interestingly, Lindsay wrote very few poems in the Scottish dialect, so "Auld Robin Gray" stands apart from other poems in Lindsay's body of work, though she did write two continuations of "Auld Robin Gray" for her mother in later years. There is, however, another specifically Scottish ballad (though it lacks the dialect), "The Princess Emily," which appears in *Lays of the Lindsays*, and was written around the same time as "Auld Robin Gray." Lindsay would specifically mention this poem to Scott in her letters and in her footnotes in *Lays of the Lindsays*. "The Princess Emily" also reflects on finances, marriage, and geography, but unlike "Auld Robin Gray," it is clearly removed to an earlier, feudal time period. The poem tells the story of a princess, Emily, who stumbles upon a starving infant and its peasant grandmother while riding across the countryside. Upon questioning the grandmother, Emily learns that its parents died as a result of faithfully serving the king, her husband. Emily then rescues the infant by feeding it from her own breast. When Emily's husband finds her and criticizes her for feeding a strange child instead of her own, she explains that her husband's success is built on the peasants' sacrifice, and they must care for their subjects as their subjects care for them. Like "Auld Robin Gray," "The Princess Emily" critiques economic structures that place the poor, but especially women's bodies, at the

mercy of patriarchal, financially-based systems of power. “The Princess Emily” is important in the context of “Auld Robin Gray” and its publication because it indicates Lindsay’s critical opinions of marriage at the time of writing “Auld Robin Gray,” but also because the characters are based on a shared social connection with Scott, which Lindsay would discuss in her letters (Partington 206). In her note to the poem in *Lays of the Lindsays*, Lindsay reveals that she wrote it in “the same year that I wrote ‘Robin Gray’” (Lindsay 62). She further explains that “It makes a counterpart to ‘The Grecian Daughter;’ though I think there is still more unmixed humanity in the act at which female delicacy must have rather revolted, than in that which the tie of nature suggested” (Lindsay 62). *The Grecian Daughter*, a 1772 play by Arthur Murray, features the female body as a reparative force. Despite the poem’s similarity to “Auld Robin Gray,” “The Princess Emily” never gained popularity. Among Lady Anne’s poems, “The Princess Emily” is most similar to “Auld Robin Gray” in content, and it closely fits the genre of Scottish ballads. These types of ballads dovetail with Scott’s own interests in history and memory, as they both encourage readers to consider the influence of the subjugated. Like many of Scott’s other works, both poems explore narrative and its relationship to common people.

Unlike “The Princess Emily,” “Auld Robin Gray” was enormously popular, sparking a search for the author in both past and present. Lindsay’s social circle knew her as the author of the ballad, but only Sir Walter published the information to a wider audience. Some assumed it was “either a very, very, Antient Ballad, composed perhaps by David Rizzio and a great curiosity; or a very, very modern matter, and no curiosity at all” (Partington 203). Lindsay was nothing if not modest; despite her insistence that the

ballad would be “no curiosity at all” if found to be modern, a goose-chase ensued to find the author, with some guessing, though never confirming, the ballad’s authorship. In her first letter to Scott, Lady Anne mentions “the gratification of seeing a reward of twenty guineas offer’d in the newspapers” (Ibid). She further tells Scott of an incident in which an ambassador and secretary to the Antiquarian Society, Mr. Jerningham, “endeavor’d to entrap the truth from me in a manner I took amiss”; Lindsay also says the visit was “amply repaid” by “the noble Exhibition of the Ballet of Auld Robin Gray’s courtship” and “by dancing dogs under my windows. It proved its popularity from the Highest to the Lowest, and gave me pleasure while I hugg’d myself in my obscurity” (Ibid). The poem was widely known, creating interest throughout Britain and even France, where the poem was popular enough to have developed into a version missing an entire stanza.⁴ The poem’s popularity continued into the early twentieth century, when it spawned a parody play, in which Jennie’s parents are portrayed as opportunists (Cocker). The ballad’s popularity among the general public, alongside its clear Scottish locale and its focus on common people as the subject matter, certainly would have been of interest to Sir Walter, who was a preservationist of Scottish literature and culture.

The popularity of “Auld Robin Gray” spread far and wide, but Lindsay’s silence on her authorship remains a mystery. Since “Lady Anne had ...been on friendly terms with so many well-known authors, it is hard to know just why she should have persisted in her refusal to claim authorship of a ballad that enjoyed great fame and successful adaptation into forms as various as opera and street performance” (Millgate 242).

Millgate speculates that “It may have been a sense of aristocratic propriety, personal

⁴ An insert in the back of a 1938 J.L. Weir edition of the poem, including its continuations, addresses an account of the poem as it was popularly sung in France.

modesty, or just a stubborn determination to stick with a position once adopted” (242), but whatever the reason, Lindsay would deny authorship for fifty years after writing the ballad, that is, until Scott revealed her as the author in Chapter Six of *The Pirate*, when he cited a continuation of the ballad as an epigraph. The chapter begins: “The condition of Minna much resembled that of the village heroine in Lady Anne Lindsay’s beautiful ballad” (Scott 87). Until the publication of *The Pirate* in 1822, the author of “Auld Robin Gray” was, at least to the public, a mystery.

While there was wide speculation about the author of the ballad for fifty years, the author of “Auld Robin Gray” was not entirely a secret prior to Sir Walter Scott’s announcement in *The Pirate*. Anne often sang the ballad for company, and it was Lady Frances Scott (unrelated to Sir Walter Scott) who guessed Lindsay as the author. Lady Frances Scott wrote to Lindsay, saying “No words can express how much we all delighted in your Epic Poem. Without flattery, it is generally allowed to be much the best thing of the kind that was ever written. If I did not love you, I certainly should hate you from envy. You have, as you see by the enclosed, inspired another poet” (as quoted by Taylor, 83). The enclosure Frances Scott refers to is from William Gordon, who also watched Lady Anne perform the song. The enclosure reads “Dear Anne, Since Sappho to the present time, / No dame has ever equaled you in Rhyme!” (as quoted by Taylor, 83). Lindsay was certainly known, at least by a few close friends and family, as the author of “Auld Robin Gray.” Eventually, Lindsay’s propensity for singing her own work at social gatherings would leave a trail for Scott to follow years later.

Authorship and Social Expectations

Before delving into the details of Scott's and Lindsay's correspondence, we should first consider the social consequences of writing and publication, especially of a ballad, for an aristocratic woman. Lindsay was participating in a much longer ballad tradition that was especially prominent in the Scottish lowlands. Ballads were typically associated with the working class, despite renewed interest during the Enlightenment. According to David Atkinson, ballad singers and sellers "were frequently classed with rogues and vagabonds, in contrast to the 'polite and commercial people' to whom contemporary writers were mostly addressing themselves" (73). However, Scottish ballads are distinct from London ballads (Fox 171), and have an "indigenous vein" (194). Scottish ballads have strong connections to Scottish history and culture; Ruth Perry explains that "Scottish eighteenth-century interest in balladry continued an age-old love of song in that country that crossed class lines, made more precious and salient by virtue of intensified nationalism following the defeat at Culloden and the attendant reprisals" (83). Lady Anne visited Lady Margaret in London in 1771 (Taylor 53), and Lady Anne lived there during her correspondence with Sir Walter, so she and her family certainly would have been familiar with both Scottish and English interpretations of balladry and its class associations. Most notably, "Auld Robin Gray" and "The Princess Emily" cross class lines because they critique systems of economics and gender, and their Scottish locales provide a sense of nationalism. However, McDowell cautions us that the continued condemnation of working class "female tale-tellers reminds us that we need to be wary of generalizations about 'women and orality'" (59). Lindsay wrote as a member of the aristocracy, and, though privileged, her social position had a separate set of issues

surrounding publication, particularly of a ballad. In *Living by the Pen*, Cheryl Turner notes that “poetry was well established in the repertoire of literary women by the dawning of the Augustan Age. Earlier female poets had come primarily from amongst the aristocracy and this social elite continued to nurture such skillful writers as Lady Winchilsea and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu” (121). Lady Anne wrote in other poetic forms, but simply writing in ballad form crosses class lines, and her position as the writer of “Auld Robin Gray,” then, bordered on impropriety.

Furthermore, publication could indicate that Lady Anne and her family intended to profit from the edition. Writing for profit would not have been acceptable for an aristocratic woman, and even without profit, publication would bring attention to Lady Anne and her family. As Cheryl Turner notes, “The options available to middle-and upper-class women in these circumstances were limited by an enduring opposition to the very idea of gentle women undertaking paid work” (68). Furthermore, “Ridicule or even public calumny” were possible outcomes of claiming authorship (Turner 28). In the eighteenth century, women were developing a strong presence in the literary market, but as an aristocrat, Lady Anne would have needed to avoid appearing to earn a living from writing. Most successful and published female authors “came from the middle social stratum” (Turner 62), and as such, they were looking to profit from publication. Although Lindsay did not inherit a large fortune, she did inherit a title, and that title would bring attention to her family if she chose to publish.

Publication presented yet another social problem: patronage. In her essay “Romantic Spinstrely,” Adriana Craciun discusses the circulation of ballads among women and their “select circles,” but she brings up another problem of publication and

acknowledgement for women and marginalized writers. Craciun asks: “How then would a woman poet enter into the literary marketplace during this Scottish ballad revival, when the source material produced by women poets and singers often appeared only in the published works of male authors?” (207). Turner contends that “Previously, the aristocracy were the primary source of this type of support but their relative significance within the patronage system decreased around the turn of the century” (87), and “publishers invested their money at source by acting as patrons to particular authors” (86). Lindsay’s letters to Scott use the term “patron” (Patrington 209), although his position as an editor and family friend made him more of a mentor. At the time of her marriage, Anne was “a high-born woman known at the heart of power, and still widely thought to have inherited a fortune,” and she married “an outsider, a junior army officer without distinction or connections” (Taylor 170). Her position, then, was somewhat different than many other middle class women writers. Despite the ballad revival during this period, due to her family’s concerns, she would have needed to avoid detection as the author of “Auld Robin Gray,” but her association with Scott would have provided a convenient and appropriate avenue for publication and recognition.

Furthermore, the Bannatyne Club offered Lindsay a unique method of publication because it did not function as other contemporary publishers; rather, it harkened back to earlier forms of social circulation and patronage. The club “sought to supplement the systems of both patronage and the market. As a type of subscription publishing, for instance, it reactivated patronage” (Ferris 146). The Bannatyne Club “understood itself from the start as a civic and national institution rather than an association of private book-collectors...circulation nonetheless remained highly restricted” (Ferris145). In fact, the

club had its own special interests in the historical material it published, and it functioned just as much as an elite club as it did a preservationist society; it was “a site whose existence manifests and assuages anxieties inherent within contemporary constructions of masculinity. The club enables an escape from the differences of class, gender, and race into sameness” (Elliot). The focus was not widespread publication, although some copies were made available depending on the importance of the work: “Each member received two copies of its publications, while extra copies were distributed to libraries and dignitaries throughout the United Kingdom. Where a work was deemed of special importance ... the club would also throw off a set of volumes printed on inferior paper for general sale” (Ferris 145-146). So, Scott’s edition of “Auld Robin Gray” would not have been printed on a wide scale, but his publication of the ballad would have cemented Lady Anne’s reputation as the author.

Scott may not have published this edition of “Auld Robin Gray” for large financial gain, but his involvement with the official version of the ballad did forever attach his name to the most popular ballad of the time. Ina Ferris asserts that “when texts of the past turn into documents, they no longer inhabit either the past or the present but the space of their intersection. Indeed they become double-authored, for such a document is fully coincident neither with its original author nor with its later editor” (156). Written fifty years earlier, “Auld Robin Gray” was a historical document, but its living popularity allowed Scott an opportunity to, in a sense, co-author the official document. This sense of co-authorship is important to the history of the ballad. In “Unclaimed Territory: The Ballad of 'Auld Robin Gray' and the Assertion of Authorial Ownership," Jane Millgate explores the many changes the ballad went through, from its original bawdy version,

“The Bridegroom Greets When the Sun Gaes Doun,” to Rev. William Leeves’ popular musical attributions. Each of the ballad’s many incarnations has its own history, but in producing an official copy of the ballad through the Bannatyne Club, Scott cemented his own reputation as a co-author to the official version of the ballad. Millgate explains that “Since no musical setting was printed, the volume in this grand physical form enacted a complete separation between the ballad and the tunes that had fueled its ongoing life for over fifty years” (430). This separation was essential to national memory of the ballad and its authorship, and “In reclaiming the poem for Scotland from the incursions of a Somerset clergyman, Scott was presenting a textual document addressed to a very small group of learned gentlemen jointly devoted to the preservation of essentially dead monuments of the national past” (Ibid). The textual documentation, even as a product of an amateur historical preservation society, would still bind the ballad to Scottish history, as well as Scott’s reputation. Scott’s experience with literary preservation, such as in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and his other works for the Bannatyne Club, along his success as a novelist, gave him the authority to name Lady Anne as the author of “Auld Robin Gray.” However, in the ballad’s history as a double-authored literary production, Scott’s role as a co-author and editor of the official document would verify Lady Anne as the author of the popular version. Without Scott’s longstanding connection to the Lindsay family, however, the friendship and publication that occurred as a result of their correspondence from 1823-1824 would not have been possible.

Letters Between Scott and Lindsay

Although there is little to indicate that Lady Anne and Sir Walter knew each other well or interacted at Balcarres or in Edinburgh, the letters between them reveal a

friendship that blossomed through shared experience and relationships, which would eventually lead to the 1825 Bannatyne edition of “Auld Robin Gray.” Because most biographies on Lindsay up until Stephan Taylor’s 2017 *Defiance: The Extraordinary Life of Lady Anne Barnard* do not cite primary sources (and even Taylor’s biography is lacking in its exploration of Sir Walter Scott’s business dealings with Lady Anne Lindsay) most secondary sources on the two authors lack information about their relationship aside from a few brief sentences or a footnote. The best way to understand their relationship and the issues surrounding the publication of “Auld Robin Gray” and *Lays of the Lindsays*, then, is through examining their letters from 1823-1824. Due to Lady Anne’s relative obscurity, however, the entirety of their correspondence was never published, although the collection is intact.⁵ This thesis pieces together the published letters, primarily using H.J.C. Grierson’s *Letters of Sir Walter Scott* and Wilfred Partington’s *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*. I also consulted the National Library of Scotland’s Millgate Union Catalogue of Walter Scott Correspondences, which lists the letters and their dates, but does not have full-text records. According to the Millgate Union Catalogue, the first letter in exchange dates July 8th 1823, from Lady Anne, and the last is dated November 11, 1824, also from Lady Anne. Both Grierson and Partington are most concerned with Scott’s and Lindsay’s relationship in terms of editing and publication, and they do not include letters beyond July 18th, 1824. In fact, Partington’s chapter on their correspondence is titled “Lady Anne Barnard and her ‘Auld Robin Gray,’” and Grierson’s collection includes only Walter Scott’s first letter from their sixteen-month correspondence. Because this thesis explores family pressures and

⁵The collection, which includes ten letters from Sir Walter Scott, and fourteen letters from Anne Barnard, is housed in the Crawford Collection, and the Earl of Balcarres “keeps this volume at home” (Dunn).

the mutual benefits of publication for author and editor, Partington's and Grierson's collections are probably sufficient, but further research on their relationship would require the complete correspondence. Although some letters are missing from Scott's published correspondence, there was still enough interest in "Auld Robin Gray" and Lady Anne (most likely due to her letters from South Africa) for Grierson and Partington to include letters regarding the ballad and its publication. The published letters shed light on how Sir Walter's and Lady Anne's social connections ensured the preservation of her ballad, and simultaneously destined the rest of Lady Anne's poetry to obscurity.

Lady Anne did not initiate the letter sequence until July 8th, 1823, from Berkeley Square in London, seven months after the publication of *The Pirate*. The tone of this first letter is much more formal than the subsequent letters, but it lays the groundwork for Scott's involvement in editing and publishing the poem for the Bannatyne Club. Lady Anne begins by expressing her gratitude to Scott, despite her fifty-year effort to keep her authorship a secret. Although we might presume she would be annoyed with the sudden public announcement, Lindsay writes:

"In truth the position I was placed in about that song had at *last* become Irksome to me. How can I then so fully mark my thankfulness to him who has relieved me from my dilemmas as by transmitting to him Fairly and Frankly the Origin – Birth – Life- Death and Confession, Will and Testament of "Auld Robin Gray," with the assurance that the Author of Waverly is the *first* person out of my own family who has ever had an explanation from me on the subject" (Partington 201-202).

Lindsay's relief at Scott's revelation was because Scott's announcement was a socially appropriate mode of claiming authorship. After denying authorship for an extended period of time, Lindsay needed a literary patron to distinguish and verify her claim, and, as a successful editor and writer, and as someone affiliated with the Lindsay family, Scott was an appropriate choice.

In the same letter, Lindsay tells Scott of the ballad's origins, including others' editorial suggestions, subtly providing Scott with an opportunity to share his opinions about the poem. She records that her sister, Elizabeth, upon Anne's insistence for help, created a "fifth sorrow" for Jennie, and told her to "Steal the cow, sister Anne" (Partington 202). In a postscript to the same letter, Lady Anne mentions the advice of the Laird of Dalziel, who told her in a private conversation: "My Dear, the next time you sing that Sang try to change the *ae* line a wee bit, and instead o' saying 'To mak the crown a pound, my Jamie gaed to sea,' say 'To mak 20 *merks*,' for a Scottish pund, my dear, is but 20 *pence*" (204). Lindsay notes "though I admit it would have been wiser to have corrected the error, I have never *changed the pound* note which has always passed in its current form" (Partington 204). Lindsay's letter explaining the poem's background, as well as her inclusion of others' opinions, seems to politely and implicitly offer Scott the opportunity to become involved with the ballad. Lindsay also extends an invitation for Scott to visit "when you next come to London" (Ibid). Both Scott and Lindsay addressed the prospect of a visit several times throughout their correspondence, but it never came to fruition, and the two never met as adults. The first letter certainly reveals the complicated social nature of ballad collecting, at least for a member of the aristocracy. As McDowell points out, working-class women faced a separate set of

challenges in ballad writing and their relationships with ballad collectors.⁶ Lindsay's situation as a writer had more to do with class status and family pressures.

The next letter from Scott, dated July 14th, 1823 details his own background with Lindsay and her family; Sir Walter reminds Lady Anne of their family connections, and he uses their shared background to build rapport and craft a relationship before proposing a formal edition of "Auld Robin Gray." A close analysis of the letter explains Lady Anne's trust in Sir Walter as an appropriate editor for the ballad. Scot's letter opens: "I wish I could tell you with how much pleasure I received your letter and how many remembrances it brought back to me of very early days, - some a little sad, but perhaps not on that account the less interesting" (Grierson 8:37). He assures her that he "never entertained the least doubt as to the real authoress of "Robin Gray," and that he "came to be so positive respecting a fact known to so very few persons" (Grierson 8: 37-38). Before revealing how he came by this knowledge, however, Scott lays out his own background with the Lindsay family, reminding Lady Anne that, as a child, he would sit in Lady Balcarres' theatre box (Grierson 8:38). Since Lady Anne makes no mention of their family connections in the first letter, Scott's effort to lay out this background is a gentle reminder of their shared experiences. Tytler writes that, "oddly enough [Lindsay] had failed to recognize either in Mr. Scott the poet, or in the Author of 'Waverly,' the little lame prodigy of her early friend and his aunt, Miss Jeanie Rutherford" (83). Likewise, MacCunn contends that Lindsay seems never to have met Scott, even though "as a child, he was taken to wait upon her mother" (14). The first letter does not indicate any memory of the young Scott, but their family history, particularly Anne Keith's

⁶ McDowell 59

interest in Scott, along with his account of the Lindsays and their charge, Sophia Johnstone, would indicate that they may have crossed paths in their youth. In the July 8th letter, Scott recollects Sophia Johnstone and “many of her songs” (Grierson 8: 39). Sophia Johnstone was a charge of the Lindsay family, and an important figure in Lindsay’s childhood. According to Scott, Sophia would “kick my poor sister’s shins under the card table at Miss Cockburn’s, for moving her feet in some way inconvenient to the said Soph, who added at the same time to her pedestrian correction this exclamation... ‘What is the lassie wabster – wabster – wabstering the gate for?’” (Grierson 8:39). Scott’s recollection of Sophia Johnstone is highly specific, and by sharing this memory, Scott is attempting to build rapport and a sense of a shared childhood with Lindsay. Much of Scott’s work revolved around history, memory, and community, and this letter is no exception, although in this case, he is using those to build an editorial relationship.

After building rapport through shared experience, Scott clarifies exactly how he discovered the author of “Auld Robin Gray,” and then proposes an official Bannatyne edition. He writes that he learned the information “from my aunt Mrs. Russell, who used to sing very prettily, and had learned it, I think, in your ladyship’s family, if not from yourself” (Grierson 8: 39). Scott further explains that he came by a fragment, of “about seven or eight verses,” of the continuation through Miss Christine Rutherford, and “All these persons were perfectly convinced of your ladyship’s right to this beautiful ballad...and I, knowing their opportunities of information, never considered the matter as being at all questionable” (Ibid). Moreover, he mentions that the Hepburns of Congalton assured him that “Auld Robin Gray” was “indubitably the composition of Lady Anne

Barnard, - and many a wish have I formed to know Lady Anne in consequence of this conviction” (Grierson 8:40). Indeed, this phrase confirms that Scott did not directly know Lady Anne, but by mentioning their mutual acquaintances as sources of information, Scott masterfully crafts a relationship based on shared experience, qualifying himself as an editor and patron for Lindsay. Scott’s next move in the letter is subtle, but rhetorically powerful. After explaining his defense of Lady Anne as the author to Lord Montagu, who believed the clergyman to be the author, Scott proposes “to put a stop to these petty-larceny proceedings in the following manner” (Ibid). After building a sense of family connection through memory, and then assuring her of his confidence in her writing through mutual acquaintances, Scott’s phrasing is careful, and his rhetoric sets him up to suggest a formal edition that would have his name associated with it. This suggestion allows Scott to take on the social responsibility of acting as Lindsay’s literary patron. Scott explains: “I belong to a society of literary folks in Edinburgh...each member prints what he pleases, not exceeding the number of copies necessary for the members, and a few more for particular friends,” and that the purpose of the society is to “preserve from the risk attending manuscripts, without intending immediate publication” (Ibid). Scott then asks Lindsay whether she will allow him “to put a complete copy of ‘Auld Robin Gray’ in this curious record, either with or without the name of the ingenious authoress, and with as much or as little of its history, as you think the better?” (Grierson 8:41). Regardless of whether Lady Anne’s name would appear in the formal copy, Scott’s would still be associated with the poem, and his announcement in the *The Pirate* would still publically mark her as the author. He was already associated with the ballad, but Sir

Walter's proposal would benefit both him and Lady Anne: a formal, historical edition would verify Lindsay as the author, and officially announce Scott as collector and editor.

Scott was leaving Lindsay with few options, but at the same time, was paving the way for her to take ownership of the poem. The formal edition with Lindsay's name attached to it, and backed by the best-selling author of the period, would dispel any other claims to it – particularly those of the English clergyman, Rev. William Leves. After all, Scott was primarily interested in preserving Scottish literature and culture, and his aim was to preserve the Scottish heritage of the ballad by crafting a way for Lady Anne to defend her character and her work. The next portion of the letter reveals how subtly and effectively Scott became involved as an editor. Scott assumes the role of editor almost immediately, out of his own interests in the ballad, but also in response to Lindsay's delicate prompt for his advice in the July 8th letter. Scott's first recommendation as editor is to affirm Lindsay's choice to use the line "to make the crown a pound," which Lindsay mentioned in the first letter. Scott's immediate editorial advice allows the possibility for further editing and publishing decisions. Moreover, this advice is within the bounds of propriety, for in responding to Lady Anne's specified concerns about the ballad, he does not offer unwarranted advice. Sir Walter's careful rhetoric in this portion of the letter is highly conscious of Lady Anne's position and of her own indirect request for advice.

While Scott freely validates Lindsay's editorial choices through correspondence, he informs Lindsay of his inability to make a personal trip. Scott writes "that I am not likely soon to profit by the flattering invitation with which your ladyship honoured me" (Grierson 8:43), that is, Lindsay's invitation to visit the house in Berkeley Square when he was next in London. Instead, Scott insists that Lindsay come visit his "hobby-horsical

sort of mansion...its best recommendation to you will be its near neighborhood to Yair” (Ibid). Scott and Lindsay would never meet in person, and their invitations to each other were always politely declined. Of course, the subsequent letters indicate real friendship, but the initial letters are artificial in terms of familiarity; Scott and Lindsay did not know each other as children, nor did they meet as adults, but Scott uses their shared background to create a sense of shared experience and history. This letter is the beginning of the editorial relationship between the two because it establishes Scott’s desire to publish “Auld Robin Gray” alongside its continuations.

After the two initial letters, the correspondence is only partially published, with Partington and Grierson focusing on letters only having to do with publication, although pieces of the next letters are included in footnotes and brief explanations. Partington notes that in the Abbotsford Letter-Books, Anne’s first letter was “followed by lists of poems by the three Ladies Lindsay (*i.e.*, Lady Anne and her sisters)” (204). Partington does not give a full account of the list, but he does explain that Lindsay “appears to have sent him numerous other poems by herself and members of her family, which he printed in a thick 4to volume titled *Lays of the Lindsays*” (200). Partington also asserts that the lists were in Lady Anne’s handwriting, and the poems, such as “Lines on the Picture of Miss Cheap being devoured when met by a blue-bottle Fly,” are commended ““for the convenience of Sir Walter Scott putting in his pocket”” (Partington n.204). Interestingly, these poems seem to precede Scott and Lindsay’s decision to publish a larger volume of poetry. But whether they were originally intended to be published alongside “Auld Robin Gray” in a small volume or if Lindsay simply sent them for Scott’s perusal and opinion, the list of poems reveals that Lady Anne wanted Sir Walter to read some of her other

poems. Furthermore, this list indicates that Lindsay voluntarily provided poems for Scott. While Lindsay states that her purpose in sending the poems was ““for the convenience of Sir Walter Scott putting in his pocket”” (Partington n.204), her inclusion of these poems seems to be a subtle request for Sir Walter’s opinion on her work, just like her initial inclusion of Lord Dalziel’s comments.

After the postscript and list of poems, there is a gap in the published letters until November, though Partington and Grierson both include part of a letter from July 22, 1823 in footnotes and bracketed notes. Presumably, this letter is not included in full in either collection because it deals only peripherally with the publication of “Auld Robin Gray,” and it has more to do with their friendship than it does with editing. Partington describes the letter as “more likely to arouse our envy than useful in enlarging our story” (205), though I believe the letter is actually revealing of the casual, friendly nature of their personal and business relationship. While Partington only includes a few lines from the end of the letter, Grierson includes a much larger portion. The letter certainly has little to do with the process of editing or publishing, but it does reveal several important issues that both Partington and Grierson dismiss. Primarily, this letter shows us how Sir Walter’s and Lady Anne’s penned friendship moved from crafted and formal to friendly and casual. This letter is the link that allows us to better understand the casual tone around editing and publication in later letters. Lindsay responds to Scott’s invitation to visit Abbotsford and reminisces about their old social circle, writing “At present I can only enjoy the pleasure you have given me in bringing back the shades of my old friends in the same lively colors they appeared when separated from me” (Grierson n.8:43). Instead of visiting Scott, Lindsay insists on a “house warming, in spirit and in truth, by

means of a few dozens of the best constania the Cape ever sent from it which I brought home with me over 20 years ago” (Ibid). Lindsay describes her search for a gift of wine in her cellar, and she details how she “found the *color’d* wax of the corks obliterated by age, and some of them so decay’d that I was obliged to give them new ones” (Partington 205). Lindsay then reassures Scott that this deterioration is normal after “22 years there, and five or six more at the Cape,” and despite her fears “that *Sweet* and *Sweeter* may be mix’d...all are from Constania” (Ibid). While wine is a normal token of appreciation, this wine came from her personal collection from the Cape, and it would have been irreplaceable. She further requests to “furnish the Toast also- ‘May this House live as long as the name of Walter Scott’ – if so it will make a valuable Relick of Antiquity some day” (Grierson n.8:44). Lady Anne ends the letter expressing “the feelings of grateful kindness which are stationary for you in the mind of Anne Barnard – N.B. I must not say *Heart* as it would make your wife Jealous” (Partington 205). Lindsay’s playful end note indicates a relationship beyond that of business associates, though certainly not romantic. Rather, it implies a friendly relationship, laughingly nodding to her early reputation as a coquette. In this letter, the formal, crafted rhetoric of the first letters is replaced by casual, friendly language that suggests real friendship, and the familiar relationship that the double-authored Bannatyne edition would require.

Nevertheless, Lady Anne expressed anxiety about the reception of her work. The next full letter that Partington includes comes four months after the first, on November 16, 1823. The National Library of Scotland’s Millgate Union Catalogue of Walter Scott Correspondence records that several letters were sent between Scott and Lindsay in September of 1823, and the correspondence picks up again in November with this letter.

The gap explains Lindsay's apology to Scott: "I fear you may have been tempted to say 'what in the world can have become of Lady Anne and her Sketches'" (Partington 205). This letter is the first in the collection which contains a detailed account of editorial decisions about what would be appropriate for a collection. But more importantly, it reveals Anne's anxiety about the collection and publication of her work. She explains "The Fact is, I have been a *poor thing* for some time; my Enemy St. Anthony caught hold of me. I hope *You* do not know anything about him, but if you do, you are aware that he makes those who are under his influence feel –Low- Humble- and Cowardly" (Partington 205). Lady Anne's casual wording clearly indicates real friendliness, but also deferral to Scott and his experience with writing and publishing. Her phrasing also suggests consciousness of social appearance, for she writes "*He*⁷ persuaded me out of attempting with my imperfect eyes what I had offer'd in the eagerness of my heart, but what – he said- could not be worthy of your acceptance, or of being placed in a collection so curious and interesting as that which you and your literary friends in Edinr⁸ are forming" (Partington 205). Lady Anne's specific reference to Sir Walter's "literary friends in Edinr" hints at her anxiety about negative public review. Furthermore, it reveals Lady Anne's deference to Scott's qualifications as a writer. Partington notes that this collection refers to the Bannatyne's edition of "Auld Robin Gray," and that Lindsay seems to have offered Scott illustrations to the poem (n.205). Scott, having seen her work in 1811 at her brother's dinner party, certainly knew her abilities as an artist. Lady Anne apologizes for not sending her illustrations, but she assures Sir Walter that "you shall not be a loser," and she offers him "something you will prize more – verses of my two dear sisters, Lady

⁷ St. Anthony

⁸ This is Lady Anne's abbreviation, as it appears in Partington's collection.

Margaret Fordyce (Burgess) and Lady Hardwicke” (Partington 205). Unlike poetry, the sketches could not be edited for publication as poetry could be, and Lady Anne’s language at the beginning of the letter indicates her trepidation of negative review. Lady Anne’s inclusion of her sisters’ poetry, then, reflects her view of Scott as an editor and mentor rather than a simple collector of historical documents.

Along with her sisters’ poetry, Lady Anne mentions that in her search through her papers for Jenny’s continuation of “Auld Robin Gray,” she found “a few other attempts written at the *same time*” (Partington 205). She worries that these poems might be “less deserving than I wished,” particularly after sending Sir Walter her sister’s poems. Among these “other attempts,” was “The Princess Emily” (Partington 205-206). Lady Anne uses their shared experience to bring Scott’s attention to the sister poem of “Auld Robin Gray.” She explains in the letter that “it has for its Heroine the old Duchess of Athole, mother to the present Duke” (Partington 206). Lindsay tells Scott “As I think it probable that you may know the *living children* of those whom I then loved, and whose Happiness was somewhat accelerated by the droll coincidence of my verses, I shall put the names in stars, but insert a note to tell *you* who they are” (Partington 206). “The Princess Emily” is the only poem other than “Auld Robin Gray” that Lindsay singles out to discuss in her letters to Scott; as she points out, this is partially due to Scott’s familiarity with the poem’s subjects. However, Lindsay chose to single out “The Princess Emily” for editorial purposes. It falls much later in the layout of *Lays of the Lindsays* than “Auld Robin Gray,” but it is also the only poem which includes an explanatory note connecting it back to “Auld Robin Gray.” Lindsay’s discussion of this poem emphasizes her shared history

and community with Scott, and it reifies the sense of doubled authorship in their endeavor to publish a collection of poems.

Although Lady Anne subtly directs Sir Walter's attention, she emphasizes her trust in his editorship, further highlighting the need for polite, almost imperceptible suggestions:

“Remember, Dear Sir Walter, that you are the master over all you have received, to *abridge, correct, accept, reject* as you please, it would be a hard case if you were not. But remember also, my Dear good Friend, that after having vanquished all my scruples, finding me ready (as I am now) to be handed by *You* into distinguished society, it will be but charity to dress me up a little so I may not disgrace myself in twenty ways” (Partington 206).

This portion of the letter highlights that Lindsay permitted Scott to edit and publish her work because of his editorial and personal qualifications. She counted Sir Walter as her “Dear good Friend,” but she defers to him both socially and editorially. Because of Lady Anne's family name and her anxiety about public review, Sir Walter's qualifications as social peer, friend, and editor would have been necessary for Lady Anne to claim him as her patron, and this letter stresses the social need for such qualifications. Furthermore, Lindsay's request that Scott “*abridge, correct, accept, reject*” as he please emphasizes the collaboration and mentorship involved in editing, collecting, and publishing.

Lindsay continues to express her desire that her name appear alongside the poem in order to defend her character, and

“to say *who I am*, also one who has hitherto rather *shunn’d* than *sought* notoriety, till teased with the ‘petty larceny proceedings’ (as you so justly call them of people who blame A[nne] B[arnard] for *Tacitly* allowing herself to be supposed the writer of what *they themselves wrote*, A.B. thinks it a duty she owes to herself to put her name to the song” (Partington 206).

Lady Anne emphasizes that her claim to “Auld Robin Gray” is also a claim to her own character. This passage illustrates exactly how delicate her position was, this time with the public. She would have needed to specify that she was not interested in profits, but only in preserving her character. Although some portions of the letter more clearly reveal the problem of an aristocrat claiming a fifty year old ballad than others, this letter establishes that Lady Anne needed a moral reason to publish. The Bannatyne edition as a historical document would establish Lindsay as the ballad’s author, and because of Scott’s social connections to her family, he could act as her patron, both for her character and her poetry.

The next letter from Lindsay in Partington’s collection is from December 20, 1823, and it is not so much concerned with morality as it is with the bounds of their editing and family relationships. The first portion of the letter addresses the editing process for a full collection of poems. Although Scott originally proposed only an edition of “Auld Robin Gray” for the Bannatyne Club, at some point in their correspondence, they decided to work on a full collection of poems from Lady Anne, and her sisters, Lady Margaret Fordyce and Lady Elizabeth Hardwicke, along with a poem by “the little heir presumptive of the House of Lindsay,” which was to be named *Lays of the Lindsays* (Partington 207). This letter begins by responding to Scott’s proposal of a title, “Lays of

the House of Lindsay,” which Lady Anne called “an excellent title, by the by, to our Triumvirate offerings: it certainly has an antient traditional sound” (Partington 207). Although almost all of the poems that Lady Anne included in the collection are her own, her decision to include poetry by her sisters and a few choice family members reveals how tied to her family Lindsay was; this seems to be a form of family record keeping as well as a historical document.

Like the first part of the letter, the middle portion is absorbed in family matters, although this section is more social than editorial. Lindsay records that, James Lindsay, her brother, spoke “highly of your Son-in-Law,” and that she is “glad that your daughter sings ballads so well” (Ibid). In an even more familial tone, Lindsay jokingly suspected that “you would give up the best song for a delighted Scream of your grandchild when you give it a bit of Barley Sugar. That sentence of yours is full of the Grand Papa, and I am glad of it: ’tis the young shoots that give vegetation to our old age” (Ibid). Such an intimate tone suggests real friendship, but it also reveals how concerned Lindsay was with family life.

The most important part of the letter, while short, is integral to our understanding of Scott and Lindsay’s relationship, because it illustrates how closely their editing was intertwined with their personal lives. Lady Anne writes, “I am not sorry in spite of my love of liberty and of Independence to hear you have a little business which gives you Income, Moderate Labour, and little Responsibility”— his business with the Ballantynes (Partington 208 and note). Partington asserts that “It is a mark of his esteem for Lady Anne that he should mention a subject which he kept a secret from most of his friends.

Even Lockheart, on the eve of the disaster, knew little of the great extent of Scott's commitment" (n.208).

The extent of Lady Anne's knowledge of Sir Walter's business with the Ballantynes is most likely due to her own family's connections. There is some evidence that might suggest her family's prior knowledge of Scott's financial affairs. A letter from 1818 from Scott to Lady Balcarres thanks her for sending "a curious and valuable antique ring, as a memorial of our late excellent friend, Mrs. Murray Keith" (Grierson 5: 162). In a footnote, Grierson cites the letter from Lady Balcarres, which describes the gift as "a green stone ring, I believe a Turquoise stone or a Parisian stone" (n.161). Scott declares "Nothing could have been more acceptable to me than such a token of remembrance" because it revealed the extent to which Ms. Keith "allowed me in her esteem" (Grierson 162). At the end of the letter, he tells her "I intend to have the ring adjusted to my finger, and to put the name of the former proprietor upon the circle; that those who may succeed to it hereafter, may value it accordingly" (Grierson 163). While Scott clearly valued the ring as a remembrance of a dear family member, such a valuable gift may well have been Lady Balcarres' way of attempting to assist Scott financially. Thus, Lady Anne may have already been privy to his financial state, which would explain her knowledge of the Ballantyne business. Lindsay's knowledge of Scott's business with the Ballantynes exemplifies how family connections could affect the relationship between editor and writer.

The end of the December 20th, 1823 letter explicitly deals with the issues of family pressure and publication. Lady Anne thanks Scott for granting her request to include her sister's poems in *Lays of the Lindsays*, and explains her inclusion of an extra

poem, “In Abuse of Entic” by Lady Elizabeth Hardwicke, telling Scott “as Scotch women we look up to you as our Patron to take care that we do not expose ourselves, and in whatever way you present the ‘Lays of the House of Lindsay’ to the Bannatyne Club we shall be contented, providing they are introduced by Sir Walter Scott” (Partington 209). Lindsay’s fear that she and Lady Hardwicke might, without Scott’s protection, “expose” themselves, and her phrase “as Scotch women” indicates Sir Walter as introducing the Lindsay sisters to the world beyond Scotland. The implied audience that Lady Anne and Lady Hardwicke may expose themselves is twofold: Scottish, and international. As an established author and family friend, Scott would be able to act as a mentor and patron for Lady Anne and her sisters, much in the same way that Lady Dalrymple introduced Lady Anne to Edinburgh society.

Lady Hardwicke is the subject Lindsay’s letter of February 20, 1824, which expresses Lady Anne’s desire for recognition, as well as her family’s fear of social repercussions. Lady Anne writes that “Lady Hardwicke, I think by her last letter, has conceived the erroneous Idea, that ‘The Lays of the Lindsays’ are to be ‘published’ and therefore ‘liable to be reviewed!’” (Partington 210).⁹ Lady Anne is clearly invested in compiling her work for moral reasons; as she mentions in the December 20th letter, she wants to be cleared “of thieving credit from the antients and latterly of tacitly withholding from various private persons who claimed ‘Robin Gray,’” “a clergyman, in particular, who constitutes himself the author because he has changed the old tune for a new one of his own composition” (Partington 209). Although Lady Anne’s character provided a convenient method of formally claiming “Auld Robin Gray,” the collection soon became

⁹ Lindsay is referring to wide-spread publication, not the limited Bannatyne Club editions.

a family record. However, Lady Hardwicke's fear of publication and public review began to affect Lady Anne. Lindsay explained to her sister that "the plan of your Society is only to strike off a copy for each of the members of the Bannatyne club and a few for particular friends" (210), but she is clearly distressed about Lady Hardwicke's concerns and exclaims "This is not Publishing surely!"(210). Unlike her sister, Lady Anne is unbothered by the proposed Bannatyne edition because, through the initial letters, she already knew that edition was to function as a historical document. However, a larger publication could have more potential for wider circulation, and as Lady Hardwicke fears, might bring negative attention not only to Lady Anne, but to the entire Lindsay family. Even with Sir Walter acting as their patron, the attention that the publication could potentially gain posed problems for other members of Lindsay's family.

Lady Anne's the letter is strikingly short, urgent, and informal, which highlights their familiar, rather than strictly professional, relationship. The letter appears rushed and impulsive. The letter indicates that Lady Anne had more faith in Sir Walter as an editor than did Lady Hardwicke, whose concerns would prevent Lady Anne from publishing *Lays of the Lindsays*.

The final letter from Lindsay that Partington includes in his collection is dated June 18th, 1824. Lady Anne asks Sir Walter to cease any efforts for publication. Lindsay opens the letter in an unusually ecstatic tone which quickly fades to disappointment:

"I received your packet last Saturday with Joy – so large a portion of the proof copy! the dear type! – the pleasing size! – your kind note! – all put me into spirits; but before I had time to peruse it through, Lady Hardwicke came in and with much anxiety entreated me

to let her shew the part of it which was here, and indeed all of it, to Lord Hardwicke, who was that moment arrived from Cambridge. I could not refuse, though it threw a new delay in our way. But what was my surprize and mortification? – I may add what was the pain I felt also from the position I stood in to your goodness – when I received back with the packet enclosed” (Partington 210-211).

Lady Anne enclosed a letter to Scott from her sister, Elizabeth Hardwicke, who had also planned on including several poems in the volume. Unfortunately, Partington does not include the enclosed letter with Anne’s, though he does include a bracketed note stating “This is an admirable letter from Lady Hardwicke strongly urging that ‘Robin Gray’ should stand alone, and that the other pieces by the sisters (including her own) were not worthy of the famous ballad” (211). From Lindsay’s insistence that the letter was “kindly meant (I am certain) and I dare say –upon the whole- wise,” we can surmise that the enclosed letter was strongly worded, and perhaps even discourteous. Lindsay defers to her family members, explaining to Sir Walter that

“there was no alternative but to abide by the verdict of those who must be more impartial Judges than I can be on the merit of my attempts, or the expediency of letting any work of mine now go to the press save ‘Robin Gray,’ which has been so much contested and denied to me in consequence of my silence as to have become a point connected with my private character, more to me than my fame, which renders me so desirous of having the fact cleared up” (Ibid).

Lindsay adds that she may appear to depart from “the consistency of her former character” by including the other poems, and that she would rather be a “Single-Speech

Hamilton” than seem as if she were trying to gain even more fame (Ibid). Lady Anne would rather be well-known as the author of a single, culturally important work. Lindsay tells Scott, “You may use the first part only of ‘Robin Gray’ and save his ‘Honest fame’ if you please, or you may (to avoid altering my letter) keep all as it now is; but pray do not deny me your introduction, or your name as my Editor, to mark the interest you take in me” (Partington 211-212). Lady Anne’s appeal to Sir Walter reveals the extent to which she valued his involvement with her poetry and viewed him as a collaborator, instead of a collector.

At the end of the letter, Lady Anne makes two requests: that Sir Walter “prevent any copies from being retain’d,” (that is, copies already printed) and direct any expenses to herself or Lady Hardwicke (Partington 212). She then begs his pardon, and asks that he not “cease to take the same interest in me, that I shall continue in happiness and prosperity” (Ibid). Partington includes part of a letter from Sir Walter in response to Lady Anne’s distraught request, which assures her that he would withdraw *Lays of the Lindsays* from the printers, and that he regretted, but respected the decision (Partington n. 212). The letters that Partington includes in his collection do not mention whether Scott actually directed printing expenses to Lindsay, but Partington does mention that “it is typical of her that when she died she was found to have bequeathed £50 to Sir Walter, probably as compensation for the expense he had incurred in printing the *Lays*” (200).

According to Sarah Tytler, “the halting indecision which formed part of her character, and perhaps a little scorn for intellectual influence in women – apart from the *rôle of dame de société*, which she had played well in her day – interfered, and the volume was suppressed” (Tytler 87-88). Tytler’s *Songstresses of Scotland*, as well other

biographies, including the most recent, *Defiance: The Extraordinary Life of Lady Anne Barnard*, by Steven Taylor, all echo this sense of “halting indecision” in everything from choosing a husband to publishing, and indeed, it seems a tradition in most studies of Lady Anne Lindsay. However, Tytler’s suggestion that Lindsay’s refusal to publish was due to “scorn for intellectual influence in women,” is incorrect. If anything, Lady Anne’s decision is indicative of her deep respect for her sister, who urged Lindsay to suppress the publication, and had written two of the poems included in *Lays of the Lindsays*, “On Entic’s Grammar” and “Lines on the Birthday of Lord Viscount Royston.” Lady Anne’s decision to stop printing the collection reflects family pressure, not scorn or indecisiveness.

Publication of Auld Robin Gray in the Bannatyne Club

“Auld Robin Gray,” published by the Bannatyne Club, includes Lindsay’s first letter to Scott from July 1823. The edition was designed to provide evidence of Lady Anne’s authorship of the poem, but it also ties Sir Walter to the history of the ballad. In the introduction, Scott gives the following explanation of his relationship to the poem and its author before citing the initial letter in their correspondence:

“Mrs. Russell, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Russel of Ashesteil, and maternal aunt of the Editor, was upon a visit at the house of Balcarrass when it was written; and as a most intimate friend of the fair Authoress, was admitted to her confidence while it was in the course of being composed. Mrs. Russell sang beautifully, and with much feeling; and it may easily be supposed, that “Auld Robin Gray” was often her choice. Whatever secrecy she might at first think proper to observe, the name of the real Authoress was not with-

held at a later period, when attempts were made to deprive her friend Lady Anne of her just fame. In fact, most of her domestic circle became acquainted with the particulars, and amongst others the present Editor” (1-2).

Sir Walter carefully establishes Lady Anne as the author while preserving her character. His phrase, “attempts were made to deprive her friend Lady Anne of her just fame,” paints the decision to publish the Bannatyne edition as a moral obligation. While Scott focuses the text on preserving Lady Anne’s character, he makes sure to explain his own role in the discovery of the ballad. In a culture which valued the collector as much as the ballad itself, Scott benefited, at least among the members of the Bannatyne Club, as the collector of “Auld Robin Gray.” And his explanation would forever attach his name to the ballad as collector, editor, and collaborator.

The edition includes two continuations of the ballad, which help validate Lady Anne’s claim to “Auld Robin Gray.” In the initial letter to Scott, Lindsay explains that her mother requested a continuation, saying ““Anny, I wish you would tell me how that unlucky business of Jennie and Jamie ended”” (5). While she did sing the continuation to her mother, Lady Anne refused to give her a copy out of “dread” of “being named as an Authoress” (5). She also insisted that “It was not so pleasing as the First; the early loves and distresses of youth go more to heart than the contritions, confessions, and legacies of old age” (5). Lady Anne further explained that she “wrote another version of the Second Part, as coming from Jenny’s own lips, which some people may like the better, from its being in the same measure” (5). While Lady Anne insists, even in the published letter, that the continuations are not “so pleasing as the first,” and even Sir Walter suggests that they may detract from the original by “taking away Robin Gray’s honest fame” despite

their indisputable “poetic beauty,” they are included to serve two important functions. Firstly, they help validate Lady Anne’s claim to authorship and the history of the poem. Secondly, they add intrigue to a poem that had already been well-known for fifty years. Sir Walter’s Bannatyne edition accomplished its goal of proving Lady Anne’s authorship and preserving the most well-known ballad of the period.

Conclusion

Sir Walter’s and Lady Anne’s collaboration on “Auld Robin Gray” and the manuscript of *Lays of the Lindsays* reveals how family pressures and social connections could affect publication, and how both editor and writer could mutually benefit from collaboration. Scott’s family and editorial background provided the basis of his patronage and collaboration with Lindsay. His connections to Lady Anne’s family are what lead to his knowledge of her authorship. Furthermore, Sir Walter’s position as the best-selling writer and editor of his time allowed him the authority to name Lady Anne as the author of “Auld Robin Gray” and attach his own name to the official historical documentation of the ballad. Sir Walter’s combined qualifications and connections gave Lady Anne enough confidence in him to permit his involvement with her work, despite the family pressure to suppress *Lays of the Lindsays*. Although only “Auld Robin Gray” was Lady Anne’s only published work, its publication history is highly revealing, and a close reading of Scott’s and Lindsay’s letters helps scholars to better understand the collaborative relationship between editors and writers of preservationist editions.

We should not treat “Auld Robin Gray,” along with *South Africa a Century Ago*, as Lindsay’s only important literary contributions. Lindsay was not a “Single-Speech Hamilton” (Partington 211). “Auld Robin Gray” exists within a group of other poems,

which were written as part of a larger ballad tradition during the Scottish Enlightenment. While “Auld Robin Gray” is certainly the widest reaching and most popular of Lady Anne’s work, it is by no means her only poem of importance. The ballad is a key part of Scottish literary history, but scholars should treat it as an entryway into Lindsay’s other works, many of which have literary merit. Scott saw the value in all of Lindsay’s work. She never allowed Scott to publish more than a single ballad, but had she permitted the publication of *Lays of the Lindsays*, Lady Anne might be far more well-known today. While Lindsay’s larger body of work has not enjoyed the popularity that it deserves, it is not too late to begin incorporating her work into the ever expanding canon. Almost 200 years later, with no risk of embarrassment to any parties, we should consider including Lindsay’s other poems, and her letters to Walter Scott, in serious scholarship. Like Sir Walter Scott, we should see the historical, social, and economic value of recognizing Lady Anne Lindsay’s work, and understand the class and family restrictions that prevented her from publishing.

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APPENDIX A

“AULD ROBIN GRAY”

When the sheep are in the fauld, when the cows come hame
When a' the weary world to quiet rest are gane,
The woes of my heart fa' in showers frae my ee,
Unken'd by my gudeman, who soundly sleeps by me.

Young Jamie loo'd me weel, and sought me for his bride;
But saving ae crown-piece, he'd naething else beside.
To mak the crown a pound, my Jamie gaed to sea:
And the crown and the pound, oh! they were baith for me!

Before he had been gane a twelvemonth and a day,
My father brak his arm -- our cow was stown away;
My mother she fell sick -- my Jamie was at sea; --
And Auld Robin Gray, oh! he came a-courting me.

My father cou'dna work -- my mother cou'dna spin;
I toil'd day and night, but their bread I cou'dna win.
Auld Rob maintain'd them baith, and, wi' tears in his ee,
Said, Jenny, oh! for their sakes, will you marry me?

My heart it said na, and I look'd for Jamie back;
But hard blew the winds, and his ship was a wrack.
His ship it was a wrack! why didna Jamie dee!
Or, wherefore am I spared to cry out, Woe is me!

My father argued sair -- my mother didna speak,

But she looked in my face till my heart was like to break.
They gied him my hand, but my heart was in the sea;
And so Auld Robin Gray, he was gudeman to me.

I hadna been his wife, a week but only four,
When, mournfu' as I sat on the stane at my door,
I saw my Jamie's ghaist -- I cou'dna think it he,
Till he said, I'm come hame, my love, to marry thee!

O sair, sair did we greet, and mickle say of a';
Ae kiss we took, nae mair -- I bad him gang awa'.
I wish that I were dead, but I'm no like to dee;
For O, I am but young to cry out, Woe is me!

I gang like a ghaist, and I carena much to spin;
I darena think o' Jamie, for that wad be a sin.
But I will do my best a gude wife aye to be,
For Auld Robin Gray, Oh! he is sae kind to me.¹⁰

¹⁰ This is as the poem appears in *Lays of the Lindsays*.

APPENDIX B

“THE PRINCESS EMILY: A TRUE STORY”

Sweet Music, whoe'er thou art, who from the height
Of Scottish mountains takest thy airy flight;
Whose flowing numbers, and whose tender mind,
Delights in actions that are good and kind;
Inspire my measure, at my call attend,
A gentle tale I sing -- Descend! descend!

Nor let us lonely swell the pleasing strain,
Let's call the artless tenants of the plain.

Fly here, ye turtle doves, ye linnets, fly,
Ye matron pelicans, ye larks from high;
Ye little lambs, who know a mother's care;
Ye pitying showers, thou soft refreshing air,
A little while thy balmy course suspend,
A gentle tale I sing -- Attend, attend.

'Twas where the Tay asserts her wide domain,
A Princess lived, and Emily her name;
Born to command, she fill'd a monarch's roll,

But tender was her heart, though firm her soul.
Bless'd with a spouse that she had early chose,
Domestic love was hers, and calm repose.
Nor was this all -- she knew a mother's joy,
And suckled at her breast their darling boy.

'Twas on the dawning of an April morn,
When bursting Nature greets the early horn,
The Princess Emily, with all her court,
Traversed the verdant lawns in rural sport.
From hills to heaths the bounding coursers flew,
Till distant lonely cots attract their view.
There rugged Nature spurn'd the labourer's toil,
And patient Poverty bewail'd the soil.

The Princess paused, and inly grieved to find,
How partial Fortune was 'mongst human kind;
When she beheld, hard by a cottage door,
A weeping figure, tatter'd, old, and poor,

On whose weak knee there something seem'd to lie
Cover'd with rags, offensive to the eye.
And now with palsied zeal her hand begun

To expose her burden to the warming sun,
While from a broken dish she something took,
And wept, and gazed, with many a wistful look.

The Princess check'd her train, and softly stole
To give some comfort to the weeping soul.
"What is thy grief?" said she; "tell all to me." --
The beldam shook her head, "Ah, lady! see."
Uncovering then its face, she did behold
A dying child! it seem'd but three days old.
Some bread and water on its quivering lip,
In vain the parent taught the child to sip;
It could not swallow -- life's short hour seem'd past,
And wearied nature softly sunk to rest.

"O, Heavens!" she cried, "where does the mother stay?" --
"Dear lady, in the ground, she's cold as clay:
My daughter was a flower, but now she's dead,
Nor in the grave my son could lay her head.
The child is starved!" -- "Stop, stop," the Princess cried,
"It must not, shall not, till this means be tried;"
Then bared her bosom. "Give it here," said she,
And laid the ragged infant on her knee.

"It is not dead! see, it begins to move;
It lives -- it breathes -- it sucks -- my little love!"

The astonish'd grandam lifts to heaven her eye,
And thinks an angel brings the kind supply.
While Emily bestows, with tender joy,
The portion of her dear, her darling boy.
Silent she gazed, unutterably mild,
And look'd her feelings down upon the child.
Kind angels view'd the scene from heavenly bowers,
And dropp'd their tender tears in April showers;
While Charity, at Mercy's awful throne,
Records the virtuous action with her own.

"Now speak," said she, "good nurse, thy mournful tale,
Where is thy son? or lives he in this vale?" --
The beldam wept. "Ah! lady, there's my woe,
Far to the wars my only child did go.
His chief required him, and it was his right.
Bravely he fought, and bravely fell in fight.
The tidings reach'd us in an evil hour --
My daughter heard them, and this child was born --

The fever seized her brain, and God saw't best
To take her to himself, -- so she's at rest."

"Kind Heaven," said Emily, "console her grief!
But tell me, mother, pray, who is thy chief?" --
"Sweet madam, he's a Lord of noble fame,
All speak him well, and Henry is his name.
These lands are his, his by his royal wife;
And Henry rules us during Emily's life.
Long may she live, they say she's good and kind, --
Might I but see her ere these eyes grow blind!

I knew her father well." The Princess wept,
But still her secret by her silence kept,
Till Henry's well-known voice behind her grew:
"My love," he cried, "can this be really you?
Far have I traced you o'er this dreary waste,
And little Georgius in my chariot placed.
Sharp are his wants, for you've been long away,
What calls thy tender care, my treasure, say?"

Fair Emily's were eyes of speaking kind,
Which told the tale at once to Henry's mind.

"Sweet theft," he cried, "a female's tender thought,
Ah! why have I this little rival brought?"

"To teach him, Henry, at this early hour,
A Prince's duty with a Prince's power;
No claim, however lowly, to reject,
To pity, comfort, benefit, protect.

"For us this woman's son in battle fell --
For us her daughter fills her 'narrow cell' --
For us this boy shall live, while you, my son,
Shall finish what thy parent has begun.
And if the vital spring now drawn from me,
Conveys thy mother's love and zeal for thee;
Kind Heaven in him her choicest good shall send,
If in a subject Georgius finds a friend."¹¹

¹¹ This is as the poem appears in *Lays of the Lindsays*.