A STUDY OF LIZZIE HIGGINS AS A TRANSITIONAL FIGURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORAL TRADITION IN THE NORTHEAST OF SCOTLAND

STEPHANIE DEBORAH LADD SMITH

M.LITT.
University of Edinburgh
1975
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author's Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Thesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Author's Note

There are several inconsistencies in the typing format, the actual type, and the colour of paper in this study. This was unfortunately unavoidable, as more than one typist was necessarily involved in producing the typescript. It is hoped that these inconsistencies will not mar the content of the study.

Stephanie D.L. Smith
While I can acknowledge the help and inspiration from many people for the original instigation and eventual completion of this study, no expression of gratitude could be considered adequate. To Hamish Henderson of the School of Scottish Studies, I owe much of my enthusiasm, and it was he who first introduced me to Lizzie, a meeting which was the genesis of a fascinating period of learning and study, and the beginning of a rewarding friendship. When I began thinking about doing a study of Lizzie, James Porter, of the University of California, Los Angeles Folklore and Mythology Group, was most encouraging, and provided many valuable suggestions which were ultimately implemented in the study.

Mrs. Ailie Munro, also of the School, has been extremely helpful, both in terms of consultation, as she had previously done a study of Lizzie's ballad repertoire, and in terms of contribution; she very obligingly provided me with the transcriptions for twelve of Lizzie's songs for inclusion in this study.

A person who gave of his time and effort far beyond "the call of duty" is Patrick Shuldham-Shaw, currently editing the Greig-Duncan MSS for publication. He permitted me to examine numerous versions of Lizzie's songs contained in the MSS., and provided many further references for these songs. He also advised me on several aspects of the thesis, for which I am extremely grateful.

D.K. Wilgus, head of the Los Angeles Folklore and Mythology Group, and the U.C.L.A. Folklore Library kindly permitted me to use their facilities during my stays in California. Without this privilege, much of my research would have been delayed or incomplete.
Edgar Ashton, a long-term member of the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society, gave me much of his time and patience in several ways; my recordings of Lizzie's singing in the 1969 Edinburgh Folk Festival sponsored by this society were made by Mr. Ashton, and copied for my use. He also provided access to his massive record collection, enabling me to hear various versions of the songs Lizzie sings, and made many useful suggestions as well as lending me much-needed books.

I gratefully thank Andrew Hunter of Heriot-Watt University, not only for his permission to include three songs of his composition in this study, but for an enjoyable conversation about the songs and folksong in general.

Tom Atkinson, of the School, must be heartily thanked for his help in preparing the supplementary tape for this study.

William Matheson of the Edinburgh University Department of Celtic was a great help in discussing some of Lizzie's songs with me, particularly "MacCrimmon's Lament". He provided me with information I could not otherwise have obtained.

My friends David Stuart and Peter Verity gave me essential assistance on the technical aspects of the thesis. Mr. Stuart also accompanied me on several visits to Aberdeen to see Lizzie, and made several helpful suggestions for the study.

I owe much to Prof. John MacQueen, head of the School, whose initial interest in my topic gave me a strong sense of purpose, and a true sense of the value of Lizzie's heritage. He encouraged me when the completion of my study seemed distant. His guidance has
been absolutely essential in both the beginning and concluding phases of my period of study; without this supervision, I should have surely been lost.

Finally, no person deserves more expression of gratitude than Lizzie herself, who made my study possible, and who gave me many enjoyable hours of her company, conversation, and songs. Few gifts could be more precious, and it gives me great pleasure to sing her songs myself, knowing that in some small way I am taking part in the remarkable process that is the perpetuation of folksong.
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Through focusing on a living traditional singer, Lizzie Higgins of Aberdeen, the oral tradition of the Northeast of Scotland is viewed in several contexts: past, present and possible future. Lizzie is a link between the world of traditional singers who have learned their songs orally, and the world of commercial, revival folk music; these two worlds represent the present two poles of oral tradition in the Northeast. Lizzie, through her immersion in the oral culture of her family, belongs to the oral tradition, and to the thinning number of traditional singers, yet through her involvement in the folk clubs as a performer, is a transitional figure between the private oral tradition and the public revival tradition. Differences between the two traditions emerge from Lizzie's biography and her own comments, as well as insights into Lizzie's perceptions about her singing.

Lizzie's repertoire of fifty-six songs is presented with comments. Her singing style is based partly on her attempt to imitate the sound of bagpipe music by adding decorations to a melody, and partly on her mother's singing style, though mother and daughter differ to a degree.
In an age which makes a cult of the individual, it is strange to find, as Herschel Gower puts it, that:

... the singer himself frequently turns out to be the forgotten man in folklore studies.... He is ... the immediate cultural force by which the songs and ballads are kept alive. But as singer, tradition bearer, and expositor of traditional materials he is invariably neglected as a person and as an individual identifiable in the cultural community.  

Robin Morton says in his essay, "The Singer and the Song",

It is bad enough to neglect the social context of a song but to disregard the singer is, apart from anything else, the height of bad manners. But more -- without the singer, the song becomes an empty husk. The singer is surely, in the final analysis, what gives the song relevance.²

Both writers defend the singer with eloquence, and I find myself in complete agreement. Consequently, I have chosen to study a singer rather than songs, an individual rather than a member of the "anonymous "folk". In fact, the term "folk" has for too long been a sacred cow in folksong scholarship, since it has been employed as a blanket term for the people who have harboured and transmitted oral culture, without any attempt to particularize the individuals who make up this group. Moreover, the term conjures up mental pictures of the illiterate rural songster or taleteller. The pictures are both romantic and inaccurate; oral culture was never owned or produced exclusively by the rural class, but was found in urban areas as well. In any case, we ought to be interested in the individuals, both historic and living, who participated, and continue to participate in, the transmission of songs, tales, anecdotes, riddles, and other forms of oral culture, rather than always dealing with groups.

We should have many more studies of folksingers and their repertoires than we do. The singer has been eyed with distrust by ballad scholars and editors ever since scholarly interest in ballads and other folksongs was
taken up. Some collectors, particularly Sir Walter Scott, while they were not deliberately ignoring the singers who gave them songs, were simply more interested in the songs as a species of poetry or as social records. Discussing Bishop Percy's Reliques and Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Albert Friedman says:

> Like Percy, Scott did not offer his ballads entirely for their intrinsic appeal, but where the reliques were so arranged and discussed as to comment on literary history, the ballads collected in the Minstrelsy were meant to illustrate the turbulent political and social life of the Border. 3

The study of songs and the people who sang them, from an anthropological and sociological point of view, is thus a relatively recent development in folksong scholarship. As Gower indicates, the biography of Mrs. Hogg, James Hogg's mother and an informant of Sir Walter's, "was passed up by Scott and Hogg", and her "comments about the songs -- her own analyses of them -- would undoubtedly have revealed a great deal about the cultural life and attitudes of the older peasants on the Scottish Border". 4 Gower also cites the twentieth century collector Gavin Greig, acknowledged to be one of the great folksong collectors, and his failure to glean biographical information from his contributor Bell Robertson, who might have "shed considerable light on the total folksong complex in Aberdeenshire". 5 These are only two examples of a possibly formidable number of missed opportunities in folksong collection.

Despite Greig's "unturned stone", the twentieth century has been more attentive to the singer, as anthropological-sociological studies have been published in recent years, but far too few. Phillips Barry, a prominent American scholar at the beginning of this century, felt very strongly that ballads and folksongs must be seen in the context of the person who sings them. Of him, A.L. Lloyd says, "he wanted it to be cried from the housetops that a folk singer is a personality, an individual and most of all a creative artist". 6 The impatience that Barry must have felt was indubitably
generated by the all too common concept of the folksinger as a machine churning out songs without expression, emotion, or personal interpretation. Folksingers are often thought to sing without emotion, purely objectively, and are therefore not believed by some to be worth studying. Barry felt that "the individualism of the folk-singer, both consciously and unconsciously exerted, makes the tradition what it is", and that tradition "makes the folksong what it is".  

Something needs to be said about the basic approach of this study. Just as the study of a song without the singer is incomplete, so is the study of a singer without placing him in the context of the tradition of which he is part. In his recent book, The Ballad and the Folk, David Buchan comments:

More and more it becomes obvious that the place of the individual singer within a tradition is of the utmost importance, and that the study of a tradition should begin with the individual singer and work concentrically outwards.  

To work to this end necessarily involves what D.K. Wilgus terms the "functional" approach to folksong, which deals with "the social and psychological function of folksong" and moves "toward an understanding of folksong as an expression of the singer and of the community". This is the general approach which I mean to take in this study; it is to a great extent a subjective approach for the reason that my perceptions and conclusions derive from a personal relationship with only one informant, Lizzie Higgins, and from my involvement in what Lizzie calls the "folk scene". However, I do not believe that these circumstances make the functional approach an invalid one, assuming that a certain level of objectivity is maintained.
Gower provides suggestions for the use of a biographical-sociological method in oral literature:

As an approach to the study of oral literature such a method combines the biographical and analytical and focuses on the singer as a creative representative of the cultural community. It means to be both external and internal and each study of a singer would ideally be complete enough to provide us simultaneously with details of the tradition and ample notes on the individual talent within the tradition.10

This study will attempt to accomplish these aims, using both an external and an internal point of view.

Lizzie Higgins came to my attention first as being the daughter of the well-known Jeannie Robertson, a traditional singer "discovered" in 1953 by Hamish Henderson of the School of Scottish Studies. Jeannie was a rare find for any collector; she knew hundreds of traditional songs including many Child ballads of outstanding quality.11 She was a member of the Scots travellers or tinkers, a cultural group much discriminated against in Scotland to this day;12 she had learned many of her songs from various travelling relatives besides from her mother Maria, who was an excellent singer as well. Jeannie was drawn into the folk club "scene" eventually, until illness forced her to stop performing so frequently after 1963, although she maintained contact with the folk scene. Jeannie died, after a long illness, on the thirteenth of March, 1975.

Naturally, one would expect Jeannie's children to be singers like her and her relatives. Jeannie and her husband Donald, also a traveller, first had a boy, Jimsy, in 1928, and then a girl, Elizabeth, in 1929, but Jimsy died very young. Lizzie was musical, and learned songs from both her parents and Jeannie's mother (Jeannie's father died when Jeannie was a baby), and other relatives as well. She did not, like Jeannie, experience the travelling life, and so was a generation removed from it. After the
end of Jeannie's career in public folksinging, Lizzie began singing in public in the folk clubs, and is now making a career of singing the songs she loves so much.

Lizzie's unusual position of being a traditional singer who is now more actively involved in the commercial folk music industry makes her an extremely interesting person to study. She is, in this way, a transitional figure in the folksong tradition of the Northeast; she is neither a traditional singer untouched by the commercial aspect of folksong, nor a singer who has taken up folksongs from "scratch" for the purpose of earning a living. She is part of what is loosely termed "the revival", although she is not by precise definition a revival singer, one who is consciously trying to revive folksong. This particular subject will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

Lizzie is especially articulate about her singing and her songs, which is an important reason why she was chosen for this study. In order to understand the processes of selection and alteration which operate in any sort of oral transmission, one needs to see how the processes operate on the individual level. A person who cannot tell the researcher or collector why a song appeals to him or why he changes the words and/or tune is obviously less helpful than the person who can. Lizzie is very responsive to any questions put to her, which is an invaluable help.

As a practical consideration, accessibility of an informant is important. Lizzie lives in Aberdeen, permitting relatively frequent visits on my part. My data comes from both recorded conversations and notes from unrecorded conversations. Besides these personal discussions with Lizzie, I have heard her perform in folk festivals and clubs, and
have spoken to acquaintances of hers in what she calls with reverence the "Folk World." Also, I have listened to previous recordings of her made by members of the School of Scottish Studies and by members of the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society, where Lizzie is a well-known figure. Thus this study is not solely based on my own visits to see her and recordings of her in 1973 and 1974, but older recordings as well, to give the study a greater degree of objectivity.

I hope, in this endeavour, to give a biographical sketch of Lizzie, high-lighting personal attitudes which affect her singing, to present her repertoire and her feelings about her songs, and to place her in the oral tradition of the Northeast. My study cannot and will not encompass the structural analysis of tunes. In defence of what may be considered a layman's study of the music of the songs, I quote Wilgus: "Students now recognize the importance of ballad music, and one cannot condemn the scholar who recognizes his limitations and works within them". With all due respect to musicologists' studies, it is my opinion that too many existing studies of singers and their repertoires are overzealous in their attempt to promote the study of tunes, and can go to the extreme of isolating the tunes from the text and the singer. Ignorance of the importance of the music, however, is inexcusable for a folklorist, who should make an effort to be able to read and appreciate the music. Comments, where possible, will be made on the tunes of Lizzie's songs, so as not to omit this aspect of the songs.

Before going on to a detailed discussion of the past and present oral folksong tradition of the Northeast, we must first define the types of songs in question. Lizzie sings songs of six basic types, the first four of which require definition here:
By ballads, we shall mean narrative songs in which, as G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., says, "the emphasis is upon action and dialogue rather than exposition". Leslie Shepard aptly sums up the subject matter of the ballad:

Ballad themes, images and situations precede the ballad form itself, and are found in mythology, primitive religion, folk tales, epics, sagas, troubadour poetry, and nursery rhymes.

The ballad employs a standard diction comprised of "commonplaces"; as Maud Karpeles writes, "A ring is always 'gay gold', a comb is 'ivory', a horse is a 'milk-white steed'"....etc. The characteristics of the ballad are perhaps better known than those of other species of folksongs, as the ballad has been the subject of study for longer, and much has been written about it.

Shepard adds:

The Traditional Ballad is usually defined with reference to Professor Francis James Child's monumental collection of three hundred and five English and Scottish Popular Ballads, completed in 1898. Since that date relatively few additional specimens have been added by other experts. It is convenient for scholars to refer to ballads by the number allocated by Child in his classification.
All the ballads which Lizzie sings can be found in Child's collection, although her versions are often quite different from Child's. They are traditional ballads because they have been handed down to her by her parents, who in turn received them from their parents. She is thus a traditional singer, having learned most of her songs orally from her parents and relatives, and she sings traditional songs.

Broadside ballads are so-called because of the manner in which they were printed, beginning in the sixteenth century, and possibly even earlier. Laws remarks:

The word 'ballad' is loosely used in this connection since it may mean any song or series of verses, narrated or otherwise, which appeared on one penny or half-penny sheets. The broadside ballad in this larger sense only infrequently achieved the status of folksong and much less frequently remained in living tradition. A small percentage of the printed broadsides, however, had sufficient appeal to be remembered and passed on from one generation to the next. These were subjected to those variations which creep into all folksong, and a few of them became almost indistinguishable in quality from some of the better Child ballads.

The songs printed on the broadside sheets were of two main types, the first being verse written by "city authors out of touch with folk tradition". The second type was traditional verse somehow garnered by the broadside printer. Thus some traditional ballads made an appearance as broadside ballads, having been taken from oral tradition and printed. Laws points out that while the distribution of poor, often rewritten texts of traditional ballads was unfortunate, the printing of good traditional texts had a good effect:

Large numbers of people who might otherwise never have learned the old ballads were by this method able to increase their store of folksong and to insure its vigorous continuance.
Moreover, as he adds, the printed texts did not become known as the version of a particular ballad, as so many critics are led to believe; he says, very rightly, that "once a printed text is established in tradition it is again subject to the same influences toward variation that operate in all oral literature".23

The subject matter and style of broadside ballads differs from the subjects and techniques of the Child or traditional ballads. Laws categorizes the typical broadside subject matter into three groups. The first group contains broadsides dealing with news topics, such as "obituaries and accounts of battles, treason, murders, storms, executions, and events at court".24 The second group contains "pieces of a more timeless nature including religious, historical, and legendary tales, and romantic or humorous pieces ... their authors sometimes assumed the role of moralist and emphasized the lessons to be learned from their ballads".25 The third group is made up of ballads written "to supply dramatic or sensational news even when it was unavailable".26 A modern analogue to such stories is the often publicized "Loch Ness monster" who surfaces in the newspapers whenever the editors feel the need of providing sensationalism and promoting sales.

The style of the broadsides distinguishes them quite easily from the Child ballads in most cases, although as we have said, some of the Child ballads appeared as broadsides but had a traditional origin. The broadsides often begin with a "Come all ye", a device probably popular with ballad writers who also hawked their own productions. The broadside ballad uses a more personal approach than the Child ballads, and is commonly cast in the first person.27 Laws observes that "where the Child ballad is content with suggestion and implication, the broadside spells out to the listener its advice and its warnings".28 The characters usually lack substance;
that is, as Laws indicates, they "are usually stereotypes whose actions and reactions are largely determined in the minds of the ballad makers". 29

Lyric folksongs are more difficult to define, but they are primarily an expression of emotion, rather than narrative in content. Consequently they tend to be more subjective than the Child ballads, but do not employ the "Come all ye" method so characteristic of the broadsides.30 Wilgus describes lyric songs as "lacking a coherent, developed story and consisting of images held together by a tone or mood ... The songs differ greatly in age, origin, and stability".31 Karpeles comments that "the majority [of lyric songs] are concerned with the diverse aspects of love. Love and courtship, without any extraneous element, form perhaps the largest class...".32 It might be remarked with reference to Wilgus's comment, that because of the emphasis on emotion, lyric verses may often be rearranged without damaging the sense of the song, though this by no means applies to them all.

The category of children's songs, street songs, and music hall songs is a difficult one to define, save to say that street songs and music hall songs often become children's songs, and that children's songs may also include fragments of Child ballads and other folksongs. Lizzie's children's songs consist of a Child ballad fragment ("The Mermaid" No. 289), several Aberdeen street songs, and some humorous music hall songs.

With these definitions set out, it is now possible to examine the oral tradition and more specifically the folksong tradition of the Northeast. Lizzie comes from the city of Aberdeen, but the Northeast oral tradition behind her covers all of Aberdeenshire and a bit of the bordering counties. Buchan, speaking principally of the ballad tradition in this area, states:
Northeast balladry constitutes the richest regional tradition in Britain. The warrant for this assertion lies in both the quantity and the quality of the area's ballads: the tradition has more recorded ballads than any other and it includes what good authority has judged the "best" ballads.  

Balladry is not the only product of the rich Northeast oral tradition; folklore, especially that of the supernatural, abounds. The area, having once been Gaelic-speaking, assimilated bits of Celtic folklore, as well as having been in early trade contact with the Scandinavian countries from the twelfth century onwards. The Scandinavian connection partially explains the abundance of supernatural folklore in the Northeast, since it is so prominent an element in Scandinavian folklore, as well as in Celtic folklore.

Buchan also observes that the dialect of the Northeast "is today the Scottish dialect most stubbornly resisting anglicization", and that "its vocabulary and idiom portray certain characteristics of the local folk". Therefore, the Aberdeenshire or Northeast tradition in general has distinct characteristics which set it apart from other regional oral traditions. It is a rich tradition that Lizzie and her ancestors grew up in and perpetuated.

A few words must be said about the expression "oral tradition" before going any further. The term "oral" is not easily dealt with in the context of folksong and folk literature. Buchan writes:

> It is used specifically, to refer to the tradition of nonliterate societies, and it is also used generally to refer to that tradition and the word-of-mouth tradition of literate societies.  

The Northeast oral tradition was primarily at first a rural one and a nonliterate one, the participants in the tradition being "tenant-farmers, sub-tenants, tradesmen, and families" of the typical social-settlement unit, what Buchan refers to as the "fermtoun". Buchan puts the coming of general literacy in the region as being after 1750.
The tradition fell into different hands when literacy gradually became more important. Buchan comments:

In a society where growing industrialization, commercialization and urbanization demanded increasingly the skills of literacy, ballad-singing remained a common practice with those whose mode of life and work asked least in the way of literate skills. Ineluctably the ballads descended in the social scale, passing from the tenant-farmers to the ploughmen to, nowadays, the "travelling folk" and the keeping of such a superb singer as Jeannie Robertson. Buchan does not go beyond this stage in discussing the evolution of the Northeast ballad tradition. We are presenting a study of Jeannie Robertson's daughter who, brought up in the city, has received the basically rural heritage of the songs and stories passed down in her family, and has taken her songs to the public through recordings and through performances. Through her we can see how part of the Northeast oral tradition has changed, in both function and content.

Buchan's concepts of oral tradition and transmission are helpful in introducing the problem of literacy and the effects of print, and the ultimate effects on the quality of both the material passed on to the next generation, and the method of transmission; hence, we shall continue to refer to The Ballad and the Folk. Buchan distinguishes between oral transmission, verbal transmission, and transitional methods of transmission linking the two extremes. He then divides the development of the Northeast ballad tradition into three stages: 1) the oral stage of tradition (1350 - 1750); 2) the transitional stage of verbal tradition (1750 - 1830); and 3) the modern stage of verbal tradition (1830 to the present). He explains, "The defining feature of each stage is, in social terms, the level of literacy and, in literary terms, the consequent methods of composition and transmission."
In the first stage, prior to 1750, the method of composition and transmission of ballads is described by Buchan in this way:

The maker learns from older traditional singers not only the individual stories but also the tradition's structural and formulaic patternings, and re-creates the ballad-stories every time he performs. He learns specific structures and formulas but, more important, learns how to expand and create anew on the basis of the old. 42

After 1750, the Northeast underwent sweeping changes. Buchan says, in the "eighty years from 1750 to 1830 ... there took place an agrarian revolution and, consequent upon these, a social revolution".43 During this period, which, as we have noted, he calls the transitional stage of verbal tradition, the Northeast moved toward general literacy, which was achieved sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century.44 In this period as well, we find that there was a "rapid growth of popular literature, the chapbooks and broadsheets".45 One example Buchan cites as proof is a broadside collection which had been printed at Aberdeen "as early as 1775 and 1776".46 The broadsides and chapbooks were curious mixtures of both subject matter and language, and Buchan hits upon a crucial point when he notes:

Once the essentially oral nature of the traditional ballad had been broken down, the formulaic language was mixed with, and replaced by, a variety of other kinds of language, English and Scots, literary and sub-literary, artificial and vernacular. 47

Other folksongs too were affected by the mixing of Northeast dialect, literary Scots, literary English, and vernacular forms of both Scots and English.

It must be kept in mind, also, that in 1765, Bishop Percy's Reliques was published, followed by David Herd's Ancient and Modern Songs in 1769, and James Johnson's The Scots Musical Museum (1787-1803), largely contributed
to by Robert Burns. Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* appeared in 1802, and Robert Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs* in 1806. The 1820's were extremely productive years in terms of Scottish ballad collections; one need only consult Alexander Keith's introduction to Greig's *Last Leaves* to see the many collections published in this period, all containing Northeast ballads. 48

The broadsides and chapbooks would have been more the reading stuff of farmers and other rural folk than the ballad collections, but some may have seen the collections, and one would expect that the Aberdeen inhabitants were exposed to both. Buchan emphasizes that "the literacy achieved by many northeasterners was of a fairly minimal kind" since it took time before the available education reached a desirable standard. 49 Buchan, having said this, proceeds to remark on the alteration of "the old oral culture" as a result of the new literacy. He says:

First, it changed the modes of thought, and consequently slackened people's adherence to traditional belief and custom. Second, it reduced the importance of the oral community's arts and entertainments -- proverbs, riddling sessions, tale-telling; the once significant functions fulfilled by these in a nonliterate society were largely usurped by the sophisticated alternatives of literate society. Third, when the verbal artefacts of these arts and entertainments -- such as ballads -- were carried over to the new culture, literacy ensured that they differed in kind. 50

This is all true up to a certain point. It is folly, however, to conclude, as many critics do, that once "the folk" were able to read, their dependence on oral tradition ceased altogether. Today, most people in Scotland and in the Western world can read and write, but one can find people who are not "readers", although they have the ability to read; their lives are quite dependent on orally transmitted information and self-expression. Lizzie herself is a case in point; she is capable of writing but she
expresses herself better in speech, learning and using often complex vocabulary which she has picked up orally. Her writing is unequal to her speaking abilities.

That general literacy and the appearance of printed songs disrupted the method of ballad performance (oral composition) is not difficult to understand, but it is questionable whether oral products such as riddles and tales ceased to have significance in people's lives. Jokes, puns, tales, and songs are still to be found everywhere today. There was a decrease in emphasis on these oral forms as entertainments, but one must tread with caution when one suggests that the change was a quick and total one.

Moreover, such a conclusion leads on to the inevitable opinion that the outcome of the publication of broadsides, chapbooks, and ballad collections was the stabilization and immobilization of song texts, which, again, would work against the impulse of the oral re-creation of songs. This is dangerous ground. In our earlier discussion of the broadside ballads, we noted Laws' observation that once a printed text becomes absorbed into tradition "it is again subject to the same influences toward variation...". Shepard has a similar opinion:

The original impulse in balladry belongs to an ancient past, but ever since the written tradition came into being it has helped to reinforce and stabilize oral tradition, and in some instances has given rise to new oral traditions.

Therefore, one must be wary of making too unqualified a statement on the effect of print and literacy on oral tradition. Printing has been both a negative and positive force in the oral tradition, if we accept Laws' and Shepard's theories, which seem very logical.

Moving from the "first stage of verbal tradition" in which "a transitional method of transmission exists whereby the singers adopt a loosely re-creative attitude to their texts", Buchan concludes that rote
memorization of songs characterizes the modern stage of verbal tradition. While it is true that many singers today memorize texts from print, it would be difficult to accept this generalization without qualification.

If we were to suppose that printed texts stopped the process of oral variation and re-creation, why do we then still have many versions of Northeast ballads and songs collected in this century? In addition, how then can we account for the existence of singers like Lizzie and her late mother, who learned most of their songs orally?

Buchan's demarcations of the different types of tradition (oral and verbal) and transmission (re-creative, loosely re-creative, and memorization) are useful only up to a point, as indicating general trends, but not as unrestricted truths. He does not deal adequately with this matter of memorization, and ultimately, does not discuss the effect of the mass media on the current folksong tradition. As Hamish Henderson points out, in a review of Buchan's book:

> Although it is quite true that one must ... take reluctant cognizance of a dwindling heritage, it is still also possible to have recourse to still-operative spatial awareness in order to redress the balance. From Jeannie (Robertson), and from people like her, the ballads have now moved -- thanks to the present folk revival -- to Allan Glen's schoolboys, Dick Vet students, Lochee housewives, UCS shop stewards, and indeed probably a wider section of the Scottish people than ever before.

Buchan fails to take the revival into account, which, if it has succeeded in spreading ballads and folksongs to all corners of the population as Henderson says, is a fairly serious omission. The revival will be discussed later at length. Buchan also implies that the creative element is utterly gone from the ballad tradition (and we may say, more generally, the folksong tradition) of the Northeast, which is unjustified, as we shall see.

By Buchan's stipulations, we would properly have to consider the current Northeast tradition a verbal one. To speak of the tradition from
which Lizzie comes as solely verbal, however, would be misleading, as should be evident from the previous discussion. For our purposes here, we will refer to the tradition as an oral one, particularly to distinguish it from a tradition of literary folklore and folksongs in the region.

At this point we must consider proof of the vitality and variety of the Northeast oral folksong tradition, what Patrick Shuldham-Shaw regards as "Scotland's largest and most important folk-song collection", compiled by Gavin Greig and the Rev. James Bruce Duncan. We have made reference to Last Leaves, which was published after both Greig and Duncan were dead, and contains "about 13 per cent" of the total Greig-Duncan collection, which remains in manuscript form. It is exceedingly fortunate that Shuldham-Shaw is preparing the MSS. for publication, as it is a critically important collection, and both Greig and Duncan deserve far more credit and appreciation for their accomplishment than has ever been given them.

Greig was born in 1856 in Aberdeenshire, at Parkhill. He received an M.A. degree from Aberdeen University, and soon became the dominie at Whitehill, near New Deer, a position he held for his life. He died in 1914. If one reads Greig's many obituaries in the local newspapers of Aberdeenshire, one soon realizes that he was a man of extraordinary abilities; he was a musician, a writer of novels, a playwright, a folksong scholar, and a schoolmaster. His colleague and co-editor, Duncan, wrote Greig's obituary notice for the Journal of the Folk Song Society, and provides us with many interesting comments on Greig's attitudes towards his collection of folksongs. Greig's collection began in 1905 with the invitation of the New Spalding Club of Aberdeen to compile a collection of traditional folksong to be published by the Club. Duncan remarks about Greig's early doubts:
He was at first doubtful whether sufficient material existed to justify the undertaking; but enquiry by and by convinced him that there was scope for it, and later labour revealed abundant material.

Duncan became, in his own words, a "collaborator" in the project, which he described in this way:

The object was simply to gather and faithfully record from the memory of the people, chiefly in the North-East of Scotland, all that could be found of traditional songs and tunes ... both editors ... found that, though the old tunes and words had withdrawn from public gaze, and were never heard or recognized in musical assemblies, there were many old and middle-aged people that remembered them.

Duncan was responsible for approximately one-third of the total collection, and he wrote far more notes to the texts and tunes than Greig. He was eight years Greig's senior, and outlived him by three years. He was born near Whitehill, where Greig became dominie, and also received his degree from Aberdeen University. He studied divinity in Edinburgh and Leipzig, and became minister for over forty years to the United Free Kirk at Lynturk.

A curious aspect of the Greig-Duncan collaboration is the fact that they seldom met and consulted each other through correspondence, throughout which they "addressed each other formally -- 'Dear Mr Duncan', or 'Dear Mr Greig' ''. Despite this formality, they seem to have been of accord on most points critical to their work, and both men seem to have been ahead of their time in their attitudes and practices; as Shildham-Shaw says:

They both realised to the full the necessity for going out with an open mind and noting the material exactly as they found it ... They both disapproved of the earlier practice of divorcing ballad texts from their tunes ... They both understood to the full the meaning and implications of oral transmission and the limitless variants that are thus produced.

The collection contains Child ballads, broadsides, lyrics and fragments, all recovered from Northeast informants. Greig spurred on regional interest in folksongs through his articles on the subject in the Buchan Observer from
late 1907 until 1911, in which appear some of the folksongs in the MSS. Had Greig and Duncan lived longer, they would have left us more in published form, but as it is, we are fortunate to have the MSS.

The MSS. is significant to us here in this study because thirty-two out of fifty-five of Lizzie's songs can be found in either complete or fragmentary form, usually with tunes, in the collection. As the collection was drawn from the oral tradition in Aberdeenshire, the importance of the MSS. to this study should be quite apparent. Comparisons between MSS. versions and Lizzie's provide us with clues regarding the stability of particular texts in oral tradition, as well as giving some indication of a song's popularity in the Northeast. This will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, which concerns Lizzie's repertoire.

In conclusion, it is my intention not only to present a portrait of Lizzie and her songs, and her feelings about them in her own words, but to demonstrate that she is not merely a passive and imitative transmitter of folksongs, but a person who brings a high degree of what Barry calls "individual artistry" to her songs. She indeed transforms a form of folk art often considered to be impersonal and objective into something highly personal, and yet not so exclusively personal that others cannot learn songs from her. This conscious quality of her singing is one reason why she is a transitional figure in Northeast song tradition, as we will see. She is a link between the world of traditional singers and the commercial music world. The effects of a commercial audience on Lizzie's singing will be examined in addition, in hopes of some conclusions on the general effects of commercialism and the mass media, and their role in the Northeast folksong tradition today.
CHAPTER TWO

The programme for the 1973 Aberdeen Folk Festival makes this comment:
"Visitors to the festival will have the rare experience of hearing a great traditional singer in her prime when Lizzie Higgins takes the stage". Indeed, anyone who has heard Lizzie sing, publicly or privately, would surely recognize the truth in this statement. It is certainly a rare experience to hear a singer whose repertoire has come mostly from oral rather than printed sources, moreover one who has crossed the bridge between the amateur and the professional, as Lizzie has. Her background, her personality, and her contact with the professional and commercial folk music industry have placed her in a position occupied by no other traditional singer currently involved in the folksong revival.

In a very real sense, Lizzie's life from childhood has been directed toward the day that she first sang in public, at the 1968 Aberdeen Folk Festival. Her background is of great importance in the understanding of her adult personality and her present musical predilections. Her parents were both musical, in different ways, and both were travelling people or Scots tinkers, who knew the travelling life. Her mother, Regina (Jeannie) Robertson Higgins, is now well-known internationally by both folksong enthusiasts and folklorists, although she was forced by illness to stop singing as frequently as she had been in the folk clubs after 1963, until in the late 1960s she could no longer sing due to the effects of a stroke. Jeannie was the first of the travelling people to be awarded the M.B.E. for her services to folksong. Her recent death was a blow to all those who knew her and knew of her. Donald Higgins, Lizzie's father, who died in 1971 of lung cancer, was a champion piper, as was his brother Isaac who is still alive, and has been with Lizzie's family since he was sixteen.
Jeannie was born in Aberdeen, in 1908, but her early life was completely different from Lizzie's. The contrast is interesting. Jeannie knew the rigours of the travelling life from the very beginning. Her parents, Maria Stewart Robertson and Donald Robertson, and their family lived in Aberdeen during the winter, but during the warmer months would travel around the country in caravans, pulled by horses. Her mother would sell different sorts of goods. They picked berries in Blairgowrie, as other travellers did. There were ceilidh evenings around the campfire when Jeannie was small, and her mother was one of the good singers. In an interview with Herschel Gower, Jeannie says:

We always used to travel with members of my mother's family, the Stewarts. When we come to some of the campin' grounds, there were other families -- no relation to you, but travellers too... mony's the time you might see seven or eight families at the camp fire. You had got to have somethin' to pass the time by... Amongst my people there was fiddlers, accordion players, squeeze box players, mouth organ players, pipe players, and sometimes a lot of very good singers.3

This description tells a lot about Jeannie's environment from her youth onwards, and contrasts with the childhood that Lizzie experienced.

When, at the age of nineteen, Jeannie married Donald Higgins (he was the same age), the couple settled in Aberdeen on a more permanent basis than Jeannie had ever known. Their first child was a boy, Jimmy or Jimsy as he was called. Lizzie was born on September 20, 1929, fifteen months younger than her brother. She has very good recollection of her childhood and youth, which to her were the happiest times of her life. One fact stands out immediately: that she never knew the travelling life as did her mother, except for a brief stay in a caravan in Banchory during World War II, and her consequent development as a folksinger has taken another path from Jeannie's.

Lizzie says emphatically that she has a perfect memory from the age of four, and her memories are very vivid ones. At an early age, for
instance, both Lizzie and her brother had definite notions about what they wanted for their lullabies. Lizzie comments:

Jeannie used to sing children's lullabies, but I didn't like lullabies. I used to ask Jeannie to sing to me always every night afore I'd go to sleep — up until about eleven. Jeannie sat at the edge of my bed, and sang to me "Lord Lovat"... it wis jist a beautiful ballad, an' I idolized this ballad... An' then my brother who was alive at the time... he always asked for -- "The Gallowa' Hills"... 'e wouldn't go to sleep without this... ballad sung... An' yet we knew every song that Jeannie had. She had hundreds of them. 4

Lizzie was, from the start, exposed to the vast repertoire of her mother, which was largely from Jeannie's mother Maria, and other travellers.

Besides her Child ballad lullaby, Lizzie was also treated to pipe music on certain nights. Her father told her that even at the age of two, she loved the pipes, and since she couldn't diddle the tunes, she would dance on her father's knee and hum with him while he diddled the tunes. 6 This love of pipe music was to be one of the most significant influences on her adult singing style.

When Lizzie was about four, her brother five, their father took each of their hands, to see if either had the "trademark" of a piper, "crookit crannies", or crooked "pinkies". Lizzie explains this bit of folklore:

... Goin' back hundreds an' hundreds of years... the clans people looked... at their newborn baby boys to see if they had the mark... of great pipers... My father had the two misshaped crookit crannies, and the misshapen second fingers as well... It's a rare gift o' God, you can put it like 'is. 7

Lizzie had the crookit crannies but her brother did not. This seems to symbolize the dichotomy which existed between Lizzie and her brother.

Jimsy loved pipe music, and his father wished for him to become a piper, but the boy excelled in ballad singing, taking after his mother in voice and choice of songs. Lizzie, on the other hand, inclined after her father, and preferred pipe music to all others. Had female pipers been accepted
when she was growing up, her father would have taught her to play the pipes, but he did not think it was proper to do so. As it was, her singing style developed into what she calls "pipin' style", with more ornamentation than what she calls her mother's "ballad style".

The interesting point about the crooked crannies is that even though Lizzie regards this as folklore, she still feels that she has the mark of a piper, and that her singing in "pipin' style" fulfils the thwarted desire to become a piper. The influence of pipe music on Lizzie's style is so important that it will be discussed at greater length later.

While Lizzie did not experience the travellers' camp fire entertainments, she recalls ceilidhs and gatherings at her home as early as 1934. Sounding much like her mother, but with more unconscious humour, Lizzie describes these affairs:

It was a different world then, with a different ways of life. There was no televisions, very little -- few wirelesses, an' very few grammyphones. An' a': the entertainment people got was sittin' in their drawing rooms, playing pianos or playing with the instrument they could play. Well, none of my family could play pianos, and we didn't have a drawing room, we were only poor people. But my father -- and his brother -- were two great champion pipers. At the time, as young men, they were the best in the Northeast of Scotland. And -- to play the pipes -- is -- you've got to have terrible feelin', an emotional feelin' to be a piper. See? An' they used to play this, an': our friends would come from far an' near, come twenty, thirty mile by bus, or trains, whatever was goin', 'cause poor folk didn't have cars in that days. An' they would all drive in an' congregate in my mither's small house. An' then, each man, good an' bad pipers, 'id take a turn on the pipes... An' then nobody said, "He's nae good", or "He's the best", there was no competitive spirit... Then somebody maybe a very good traditional violinist, fiddler. An' he would play the fiddle. Somebody else with an accordion.... Then naturally, when a' the -- music, last drops o' music was squeezed out o' the musicians, then it was time for the singin'.

Already the programme sounds full, but apparently the ceilidh had only begun at this point.
Lizzie goes on to describe the singing part of these family and friend gatherings, and how she felt, as a child, when she was asked to sing.

... the singin' -- wasnae pop songs in that days. It was whit we know now as folksongs. But we called them that days, the aal' songs. We knew they were the tradition of the people, but we -- we jist called them aal' songs but, now we know it's folksong. And Jeannie would be asked to sing... "Oh Jeannie, ye're a good singer, go on an' sing us "Lord Lovat" or go on an' sing "She's Only My Auld Shoes", eh, picked a request... an' she wid sing a couple a these songs. An' get a great appreciation from her people. Then, it was maybe some man-body. Wha'd say, "Och well, I could gie ye a song". So he could sing, whaiver he wis... an' we went roond a' the big grown-ups. Then the little kids, two or three little kids in the house... the grown-ups used to smile at them an' say, "What about a song frae youse?".... Well, I was one of the shyest of the kids. Eh -- they didn't have to preach on my brither to sing... He was a bonnie singer... He sung like Jeannie. Traditional ballad, classical ballad style though he was only a wee boy.... An' I'd be standin' back, I was always the shy one, like. In this field, in singin' field... I used to say, "No, I'm nae gonna sing..." An' my father'd say, "Look, I'll mak her sing. Go on an' sing for me, bairn".... So I'd stand in front o' him, regardless of anybody else in that house, knew all that people, just stared at my father's eyes, never closed my eyes, felt shy but I kinned controlled it, an' I would sing same way as I sing today... all these relations... were right tooken aback, a wee kiddie, singin' like the pipes wi' a human voice.

In this description, Lizzie obviously distinguishes between her brother's singing style, which was like Jeannie's, and her own style, which she feels was piping style, even at so early an age. Actually, in the last few years of her club performances, her singing has acquired more ornamentation than it had when she first started singing professionally, but she feels strongly that this decorative style had its roots this far back, when her father taught her "piping songs" which she sang at these ceilidhs.

Another item of interest in this description is Lizzie's discussion of the "aal' songs" and "folksongs". She is well aware of the different categories of music, and of the terms used by folklorists also, a phenomenon of recent years in which traditional singers or storytellers pick up the jargon of the collector who records their material.
Lizzie is still shy with certain audiences, and when she is, one can almost visualize her as a child at these ceilidhs, needing to be prodded to sing by her father. The memory of looking at her father and trying to overcome her shyness while singing is still very vivid to her, and it is obvious that from her earliest years her father definitely had more influence with her than Jeannie did. It was just the reverse with Lizzie's brother. She openly admits to this side-taking in the family, and it was to have a telling effect on her song repertoire as she grew up.

While she was shy when singing in front of adults, Lizzie seems to have been completely at ease with her contemporaries. She was the tomboy leader of the kids' gangs in the section of tenement buildings where she lived, at 21 Causewayend. An impish look comes over her face when she recalls these carefree days, remembering adventures, dares, and a haunted house, which she says "was a real genuine hoose": 11 Lizzie would sit in the trees around the house and wait for a glimpse of the ghost, who never appeared, but the children scared each other adequately with their imaginary sightings.

One daily event in the wintertime, not to be missed, was the lighting of the street lamps. An old age pensioner went around lighting the paraffin street lamps with a long pole. Lizzie says that there were perhaps twenty or thirty children following him, singing street songs and other ditties. It was an elaborate ritual:

... we would link arrums, a hale length of us, an' then we, we a' singin', he'ld be back to front o' us, laughin' tae us an' speakin' tae us an' askin' u: "Do youse ken this song? Sing me that song", he used to ask requests ...

... An' then at the Tarry Brig, he had to go up another area of the town, so he used to say, "That's the last lamp lit tonight, kids. Hame you's goin' now". An' he could see us gang... three hundred yards doon to whaur he met us, on the centre o' our big street. 12
She regards these days as among the happiest of her childhood. She remembers some, but not all, of the street songs the children sang then; she finds it takes "a bit o' mindin'", but sings a few of them that she has been able to recall when she performs.

An aspect of Lizzie's early life very different from Jeannie's was the advent of motion pictures. Movie stars became the centres of cults among the children of Aberdeen, not to mention the adults. Lizzie expounds at length on Shirley Temple, who was her contemporary. She remembers a cousin paying to kiss Clark Gable in a wartime fund-raising booth. As Lizzie says of the film stars, "They became a part of people's lives".  

When asked if going to the films was a special treat, she replied:

I'is in the fillums six nights a week an' once every Saturday children's matinee!... Seven times a week. So it wisnae a treat. An' my mother an' father went with us... I think it jist took ye awa' in a different world frae yer ain life.  

For Jeannie, escape would have been mainly through ceilidhs and gatherings, when public entertainments did not impinge much on one's life. The invention, improvement, and distribution of communication devices such as wireless, films, and gramophones during Lizzie's childhood must have affected her, perhaps decreasing her dependence on gatherings for entertainment, and therefore the likelihood of her retaining a repertoire of traditional songs. On the other hand, she may have found that the onslaught of the mass media made her more determined to hold on to the "aal' songs". One needs to realize that Jeannie's early life was more conducive to the perpetuation of old songs and instrumental music, as it was the prime form of amusement among her people, both in a group or in a single household. This is one of the reasons why collectors have found veritable gold mines of songs, music, and tales among the travelling people, particularly those of the older generation.
Lizzie is not as enthusiastic about her schooling. She liked the school in Causewayend which she attended from the age of four until the age of twelve, when the family moved to Banchory to get away from wartime Aberdeen, where there was an occasional bomb. The headmaster at Causewayend was fond of Lizzie, and she remembers that "he was always singin' Robert Burns's songs. An' always -- learnin' us poetry. An' always had us singin'". He chose her to entertain the other children in the air raid shelters during the war years, when the alerts went. She explains, "I could sing the kids' school songs as well which I learned from the schoolteachers. But they asked me to sing the old songs".

In 1942, Lizzie's parents decided to make the move to Banchory. Jeannie told Herschel Gower about the situation in Aberdeen prior to their departure:

... I cudnae bide in the hoose when the sirens went. I had a smothery kind o' feelin' wi' a terrible fear. So Donald said, "I'm gang to the country and not jeest be blown to dust..." Donald was beginnin' to be -- I suppose he was gettin' workit up wi' nerves and things. My boy was deid by this time and my girl Lizzie was jeest a bairn in school. So I said, "We'll gang tae the country", after the next bombs had killed forty people. But we didnae hae the money tae buy the caravan, and I said, "I suppose I'll jeest have to bide in a camp". And we had been bidin' in the hoose so lang that we had turned saft.

As it turned out, the family went to Banchory, and first built a hut to stay in. Jeannie was used to coping in such situations, and she and Donald, his brother Isaac, and Lizzie stayed in the hut for the winter. Jeannie added to Prof. Gower that in time they were able to buy a float and horse, and they grew flax; the government paid for the pulled flax. The money earned from this and other work (Jeannie sold food items) enabled them to buy a caravan. They shared a camp with other travellers, and managed as best as they could.
This must have been Lizzie's closest exposure to the life her mother had known, and certainly the entertainment at Banchory was at the campfire, with singing and music-making, not at the cinema. All the same, Lizzie did not like the stay in Banchory. She comments:

't was better there. But I didnae like Banchory.
I likit Aberdeen, war or no war. I loved Aberdeen.
An' my own friends. I was very lonely at Banchory.
Headmaster hated me, an' I hated him. 19

The Headmaster at Banchory Academy seems to have precipitated Lizzie's leave-taking, because she admits to having enjoyed certain school subjects immensely. When speaking of her favourite subjects, she emphasizes that they were subjects with a "tendency towards folklore": Bible, history, and stories that the teachers told. 20 She has a definite pride in the fact that she has always loved any form of what she considers folklore.

Folklore is divided into two categories with Lizzie, though both of these go by the same name. She distinguishes in conversation bits of folk belief which she knows to be "old wives' tales" from lore she has grown up with and believes in all sincerity. (The crooked crannies fall into the latter category.) It is an odd but charming mixture of the oral culture from which she comes, and an enquiring and perceptive mind which has led her to read books on folklore, and to acquire some of the knowledge of the collectors that have come to see her mother, and more recently, herself.

Lizzie left school at the age of fourteen to work in the mills in Aberdeen. This work proved a disaster for her; she was a spinner, and soon contracted mill fever, not an uncommon occurrence. She was exempt by the doctor from work, and for a while was not employed. When she was fifteen and a half, she went "into the fish". In Aberdeen, this was the best-paying work a woman and sometimes even a man could get. It was not for those with a weak constitution, however, and the new young employees were initiated into the fish by being stripped naked in front of the other workers. One had to be able to defend oneself by being tough, by having both emotional and physical stamina.
There were different types of jobs within the fish trade, and Lizzie worked her way into filleting, a specialized branch of work with several types of filleting as well. She became a lemon sole specialist. This work, besides requiring agility with sharp knives to cut the bone off the fillet, also entailed standing in ice water up to the knees (one wore boots), and loading lorries with heavy boxes of fish. The fish workers had an eight hour day in theory, but often had to work until 10 p.m. if required, and they received no overtime pay compensation. There were also no unions to protect the workers from such injustices. One could always be out of work suddenly, especially in the winter, and as a result many worked twelve, twelve and a half hours, six days a week in order to save up against a layoff. The fish work was neither glamorous nor easy, but it was high-paying, despite the refusal of some fish bosses to give their workers any concessions in the wretched working conditions.

In 1949, when Lizzie was nineteen, she left the fish briefly, taking a job as an auxiliary nurse at a hospital in Aberdeen. She enjoyed this work, and hoped to take some training which would have given her a career in nursing. An unfortunate incident with an aggressive young fellow nurse ended in Lizzie's dismissal, much as the matron disliked losing her. Out of work, Lizzie told her story to a fish boss, who sympathized, and he hired her immediately.

The fish was really Lizzie's only alternative for work, as there was a stigma attached to people who had worked at the fish, and this, coupled with her dismissal from the hospital, made any other type of work, such as shop assistance, impossible to obtain. Lizzie was a good fish filleter, however, and certainly earned her wages. She was so competent that she won a filleting championship for Aberdeen and the Northeast of Scotland in 1958, when she was twenty-eight. She got the nickname "The Fastest Knife Alive".
and held the championship for four years. Lizzie comments on the championship and her work in general:

There'd to be no tears, no destroyin' o' that fillets. I won the championship that day. Little did I know 'ere wis two men, put on me every day for four years, I had to do the same quota in weight every day. It near put me mad. The mental strain involved alone. 'Cause filleting a fish, ye're nae cuttin' a fish off a bone. Ye're nae in a fish hoose. Filletin' a fish is like a work of art. Hasnae got to be ... damaged, cut, rippit, raggit, it's got to be shaved like a man. An' there gotta be no bnes down the middle. 'Cause if anybody swallowed a bone, stuck in their throat, your firm -- is up libel suit for thousands o' pounds. 24

Her work was thus skilled, precision work, and because she had strength and stamina, she managed to stay in the fish until 1968, when she left to become a folksinger.

For all Lizzie's disgust with bad working conditions, blacklisting troubles, long hours put in for no extra pay, rough characters in the trade, and the sheer physical demand of the work, she speaks of the fish with a mixture of fondness, anger, and nostalgia. She would have had to leave the fish eventually, however, because of health problems, heart trouble and diabetes, which she developed in 1966.25 She left work at the age of thirty-eight, and started folksinging in clubs.

The decision to leave the fish and start singing publicly was a relatively last minute one, according to Lizzie. The fish bosses and workers were among those urging her to "go out an' folksing", some time before she actually left. She says:

... in the fish, it's always been that, you sing what you feel like, an' all will listen.... I've seen me's trying to sing "The College Boy", an' a hundred filleters wi' tears runnin' doon frae their eyes, ma boss's clappin'.... An' all he said to ma, "Go out in the folk world an' leave the fish behind...." They told ma -- how they felt when they heard me singin' 'cause at the fish when I used to do the filleting, an' sung sad songs, I could really go to
town... I pit everything intil it that I had an' a'
this bonnie pipin' decorations. There wisnae a piper
amongst them... An' yet the men jist stopped loadin'
the tables, wid a' stand an' watch me like 'at.... 26

Her fellow workers told her to join her mother Jeannie, who was singing in
the folk clubs at the time, until the mid 1960s, but Lizzie spent years
thinking about this, while being urged by those around her in the fish,
personal friends, and her father, too.

Lizzie's decision was difficult because of her fish work, which she
obviously loved and hated simultaneously. She comments, "I knew if I
crossed that bridge to the folk world, there was no going back to my trade".27
Not only were her financial earnings greater than her husband's, who was forced
to be a labourer for a pittance salary since there were no openings for his
skill in Aberdeen, but for a working woman, Lizzie's salary was unusually high;
she had nearly reached the top in the fish trade. In her marriage, she was
the true wage-earner.

She realized that if the singing did not work out for her, she could go
back to the fish, but knew that she could not stand to be teased and ridiculed
for failing to "make it", should she go back. She admits to having stubborn
pride in this matter, but it is understandable. Despite her mixed feelings
about working in the fish, she describes her last day at work, and the events
leading up to it, wistfully. Earlier in the week, her father had suggested
that she start folksinging, following in her mother's footsteps. The
president of the Aberdeen Folk Club happened by the very same day, asking her
to sing at the Aberdeen Folk Festival that weekend, on Sunday. Lizzie was
dubious, but decided to think about it.

On a Saturday in late October, 1968, Lizzie had made up her mind to
leave the fish, but her leave-taking was difficult. She did not want her
fellow workers to know, and she recalls leaving her fish-gear (knives and
clothing) with her best friends, merely telling them that she needed a holiday,
and would be coming back. All the same, they sensed something was wrong when she wore her fish boots home, which was never done. Lizzie says, "I was tortured, couldn'ae sleep for a week. 'Cause I was leavin' my old life behind, my good wages...." 

On Sunday she sang to her first big "folk" audience, and Lizzie comments comically, "Ah shook 'at much ye'd think Ah wis playin' castanets on ma knees -- crack crack crack crack, wi' the fear". She attributes her fear to the fact that she felt she must live up to her mother's reputation, which was considerable: "Ah'd t' match up tae bein' Jeannie's daughter, an' 'is wis what made me really scary 'cause a lot o' folk widnae accept me as 'at". Her first performance was a success, but she had trouble with respect to this in several clubs she sang in subsequently, the audiences and/or club organizers either expecting her to be a carbon copy of her mother, or else criticizing her for "using" her mother to get bookings in the clubs, which was a petty and unfair assumption on their part.

Lizzie's first club engagement was particularly hard for her, as the members were staunch fans of Jeannie's. Jeannie told her daughter afterwards that she had known Lizzie would "get it", but had been unwilling to deter her. Donald, however, told Lizzie to take heart, since she'd survived this "grilling". Her next booking, in Aberdeen, turned out to be a more pleasant experience, with a sympathetic audience.

She has met with continuous changes in fortune ever since her debut in 1968, not terribly surprising for such an unpredictable occupation as folksinging. Lizzie's objective when she went into folksinging was to sing the songs she loved, while pleasing her parents, and hopefully earning enough to justify having left a well-paid job. She made a solo record for Topic Records in early 1969, which has helped to make her better known outside Scotland than
Despite this auspicious start to her new career, the first four years of folksinging were extremely hard on Lizzie, who suffered illness, such as a gum disease, necessitating the removal of her teeth, cancelled bookings due to dishonest agents, the threat of losing her rented flat for lack of money, and numerous other hardships and set-backs, of too personal a nature to discuss.

One problem Lizzie has faced since she started singing publicly is the prejudice she has encountered as the daughter of a known Scots traveller. It seems strange that she should be harassed about this, when more and more social prejudices are being worn away; she never knew the traveller life as Jeannie did, and was brought up in a conventional way. Lizzie will rise to defend the travelling people when she feels they are being unjustly criticized, but simultaneously points out that she is not a traveller living in an encampment, but a respectable working woman with her own home. She says indignantly:

There's no such thing as being a second or third class citizen.... An' we are all human beings. We hannae got different faces fae naebady else.... For Britain to be such, so modern a country, I can't understand it being so backward.

Lizzie is vehement when she discusses her feelings about the travellers because she has, at times, found the prejudices against them in the folk world so annoying, petty, and spiteful as to make her consider stopping her folksinging. She has learned to deal with this problem, although early incidents in her career brought Lizzie much disillusionment with the folk music industry.

Next, we must examine Lizzie's current milieu, the folk club scene, and her ideas and attitudes acquired as a result of being part of the folksong revival, which is the subject of the following chapter.
CHAPTER THREE

The British folk club scene is today both the greatest strength and the greatest weakness of the folksong revival. The surprising number of folk clubs in both England and Scotland testifies to the interest in folksinging, a certain percentage of which is traditional unaccompanied singing. A.L. Lloyd, the author of a recent article on the state of the folksong revival, observes:

Folk-songs have a larger, keener audience now than at any time before in this century; the present generation knows more of them than its grandparents knew, and some of our old village masterpieces are now enjoying far wider circulation than they did in their first life. 1

The clubs have played a considerable role in making these songs known to the public, and in spreading them farther afield.

How did these clubs emerge? The British folksong revival began visibly in the 1950s, although as Lloyd points out, the movement had been preceded by activity in America as early as in the 1930s, with such "cult figures" as Woody Guthrie and Huddie Ledbetter ("Leadbelly"). 2 The folksongs in the American revival were very much oriented towards politics and protest. British folk enthusiasts took up interest in American folksong, which was in vogue in Britain in the Fifties, and moved to an interest in British traditional song. Folk clubs came into being with the burgeoning awareness of the American folksongs and the native song tradition.

Very soon in the Fifties, folksong lovers became divided into camps, which are still a feature of the revival. Some, inevitably called the "purists", felt that ballads and other folksongs should be sung in a traditional manner, unaccompanied, with no "gimmicks". 3 Others used the ubiquitous guitar, and in recent years others have attempted to utilize unusual medieval or modern instruments for accompaniment, such as crumhorns, oboes, and concertinas. Electric folk music represents yet another camp. Needless to say, the word "folksinger" acquired multifarious meanings at a very early stage of its usage.
because of these different orthodoxies of presentation within the revival
framework.

Despite these ideological differences, the singers and enthusiasts who
make up the British folk scene form, for better or worse, a group, and control
the future of the revival. Sydney Carter, a contemporary folksinger, says:

The Folk Scene, which I would define as the community
of those who care about folk music, is both intimate and
widely scattered. Travelling performers, records, tapes,
magazines, radio and television help to hold it together...
The Folk Scene might be described as a kind of society of
friends; not without its schisms and its maniacs, but
more united than divided by its allegiance to a certain
kind of music (under which heading I include the words as
well).

The intimacy of the folk scene tends to help counteract its dispersed nature,
and undoubtedly this closeness of the people involved will play an important
role in the perpetuation of the folksong through revival channels.

We must look more closely at the revival and its constituents. Lloyd
says of the current situation:

Against common belief, traditional performers, authentic
bearers of home-made song disseminated "from below" rather
than handed down through the entertainment industry, are
still with us, but they are rare and they face extinction.
Their repertory, and something of their role, is taken over
by the "revival" performer, a person of modern urban-
industrial culture and thus a visitor to folklore tradition
rather than a resident in it, who makes use of folk-song
whether in its old country shape or in modernised treatments.

We have already commented on the unaccompanied singing tradition in Lizzie's
family. Clearly, the revival discussed by Lloyd is the tradition in change,
the new folksong tradition which is a product of our "modern urban-industrial"
ociety. Lizzie finds herself in between the two traditions, as it happens.
Lizzie must be considered an authentic traditional singer, along with such
people as Belle Stewart of Blairgowrie, Jane Turriff of Fetterangus, and Willie
Scott of Hawick; such performers, who have suddenly found themselves in demand
for songs which they learned as a matter of course, are indeed facing extinction,
largely due to urban culture and an increasingly more standardized way of life in Britain. There is an increasing awareness and interest in all aspects of folklore and folksong in Britain, and both academics and laymen alike are beginning to take more notice of people like Lizzie, who are "authentic bearers of home-made song", sometimes called revival performers because they sing in revival outlets like the clubs; however, Lizzie is not a "visitor to folklore tradition". She is instead a visitor in the new, rapidly changing tradition of the revival folksong industry.

The need to discuss professionalism, commercialism, and their effects on the revival tradition will be self-evident. Lloyd claims that:

As it is, the revival flourishes mainly outside the orbit of the Great Communication System, unpromoted by the agencies, ignored (except in its most trivial manifestations) by radio and TV, hardly noticed by the National Press. Mercifully, its commodity status remains low... A few of the large record companies have nibbled at the folk club scene, but generally it's the devoted small companies whose catalogues best represent what's happening. 6

But does the "commodity status" of folksong remain low? Folksong, being a regional as well as a national phenomenon, has the characteristics of regional products: in its regional manifestations, folksong will never have the same commercial market as classical and contemporary music. That, however, does not mean that folksong is not exploited by the record industry, as well as the performers of the songs, even to a degree that is detrimental to the health of the revival. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the British folk music industry, and the American country-western music industry, based in London and Nashville respectively.

Discussing the marginal profit reaped from American "regional markets", Edward Kahn postulates in his Ph.D. dissertation:

During hard times companies are willing to expend the extra effort required, to reap regional profits, but as soon as they have achieved some success they then try to modify the regional product in order to be able to merchandise it to a national market.... Today
products designed for a specialized subculture are being modified and merchandised to a broader market. In music this is seen with the emergence of the "country-pop" music and with city musicians like Bob Dylan and Judy Collins using Nashville musicians providing musical accompaniments that traditionally were found only in regional music.

The same course of events has taken place in Britain, only with the substitution of folk music for American country-western music. At the beginning of the current revival, in the early 1950s, various small record companies were releasing recordings of traditional singers such as Lizzie's mother, aiming at a small and perhaps basically academic market. Later, as folksongs became more popular with exposure, they became popularized, and guitar accompaniment was almost mandatory for general acceptance. Now we find "folk-pop" arrangements of ballads like "Tam Lin" and "The Cruel Mother" a commonplace, and some of these contemporary ballad treatments reach the enormous radio audience, who may mistake them for genuine folk music, or, even worse, may fail to realize that they are folksongs at all. Traditional material is used, and deliberately manipulated for a larger market than the strictly traditional recordings can please. The revival has thus produced the "folk-pop idiom" which is gradually appearing more and more in the folk clubs.

Folksong is becoming a commodity, spawning a new class of professional folksingers different from the earlier traditional and revival singers. Bertrand Bronson discusses the various aspects of commercialization and professionalization of folksong in *The Ballad as Song*. One of his conclusions is that, strictly speaking, there cannot be a "professional folk singer" because the entertainment facet of his work forces him to compromise his singing style to please and hold his audience, so that he is not a real folk singer but a song-monger. It would be fair to say that within the "professional rank" of folksingers, those who earn their livelihood
through folksinging, some conform to audience (whether live, television, 
or radio) demands, for their own commercial success; others maintain 
self-integrity and sing the way it pleases them to sing, as one would in 
a ceilidh. In his book *Music of the People*, Edward Lee observes:

> The constant demands of the mass media for new 
> material and higher standards exclude the amateur 
> from seriously trying for success in popular music: 
> one becomes totally involved in the industry, or 
> one remains of no importance."  

So it is with a dedicated traditional singer, trying to make some sort of 
impression in the industry, but having either to abandon singing for lack 
of decently paid work, or having to change his style and presentation to 
please "the crowd".

Bronson notes that the effect of the phonograph record is to make a 
particular rendition of a song "the law", and that the frequent use of 
instrumental accompaniment tends to "confirm a melodic norm", and "an 
inevitable shortening of texts". 11 There is no doubt that some folk-
singers in the revival learn all their material from records, making little 
attempt to arrange and perform it differently from the recorded versions. 
As for the shortening of texts, Bronson describes an amusing incident which 
took place when the Kentucky folksinger Jean Ritchie sang to a conference 
of folklorists and musicologists. Miss Ritchie commented that she "seldom 
had occasion to sing one of the ballads like 'Annie of Lochroyan' because 
two minutes was the utmost limit for radio songs", and that the audience 
could go to sleep if they found this ballad too painfully long. 12 This is 
a sad sign of the times, that one should have to apologize for the length 
of a song, since the mass media have conditioned us to short performances 
of nearly every form of entertainment, leaving us with a very short attention 
span. So frequent is the practice of cutting verses from long texts in any 
sort of sound reproduction that one may locate the text in Child, for example,
only to realize with a shock that one or several subplots in the song-story have been omitted.

One finds, by contrast, that Lizzie's performances are astonishingly uncompromising. She does not shorten her songs and ballads merely for the sake of lessening the time for the audience to be attentive. Her singing style is such that she takes serious songs very slowly, drawing what she can out of one word if it is important enough, taking each line very carefully. This is particularly noticeable in "The College Boy", "Johnny My Man", "The Lassie Gathering Nuts", and "The Twa Brothers". Her singing is furthermore not straitjacketed by instrumental accompaniment; her rhythm is free to go as it will, and this freedom is an asset of Lizzie's style.

While she does not condense her lengthy songs for her audience, she has enough artistic sensitivity to leave her programme for singing in a club flexible, and she therefore spaces her "heavy" songs, interspersing them with her cheeky and charming Aberdeen street songs, music hall songs, and her lyric songs. She would do this whether in her own sitting room singing to her friends, or in front of a club or concert hall audience. In Lizzie's case, her audience does not cause her to compromise her songs in a way that she would feel degrading, she simply modifies the order in which she presents her songs according to the feel of her audience and according to her own moods.

Lizzie feels as ambivalent about the folk clubs and their treatment and appreciation of her as she does about the fish trade. If one wants either to hear or sing folksongs "live" in a city, the clubs are almost the only place one can go, aside from the few scattered pubs which encourage local folk musicians, and homes where ceilidhs are still held. Therefore, for the folk artist wishing to attain a moderate or comfortable level of success, singing his own particular type of material, and wishing to get
through to an appreciative audience, the folk club is presently the only alternative, aside from appearances in the summer folk festivals. Lizzie discusses her problems in the clubs, showing her disillusionment, her determination, and her love for what she sings:

Well, I've seen me in some clubs singin' twenty-two ballads -- nae ballads, I tell a lie. Twenty-two pipe tunes an' ballads.... An' by the end o' that evening I wisnae fit to staund on my two legs. My legs wis shakin' like a jelly. Nae wi' fear, or cold -- jist the weakness that hurt me. An' I've seen me sittin' down an' the audience wanted more before I left. So therefore I had to jump up an' sing some kids' street songs to cover up my weakness. Ye've got to learn to cover up for yerself... In clubs now I don't sing twenty-two pipin' songs an' ballads mixed. I don't go very much further than fifteen. I may give twenty-two, twenty-one if I'm at a -- students' folk club, because I know they're learnin' for education -- for balladry an' pipin' and I'll push mysel' there... An' some club owners now even in England are realizin' this, an' they'll let me away wi' ten or twelve! An' I sometimes say, "Look, I'm okay, I can sing another couple more..." Because before when I used to folksing.... I was sung to death!... An' I never complained. Because I wanted to, to get -- recognition, not gain. Jist recognition. I tried to let them understand whit kind o' singin' I did. 'At I wisnae a ballad singer. 'At I had a different type o' singin'. But I never complained about bein' tired, or anything like this to them... 'til realization hit them.

Not only does Lizzie feel great relief that the club owners are being easier on her as regards the number of songs they demand that she sing, but she feels very pleased to be getting through to her audiences. She says, "... this pleases me to know that -- I've given to the public -- something unusual, they've begun to recognize it... it's good that I've gotten through to them."

When she elaborates on this feeling of satisfaction, it is clear that her pleasure derives from the reception that her piping material receives in the clubs. She takes great trouble to explain the value of her piping songs:

Pipin' singin' is the heritage of Scotland as well as the folk balladry. But jist that the pipin' singin' never came out in the open 'til my father pushed me to folksing.
She recalls a prophecy of her father's in which he told her:

"Ye're a singer of yer own style, ye're only one — one of your own style. An' you're givin' a beauty to the people. Which they will recognize theirselves without you tellin' 'em, an' they'll begin to appreciate whit you can give them. 'Cause see when ye sing, your best, all these heavy decorations, all these emotions, an' your naked soul's lyin' bleedin' in front o' these people — surely they've got a pair o' ears that can understand whit ye're doin' in front o' them."

Lizzie adds,

Well since he died, I must say... 'ese words has come true. They're beginnin' to recognize what I'm givin' then... They can see it through me an' they can feel it through me. An' this is my reward. Because I've -- I've took it out o' the people, the full realization of whit -- I'm singin' aboot.

From examination of Lizzie's own words about her experiences in the clubs, one can see that she has gained great personal fulfilment and insight through singing to and reaching her audience, despite the inevitable problems. She finds illness and exhaustion an inherent hazard of her work, and is philosophical about it:

I shouldnae be a folksinger if I wisnae fit for it... so therefore, what's the use in complainin'? An' sayin', "Oh, I'm nae gaun to sing a' that songs, I'm tired." I mean you took on the bookin', ye've to see it through... If I've got a bookin', disn't matter how ill I feel. I'll give that audience all I've got.

Lizzie's outlook, in fact, bears out the truth of Philip Rampton's article, "Why Sing Folk?", in which he discusses the vulnerability of, and the motivations of, a folksinger in clubs. He comments:

The singer loves his songs. If he is to perform them time after time, they must hold a deep meaning for him. To continually be able to perform them well, he has to love them. They are his prime means of forming a contact between himself and the people around him and if he is to communicate with them for any length of time, he must transfer some fraction of his love into the words and music otherwise they become lifeless and their full meaning is decreased or lost altogether... The singer needs to let his songs be heard, not purely for material
payment, but to satisfy his soul, and share some of his pleasure, he hopes, with others.... Both need and love react in harmony and one cannot exist within the true folk singer without the other. 20

What, then, of the deleterious and beneficial influences of the folk clubs on traditional unaccompanied singing? What conclusions can be drawn from Lizzie's experiences in the clubs, and her opinions of the "folk world"? In what context should the clubs and festivals be viewed? These questions are not easily answered, as no one has actually plotted the role of the clubs in the perpetuation of traditional singing in the past, present, and the future. Nor do we know where the revival tradition is heading; only time will tell.

Despite the example of Lizzie's unfortunate experiences in the clubs, which must be shared by other singers, I am optimistic about the future of traditional singing in the clubs. The clubs do not offer the same spontaneity as a ceilidh in a home, but some clubs succeed in creating an intimate atmosphere which encourages everyone to sing. The number of clubs and folk festivals has multiplied since the early Sixties, and the number of performers "professional, semi-professional, and amateur" has as well; 21 this must be considered a good sign of the health of the revival.

There is indeed a darker side of the picture. As performer Peter Bellamy points out: 22

There are singers making records and performing on the club circuit who do no more than sing the flat unadorned melody for verse after verse without a hint of personal interpretation, let alone the simplest form of decoration, when all the evidence says that our tradition has never been one of frozen melodies... And the material itself: never before have so many songs been so easily available to the performer, both in field recordings, revivalist recordings and song-books: why, then, is it that wherever one goes one seems to hear the same handful of songs? 22

It is quite true that singing styles and material can become fossilized in some clubs, which encourages no one to do anything different. However, the danger of this, I believe, is far outweighed by the benefits that folk clubs provide.
Another performer, Leon Rosselson, is of the opinion that the clubs have failed, with

... a driftaway from the concern with contemporary reality that was at the root of the revival....
The country repertoire dominates the scene, pastoral idylls, together with rugby chorus songs and jolly sea shanties removed from any context in which they might make sense. Some clubs now are simply a branch of showbiz, an alternative entertainment, to ... the telly. Others, the "traditional only" clubs, have become exclusive establishments for the gratification of a cultural elite. 23

Rosselson sees folksongs as a basically political expression, and claims that "the failure of folk clubs is a failure of political consciousness". 24 He feels that for all the publicity of the revival, "folk is still a fringe interest" and that the standard folk club material is "largely irrelevant and will only ensure that folk song remains a coterie cult". 25 These are strong words; in denouncing the narrow-mindedness and the stagnation of the revival and the club scene, Rosselson only succeeds in sounding narrow-minded himself.

It is worth noting that his article provoked lively correspondence from all corners of Britain, from readers who felt his criticism of the folk clubs unfair, and his stipulation that the material performed in them should have political significance, ridiculous. One reader, Sheila Miller, justifiably accused him of having "is all thinking that it is in some way necessary to justify our love of folk song, as if traditional music, like all good art, were not its own justification". 26 Folksinger Alan Bell was moved to reply:

The folk clubs have survived because, in my opinion, folk music has been allowed to go its own way; any attempt at manipulation would have been the end of folk clubs altogether. 27

Another professional singer, Jon Raven, writes of the clubs:

Their first job is to provide an alternative to the slick world of potted music and their second is to promote greater interest and provide every opportunity for deeper enjoyment of contemporary, traditional and urban song. 28
Obviously, the folk clubs represent something different to each person involved with them, but the positive attitudes expressed by Miller, Bell, and Raven, as regards the clubs, their importance, and the material performed in them, indicate an interest in maintaining the clubs as centres for folksong rather than political or social ideologies.

There are irrelevancies in the current club scene, as Rosselson points out, certainly; for example, folk-rock groups form and reform with astounding rapidity, only to fade into oblivion having left no contribution to the revival whatsoever. On the other hand, the club scene has acquainted many with traditional singers like Jeannie Robertson, Fred Jordan, and the Stewart family of Blairgowrie. It is in the clubs that many people first become aware of traditional singing, thus we must acknowledge this valuable service that the clubs perform.

As regards the relevance of song material in the clubs, a song should not have to be political to be a folksong, to be relevant, to be enjoyed; as Lloyd says:

folklore forms don't depend on their original environment for their continued existence; sailing ships are gone but the sea shanty is still sung: the function is altered but the song remains: the stuff is transcultural. 29

It would indeed be a great pity for someone to be incapable of enjoying Lizzie's beautiful ballads and lyrics because they do not deal directly with the events of today. They do deal with people in human situations, a subject which never loses its relevance.

That the song tradition revived and kept going by the folk clubs has changed and is changing, there is no doubt. Some folksong critics feel that any change is welcome and useful, and therefore support the sometimes bizarre efforts to clothe folksongs in more modern musical guise. Change is never necessarily for the better, however, and it takes time for one to be able to
evaluate the results of change in any kind of tradition. Along with changes in folksong texts and accompaniment style, the relationship of the singer with his audience changes as the taste of the audience changes with the whims of popular music, which we have already noted. Lee comments that an inevitable situation "has been evolved in urban civilization, in which the entertainer, however in touch with his audience, is still a man apart...". Role differentiation and estrangement from one's audience were never the objectives or characteristics of old-fashioned sing-songs and ceilidhs, where the purpose was and is to entertain and to bring people together.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of the revival is that some fine traditional unaccompanied singers have been left out of the folk scene, as commercial success and "image" have become more important in the folk industry. The popular artists of the moment, who are frequently contemporary performers, are often booked for the clubs to bring in more people. Folksong may be alive and well in Britain, but one must concede that, for the most part, the function as well as the tradition of folksong has changed; it is no longer a non-profit form of entertainment for oneself and one's friends, but is a way of earning a living, which usually requires that the performer compromise his music to some extent to give his audience what they demand. One could say that the modern club performer is continuing in the tradition of the paid minstrel in past centuries; however, the mass media have changed our outlook on public performances and performers radically. In addition, we cannot say, in all fairness, that singing has ceased to exist as an activity purely for pleasure, but we are attempting to pinpoint general trends in the revival song tradition.

Lizzie herself has strong feelings about the whole question of whether traditional unaccompanied singing will continue to be appreciated with the influx of commercialized folksong. Here she sums up her views on this and
the problem of being a professional folksinger:

... everywhere I go I learn the young, I can talk upon it to them, I'll sing songs to them, I give these songs unselfishly... I'll learn anybody my style o' singin' if they want to. I feel good -- 'at to think I'm worth learnin' from. An' so does my mother. The -- there's a few people like us but they're very very few. 'At's in it for non-gain. We have got to get a few pounds goin' to a folk club because the train fares are so dear. But financially for the folksinger, the real folksinger, it's a financial disaster... For six years, I've made very little. Financial disaster for me. Which I don't grudge.... if I see the young people in -- wantin' to be involved, learnin' them to sing, learn them stories. Fair enough. To be a folksinger, ye've got to have love in your heart for your human fellow-men. Without love of humans, it's no use.... traditionalist singer never makes no money. So therefore, they must take in commercial folksingin'. An' the commercial folksinger makes plenty o' money, plenty o' bookins, plenty of everything an' they're happy on the road to success.

Having attempted to discuss several sides of the revival and its inevitable commercial aspect particularly, I cannot but feel that Lizzie is, in a sense, fortunate to a degree that she herself cannot recognize, being in the very centre of the folk scene. She has now become a respected performer in both English and Scottish clubs and festivals, without rising to the commercial heights of those folksingers who reach the popular music charts and turn out records as quickly as possible. She has become more optimistic about her profession in recent months as well. Folksinging is now her work as well as her pleasure, and she still retains a great fondness for informal ceilidh evenings. Her career will most probably continue to flower, and her mother's recent death will now free her to take on more engagements in clubs. Lizzie enjoys the best of two worlds, the private and the public, and she also has the satisfaction of knowing that she is carrying on the song tradition of both her parents. Her actual repertoire will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

Having analysed Lizzie's career as a professional folksinger in the folk clubs, we must look more closely at her musical development from childhood, and the musical tradition in her environment. Her style will be traced from its beginnings, and followed through to her current singing, which has changed somewhat in the seven years she has been singing professionally.

Lizzie's father began teaching her songs at the age of four. She even remembers the first folksong he taught her, "The Beggar Man", or "The Gaberlunyie-Man" as it is called by Child. From her early years, Lizzie was told that her voice resembled that of her paternal grandmother, "Teenie", whom she never knew, but her other grandmother, Maria, had known her well; it was Maria who commented on the striking likeness. We have already noted that Lizzie's brother Jimsy took after his mother in voice. It seems natural to assume that some of Lizzie's and Jimsy's vocal characteristics were consciously cultivated, in imitation of the respective favourite parent. Donald Higgins very rarely sang, but could sing well when he did, and had what Lizzie calls a "pipin' voice". ¹ Lizzie was wild about the pipes, and her father trained her to imitate the pipe ornaments in her singing.² Between listening to pipe music constantly, and being taught vocal decorations approximating to the sound of the pipes, Lizzie could scarcely have failed to have a style different from her mother's.

Lizzie's love for music might not necessarily have taken the outlet that it finally did. She was given classical violin lessons from 1942 until 1947. She found that she could not respond to the instrument enough to want to continue playing it. All her future efforts and energy were put into singing.

Lizzie's mid and late teens seem to be the period when she was most musically creative, until she left the fish for the folk world. When she
had left school to work, first in the mills, and then in the fish, she
had her Saturdays all to herself, and was not troubled with keeping her
own house or with school-work. When she was in her mid teens, Lizzie
took "The College Boy", still a favourite of hers, and set the words to
a different tune than the one she learned it to. The fact that she did
this with other songs as well indicates that she is very melody conscious;
if she does not like an air, she will change it to suit her.

One of the most typical patterns of team work with her father was
for Lizzie to find the words to a song in a book, printed without the
music, or else words obtained from a friend or relative with an air she
did not like. Lizzie would then ask her father to find a suitable pipe
tune for the words. The song "Lady Mary Ann", a version of "The College
Boy" rewritten by Robert Burns, is one such song handled in this way, as
well as the ballad, "The Cruel Mother". Lizzie tells about the process
of changing "Lady Mary Ann":

"Lady Mary Ann" is an old pipe tune that was composed
by ... J.R. MacColl of Oban... An' he composed a tune
called "MacDonald of Dunach". Now -- we gets "Lady
Mary Ann" -- nae out of nae books -- we got it from my
father's auntie... The air was appalin'... an' my
father goes oot an' I says.... "Can ye help me wi' one
o' your pipe tunes?
... So he tried a few pipe tunes...
an' finally after about half an hour diddin' this,
diddlin' that an' diddin' the next thing, an' Jeannie
was makin' the dinner, an' Donald finds "MacDonald of
Dunach"... So the two o' us tried it oot an' it fit
the song lovely.... He could pick -- get me songs
like 'at out o' the blue. 

The tune Lizzie's father chose does go very well with the words, and the
song is one of Lizzie's finest and most beloved "pipin' ballads".

Her story of how she came to learn "The Cruel Mother" is interesting
as well:

"Cruel Mither" was a pipe tune. I said, "I've got a
song, 'The Cruel Mither'"; I said til him an' he said,
"Well, 'at's a pipe tune to 'The Cruel Mither'!", so he
sings, "Let's go!" And within two or three minutes I knew the tune... He played the pipes once or twice, I knew the tune from a wee kid. I said, "That's right, it fits the song." So I sang it low doon to myself, singin' the same thing, but I was singin' wi' the pipes so he couldn't hear me... so he said, "Now staun' up and sing it," so I staun' up an' sung it, an' sung it bonnie, an' he said, "No, you're singin' too much like a ballad. You're missing your piping grace notes." So for one week he made me do the decorations. It was the only thing that he polished me up wi'. Decorations.

This description shows that Lizzie's father worked hard at training her to sing with the piping lilt in her voice. Lizzie vows it was very hard work for her, like homework, but her enjoyment is obvious in the above two descriptions.

Lizzie's feelings about her mother are so ambivalent that it is difficult to determine how much influence Jeannie had on Lizzie's singing. Lizzie would like to think that her vocal ornaments, which are one of the distinguishing features of her vocal style, owe everything to pipe music, but she does admit to having acquired many songs from her mother, and at times sounds very much like Jeannie when singing. One cannot usually help imitating the person who teaches a song, and when Lizzie sings some of Jeannie's "big" (Child) ballads, she sings discernibly like Jeannie. Comparison of mother and daughter is inevitable.

Jeannie had remembered most of her songs from her mother Maria by listening to them sung night after night at home. She picked up the airs first, and then learned words. Maria sometimes helped her with the words, and Jeannie would practice them while doing house chores, when no one was around. When asked by James Porter if Lizzie learned songs from her in the same way, Jeannie replied that she did not teach them to Lizzie, but that Lizzie must have learned them by listening to her singing in the evenings. Lizzie appears not to have explicitly sought out and learned Jeannie's songs
in the way that she got songs from her father, but rather she picked them up quietly without her mother realizing it. Patrick Shuldhman-Shaw recalls recording Jeannie in her home many years ago, long before Lizzie had started folksinging. Lizzie was present, and was persuaded to sing. Lizzie sang one of her mother's songs, to the complete amazement of her mother, who had not been aware that Lizzie knew the song. 10 Once she began to folksing professionally, however, Lizzie asked her mother to teach her songs and coach her on them. Lizzie's new career undoubtedly made her more appreciative of her mother's rich repertoire.

The large family and friend gatherings in Lizzie's Causewayend home have already been mentioned in a previous chapter. Lizzie's grandmother Maria often held such gatherings in her Aberdeen home 11 with all her grandchildren present. Lizzie seems to have enjoyed a good relationship with Granny Maria, who encouraged her to sing the "aal' songs". Lizzie describes these occasions:

We wis all in our teens an' twenties, all grownups... An' we used to all come down an' they were all bonnie singers... but then, none of them knew folk, except me, an' ma granny, an' Jeannie.... nobody knew folk, it was all pop... I could sing pop, but I -- preferred wi' her [Maria] to sing the stuff that she likit. An' what she wanted me to sing. An' I used to feel shy 'cause the rest would be sittin' smilin' at me, which meant, "Oh, ye're as old as the hills". 12

To get Lizzie to sing the "aal' songs" in front of her more modern cousins, Maria would offer to sing with her, and to please her granny, she did. She remembers singing "I'm a Forester in this Wood" ("The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" in Child), "Young Emslie", "Barbara Allen", "The Golden Vanity" ("The Sweet Trinity" in Child), and bits of "My Son David" (a version of Child's "Edward"), with Maria. Lizzie continues:

I used to relax in ma granny's company an' sing her balladry first. An' then -- they used to kima settle down an' they listened til us 'cause the two of us were good together... An' ma granny said, "Now, I cannae
At these ceilidhs, Lizzie was obviously aware of tensions resulting from wanting to please her grandmother by singing the folksongs, and feeling miserably out of step with her cousins who sang the popular songs of the time. The feeling of shyness which accompanied Lizzie's singing of folksongs in front of others was a handicap for her until she was persuaded to sing professionally, when she grew used to audiences, although she still visibly retains a bit of this shyness.

Lizzie now regrets not having learned more songs from Maria, and from her father's Aunt Leeb, as well, both of whom had extensive repertoires. Jeannie's ill-health in recent years, which forced her to perform less and less in the clubs in the 1960s, probably made Lizzie more enthusiastic to learn songs from her mother, since she and Jeannie were in no way competing, and Lizzie soon established her own reputation in the clubs so that she felt she could sing some of her mother's material without being called a duplicate of Jeannie. It was an admittedly humorous situation that, before Jeannie's last illness and subsequent death, Lizzie had her mother coach her on songs that she knew as a child but that she did not bother to learn properly. Her mother's very recent death will surely have repercussions on Lizzie's repertoire, but it is difficult to know in what way at present.

It is clear from the above descriptions of Lizzie's musical environment that the greatest influences on her were the frequent exposure to: 1) pipe music, 2) unaccompanied singing in both her home and relatives' homes, and 3) the prevailing attitude that singing, music-making, and story-telling were expected, polite and enjoyable forms of entertainment. This last factor in Lizzie's environment is the crux of the whole question of the oral tradition.
behind her. Most of the people in Lizzie's immediate society accepted these oral forms of entertainment as the norm. While neither Lizzie nor her family are illiterate, she expresses herself best in speech and singing, rather than in written forms of communication. Oral forms of entertainment and self-expression were given precedence in the Robertson and Higgins families. (This is evident in other traveller families as well, some with family members now singing professionally like Lizzie, such as the Stewart family of Blairgowrie.)

Lizzie has retained this ethos, and has continued the tradition of the unaccompanied singing of ballads, folksongs, lyrics, and miscellaneous mongrels of songs which are part of any singer's repertoire, be he a traditional singer or a cabaret artist. The oral tradition is being affected by the increasing emphasis on written forms of self-expression in the schools, and by the idea that entertainment should involve no effort on one's own part, but for the time being it survives almost miraculously in modern Aberdeen, in the persons of Lizzie, and others like her, though few. The oral tradition in change, the revival folksong tradition as we have indicated, has been discussed already, but more will be said about it in the concluding chapter.

Lizzie is unusually articulate about what her singing means to her, about her sensations and thoughts while singing in public, and about the actual mechanics of her particular style of singing. We have established that pipe music is one of the foundations of her style. When asked to talk about the meaning of pipe music to her, she had no difficulty in answering:

The feelin' o' the pipes for me, even if I was in a country thousands an' thousands o' miles frae Britain, an' I heard a piper, I'm at home. I'm happy. There's nothing in the world that would fear me after that... I mean, sometimes in this house, when I feel a wee bittie depressed, like everybody else, I'm not a nervous wreck, but sometimes I get fed up with life a bittie, an' 'ere's nobody in. I'll start diddlin' to myself, which I don't do in public, 'cause it's not feminine... And within a half hour Stephanie, I'm as happy an' relaxed as though I've had a thousand
tranquilizers. I'm away in another world. An' when
I come back to mysel', I'm happy, I'm laughin', I'm
full o' fun. Nothing gets me down then. That's
what I'd like the public to know. I mean I love all
music, but I also love the pipes too. 16

She added that she gets this feeling of comfort from the "pipin' fingerin'"
in her voice, which keeps her calm in front of an audience. This quotation
also indicates her feeling of wanting to be feminine, so that she never
diddles in public.

Lizzie grants the fact that not everyone enjoys pipe music, but her
discussion of it reveals her understanding of it from both an aesthetic and
a technical standpoint. She remarks:

Pipes is one of the most beautiful music a person can
listen til. But they've got to love it, they've got
to understand it... they're soulful in a lament...
they bring your soul -- they drag your soul out o' ye.
If it's laments an' pibrochs an' things. Or -- if
it's for dance tunes, it fires up your blood 'til you
dance an' carry on, it can be a happy thing. Also
were used hundreds of years ago for warnings if the
English or other warlike clans was coming up the glens.
The piper o' the clan'd go up an' -- an' up aboot the
hill. An' the other clans, not far fae the next
glen could hear. An' if they were friends of this clan
they'd come over and help them. It kind of acted like
a signal, like a tom-toms with Indians an' things. 17

The pipes were used in war, but whether events were such as Lizzie describes
is debatable; it is certainly an interesting treatise on the pipes.

Lizzie finds the actual act of singing very emotionally and physically
draining, but at the same time derives satisfaction from this immense output:

When I sing this pipin' stuff, I dinnae see that
audience... Because I feel I'm comforted from --
right inside ma soul. And ma soul's bluidin'...
I always see a mist... I'm that involved, the
pipin' singin' in my voice becomes as one... I hear
a voice, I think 'at's mine. But yet it's nae a
part o' me. I seem to be awa' fae't... I've no
control over it... somehow there's a wee connection
sayin' it's my voice, it's me, it's a beautiful thing
that's happenin' to me... 'at's what my father used
to experience when he played the pipes. 18
Lizzie's father was fond of saying "Lizzie's a good singer, but she's better if she's awa' wi' the fairies". She does indeed give the impression of being "awa' wi' the fairies" in public performance, even more so in smaller ceilidhs where she is more relaxed. Few people, however, realize her sense of purpose in her singing. When she sings, she says, she sings her songs exactly the way her father taught her, with the same ornamentation and decoration. She explains why her soul is "bleedin'":

I can g'up an' sing... one o' ma father's pipin' songs... Ah'll greet an' sing that song -- I wimae show na tears but -- Ah'm greetin' inwardly -- 'cause it pits me in mind o' him. Or Ah'll go up an' Ah'll sing a song, one o' Jeannie's ballads she's learned me... Ah'll see Jeannie an' me a wee bairn, long afore 'e war. An' her standin' daein' 'er washin', in pre-war Britain... Ah'm takin' every pause an' rest 'at shes wid dae on 'e same song, but nae as a folksinger -- as my mither.... Ah dinnae go up an' sing wi' nae feelin' wi' nane o' this two stuff, Ah feel, an' everything I sing 'as aye got a picture front o' my memory.

With her father, whose death in 1971 was a severe blow to her, Lizzie carries her feelings even farther. Much of her enthusiasm for singing flows from her desire to spread the feelings she experiences while singing to her audience. She expounds on this subject:

It's jist nobody ever opened up the pipin' section before to the folk world... Was only the select few, the piper men, an' they... wouldnae explain to the folk people, an' show them the beauty an' let -- let them hear... the pipe tunes which was songs, 'course every piper did not know the songs in the pipe tunes. My father... knew hundreds o' songs which was the actual pipe tune, no words put intil it, they were the real folk authentic pipe tune and folksong combined... I know he wanted to bring hees music an' hees singin' o' the pipin' world to give to the people in the folk world.

Therefore, when Lizzie sings, it is with the conviction that she is carrying out a wish of her father's by singing the piping songs, and that she is spreading her feelings of love for this music to her listeners.
She will most likely feel this way about singing her mother's songs now too, or at least more strongly than before now that her mother is gone as well. Until the present, however, she has projected a greater involvement with her father's songs, which is undoubtedly due to her view that she is her father's 'ambassador of piping songs to the folk world.'

Several months prior to Donald's death, he had Lizzie work on the songs he had recently taught her so that she would not "make a fool of them", and she still has the words to the songs as they were written down by her father, she says, "to make sure that I don't forget the songs". As we have mentioned, she is sorry not to have learned more songs from her father and other relatives, but regards the ones she knows as a precious inheritance. Lizzie comments:

He [Donald] wanted the folk world tae get stuff tae keep buildin' on, 'cause he used tae say if folks was jealous and keeped their stuff back, the folk world would die oot. I mean you could always tak more stuff to keep buildin' on. If there's kids growin' up wantin' to learn. An' keep it goin'.

She has no patience for traditional singers who, having realized that their songs are prized by both collectors and other singers, refuse to sing them for anyone, even their own friends and relatives. Lizzie has an unusual and fortuitous sense of urgency to pass on her songs to others so that they will continue to be sung, but sung by people who have an appreciation of their value. Her feelings and attitudes about the songs represent, in a sense, the essence of an oral tradition.

Therefore, in Lizzie's family, we have examples of both oral and verbal transmission. Most of Lizzie's songs come from her parents and her grandmother Maria, but not all of these were learned orally. Some were learned without deliberation, such as the songs and ballads Jeannie
sang around the house in Lizzie's presence when she was a child. The songs Lizzie learned from her father were more deliberately learned, and some of these were changed and adapted from printed versions or from other singers' versions. The ballads Lizzie learned from Jeannie very recently such as "Willie's Ghost" ("Willie's Fatal Visit" as called by Child) were also learned deliberately.

That Lizzie has noted the words to many songs down on paper is not the least bit surprising; as A.L. Lloyd says, "Whenever singers could write, they have inclined to commit songs to paper as an aid to memory...".\(^24\) This does not mean, as I believe David Buchan implies in The Ballad and the Folk, that Lizzie or other singers do not change the words when it suits them; the writing down of songs does not automatically make the learning process entirely one of rote memorization in a family like Lizzie's. The writing down of songs in no way detracts from the oral nature of most of Lizzie's songs. One only needs to glance at the texts of her songs in the appendix to this study to realize that the songs do not have the look of neat and tidy, sometimes doctored book versions. In some cases, her texts are not coherent if one reads the lines as sentences; however, the meaning is usually clear and is often more effectively expressed with the ungrammatical or slightly garbled lines.

Finally, there is the element of teaching songs in the Higgins and Robertson families' song tradition. This is perhaps an unusual situation, in which all members of the immediate family and Maria as well have taught or coached each other on songs. In fact, it is well known that the Scottish folksinger Ray Fisher stayed with Jeannie for a period of time in 1959 in order to learn from Jeannie how to "tak oot a song richt", as Jeannie would say.\(^25\) Ray comments:

... I went and stayed with her for about six weeks. I learned a tremendous amount about Jeannie's songs, her singing and Jeannie herself.... Jeannie was such
a proficient artist that she communicated the material, the sensitivity and the understanding she had. I would like to think that I retained some of this in my singing.... You adapt and find a bit of yourself instead of just a reproduction of the original. 

In the Higgins family, the songs have gone not just one direction, but many. Lizzie taught her mother some songs, Donald taught Jeannie some, Maria taught Lizzie a few songs, and no doubt Lizzie taught her some as well. This pattern of multidirectional transmission may be particularly prevalent in Scots travellers' families, whether actually travellers on the road or families long settled in cities, as the kinship ties are of considerable importance to these people, and they tend to remain very close even in heavily urbanized areas. In any case, the song tradition in Lizzie's family is obviously a fertile one, and to some extent a consciously cultivated one, which may explain why such a phenomenon exists in present-day Aberdeen.

Next we must deal with the actual sound of Lizzie's voice, and then with her vocal style, in more depth than in the previous part of this chapter. Ailie Munro has done an interesting and informative study of this already, and many of her comments will be useful to us here. Munro describes Lizzie's voice as having "a husky element to it, very expressive and attractive, with a strength and steadfastness which contains hardly a trace of vibrato. Yet her singing is even more highly ornamented than her mother's." No verbal description of a voice can replace hearing the voice itself, but this is as accurate as possible. It is the absence of vibrato coupled with the ornamentation (grace notes, turns, etc.) in Lizzie's voice that is so striking to the person who hears her for the first time.

Lizzie uses the ornaments most ostensibly when she sings her piping songs, the various decorations approximating the sound of the pipe trills and turns, as we have said. It would be presumptuous as well as unnecessary
to describe all the intricacies of the Highland bagpipes and its music, but due to the unusual nature of Lizzie's vocal style, a brief technical description is essential. To begin with, the pipe scale differs from that of most instruments. It resembles the Mixolydian scale in the key of A, but with three slightly flat notes and two slightly sharp notes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Note 1} & \quad \text{Note 2} & \quad \text{Note 3} & \quad \text{Note 4} & \quad \text{Note 5} \\
\text{Note 6} & \quad \text{Note 7} & \quad \text{Note 8} & \quad \text{Note 9} & \quad \text{Note 10}
\end{align*}
\]

The intervals of this scale are therefore uneven, but this is what gives a pipe tune its unique sound. The pipes also have a tenor and a bass drone, but this does not concern us here.

In an interesting footnote to a description of the piping scale, Francis Collinson says:

The writer's own theory is that the origin of these pitch inflections of the bagpipe may have been a vocal one, arising from the instinctive tendency which the writer has long observed in the untutored traditional singer to divide the gap of a minor third in the pentatonic scale by an approximation towards a mid-way point. This has the effect of increasing or sharpening the upward step of a semitone within the Pentatonic gap, and of flattening the upward step of a whole tone, as in the pipescale itself.

Indeed an intriguing theory, linking the bagpipe scale with the scale of an untrained singer, and lending credence to the close relationship between pipe tunes and Scottish folksong tunes.

There are two basic kinds of pipe music: Ceòl-Mór (Great Music) and Ceòl-Beag (Small or Little Music). Collinson informs us:

The term Ceòl-Mór is confined solely to the musical form known as pibaireachd (pibroch) and has no other meaning; while Ceòl-Beag includes a variety of the lighter types of music such as marches and quick steps, and the common types of Highland dance music -- the reel, strathspey and jig.
Within the category of pibroch, one finds three major types of music: "The Salute', 'The Gathering', and 'The Lament'. All three types follow the same basic pattern for pibroch. Collinson simplifies the concept of pibroch to "an air with variations", but the formal names for the "basic standard form" are as follows:

1) The Urlar (Ground)
2) The Siubhal or Dithis
3) The Taorluath
4) The Crunluath.

The Ground basically means the tune that the piper plays first before he performs its more complex variations, although there can be variations in the Ground. In each of the four sections, one may find particular types of variations known as "doubling" and "trebling".

We have not strayed as far from Lizzie as one might suspect. Lizzie employs the terms "doubling", "trebling", "trilling", and "crooming" for her vocal decorations, terms she learned from her father. When I asked her what she meant by these terms, she commented first on the "croom":

... 'at's an old Scotch word for puttin' a crown of decorations upon a treble grace note.... I 'se a wee kiddie an' [Donald] learnt me this folk pipe singin'. Only a wee wee bairn, long a'fore the war, used t' say, "Put your croom upon your treble grace notes". An' I used to say, "What does that mean, Da?" He'd say, "Well, put on your crown of fancy work". An' he would do it.... An' I used to listen til 'im, an' I says, "Is 'at croomin' there then?" An' he used t' say, "That's the croomin'. Now you dae it!"

I asked Lizzie to name a song in which she employs the croom, and she replied, "I dae it in quite a few songs. I dae it a good lot in 'The College Boy'. An' I dae -- I do it on.... 'MacCrimmon's Lament'." She demonstrated with a few bars of the latter song, doing it first with "croomin'" and then with what she calls "double grace notin'", a term which is undoubtedly synonymous with "doubling". There was an obvious difference in the amount of ornamentation. From this supposition one could also presume that "trebling" is the same as singing treble grace notes in Lizzie's terminology.
Lizzie is more vague about "trilling": "Well, trillin' means ye raise it up. An' take it down all in the one swoop". However, despite the fact that these terms are used in a way that would prove musically imprecise, each term corresponds to a definite form of vocal ornamentation in Lizzie's system of phraseology. The similarity between her terms and those employed in pibroch is obvious, but it would be foolish to equate the terms exactly. I am satisfied that Lizzie has always imitated these various pipe decorations; technically speaking, a person can imitate anything -- whether he actually reproduces the original sound is quite another matter. Lizzie's imitation of the pipes does not reproduce the sound of the instrument precisely, but the act of imitation has produced an unusual vocal style in Lizzie which approximates the sound of the pipes, or, more specifically, the sound of the tune played on the chanter, with its decorations.

Before quitting this subject, one might quote Collinson yet again, who says:

Grace-notes and melodic decorations are of the essence of Scots music in all its varieties, though of course these are to be found in the folk-music of most countries. Grace-notes may vary in Scots music from the simple single decorative note springing from the next note above or below the principal note, to the most complicated roulades and melismata of pibroch... Occasionally a downward grace-note may leap from a wide interval above the principal note.... These widely-spaced falling grace-notes... are characteristic of a number of Lowland and Scottish Gaelic singers. They probably derive from the bagpipe, of which both the style and the music have a widely-pervading influence on much Scottish traditional music. Therefore, I am not purporting to conclude that Lizzie's decorations are without counterpart in the styles of other Scottish traditional singers or in the styles of traditional singers of other countries, for that matter; however, the way in which Lizzie employs these decorations in imitation of the pipes produces a sound unique to her, as each singer tends to interpret songs differently, barring those who copy a style outright, which requires
little creativity on the singer's part. Lizzie falls into the native
Scottish tradition as outlined above by Collinson, but has developed a
style peculiar to her, marked by her own creativity and hard work.

In returning to Munro's study of Lizzie, it should be noted that
the ten songs included there are all ballads, nine of which were learned
from Jeannie, and one from Maria. Of course, the article was intended
as a direct comparison with a previous article on Jeannie, featuring
the same ballads. Munro reveals some fascinating differences between
the renditions of Jeannie and Lizzie, but one would expect to find more
differences between their respective renditions of songs like "MacCrimmon's
Lament" or "The Lassie Gathering Nuts", songs in which Lizzie uses more
ornamentation than in her ballads.

Of the ten ballads studied by Munro, Lizzie now only includes two
regularly in her club performances, "The Beggar Man" and "The Twa
Brothers". Apparently, both Jeannie and Donald sang the former song,
so that Lizzie must have been influenced by both versions. When Munro
recorded "The Beggar Man" (called "The Jolly Beggar" in her study) from
Lizzie in 1970, she found it "distinguished from her other nine by the
complete absence of mordents". "Mordent" as defined by Munro in a
footnote is: "the given note followed by the note above and a return
to the original note, in quick succession". In the 1970 recording
of "The Twa Brothers", Lizzie was found to use her mordents "freely". Yet,
when one listens to recent recordings of Lizzie, her renditions of
this ballad and "The Beggar Man" have changed. Her decorations are
very precisely placed, and she has added some as well, showing her growth
of confidence in her style. Therefore one must consider that while very
individual, Lizzie's style is not a fixed but rather a fluid one, permitting modifications and improvements when she feels it necessary.

One question lingers in one's mind; what precisely is the difference between Lizzie's vocal style when she sings her mother's ballads and folksongs, and when she sings her father's piping songs? Lizzie explains her essential considerations when singing the piping songs:

... my brain's working overtime... to watch and not over-decorate which is a dangerous thing...
'cause ye could sing a pipin' piece, ye can over-decorate an' the whole thing can collapse like a pack o' cards. 'S mut like an ordinary song, it goes right out o' control... if you over-decorate, you cannae catch the runs or your -- double an' treble an' croomin' your grace notes... An' then you've got to watch -- an' not under-decorate.

This indicates Lizzie's exact sense of what she is doing in the act of singing the piping songs. It is evident in her club performances that she puts much of her energy and concentration into such songs, whereas she is less strained, as one would expect, when singing her humorous songs and lyrics. All the same, she applies herself to a ballad of her mother's when requested to sing one, and there is no denying that her version of "The Twa Brothers", for example, is startlingly effective.

A version of "Willie's Fatal Visit", which she learned from Jeannie relatively recently, displays to good effect Lizzie's ballad style. One may refer to the tune transcribed by Munro in the Appendix. Lizzie's approach to each note in this ballad is fairly straightforward, whereas this is not so in her piping songs. This is not to say that she is straightforward in all non-piping songs; Munro's study makes this plain, as do the songs Lizzie sings frequently in clubs, such as "The Lassie Gathering Nuts", "The Dottered Auld Carle", and "The Laird o' the Dainty
If one compares her singing in 1970 recorded by Munro, and her singing in 1973 and 1974, the difference is clearly that of hard work and experience. Lizzie seems to ornament most where she is completely comfortable with a tune, and where the subject of the song is serious enough to warrant these decorations. This would explain her increasing tendency to use ornaments in songs where she did not use them before.

While her humorous songs, as we have noted, such as "Auld Maid in the Garret", are sung in a fairly straightforward manner, or without the use of grace notes or other types of decorations, one finds that Lizzie rarely approaches a note directly; she approaches her notes from either above or below the note in question, a feature which, depending on the time taken for the preceding note, may or may not constitute an ornament. This quality in Lizzie's singing, along with an unusual placing of rests and/or breaths, give her a distinctive style. In addition, she wrenches and stretches the rhythm of certain words which serves to create emphasis and emotional effect in a particular musical phrase.

One last comment should be made on Lizzie's articulation in her singing. She frequently goes immediately to the end of a word, holding the end consonant slightly, as in the words "queen" and "king" in the ballad "Proud Lady Margaret".

In comparing the vocal styles of Lizzie and her mother, Munro observes:

Lizzie, with practically no vibrato and considerably less variations in dynamics, has a steadier, more detached quality in her singing, and achieves expressiveness through the variants of phrase, ornaments, rests, etc... Jeannie's singing is more emotional, is freer as to rhythm, has many more sliding notes and employs wider dynamic differences -- is in fact more suggestive of what may be a separate tradition of the travelling folk
Munro gives the meaning of "dynamics" used here as: "Change of tone, mainly in volume." From the above quotation we can see that Jeannie's singing is more overtly emotional than Lizzie's, whereas Lizzie expresses herself more subtly through her ornaments and rests; Lizzie's singing bears no similarity to that of the music-hall (unless she actually sings a music-hall song), while Jeannie's does. The last point in the quotation plausibly explains the reason for these differences between Lizzie and her mother. Lizzie can use a style like her mother's, but clearly she is more comfortable when singing her own way. Her style has been influenced by heredity, but modified by an environment different from her mother's.

One might now ask: Do Lizzie's performances of the same song conform to a norm over a short period? How consistent is her ornamentation? With the piping songs, as we know from her comments about the dangers of over and under-decorating, she varies her amount of decoration, trying to stay within a fairly narrow area of performance acceptability. Therefore, she may vary her performances of these songs while attempting to conform to her own mental ideal, an ideal very much influenced by her training from her father, the variation depending very much on her personal condition (i.e. state of health, emotional state) at the time of singing.

When asked if, in some club evenings, she found she could not decorate as much as she normally would, Lizzie said:

Well, the moment I sing a heavy pipin' piece, an' it sounds lovely to the audience, I can see my audience is for me... an' they don't know anything's went wrong. I know it's went wrong. So I finish 'at song an' the next one I pick is nut sae heavy a decoration. I've got to balance it up. An' I may go up... on the same floor an'...
sing, an' then I get worked until this heavier decorations. Then I can take any pipin' piece on... sometimes -- it's murderous physically, an' awesom strain on me... if I'm in good form, an' really a top-notch 'at night, I can really pit my voice in any o' that decorations, I'll keep on the heavy stuff as much as I can. 52

This response fixes the bounds of her ability to ornament a song. Her artistic sensitivity, the knowledge of how to use her voice to best advantage, are very evident here.

Lizzie's piping songs and "heavy" ballads, which employ decoration, vary more in a short time period than do her lighter lyric songs and humorous songs. Apart from improvements in control and smoothness of execution, her performances are, on the whole, consistent, particularly the texts. Changes in her style are more noticeable when one compares, for example, a recording of her singing in the 1969 Edinburgh Festival, Munro's 1970 recordings now in the School of Scottish Studies Archives, and a recording of a performance at the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society in November, 1973, also in the School Archives. 53 In summary, one could say that Lizzie tries as much as possible to conform to her own ideal of how she should sing, but varies from this ideal when she is not feeling up to it or when she changes the ideal and sings a song differently, perhaps with more decoration, for example.

The matter of stability of text deserves more attention. In his review of Buchan's The Ballad and the Folk, Hamish Henderson comments:

... it is inherently unlikely that a singer relating the stories of what Dr. Buchan rightly calls these "tight-knit ballad dramas" would, in fact, vary them to any great extent if the performances actually were frequent... If the ballad is sung with any frequency, is it not
more likely that the singer will sooner or later make his or her version, and that this will eventually "gel"? 

In Lizzie's case, the texts have "gelled", and some of her texts are different from her mother's texts of the same song, showing that Lizzie has chosen to change her mother's version slightly, and that this new version has gelled. The texts of songs that are not frequently sung appear not to be as consistent. Lizzie's style is more open to change than her texts, by its very nature. This is probably due to Lizzie's predilection for the air of a song; her reaction is more immediate to a "bonnie air" than to an appealing text. As for the specific frequency of performance of Lizzie's songs, this will be discussed in detail in the following section on repertoire.

The general consistency in Lizzie's style and texts must not lead one to suppose that she mechanically performs the same song night after night in identical fashion in a folk club. She says herself that sometimes she feels more able to sing her "heavy stuff" than others. Quite the opposite from the hypothetical folksinger portrayed by so many critics as an objective performer, unmoved by the events of what he is singing about, Lizzie is at all times an individualistic singer whose involvement with her songs is obvious to anyone who hears her perform. Each rendition of the same song takes on its own personal life. In the earlier pages of this chapter, Lizzie explains what her singing means to her, and with these comments in mind it should therefore be unnecessary to prove that there is intense emotional output in Lizzie's singing, each time that she sings.
LIZZIE’S REPERTOIRE

It is not enough to list the songs in Lizzie’s repertoire in this study if a well-rounded picture of Lizzie is to be presented. The songs must be broken down into categories by type (i.e. Child ballad, broadside ballad, lyric) and content (i.e. love song, nonsense song, murder ballad), and the relationship of the song to Lizzie shown by the inclusion of relevant comments by her. In order to do this, I rely on the invaluable aid of two articles pertaining to the subject of repertoire, the first being "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory" by Kenneth S. Goldstein; the second article is "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer -- Johnny Cash" by Frederick E. Danker. The lamentable scarcity of critical articles on repertoire makes these articles doubly welcome.

Goldstein bases his article on folklorist Carl von Sydow’s concept of "active" and "passive" tradition bearers, and moves on to designate patterns into which fall the various songs in a singer’s repertoire. Goldstein points out that the songs in a singer’s repertoire are not of equal importance to the singer, and that the reasons for this are of vital interest to the folklorist. As he puts it:

It is not simply a case of "two hundred songs learned over a period of fifty years". Some hold greater memories for the singer than do others, some have greater aesthetic appeal, others have special meaning only at certain times.

Therefore, some songs are "active" in the repertoire, and some songs are "inactive". Goldstein proposes that "clear patterns exist for
the movement of particular songs in a singer's repertory from active to inactive status and vice versa:

1) **Permanence**: Some songs are actively performed immediately after having been learned and remain a permanently active part of repertory.

2) **Transience**: Some songs are actively performed immediately after having been learned, but their attraction is a temporary one, and when the novelty has worn off they become part of the inactive repertory.

3) **Intermittence**: Some songs are actively performed immediately after having been learned, later become part of inactive repertory, only to be revived still later to take their places again as part of active repertory. This pattern may be repeated a number of times during the life of a singer.

4) **Postponement**: Some songs do not become part of the active repertory until some time after they were first learned. At that point any of the first three patterns may apply to the later status of the songs in the person's repertory.

These "patterns" afford an excellent and informative method for analysing a singer's repertoire, hence I have quoted them at length. Goldstein also presents various factors that could affect a song to change its status in the repertoire; these factors will naturally vary with the individual, and often getting information from the informant on why he does not sing a song anymore, for example, may be difficult. What information can be gathered about a singer's songs and how long he has (or has not) been singing them, is very valuable.

After some analysis of the various types of songs that Lizzie sings, I decided to break them down into categories as follows:

A. Child Ballads
B. Non-Child ballads and folksongs
   1. Broadside ballads
   2. "Piping" songs
   3. Lyric songs

C. Humorous songs: children's songs, street songs, music-hall songs

D. Contemporary songs in the traditional idiom

E. Native American songs.

There are nineteen Child ballads that I know Lizzie to sing or to have sung at one time. Lizzie sings only seven of them with any regularity:

1. "The Cruel Mother" (20)
2. "The Twa Brothers" (149)
3. "Willie's Ghost" ("Willie's Fatal Visit") (255)
5. "I'm a Forester in this Wood" ("The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter") (110)
6. "Lord Lovat" ("Lord Lovel") (75)

The first ballad is about a mother who kills her newborn children, who are illegitimate, only to be haunted by their apparitions. It is a song Lizzie likes very much, as it has an appropriately minor pipe tune; she sings it regularly in the folk clubs. Its association with her father probably contributes to its popularity with Lizzie.

"The Twa Brothers" is another ballad with a pipe tune, according to Lizzie, which she got from her father, though Jeannie sings this as well. Like the tune of "The Cruel Mother", the tune of this song is chillingly effective, and Lizzie sings this very well, so it is not surprising that she performs it often. The story is of a young boy who, in Lizzie's version, accidentally wounds and kills his brother while wrestling.
Lizzie learned "Willie's Ghost" from her mother in 1973, or possibly re-learned it if she had heard it sung when she was a child. It is a gruesome ballad about the ghost of a young man's lover who reives him "frie gair tae gair", because he has found a new love. Jeannie learned the ballad from Maria. Lizzie now performs it quite often, and says she likes singing it.

"The Beggar Man", as mentioned earlier in this study, was probably the first folksong taught to Lizzie by her father, and as such, it holds strong associations for her. It is one of her best ballads, and she says that this is a "pipe folksong" which must be sung in "pipe music style". While the preceding three songs exhibit permanence in her repertoire, this song is perhaps better classed as an intermittent one in her repertoire, as there have been periods during her folksinging career when she chose not to sing it for unknown reasons.

Lizzie learned "I'm a Forester in this Wood" from her mother who learned it from Maria. She performs it frequently in club appearances. It is a very popular song in Scottish clubs, where many versions may be heard, but the basic story is always the same: a young girl is seduced by a man who pretends to be of higher birth than he actually is, and at the subsequent marriage, he is revealed as a "blacksmith's son" while she is a nobleman's daughter. The song exhibits permanence in Lizzie's repertoire.

"Lord Lovat" and "Davie Faa" were both learned from Jeannie, the first, as we know, being Lizzie's lullaby as a child. "Lord Lovat" tells of a lady who dies of a broken heart because her lover is away, and when Lizzie sings this, she says: "I give it all of me,
heart, soul”. In the clubs, however, she only sings this ballad by request, most likely because it takes so much out of her, and because she may feel it is her mother’s song. It will be interesting to see if her mother’s death will affect her attitudes about songs such as this one, and cause her either to sing them more or drop them entirely.

The case with "Davie Faa" is quite different, as she has no particular fondness for it, but only sings it when requested to, and these requests usually come from people who were admirers of Jeannie’s singing. Both songs exhibit intermittence, but for different reasons.

The remaining Child ballads which Lizzie has sung occasionally or very rarely are:

8. "The Laird o' Drum" (236)
9. "Lord Ronald" ("Lord Randal") (12)
10. "Three Times Round Went the Gallant Ship" ("The Mermaid") (289)
11. "The Gypsy Laddie" (200)
12. "The Golden Vanity" ("The Sweet Trinity") (286)
13. "The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie" (199)
14. "The Trooper and the Maid" (299)
15. "Mary Hamilton" (173)
16. "Son David" ("Edward") (13)
17. "Proud Lady Margaret" (47)
18. "The Fair Flower of Northumberland" (9)
19. "Barbara Allen" (84)

The first nine songs have been collected from Lizzie by Munro, but they are songs Lizzie seldom sings unless asked. Even then, she is sometimes reluctant. The reasons for this reluctance are of great interest, so they will be described in detail. "The Laird o' Drum", the story of the marriage of a laird and a girl who is beneath him, seems to exhibit transience; Lizzie told Munro that she felt this was a "heavy big ballad" that she did not have the
proper voice for, 66 "Lord Randal", about a young man who is murdered by his sweetheart, is probably an example of transience. Lizzie never sings it in clubs, and feels that people associate it with Jeannie. 67 As Goldstein points out:

In a community or family in which specific songs are identified with a particular tradition bearer, other singers may shy away from performing those items out of respect for or fear of the "owner" of the songs, or out of lack of security in being able to perform them as effectively. Such singers may know the songs thoroughly, but the items will remain inactive in their repertoire until their "owner" dies, leaves the community, or ceases to sing them for some time. 68

Lizzie is very sensitive about her mother's songs, and her reason for not singing several of them seems to be that which Goldstein suggests, of "lack of security in being able to perform them as effectively" as Jeannie. Again, Jeannie's recent death may change Lizzie's attitudes towards these "big" ballads, but this will only be discovered in the coming years.

Lizzie sings a fragment of the ballad "The Mermaid", which she calls "Three Times Round Went the Gallant Ship". In its truncated version it is often sung as a child's game song, and is taught in some Scottish schools, so that Lizzie undoubtedly picked it up as a child in Aberdeen. To my knowledge she does not perform it in public, so that one might say that it is an intermittent repertoire item, as she sometimes sings it at home.

"The Gypsy Laddie" is a well-known ballad about a lord's lady who runs away with a band of gypsies when her husband is away. Lizzie must strongly associate this song with Jeannie, who to a great extent popularized it in the clubs; Lizzie does not perform it. It is probably an intermittent item in her repertoire.
"The Golden Vanity" was taught to Lizzie by Maria, and she had not sung it since her youth until Munro requested it, therefore it exemplifies transience. In fact, Lizzie was amazed to find that she remembered it. It is a common but rather strange ballad about the sinking of a ship by a cabin-boy who expects ample reward from his captain for his efforts, but is left to drown in Lizzie's version. Lizzie learned "The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie" at school, but she found it too formal for her taste, and stopped singing it. It is a historical ballad about a dispute between the houses of Argyll and Airlie during the time of Charles II, leading to the destruction of the house of Airlie. Neither does Lizzie sing "The Trooper and the Maid", a song of a girl seduced by a soldier, or "Mary Hamilton", the well-known ballad said to be about a servant in the court of Mary Stuart having the illegitimate child of the Queen's apothecary. Her reasons for not singing these songs are unknown to me, but I would think that they exemplify transience.

Lizzie is capable of singing her mother's famous version of "Edward", called "Son David", but as she told Munro:

Well, I think these big classical ballads are very nice on a voice like my mother's, who has the big classical ballad voice. Me, myself, I think I'm more of a lyrical singer, in a lighter vein. This statement is not strictly true, as Lizzie carries off her piping songs very well, which are not really in a light vein, and also her ballads like "The Twa Brothers" which requires much vocal control. The statement reveals her own self-doubts; she is highly critical of herself and often underestimates her abilities. She obviously feels that "Son David", which is a sombre ballad in dialogue form like "Lord Ronald" about a young man killing his brother, is her mother's song.
There are several points of interest concerning "Proud Lady Margaret". Lizzie's father wrote it down for her not long before he died, to put it into Lizzie's safekeeping, as she says. She comments at length:

It's a big ballad. It takes an awfa' lot o' singin' to dae it... An' I would never sing it unless -- I could give it all I had. 't was my father's favourite ballad... an' he learned that from hees mother. An' Jeannie didn't know "Proud Lady Margaret"... My father would never give it til her... He learned me... an' I thought -- even though he was her husband and I was her daughter, there's no sense in pryin'... Jeannie wouldnae poach upon us.

The ballad clearly means a lot to Lizzie because it was her father's favourite, but she will not sing it unless she has stopped smoking for a time so that she can do it justice. This ballad thus exhibits postponement. Lizzie's remarks about her mother indicate that an ownership system did operate in her family, meaning that certain songs were not exchanged despite the family relationship; there seems to have been an element of pride preventing anyone from asking for a song that another did not wish to give out. "Proud Lady Margaret" is a magnificent song about a lady who is visited by her dead brother who warns her of her sinful pride in rejecting her many suitors.

Lizzie learned "The Fair Flower of Northumberland" from some Edinburgh students, and is very fond of it; however, presumably because she learned it from a non-traditional source, she is not encouraged to sing it in the clubs, and she therefore does not. It is about the seduction of a Northumberland girl by a married Scottish soldier, and is very frequently heard in the folk clubs.
It is difficult to fit this song into Goldstein's patterns, but it probably fits best into the postponement category, if we assume that some day Lizzie may sing it when she is not restricted by the opinions of her audience. It is not included in the Appendix as no recording of Lizzie's rendition has been made.

Lizzie learned "Barbara Allen" presumably from her grandmother, as I have only heard her mention it in connection with the ceilidhs at her grandmother's house, described earlier in this chapter. She does not sing it now to my knowledge, so that we will assume it is a transient item in her repertoire. Like the preceding ballad, it too is omitted in the Appendix for lack of a recorded text.

Next in this study of repertoire come the non-Child ballads and folksongs, which I have divided into three sub-categories, broadside ballads, piping songs, and lyric songs. The broadside ballads which Lizzie sings are:

1. "The College Boy"
2. "Young Emslie"
3. "The Maid of Glenshee"
4. "She's Only My Auld Shoes"
5. "The Butcher Boy".

"The College Boy" is Lizzie's version of a very popular ballad, usually called "Lang A-growin'", "Young but Growin'", or "The Trees They Do Grow High". The song concerns the marriage of an older woman to a young boy, and may have reference to a seventeenth century marriage. Lizzie is fairly well-known for her version of the song, as it is on her Topic L.P. "Princess of the Thistle" and because it is a standard part of her club performances. Lizzie comments that it is "out of this world for beautiful grace notes... sends me in
another world when I'm singing it". It is indeed one of her most beautiful and well-executed songs, and as we have mentioned elsewhere, learned in her teens with her father's help. It is a permanent item in her repertoire.

"Young Emslie" or "Young Edwin in the Lowlands Low" as it is often called, is a very common broadside in both Britain and North America. It tells the story of a sailor who is killed by his lover's parents. The song was one of Maria's favourites, which Lizzie says Maria sang every day. Lizzie learned it from her, but it is not as flattering to her voice as other songs, so that this may account for the reason she has dropped it from her club repertoire in recent years; it is thus a transient item in her repertoire.

"The Maid of Glenshee" is a literary love song which Lizzie learned from a cousin, Mary McDonald, who died at the age of twenty-three many years ago. Lizzie says, "Every time I sing this one I think sadly of her". This memory may be the reason she seldom sings it; it too is a transient repertoire item.

Jeannie taught Lizzie "She's Only My Auld Shoes", which goes under various titles such as "A Week Before Easter", "The False Bride", and "I Once Loved A Lass". Lizzie is quite fond of it and sings it in the clubs fairly regularly, so it can be considered a permanent item in her repertoire. It is a poignant story about a young man who is jilted by his lover, and must bear the agony of seeing her wed another man. Lizzie says it "never fails to move the people".

I have only heard Lizzie sing "The Butcher Boy" on Munro's
1970 recording, so therefore assume that this song, which Lizzie learned from her mother, is simply not one of Lizzie's favourites. It is a tragic ballad, perhaps what Lizzie might call "heavy" and therefore better suited to a voice like Jeannie's. It can be found in many versions in both Britain and America, and concerns the murder of a young girl by her sweetheart. It exemplifies transience.

Lizzie's piping songs, which obviously come mostly from her father, are given as she designated them:

1. "Johnnie My Man"
2. "Lady Mary Ann"
3. "The Dottered Auld Carle"
4. "The Corncraiks Among the Whinny Knowes"
5. "Bogieside"
6. "Oh, Are Ye Sleepin' Maggie"
7. "MacCrimmon's Lament"
8. "Far Owre the Forth".

Lizzie says that these are all pipe tunes -- some are probably modified pipe tunes, as they contain notes not included in the pipe scale. Even if the tunes to the songs are not actually pipe airs, what is important here is how Lizzie perceives these songs in her repertoire. Certainly one would have no doubts upon hearing most of the songs here that Lizzie is imitating the pipes by using fuller and more intricate decorations than she employs in much of her other material.

The first three songs exhibit permanence in Lizzie's repertoire, as she sings them frequently at home for visitors as well as in the clubs. The first, "Johnnie My Man", is the story of a repentant drunkard, and is one of Lizzie's favourites which she sings with great feeling. She learned it from her father as a child, and she says of it, "This one never fails to move me".

"Lady Mary Ann" is a version of "The College Boy" as rewritten by Robert Burns but is a happier version, in that the young boy does
not die as he does in "The College Boy". Lizzie learned it from her father after she had started singing in the clubs. The song came from Donald's Aunt Leeb, but as Lizzie did not like the air, she got her father to find the appropriate pipe tune, "MacDonald of Dunach", to sing the words to, as we have mentioned earlier. This song is a standard part of her club repertoire.

"The Dottered Auld Carle" is a song sometimes associated with Jeannie by those who are familiar with her repertoire; however, this humorous song about a young girl rejecting the aged suitor her mother has designated for her was taught to Jeannie and Lizzie by Donald, hence there seems to be no ownership conflict with this song. Lizzie usually sings this in the clubs.

One must examine "The Cornraiks Among the Whinny Knowes" and "Bogieside" as a pair, as Lizzie borrowed the "Cornraiks" tune to use with "Bogieside", since she disliked the original "Bogieside" air. Because of the identical tunes, she never sings "The Cornraiks" in public, but sings "Bogieside" in the clubs. Lizzie comments:

"The Cornraik" is... one of my favourites... I learned it from Jeannie as a wee bairn. It was one of her folksongs 'at I did love... Now I had the song o' "Bogieside"... I liked the words but I didna like the, the pipe tune... "The Cornraik" tune that I loved fitted "Bogieside". This is why I cannna sing "The Cornraiks", "The Whinny Knowes", -- because I gied my bonnie air to "Bogieside"... Lookin' back, I feel a wee bittie -- rotten spilin' "The Cornraiks"... I mean for the folk clubs I cannnae sing two songs with one air.

Lizzie says that the "Cornraiks" air is also a pipe tune, like the one discarded for "Bogieside". She adds that often while doing her housework, she sings "The Cornraiks" "hell for leather", so that one could say it is a permanent item in her "private" repertoire, that is,
a repertoire of songs she would sing in her home or with a small group of friends. "Bogieside", on the other hand, is intermittent, and is sung both in public and in private. Both are love songs.

"Oh Are Ye Sleeping Maggie" is a beautiful night-visiting lyric which has a pipe tune, and Lizzie has been singing it frequently in the clubs. She learned it from her father as a child, so it exemplifies permanence.

Lizzie now seldom sings "MacCrimmon's Lament" which she learned as a schoolgirl. She found the words in a book, and her father taught her the pipe tune to sing the words to. Apparently Lizzie associates this song very much with learning the different pipe decorations from her father, which, she says, "took quite a few weeks and quite a bit of torture for me to learn!". It is possible that she sings this song seldom because of the particularly heavy decorations in it; she employed this song to demonstrate the "croom" as noted previously. The song is thus intermittent in her repertoire, as she does sing it occasionally, but it is probably one she feels she must be in "top form" to manage. The song is a lament written about the death of the Skye piper MacCrimmon.

"Far Owe the Forth" is a love song with an extraordinary air, a pipe tune, which Lizzie learned as a child from her father. The song is intermittent in her repertoire; she used to perform it more regularly in her club appearances (1969, 1970) but now eliminates it unless someone requests it. It appears on her Topic L.P.

The third sub-group of non-Child ballads and folksongs contains lyric songs learned mainly from Jeannie, with a few exceptions. The songs are:
This particular group of songs contains the bulk of the songs which Lizzie recorded on her L.P. She sang these lyrics far more frequently when she began folksinging than she does now, however. The first, "The Lassie Gathering Nuts", a song of seduction, is one of her favourites of Jeannie's songs. Her mother gave it to her "to sing on the Folk Scene" as Lizzie says. It is not on the L.P., but is perhaps the most frequently sung lyric on this list; it therefore exemplifies permanence. She uses it often in her performances.

"The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby", on her L.P., is a lively song which was also learned from Jeannie. Jeannie learned it as a child from Maria. It too is a song of seduction, with a profitable marriage as the happy ending. Although Lizzie learned this song from Jeannie, she noticeably employs some of her decorations in both this and the preceding song. It is a permanent repertoire item.

Because I have never heard Lizzie sing "Bonnie Udny" anywhere but on her L.P., I was surprised at her comments on this song:

"This beautiful Aberdeenshire ballad has been in my family for years. It's my own favourite. I love it dearly. It's my pearl to me."

The song is of a common type which praises a particular town or place, in this case Udny, a small Aberdeenshire village. The reason Lizzie
rarely sings it in public is basically the same reason she does not sing "Proud Lady Margaret" -- "Bonnie Udny" also requires that she be in top form to sing it. (It demands a wide range from low to high in the scale.) The song is difficult to categorize by Goldstein's system, but it is perhaps best to call it intermittent, since it is sung only when Lizzie feels up to it.

"The Seasons" and "Wha's At the Windae" are on her L.P., which she learned as a child from a friend of the family and her mother, respectively. They are intermittent items in her repertoire, the first song describing the seasons of the year, the second describing a wedding.

"The Gallowa' Hills" is very much associated with Jeannie, as is "Twa Recruiting Sergeants", which may be the reason that Lizzie does not always sing them in the clubs unless asked. The first is Jeannie's favourite song, and because it was her brother's lullaby, Lizzie may harbour some fondness for it. It is a chorus song in the same vein as "Bonnie Udny". Lizzie performed it, and "Twa Recruiting Sergeants" in the 1969 Edinburgh Folk Festival at the Crown, but has not performed them much in clubs since then. The latter is one of Jeannie's songs, learned from Maria, concerning two sergeants from the Black Watch who attempt to recruit a young man for the regiment. Both songs are intermittent in Lizzie's repertoire.

"The Overgate" is one of Jeannie's well-known chorus songs, a humorous bawdy song. As Lizzie sang it in the Edinburgh Festival but does not sing it now, we shall call it intermittent.
The next three songs are all on Lizzie's L.P., but here again, Lizzie seldom performs them now. Lizzie says that the love song "Lovely Molly" moves her very much, and that she learned it from Jeannie. Jeannie learned this song from Hamish Henderson, who in turn had learned it from Jock MacShannon in Macrihanish, Kintyre. It is probably English or Irish in origin, and is an intermittent item in Lizzie's repertoire.

"The Fair of Balnafannon", which in his notes to Lizzie's record Peter Hall classifies as a "love among the heather" song, was learned from Jeannie who learned it from Maria. Lizzie has not used it in performances in recent years. She learned "The Banks of Red Roses" from her father when she was young, and but for her recording of it on her record, has not, to my knowledge, sung it in performance in recent years. Both songs should probably be considered intermittent.

"An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me" is very much associated with Jeannie in Lizzie's mind; I have only heard her sing it with her mother at home, so that there is no reason to believe that she performs it in clubs. It is, like "The Dottered Auld Carle", a song about the marriage of a young woman to an old man, but this song is sad, as the marriage has already taken place, whereas the former song is comical, and the marriage is averted. I would consider it transient in Lizzie's repertoire.

The next group of songs, humorous songs, includes children's songs, street songs, and songs suggestive of the music-hall. The songs are:
Lizzie sings "My Granny's Tripe Shop" quite frequently in her performances to break up the serious lyrics and ballads with this comic street song. She sang it as a child, and it seems a permanent item in her repertoire although she may have recently "revived" it for her performances after a long period of not singing it. Another street song in her repertoire is "Sandy is a Sailor", a comic song about a "typical Aberdonian". It is a permanent item in her repertoire now, but how long she has been singing it is unknown, as Lizzie is sometimes reluctant to reveal how long or short a period she has been singing a song.

"Still I Love Him" has the sound of a music-hall song, but it appears to be older and traditional. Lizzie often includes this in performances, but may have learned or revived it recently for this purpose. We will consider it a permanent repertoire item.

"Betsy Bell", not to be confused with "Betsy Bell and Mary Gray", is a comic song with the humorous line: "Onything in breeks'll dae for me". Lizzie learned this from two elderly fish workers when she was fifteen, and has sung it off and on ever since, therefore it is an intermittent song in her repertoire. In the same comic old maid genre is the song "Auld Maid in the Garret", which Lizzie also learned in the fish, but it seems to be a more permanent item in her repertoire.

Lizzie learned "Tammy Toddles", a Scots fairy song, from her father, and sings it quite frequently, both privately and publicly.
It appeals to her very much, she says, so that it occupies a place in her permanent repertoire.

The last song in this group, "Macaphee", differs from the others in that it was originally sung as mouth music. Lizzie says that Jeannie taught it to her as a song, with actual words, though they are Scots nonsense lyrics. These lyrics are set to a well-known Scottish reel called "Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay". Lizzie now sings it often in the clubs, so that it appears to be permanent.

There are only three songs currently in the group of contemporary songs composed in the traditional idiom, and the words to all of these have been written by Andrew Hunter, who has known Lizzie's family for a long time. The songs are:

1. "Up an' Awa' Wi' the Laiverock"
2. "Soo Sewin' Silk"
3. "Beaumont-Hamel".

Hunter apparently set the words of the first song to a pipe jig, "The Jig of Slurs", learned from Lizzie's Uncle Isaac, Donald's brother. Small wonder that Lizzie sings this often in her performances and at home, and that it is a permanent part of her repertoire.

"Soo Sewin' Silk" is a nonsense song which Lizzie says was composed jointly by Hunter and her mother. She likes it and sings it in clubs and at home; it is presently a permanent song in her repertoire.

"Beaumont-Hamel" was set to one of Donald's pipe marches as a tribute to men of the Highland regiments who died in World War I and II. The subject material renders this song less useful for
Lizzie's performance purposes than the former two songs, so it is therefore an intermittent item in her repertoire.

Lizzie sings one native American folksong, that is, a song which has originated in America rather than having been brought to the country by immigrants. "Cindy" was taught to Lizzie by the American folksinger Peggy Seeger who now lives in Britain, and Ray Fisher, a Scottish revival singer mentioned previously in this chapter. The song is associated with Southern blackface-minstrel shows but it may in fact be an old banjo song of the whites. Lizzie sometimes sings it in the clubs, and at home by request of visitors; it falls into the permanent category.

A few remarks should be made regarding the great diversity of Lizzie's repertoire, which contains the fifty-five songs listed here and perhaps others, and also the absence of certain song types, such as bawdy songs. Lizzie's songs range from the serious, tragic ballads to the tragic broadsides to her lovely piping songs and lyrics. She enjoys comic songs, children's songs and American songs (Lizzie has intimated that she used to sing a few cowboy songs, although she now only performs "Cindy"). This demonstrates a wide range in her taste within the framework of traditional song. Her songs tend to concern either the comic or tragic aspects of human emotions and actions, a subject which she and her audience can easily relate to.

Roger D. Abrahams points out the importance of noting what songs a singer does not sing, in order to gain a more complete perspective of the repertoire. Conspicuous by their absence in Lizzie's repertoire are Northeast agricultural songs, especially
the "bothy ballads", and bawdy songs. These omissions indicate her disinterest in songs of a rural life she has never known, as described in the bothy ballads, and her distaste for bawdy material. She says, "I dinae like singin' too bad a blue", and the songs she sings which depict seduction, such as "The Lassie Gathering Nuts", are either subtle or harmlessly straightforward in presentation, but never prurient in content. The majority of Lizzie's songs involve the comic, pleasant, and tragic aspects of love, which must surely be indicative of Lizzie's preferences in types of song-stories.

We have thus looked at Lizzie's repertoire as I know it, and have noted the frequency with which she sings these songs. Further notes on individual songs will be found with the lyrics and music in the Appendix. As for the completeness of this repertoire analysis, I can only say that it is as complete as it can be in present circumstances, and in a relatively short term study of a singer such as this is. Were Lizzie to be studied over a period of ten years, or five, many other songs, I am certain, would emerge in both her active and passive repertoire, but unfortunately, that amount of time is impossible in this case. In five years' time, Lizzie may have learned more songs and stopped singing some songs which she performs frequently now, but we must be content with a picture of what she is singing at present. It is also difficult to know how often she sings her songs in her home when she is alone; her club performances are not the only measure of song performance frequency, but they are certainly the easiest way in which to gauge which songs Lizzie has a preference for. Some of the information regarding her attitudes to the songs has been the result of my own interpretation of Lizzie's feelings, whether when she has not talked about a particular song or
has been obscure about it. In any case, I have presented Lizzie's repertoire as I have seen it, and with the information available to me. Hers is a rich and varied repertoire, as I think is amply evident.
CHAPTER FIVE

The history of folksong and ballad criticism is riddled with morose and morbid proclamations that folksongs and ballads were and are near extinction as species of popular song. As Hamish Henderson comments, "Collection after collection has appeared bedecked with elegiac ribbons, like the ceremonial sheaf from the harvest field". E.K. Wells observes: "Of the survival of traditional songs everyone from Ritson to Sharp is skeptical". Ritson himself wrote: "The editor has frequently heard of traditional songs, but has had very little success in his endeavors to hear the songs themselves". In the early 1900s, prior to his visit to the Appalachian mountains in America where he found "a living tradition of folksong", Cecil Sharp made his famous remark, "The English ballad is moribund; its account is well-nigh closed". Sharp's friend and collaborator in folksong collection, the Reverend Charles Marson, was humorously realistic however; in the introduction to Folk-Songs from Somerset, he wrote: "The folk-song is like the duck-billed platypus in this particular, you can live for years within a few yards of it and never suspect its existence".

The whole question of whether folksongs are still being sung as they used to be is a complex one, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. The simplistic response to the question is that the "old songs" are not being sung, moulded by, and passed on by the processes of oral transmission as they once were in a simpler, pre-industrial society. In 1904, the collector Robert Ford said morosely in the preface to Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland:

Anyway, here are the songs. It is chiefly to the older members of the living generation that I am indebted for them. The rapid and general
railway service that now obtains, not to speak of the ubiquitous bicycle, has brought the village so close to the town, the hill so near to the street recently, that the rising generations in the country are catching up the howling rhapsodies of the music halls only a day later than the people of the city. It may be vain to expect, then — that the time-worn lilt's and characteristic pieces forming the present budget will, by virtue of their collected publication, immediately re-engage the popular favour. All I dare hope for them is that they will be cherished by many — not for their literary quality, perhaps, as some of them deserve to be — but as a species of folk-lore, and as songs and ballads that have been the familiar entertainment of the country people of Scotland during three-quarters of the nineteenth century... Some are dear to us as "sangs our mithers sang". All for one reason or another — but chiefly for the joy they have given to Scottish rural life — are particularly interesting.

Ford's attitude towards the songs as "familiar entertainment" in "rural life" which must be relegated to the category of a "species of folk-lore" is suggestive of the parochialism and sentimentalism of the Scottish School of Kallyard Literature which flourished in the latter part of the nineteenth century with writers like James Barrie, Samuel Crockett, and Ian MacLaren. Ford says, in a rather embarrassed way, that he hopes the songs will be "cherished" since it is "vain to expect" that his publication will cause people to start singing the songs again. Ford was too eager to consider the songs dead in oral tradition.

The tone of folksong and ballad collectors has thus been elegiac and backward-looking for some time. Even with the publication in 1925 of part of the superb folksong and ballad collection made by Gavin Greig and his collaborator, the Reverend James Bruce Duncan, more than a hint of antiquarianism and museum-like preservation was contained in the very title, Last Leaves of
Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs. In the introduction to the collection Alexander Keith says, "The habit of ballad-singing in Aberdeenshire, which is only now dying out, has been persistent for many centuries". Henderson observes in 1964: "Today, Aberdeenshire still bears the gree, as the unchallenged ballad shire of Scotland". Clearly, by evidence of Lizzie and her family, not to mention other traditional singers known and unknown in Aberdeenshire, ballad-singing has not died out as Keith predicted.

One wonders why, if one takes into account that folksongs are not always easy things to find, some critics are so ready to pronounce traditional singing dead as a folk art. There are many cogent signs that traditional folksong lives, both on the lips of singers like Lizzie who have learned their songs from the previous generation, and on the lips of young singers who have learned these songs from modern media sources, or, better, from people like Lizzie, because the songs have a timeless appeal.

It is critically important that we analyse the role of the modern collector, who is different from most of his predecessors; it is this person above all others who has brought to light songs that would otherwise have been lost to humanity. The folksong collector wields much power in his own domain; in previous centuries, it was in his power to publish a collection of folksongs and ballads (which had most probably undergone some form of corrective editing), which could make his printed versions the standard and accepted ones among the literate. The tunes were often ignored so that they were instead subject to the vagaries of oral transmission. Sharp wrote in 1907:

Most of the standard collections of traditional ballads give the words only. The collections
Collectors like Sharp, Greig, and Duncan helped change this situation, and can be considered the predecessors of Bertrand Bronson and his remarkable work, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*.  

Now, the collector has the tape recorder at his disposal, and he is capable of making the song, words and tune, available on record or tape, to other collectors, researchers, and the general public, as well as the singers themselves. The collector's possibilities for influencing repertoires of present and future singers are enormous.  

This is a great simplification of the real situation, but it clarifies the possible role the collector may play in the song tradition. Karl Dallas feels strongly that the collector's role is an important one in the modern revival:

> Without a doubt, the collector is the foundation upon which the present-day folk song revival is built. Of course, without the early pioneers, the folk club organisers, the Ballads and Bluesers, the magazine editors, the first contemporary song-writers, the revival wouldn't have happened either, but -- apart from the fact that many of these pioneers were also collectors, albeit usually in a somewhat modest way -- their work would have been nothing without the collectors to give them the raw material to work upon.

I agree wholeheartedly with Henderson, who says that the collector is a part of the oral tradition, and is no accidental personage in the "folk scene". The collector's role will become increasingly more important in the coming years, that of keeping many traditional songs in currency and of bringing to light traditional singers who are yet undiscovered.

Another important function of the collector is that of
engendering and reinforcing an awareness in his informant of
the inherent value of the folksongs which he sings. In the
early 1900s, Marson wrote:

We do not rob the poor man when we take
his song. It is not like buying away
his ancestral chest or his grandmother's
tea-pot. Rather we enrich him by making
him more conscious that he owns treasures.
We exalt instead of depressing him, and
for ourselves we gain not only something
new and strange, but imperceptibly a kinder,
wider and more liberal outlook.

It is naturally the collector's responsibility to see that the
singer does not feel he is being robbed of his songs, and
"drained dry".

I would put forth that we can consider two major folksong
traditions at present; one existing in and perpetuating itself
through the mass-media and commercial channels (i.e. records,
television, and concerts), and a private tradition, differing in
each cultural region of Britain, but remaining "underground" so
to speak, until discovered by a collector (whether amateur or
professional) or some equally interested person; this private
tradition would cover Lizzie's family's tradition, which was
discovered by Henderson, and other individual and family singing
traditions that go unnoticed because the main function of the
songs is that of private entertainment. Oscar Brand corroborates
this belief: "Experts will answer that there have always been two
bodies of folk song existing side by side, the public art and the
private material". The collector is often the link between the
two traditions, by bringing a member of the private tradition to
public attention, sometimes accelerating the singer's entry into
the public tradition, as was the case with Henderson and Lizzie's
mother. The folk club is often the "middle ground" between the traditions, where traditional singers and commercial artists often mingle and influence each other.

More specifically, we have two traditions, public and private, in Scotland; we are examining those two traditions in the Northeast by focusing on Lizzie's relationship with each tradition. Some singers, like Lizzie, have come from the private tradition to become a part of the public, mostly commercial, revival tradition, while remaining a member of the private tradition. There is no movement in the opposite direction, as one must be born into the private tradition.

The private tradition of the Northeast is a strong one, a vital one, by anyone's standards. Anyone moving into the sphere of the commercial revival tradition, however, from such a private regional tradition, is most apt not only to transform the function of his songs from a function of pleasure and personal entertainment to that of earning or supplementing one's income and of public entertainment, but to lose some of his or her particular regional style, in compromise. Obviously Lizzie has not lost her regional style, and there are other exceptions to this tendency, but it is a hypothesis worth considering in evaluating a traditional performer in a commercial context. On the other hand, there are indeed performers not born into a tradition, who have emulated particular regional and individual singing styles and exploited them in the commercial folk scene.

These thoughts may lead us to some conclusions about Lizzie's place in Scottish tradition. We have said that she has moved from
a private tradition to a public one, but can we say in truth that the function of Lizzie's songs and her vocal style have changed or compromised? The discussion in the preceding chapters negates this possibility; her singing in clubs is a public expression of her own private enjoyment of these songs, and is also the execution of her father's wish for his songs to live through her and to be given to others. From her own comments, we know that Lizzie is very conscious of needing to sing well, whether performing publicly or not. A sense of pride in performance is involved, which I think one can safely say is an inherent characteristic of Lizzie's rather than one engendered by public exposure; her high standards were probably instilled in her by her parents.

Therefore, one must conclude that the function and purpose of Lizzie's singing has not been much altered by her emergence on the folk club scene. She has, however, become more poised, confident, and a better singer from her public experience, as well as disillusioned periodically by the commercial and competitive aspects of the club scene.

Before leaving this particular subject of discussion, that of Lizzie's integrity to her tradition, we should reconsider a very important part of Lizzie's performance. She always sings unaccompanied, never using an instrument as a prop or as a means of keeping a regular rhythm. Bertrand Bronson speaks of the "minute and generally unconscious but continual variations from stanza to stanza..." of "the untrained country singer...". He comments further that:

In natural folk-singing, these slight variations, perceived in the total effect even when not consciously registered by the attention, are
largely dictated by those verbal inequalities which the professionalizing of folk-song tends of its own accord to reduce and minimize or eliminate.  

The singer who uses an accompanying instrument is less likely to produce these "slight variations". Lizzie produces them unquestionably; her individual style is open to alteration by her own preferences, but far less so by audience preference. Her lack of an instrument, her use of her voice exclusively, insures her failure of achieving widespread popularity through records and performances; she will never be accepted by a universal folk audience (such an audience is nearly impossible anyway with all the different factions within folk music) as she refuses to popularize her material with instrumentation and singers' gimmicks. However, does this not show the true integrity and stubbornness of the song tradition which Lizzie carries? She has given her songs, on record and in person, to all who appreciate and revere them, and these people are the ones who will pass them on to others. Lizzie's contribution is great, and she has the satisfaction of knowing that her songs will never die. They may change in passing, just as they must have changed in coming to her, but the core of the songs will remain, as long as people exist to listen to and sing them.

One must not make the mistake of being unreservedly optimistic about the future of folksong; it may suffer a decline in popular taste just as it has seen a healthy and unprecedented revival in the past thirty years. To deny the problems which folksongs face -- commercialization, rearrangement, and mass exposure, to name a few -- would be folly, and it is true that the "old order" of traditional singers is thinning out. To be totally negative about the present
generation's ability to keep the old songs alive, however, is absurd. Such an attitude signifies an ignorance not only of the extensive body of folksong which is preserved on records, tapes, and in books and manuscripts, but of the institutions such as the School of Scottish Studies which are actively collecting and preserving in archives songs which could easily have been lost; moreover, there are a great number of people, both public performers and private citizens, who are singing these songs and enjoying them. One can bemoan what songs we have lost to extinction, but far better to concentrate on the great mass of material which has been and is being saved, and on the traditional singers who have been discovered, like Lizzie. One might add that there are now young singers who find relevance in the old songs for our present society, and who sing them with this firm conviction.

Maud Karpeles the collector and one-time assistant to Cecil Sharp, points out:

... with the transference from oral to visual habits one cannot expect the preservation and evolution of folk song to continue indefinitely by the old traditional methods, so it is well that we have permanent records of the songs to which traditional and non-traditional singers can have access. One can appreciate the sentiments of a folksinger who, after her songs had been recorded, exclaimed: "How wonderful to think that my songs will now live on when I am no longer here!"

Her message here is vitally important; the method of song transmission has changed with "visual habits" as she says, but the songs have not become unavailable in their "older" forms. It is well to note that Karpeles says both traditional and non-traditional singers have access to recorded songs; only when a collector hoards his gatherings to
himself or places them in an archive where access is all but impossible, do we have a negative force at work in the preservation and availability of folksong.

Karpeles's second point is also well-taken. One only needs to read Almeda Riddle's autobiography (mentioned in this study elsewhere) to realize that some singers, like Almeda and Lizzie, feel a pressing urge to have their songs recorded for future singers to hear and use. Passing on one's songs is, like having children, partaking in a degree of immortality.

To be fair, we should consider another good side of the current folksong revival accompanied by commercialization and popularization. As Karpeles so succinctly puts it:

Paradoxically, in some ways the very agents that have helped to destroy the traditional practice of folksinging are now to some extent ministering to its revival. The bearers of the tradition, who had put aside their songs because they felt them to be no longer in the fashion, have had their confidence restored by hearing them over the radio and on gramophone records, and by seeing them in print.

While Lizzie always had her songs close to hand, as it were, she was teased by her cousins for singing the "aal' songs" at her grandmother's house (see chapter 3), and she thus sang the popular songs of the time, and jazz songs, partially in self-defence. Her emergence on the folk scene did not happen until her mother had gone before her, brought to the attention of the folksong-minded public by Henderson and Alan Lomax. Lizzie also needed encouragement and confidence to become a public figure in the folk scene, and she would not have made this move had events and the new atmosphere of the revival not conspired to bring it about.
The revival attitudes and its participants (including collectors) provided Lizzie with much of the confidence she needed to sing in public, and in this respect she owes much to the revival.

What, in essence, will change in the future years of the revival, is the type of people carrying folksongs, and their method of receiving and transmitting them. There are others like Lizzie who fortunately have been able to transmit their heritage to young people today; these young people, however, will not have had the sort of childhood experience that Lizzie had.

Lizzie's total immersion in folklore and folksongs, the influence of having parents who knew the travelling life, and the hardships of her work in the mills and in the fish, starting at a very young age, have all contributed to her personality, outlook, and attitudes toward singing, and her choice of singing material as well.

Such influences would rarely be found at present in a Scottish child's environment, yet some characteristics of growing up Lizzie shares with all children, whatever the century. As long as children are brought into the world, they will sing and play their games, just as Lizzie did. As Oscar Brand comments:

Before long, each one of us is packed full of traditional material which would last a lifetime were it not for the stultifying effect of the mass media.

Lizzie, despite her fondness for the "fillums", Shirley Temple, and Ella Fitzgerald, never lost that wealth of traditional material. The present generation, for the most part, must learn traditional material, if they are interested, from "scratch", but at least the opportunities for doing so are excellent, whether from singers like Lizzie, from records, books, tape recordings, or from other revival singers who have had to learn their material from these sources.
One of the most important tests that traditional folksongs face in terms of survival is that of providing relevance to our society. The revival in America in particular went through a very politically conscious and politically oriented phase; ten or fifteen years ago an American might easily have rejected "The Cruel Mother" as an irrelevant ghost story, or "Mary Hamilton" as a pseudo-historical incident with little bearing on current society. In Chapter 3 the views of British folksinger Leon Rosselson were discussed, who represents the opinions of other singers (but not all) in Britain at the present; Rosselson claims that folksongs must become attuned to "the kind of politics that are relevant in the seventies" rather than relating what he calls "Pleasant and delightful escapes into a cosy pastoral world that has long disappeared, if it ever existed...".

Many revival singers in Britain and America rightly have eschewed such folksong "chauvinism" and have insisted that ballads and folksongs indeed have bearing on what is happening in the world. In an interview with Ray Fisher, the Scottish revival singer, the interviewer Howard Glasser posed the problem:

"... we share, you and I, a common love for these old ballads, and yet we’re reminded somehow during every hour of every day that we’re in a modern society and the contemporary environment is so different from that in which these old ballads flourished. It seems to me that there are two alternatives that might be considered: one is the development of an antiquarian interest, a desire to preserve curiosities of the past. The other possibility is that there is still something very vital, very contemporary in these ballads and that in their extension through all these years they haven’t lost relevance in terms of man and his basic needs — that they still speak about universal human situations."
Ray feels strongly that the latter possibility is the correct alternative. As she says:

Today you look at T.V. and you see films, you see the whole situation and there is nothing left to the imagination at all.... I've spoken to at least one person who said, "Oh, I just can't stand ballads; they take so long to get anywhere", and he's missed the whole point because he's so busy trying to get there, he's missing the scenery on the way. 23

The "scenery on the way" is Ray's way of saying that the ballads, the old songs, have relevance if we only take a moment to look more closely. Moreover, political truths change in time, and topical songs often die a swift death for this reason; human truths never do change, and it is these truths which have been perpetuated in the ballads, and must be one of the major reasons why the songs have been perpetuated, as Glasser suggests.

In examining Lizzie's songs, one can see that most of them are relevant, from the story of the problem drinker in "Johnnie My Man" to the story of the cruel mother killing her two presumably illegitimate babies, to the tale of the girl who is ravished by the tinker and is left with a child in "Davie Faa". All these stories speak to us of various shades of human emotion and experience, besides forcing us to create our own mental picture of the stories with our imagination.

Not all of Lizzie's songs, however, are stories; some are lyric expressions of emotion, with little plot, for example, "Bogieside" and "Bonnie Udny". The fact remains that these songs give both Lizzie and her audience pleasure, despite their lack of a story. Granny Riddle voices her opinion on the function of folksongs:
I think that folksongs are meant more or less like children: you're not meant to try to understand them or analyze them, just to enjoy them.

While her ideas about analysis are antithetical to mine, and to any folksong scholar, Granny Riddle makes an important statement about the need to enjoy the songs. Enjoyment surely has not lost its relevance to us today, although sadly our ideas of enjoyment so often hinge on the television set, as Ray Fisher says.

One of the greatest contributions of Lizzie's, Granny Riddle's, and other traditional singers in Britain and America, to the folksong world, and hopefully to more and more "laymen", has been the successful communication of their enjoyment, pride, artistry, and love in singing these songs to others; perhaps it is their greatest gift, as well, to us. These traditional singers went through similar experiences in both Britain and the U.S.A. before being brought to public attention. Robert Shelton describes this post-discovery, pre-fame experience in the U.S.A. which parallels the story of Lizzie's emergence into the folk scene, and others like her in Britain:

There were attendant changes in the singers. No one exactly went "commercial"... but they began to make clear-cut professional plans, realizing that there was an audience, an undreamed of audience, for their "home music", their back-porch music. This lionization by the folk audience startled and delighted the rural people. In some instances it brought them the money and recognition they had been denied for a lifetime. In most instances it gave them something equally important -- the chance to speak their minds, to "sing their minds", for hundreds and thousands of enthusiastic young people.

Lizzie's entrance into the revival scene was a long process, involving her self-doubt, lack of confidence, and shyness, yet, as we have said,
the new-found audience for her type of singing helped her overcome these problems, and she has now become full of purpose in her singing.

We have said that Lizzie is a transitional figure in the Northeast oral tradition. Perhaps now this can be more fully understood through our analysis of her life, her feelings about her songs, and her feelings about the effects of commercialism in the folk scene. At the close of her autobiography, Granny Riddle tells us:

I intend to sing as long as God gives me a cracked-up voice to do it with. And I intend to sing these songs. But my one greatest, pushing ambition is to get all of the songs I know either on tape or in book form and leave it. Free for anybody that wants to use it.

Lizzie's purpose is slightly different, but is nevertheless along the same line of thought as Granny's. Lizzie's ambition is not, at least not immediately, to get everything of hers on tape, but rather to pass her songs on through performances, personal contact, and through tapes and records too, to those who appreciate the value of what they are receiving. Lizzie is undeniably selective in whom she passes her material on to; she has been hurt by those who have taken and sung her songs without giving credit, or else they have changed them beyond recognition. Her feelings are understandable and cannot be criticized. Granny Riddle has probably had fewer unpleasant experiences of this kind.

All the same, both women are taking part in a transitional phase of the revival, after major collection of folksongs has been undertaken, and a situation has developed where the traditional singers and their songs are being treated with greater respect for
what they are, by both collectors and by their fans. They are also being treated as people, as friends, rather than as vessels of folksong which must be drained dry. Lizzie and Almeda both, I believe, feel a true responsibility to teach or make available their songs to those who wish to learn them. We have quoted Lizzie as saying, "I feel good -- 'at to think I'm worth learnin' from". This new phase is a learning and teaching phase in the revival, and it remains to be seen what effect Lizzie and her fellow Northeast singers will have on the Northeast folksong tradition, but certainly this transitional phase is characterized by greater awareness in all parties concerned, i.e. both the singers and their audience.

Lizzie gives not only her songs to her followers, but her whole outlook on singing, her unusual style, and her personal reactions to the songs. This composite is the essence of her family oral tradition; it goes beyond a mere transmission of songs, but is inextricably connected with Lizzie's feelings that she is an ambassador for her parents' songs and for the piping style of singing which her father taught her. Lizzie has obviously reaped the benefits of having an appreciative audience who respond to her singing. In her homely and beautiful way of explaining things, she says:

Inside everybody, there's a happiness. Inside everybody there's sadness. Emotions -- got something that can't be controlled. It's a lot of emotions human beings can possess. An' when I sing to them, an' a little bit o' ma heart an' soul intil it, hundreds has come 'an' said to me, they've even shaken me up by this, they've come an' said to me, "Well, we've left the rat race behind, Lizzie. Outside world behind. An' ye've tooken us through a vortex. An' ye've been with you. An' ye've given us a wondrous beauty. An' yet ye're an ordinary young woman."
Lizzie's awe at her own power of evoking this sort of response is very evident here. Lizzie has thus given not only her songs, but herself, and the tradition from which she comes to her audience.

It seems, as well, that not only she, but her mother and father as well, felt a true responsibility to pass on that tradition, despite the hard work and disappointments involved in singing in public, in clubs, experienced by both mother and daughter. This point cannot be reiterated enough. Lizzie is, and her family was, possessed of an awareness that has been engendered by the collectors that have visited the family, primarily Henderson, by friends, and by the revival itself, and the new "crop" of revival singers. It would have been easy for Lizzie not to have started singing professionally, with her lucrative job in the fish. It was sense of needing to "carry on" something which her mother had started, and when Jeannie retired from singing in public, Donald felt strongly that Lizzie should follow in her mother's footsteps. Lizzie's conviction of the importance of her songs, and a sense of debt to both parents, particularly her father, kept Lizzie singing through financially lean years; indeed, as her Uncle Isaac once told her, she must have an "awful love" for what she sings because of the hardships she has undergone singing professionally.

The singers who will succeed Lizzie will most likely complete the transition away from the private oral tradition to the public verbal tradition, but one can hope that through contact with people like Lizzie and her fellow Northeast singers Jane Turriff, Tina Stewart, and Lucy Stewart of Fetterangus, to name a few, the public tradition will become less absorbed with the commercial aspect of folksinging. The folk clubs will play an important role in keeping
the focus on the enjoyment of folksongs and on their dissemination among and perpetuation through members and performers. Folksongs have proven such durable things in spite of the odds laid against their survival, one cannot help thinking that they have had their own guardian angels through the decades; what else can one call people like Child, Sharp, Greig, John and Alan Lomax, A.L. Lloyd, Bronson, and Henderson? It is a pleasant and comforting thought to look forward to other guardian angels in the future, as doubtless there will be. In fact, Lizzie and Britain's other traditional singers belong in that category.

Having said this, we should proceed to a final evaluation of the purposes of this study and how they have been implemented. For a moment, let us return to David Buchan’s thoughts on the stages of tradition. Were we to accept his theory fully, we would place Lizzie in a verbal tradition which is transmitted by memorization. He implies a lack of creative impulse on the part of the present-day tradition-bearer. Lizzie does not fit into these concepts. She says she tries to reproduce her piping songs like her father taught her, and her mother’s lyrics and ballads as Jeannie taught her; the reproductive impulse is there, but it does not eliminate creativity and the evolution of her own singing style. Her performances vary, not radically, but vary in amount of decoration as well as in choice of words (mostly minor ones) in her songs. While Lizzie wrote down the words to many of her father’s songs, the purpose was basically that of safekeeping should she forget them, since his death was imminent. These songs obviously evoke such memories and a strong emotion in Lizzie that we can consider them the memory device in operation with these songs. Roger Abrahams would call these feelings memorat.
... they may relate to how the song was originally learned, from whom, and under what circumstances.

Lizzie thus does not rely on rote memorization to learn her songs, at least not with the songs learned from people who matter to her. Her associations with each song are a vital part of the memory process, and show us how transmission occurred between her parents and herself.

Lizzie’s singing has changed in the six years she has sung in the clubs, as a natural outcome of using her voice constantly and improving on her own style, for example, by adding more complex ornaments to a melodic phrase, or by changing the tempo of a song for greater effectiveness. This improvement process reflects a creative impulse in Lizzie, to build on to her basic style and bring it to full fruition, as her father would have wished.

Lastly, although some of Lizzie’s songs have a literary origin such as "The Maid of Glenshee" and "Bogieside", she has not made the source version into the only version; these printed songs are not apt to emerge exactly the same from Lizzie’s lips, so that she has not been afraid to sing them differently. She does not even sing all of her songs from her mother exactly the way her mother taught her; many times the words differ. This again proves that Lizzie is not a rote memorizer.

Therefore, in Lizzie’s context, Buchan’s concepts do not hold; she is from an essentially oral tradition, and she is in some degree a creative performer, although it will be admitted she does not orally re-create songs in the same manner as Mrs. Brown of Falkland may have done.
In the introductory chapter, we discussed Herschel Gower's plea for more autobiographies of singers and their "critical reflections". This study was written with Gower's proposed approach in mind, and has, I hope, fulfilled his stipulations. Through autobiography as a method for the folklorist or scholars of other disciplines,

... the collector/historian may even achieve new insights into the creative impulse of the individual singer and chart the genesis of the created work.

It should now be clear that the genesis of Lizzie's songs is a complex entity, comprised of her attitudes toward singing and her personal feelings about her songs, an entity which we can understand better with her own comments to shed light on the subject.

Moreover, Gower observes:

If we continue to look upon the traditional singer like Jeannie Robertson as a creative innovator in the culture with which she is identified, then the autobiography, however we manage to come by it, provides us with a special kind of knowledge about the extension of tradition.

We have seen how the song tradition has moved, in Lizzie's family, from Jeannie and Donald to Lizzie, and outward from Lizzie and her Northeast culture to a larger than expected public. We have witnessed, in Lizzie's autobiography, the movement of her songs from the personal, regional context to a public, British, and even universal context, while they retain private significance for her; one could say that she regards her songs as heirlooms which she has given freely to others but has never lost the sense of their value.

It is hoped that one can conclude from this study that Lizzie is a very special person, able to offer much to us in terms of her
personality, her outlook on traditional singing, her views on style and her songs, and of course, the songs themselves. As she has no children to pass her great heritage on to, one can only hope that we will see revival singers learning songs from her and continuing the process of song transmission, albeit in a different way from that in which Lizzie learned her songs.

Gower speaks of the modern collector's "opportunity" and "obligation" to "record a number of culturally crucial autobiographies in his own time." Lizzie's autobiography is crucial not only because of her effective transition from the private oral tradition of the Northeast to the public folksong tradition of the Northeast and of Britain as a whole; her background, being unusual in many ways, merits study, and finally, her relative youth puts her in a good position to teach and influence young singers wanting to learn traditional folksongs for many years to come. No more need be said.

In respect to the survival of folksongs, a subject which is inherent in a study of a folksinger, one might go by the words of Bronson, who like myself and others, would like to think folksong will always be with us:

If folk-song can continue, as in former uncommercial habitats, to serve as a touchstone of our common humanity, calling us to re-collect ourselves -- as a norm by which to measure our aberrations and idiosyncrasies, our frenetic or perverse invocatory solicitations of our private egoisms -- we may face the future with hope and patience.
Appendices I and II contain the texts of fifty-four songs that Lizzie has sung for me, Ailie Munro, the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society, and the Song Carriers Folk Club, Manchester. Texts of "Barbara Allen" and "The Fair Flower of Northumberland," not included in the fifty-three songs, but discussed in Chapter Four, are omitted here because Lizzie has not performed them at all in recent years, and no recordings of either song were found.

The songs are arranged in the same order as they are listed in Chapter Four, thus the Child ballads will be followed by broadside ballads, piping songs, lyrics, street or children's songs, contemporary songs in the traditional idiom, and the one American song Lizzie performs. Child ballad titles are followed by their Child numbers. Bracketed words beside a line of text indicate the proper spelling of a word that may be confusing spelled as Lizzie sings it. Most of the songs have either a School of Scottish Studies Archive tape reference number or a record number, from which they have been transcribed by me. Any departure from this format is explained in the Notes, Appendix IV. Asterisks appear by the tape reference numbers of twelve songs, indicating that the tunes have been transcribed by Ailie Munro, and appear in Appendix III. Mrs. Munro gives her own notes to the music.

The placing of the tunes in Appendix III, separate from the texts, is in no way intended as a subordination of their importance; the purpose and length of this study did not permit the inclusion of all Lizzie's tunes, but it was felt that some visual representation of her singing was essential. To maintain a consistent format, the tunes have been placed separately from the texts. The tunes for ten of Lizzie's ballads may be found in
Ailie Munro, "Lizzie Higgins, and the Oral Transmission of Ten Child Ballads," Scottish Studies, XIV (1970), 155-88. All of the songs given here are included on a supplementary tape, so that all of her tunes are available though not all transcribed.

I have commented on the songs as much as possible, and have given additional references, for general interest, where the songs may be found. While the lists of references are not exhaustive, such bibliographical detail is unnecessary, since this study primarily concerns Lizzie; moreover, many of the references given include more comprehensive bibliographies than mine, which one can consult. I have attempted at all times to give a wide variety of sources: American, Canadian, Irish, English, and Scottish. An index to the reference abbreviations used in all the Notes appears at the beginning of Appendix IV, as I have in some cases used abbreviations for the sake of simplicity and brevity. Whenever the Greig-Duncan MSS, is referred to, it is understood that it is the property of Aberdeen University, and is currently being edited in the Edinburgh University Library by Patrick Shuldham-Shaw. Any undocumented quotes of Lizzie's, as in Chapter Four, are understood to come from index cards, in my possession, on which she has written comments.
Index to Lizzie's Songs

1. The Cruel Mother
2. The Twa Brothers
3. Willie's Ghost
4. The Beggar Man
5. I'm A Forester in this Wood
6. Lord Lovat
7. Davie Faa
8. The Laird o' Drum
9. Lord Ronald
10. Three Times Round Went the Gallant Ship
11. The Gypsy Laddie
12. The Golden Victoree
13. The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie
14. The Trooper and the Maid
15. Mary Hamilton
16. Son David
17. Proud Lady Margaret
18. The College Boy
19. Young Emslie
20. The Maid of Glenshee
21. She's Only My Auld Shoes
22. The Butcher Boy
23. Johnnie My Man
24. Lady Mary Ann
25. The Dottered Auld Carle
26. The Corncraiks Among the Whinny Knowes
27. Bogieside
28. Oh, Are Ye Sleepin' Maggie
29. MacCrimmon's Lament
30. Far Over the Forth
31. The Lassie Gathering Nuts
32. The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby
33. Bonnie Udny
34. The Seasons
35. Wha's at the Windae
36. The Gallowa' Hills
37. Twa Recruitin' Sergeants
38. The Overgate
39. Lovely Molly
40. The Fair of Balnafannon
41. The Banks of Red Roses
42. An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me
43. My Granny's Tripe Shop
44. Sandy is a Sailor
45. Still I Love Him
46. Betsy Bell
47. Auld Maid in the Garret
48. Tammy Toddles
49. Macaphee
50. Up an' Awa' Wi' the Laiverock
51. Soo Sewin' Silk
52. Beaumont-Hamel
53. Cindy
54. The Aul' Rogie Grey
The Cruel Mother (20)

She's laid her head against a aik
All alone an' alone-o;
She's pushed an' she's pushed till her ba-'t's near brake,
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

She's laid her head against a thorn
All alone an' alone-o;
Two bonniest babies ever were born,
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

She's went back til her father's castle ha'
All alone an' alone-o;
She wis the sma'est maid o' them a',
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

She lookit owre her father's castle wa',
All alone an' alone-o;
Two bonnie babies playin' at the ba',
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

Oh dear babies, gin ye were mine
All alone an' alone-o;
I gie ye bread an' I gie ye wine
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

Oh dear mither, when we were thine
All alone an' alone-o;
Aroon' oor necks you pulled the twine
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o.

We are in the heaven's sake high [sae]
All alone an' alone-o.
In the hell's fire you will die
[a] - Doon in the bonnie greenwood sidee-o. 1

"The Cruel Mother", one of Lizzie's outstanding ballads, can be found in many versions in Britain, Ireland, and North America. Most Scottish and North American ballad and song collections print one or more versions which according to Bertrand Bronson appeared as a broadside in the late seventeenth century.2 Child prints seventeen versions.3 Only versions G and M do not come from Scotland, the former coming from Warwickshire and the latter from Ireland.
Lizzie's version resembles some of version N, but hers is not the duplicate of any of Child's variants. In ten versions, the mother kills her babies with her "wee pen-knife," and in eleven versions the mother "howks" a grave and buries them, actions which Lizzie's version lacks. There are other differences between Child's versions and Lizzie's, such as in the refrains; the refrains of versions D, E, G, H and M most closely resemble that of Lizzie's, but the refrains of the remaining Child versions are noticeably different. The versions with the refrain

Fine flowers in the valley
And the green leaves they grow rarely.

can be heard in the folk clubs with relative frequency.

The language of the ballad is obviously Scots, and this succinct version is not stiff in sound like some of Child's wordy versions, which seem more formal in their diction.

Bronson offers many intriguing comments on the melodic structure of the ballad. Of particular interest, for their own sake, are these remarks:

The binding element in the rhythmic design appears to have been the interlaced refrain at the second and fourth lines. This has suffered for the most part only slight variation. It is further to be observed that certain other favorite traditional ballads consistently exhibit the same rhythmic characteristics in the second and fourth phrase: "Binorie" (10), "Barbara Allen" (181), "Geordie" (209), and the two "Yarrow" ballads (214, 215) as well as a few not generally found out of Scotland, e.g. "Earl of Aboyne" (235) and "Rantin' Laddie" (210). It is not surprising, therefore to find melodic relationships more or less clearly marked between these and the present ballad. The roots of the pattern, one would consequently guess, are probably Celtic.
Lizzie's version, as we have here, is truly splendid. It not only has an eerie minor modal air which suits the grim words, but Lizzie's performance of it is superb. She does not let personal emotion intrude, in true ballad style, while she unfolds this powerful psychological drama in song. Her version, lacking many explanatory verses which are found in the Child versions concerning the father of the child, the killing, digging of the grave, and the detailed punishment of the mother, presents the drama more subtly; much is left to the imagination, which contributes to the chilling effect of the song.

On closer examination, one discovers that the ballad's construction is air-tight; there is no excess. It begins on an impersonal note, in the third person. The woman bears two children in the forest (1, 2), and in the third verse she returns to her father's castle with a slim figure revealing nothing. It is in this verse that one first receives an impression of something amiss, as the daughter of a man wealthy enough to have a castle would not have her children in the forest unless they were illegitimate.

In the next verse, the lady looks over the castle wall and sees two children playing ball. On first hearing, this verse presents two possibilities to the listener: either that the babies are the ghosts of her dead children, or that they are another's children. The following verse reveals the mother's guilt feelings; she calls out to them, saying if only they were hers, she would give them bread and wine. She thus assumes that these children are alive, not ghosts of her own children. Notice that in this verse the ballad becomes far more immediate and personal with the switch to the first person.
The sixth verse comes as a shock; the children answer, establishing the fact that they are her babies, with the ironic phrase "dear mither" in reply to her "dear babies". A new piece of information appears in the verse, with the line: "Aroon oor necks you pulled the twine". As pointed out earlier, in most versions, the mother kills the children with a pen-knife, in fairly descriptive verses. Here it is from this one explicit, compact verse that we can piece together the tragedy. The drama ends with the babies' pronouncement that they are in heaven, and that the mother will die in "hell's fire".

The ballad is a psychological masterpiece, particularly in this version. The tension is built up to the last two verses of denouement by the curious lack of detail, the refrain, the ominous tune, and the move from impersonal to personal voice. Here we find an excellent example of sound enriching sense. The supernatural element, the appearance of the dead children, is not elaborated on. We do not know whether they are a vision of the mother's, or if they are ghosts, but it is of no consequence. They are the psychological manifestation of the mother's guilt. As Evelyn K. Wells says of this ballad:

This elliptical and allusive, and at the same time unsensational treatment of the supernatural visitor is all the more effective in that it speaks to the heart, and not to the mind. It selects the homely, telling detail to stand for heartbreak, loneliness, and the tragedy of separation. A whole story of repentance and reproach lies... in "The Cruel Mother".

Lizzie learned this ballad from her father, and he drilled her on the decorations for some time, as mentioned in Chapter Four.
There are several Northeast versions of the ballad in the Greig-Duncan MSS, including some tunes, but neither texts nor tunes are like Lizzie's. "The Cruel Mother" appears in print under many different titles. Scottish titles are "Bonnie Saint Johnstone Stands Fair Upon Tay", "Hey wi' the Rose and the Lindie O", and "Fine Flowers in the Valley". Particularly interesting are the titles the song has acquired in North America, where it has flourished. Two titles, "The Greenwood Siding" and "Greenwood Society", suggest respectively a railroad song and a song about rural folk delights rather than the grim ballad that it is. These titles obviously derive from a corruption of the fourth line refrain. Other titles are: "Fair Flowers of Helio", "Greenwood Side", "The Green Woods of Siboney-O", "The Lady of York", "The Three Little Babes", "There Was a Lady Lived in York".

The ballad has also appeared in the form of a children's singing game. In 1918, Annie G. Gilchrist wrote about her collection of "a degraded form of 'The Cruel Mother', brought from a Lancashire workhouse by a little girl admitted to a Southport orphanage, and danced as a ring-game to a gay lilt delightfully inappropriate to its tragedy". In this song, called "There Was a Lady Drest in Green", the murder takes place, but the end is very different: three bobbies come knocking at the woman's door and take her off to prison for her crime. Another children's version appears in London Street Games.

After Lizzie performed "The Cruel Mother" in a Manchester folk club in April, 1975, one of the club residents, Terry Whelan, sang a version he had learned from his ten-year-old daughter,
similar to Gilchrist's text, living proof that this version still circulates among children:

1. There was a lady dressed in green,
   Errie, errie i do.
   There was a lady dressed in green,
   Down by the greenwood side-o.

2. She had a baby in her arms.

3. She had a pen-knife up her sleeve.

4. She stuck it in the baby's heart.

5. There came two policemen knocking at the door.

6. Took Mrs. Green off to jail.

As seems to be typical with children's songs with gruesome subject matter, the tune of this version is a cheery, sprightly one.

For sake of comparison, one can listen to several recorded versions of "The Cruel Mother", which include Barbara Dickson's recording on "From the Beggar's Mantle", entitled "Fine Flowers in the Valley". Other recorded versions may be found on "Singers Three" by the McCalmans called "Bonnie St. Johnstone", on Topic's excellent record "The Child Ballads No. 1" of its "Folksongs of Britain" series, and on "The Long Harvest", Record One, sung by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger.
The Twa Brothers (49)

There was twa brithers at the schuil
An' when they got awa',
It is, 20 "Will ye play at the stane-chuckin',
Or will ye play at a ba'?
Or will ye gae up tae yon bonnie green hills
An' there we'll wrestle an' fa'?
"

"I winnae play at the stane-chuckin',
Or will I play at a ba',
But I'll gae up tae yon bonnie green hills
An' there we'll wrestle an' fa'.'"

They wrestlet up and they wrestlet down
Til' John fell to the ground;
A dirk came out of William's pooch
Gave John a deadly wound.

"Lift me, lift me on yer back,
Tak me tae yon well sae fair,
Wash the blood frae off my wounds
So it may bleed nae mair."

He's liftit him upon his back,
Taan him tae yon well sae fair,
He's washed the blood frae off his wounds
But aye they bled the mair.

"Ye'll tak aff yer holland sark,
Reive it frae gair tae gair,
Ye'll stap it in the bloody wound
So it may bleed nae mair."

He's taen off his holland sark,
Reived it frae gair tae gair,
He's stapt it in the bloody wound
But aye it bled the mair.

"Lift me, lift me on yer back,
Tak me tae Kirkland fair,
Dig a grave baith wide an' deep
An' lay my body there."

"Lay my arrows at my head,
My bent bow at my feet,
My sword an' buckler by my side
As I wes wont tae sleep."

This ballad is included in Munro's study of Lizzie, so that one may refer to the article for the tune which Lizzie uses.21

The text here is taken from the article, with a few spelling changes in order to keep my orthography relatively consistent in the songs.
Lizzie says that she learned this song from her father. As Jeannie also sings it, with a tune like Lizzie's, it is possible that Jeannie learned the ballad from Donald as well, or vice versa. In addition, Lizzie claims that the tune is a pipe tune, but that the ballad is not "put together" or, in other words, a pipe tune was not found to fit the text as with "Lady Mary Ann"; this is the "original song", she says.

It would be interesting to know how far back in the Higgins family the song goes. Child notes in 1882: "All the Scottish versions were obtained within the first third of this century, and since then no others have been heard of". Bronson says of the song:

This Scottish ballad was not known to the world until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it appears latterly to have been lost to traditional memory in the land of its birth. No copy was found by Gavin Greig, nor has a copy been reported south of the Border. But the ballad was brought to America and for some reason has flourished in the new soil... Since the early Scottish collectors failed to preserve a tune, the musical tradition is represented only in American variants.

Fortunately, this is not so. Besides Lizzie, another Scottish traditional singer, Lucy Stewart of Fetterangus, sings a version of "The Twa Brothers" which should be compared with Lizzie's since both singers are from Aberdeenshire. In the Addenda to his massive four volume collection of ballad tunes, however, Bronson prints Jeannie's version of the ballad. Certainly it is a rare ballad, but it is not "lost to traditional memory in the land of its birth".

Lizzie's text, one may note, makes full use of Scots words, such as: "schuil", "stane-chuckin'", "sark", and "gair". It is
one of Lizzie's most "Scottish" texts; many of her songs are not particularly Scots in diction. One should compare her text here to the American texts in Bronson's collection, and in other North American collections.\footnote{26} The ballad action in the latter versions has been transposed to American settings, for the most part, and the texts employ American vernacular. One extraordinary version is particularly worth notice. In Ballads Migrant in New England, Helen H. Flanders includes a ballad collected in Vermont called "Edward Ballad".\footnote{27} It is presented as Child 13, but it is an amalgamation of "Edward" and "The Twa Brothers".\footnote{28} The first verse places the wrestling incident more specifically than any of Child's Scottish versions:

\begin{quote}
It was in the Mid-Lothian Country,
Up near the Pentland hills,
Two brothers met one summer's day
To test their strength and skill.\footnote{29}
\end{quote}

Child prints nine texts, seven of which are Scottish.\footnote{30} Lizzie's version has affinities with all the Scottish versions, but hers does not include the usual verses in which the dying boy tells his brother what to say about his death to his parents, sister, and sweetheart. Child versions B, C, E and G include the offer to "throw at the stone" or "play at the stane-chuckin'!", as Lizzie puts it, as well as the challenges to "play at the ba'!", and to "wrastle an' fa'". William Motherwell's version (Child E)\footnote{31} through Verse 10 is the closest to Lizzie's, in content, structure, and diction. Note that this version, like Lizzie's begins with a six-line verse, while the verses that follow are four lines in length. Both versions employ the phrase "stane-chucking" (which means the same as "throwing the stone" according to Child).\footnote{32} The similarity
ends at Motherwell's Verse 11, and Verses 12, 13, 14 and 15 sound as if they were borrowed from "Edward", as in the American version mentioned above. 33.

In Lizzie's version, there is no suggestion of jealousy or foul play in the "deadly wound", as there is in Child E; the tragic incident occurs, and the wounded boy is attended to by his brother, but to no avail. The only hint that Lizzie's version may have come from a version in which there is foul play is the fact that the flow of blood from the wound cannot be staunched; this has a slightly Macbethian ring to it, 34 but in every other way the wound appears to be an accident.

Like Lizzie's version of "The Cruel Mother", this version of "The Twa Brothers" is starkly simple, adding to its subtle effectiveness. The open-vowelled sound "air" or "ere" is repeatedly used (ten times) in the second and fourth line rhymes in Verses 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. The open "a" sound is employed as well (five times) in the first two verses. These sound devices, coupled with the haunting tune, contribute to the eeriness and softness of the total effect. The last verse is the ballad with understatement and utter lack of emotion; the dying brother tells the other how he wishes to be buried, and adds ironically,

As I wes wont tae sleep,

as if death were an everyday occurrence like sleep.

Lizzie's version, text and tune, of this ballad should be regarded as an excellent one, whatever its ancestral source.
Textually, it is superior to some of her ballads which have some garbled lines, and the tune is an unusual one. She executes the song superbly, and she often includes it in her club performances.

It must be mentioned that Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Motherwell, and Robert Chambers believed the ballad to refer to a historical incident in 1589 involving the Somerville family in Scotland. Young William Somerville killed his brother John accidentally when a pistol he was holding went off, hitting John. Child seems not to hold much store in this historical incident as a basis for the ballad.
Willie's Ghost (Willie's Fatal Visit) (255)

Willie's gane owre yon high, high hills,
An' doon yon doowie dens.
It is there he met a grievous ghost
That wid fear ten thousand men.

"Oft hae ye travelled this road, Wullie,
Oft hae ye travelled in sin.
Ne'er thocht ye o' my poor soul
When yer sinful life did end."

"Oft hae ye travelled this road Wullie,
Yer bonnie new love tae see.
Nae mair ye'll travel this road, Wullie,
For this nicht avenged I'll be."

She has taen her perjured love,
And she's reived him free gair tae gair,
An' on ilkae side o' Mary's stile
Of him she's hung a share.

Yer father an' mither baith made moan,
Yer new love muckle mair.
Yer father an' mither baith made moan,
An' yer new love reived her hair.

Lizzie was in the process of learning this ballad from her mother, who learned it from Maria, during the summer of 1973, and she later performed it at the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society in November of that year, which is the source of the text and tune transcribed here. Strangely enough, her text differs from two texts available of Jeannie's, one which Bronson prints in Volume IV of Traditional Tunes,39 and another which may be heard on the record "The Travelling Stewarts".40 It is possible that Jeannie, having not sung it for a long time, forgot two verses which are missing in Lizzie's version as compared with Jeannie's two, and also changed some words when she taught it to Lizzie. After her several strokes Jeannie often found it difficult to "mind upon" her songs, so that this would seem a logical explanation for the differences between the versions of mother and daughter.
The story of the ballad is strange, which probably explains its rarity. Peter Buchan is the only source for the ballad; Child, William Christie, and MacEdward Leach all print Buchan's text, and no text has been recovered in North America.

By comparing the Buchan text as printed in Child with Lizzie's, one will discover that, as in "The Beggar Man," her version begins in midstream as it were. The first half of Buchan's text, which Child concludes is "a medley of 'Sweet William's Ghost', 'Clerk Saunders', and 'The Grey Cock'", is missing from Lizzie's version. The full story begins with the ballad narrator being asked by a maid if he has seen her father, mother, brother or her lover, Sweet William. The narrator replies that he has seen Willie, who will come to her door that night. Willie comes as predicted, Meggie lets him in, and offers him a choice of cards, dice, wine, or "a well-made bed"; Willie naturally chooses the bed, which Child remarks is "a too familiar commonplace in Buchan's ballads".

The girl tells her cock not to crow until day, but the bird "being fause untrue" crows an hour early. Willie rushes away on his horse, presumably to avoid being caught in Meggie's chamber, and as he goes over a hill into a den, he meets a ghost that "would fear ten thousand men". Here, at Buchan's Verse 13, Lizzie's version begins.

The ghost assails him with the accusation that he has often travelled this road to see his new love, from which we assume the ghost to be his former love, and swears she will be avenged. In the gruesome last two verses of both Buchan's and Lizzie's versions, the ghost reives Willie "frae gair tae gair", and hangs the pieces
"on ilka side o' Mary's stile". Willie's parents and Meggie make moan, and the girl also reives her hair. Child comments on these grisly last verses:

Stanzas 15-17, wherever they came from, are too good for the setting; nothing so spirited, word or deed, could have been looked for from a ghost wan, weary, and smiling. \[15\]

Lizzie's version omits Buchan's Verse 14 and the extra two lines of Verse 17; Jeannie's version includes Verse 14 but not the extra two lines in 17. In Buchan's version, the ghost hangs the pieces of Willie in Mary's kirk, and his head above Meggie's "dice" or pew, whereas the pieces are hung on each side of Mary's stile in both Lizzie's and Jeannie's versions.

Bronson prints two tunes, one from Jeannie, and Christie's tune, which was obtained from Christie's grandmother. \[16\] Bronson concludes that the second half of Jeannie's tune "is obviously related to the first phrases of Christie's". \[17\]

Lizzie's rendition of this ballad exhibits fewer of her characteristic decorations than usual; here she is closer to a straightforward vocal style.
The Beggar Man (The Gaberlunzie-Man) (279)

A beggar, a beggar cam owre the lea.
He wis askin' lodgins for charity,
He wis askin' lodgins for charity,
Wad ye lue a beggar man?
Oh lassie, wi' me tow-roo-ray.

"A beggar, a beggar, I will never lue again.
I had an' dochter, an' Jeannie wis her name,
I had an' dochter, an' Jeannie wis her name.
She ran awa' with the beggar man,
Oh Laddie, wi' me tow-roo-ray."

"I'll bend my back and I'll bou my knee,
An' I'll put a black patch owre my ee,
An' a beggar, a beggar, they'll tak me tae be,
An' awa' wi' you I'll gang,
Oh laddie, wi' me tow-roo-ray."

"Oh lassie, lassie, ye're far too young,
And ye hanna got the cant o' the beggin' tongue,
Ye hanna got the cant o' the beggin' tongue,
An' wi' me ye winnae gang,
Oh lassie, wi' me tow-roo-ray."

She's bent her back, an' she's boxed her knee,
And she's put a black patch owre her ee,
And she's kilted her skirts up abune her knee,
An' awa' wi' him she's gane,
Oh laddie, wi' me tow-roo-ray.

"Yer dochter Jean's comin' owre the lea,
And she's takin' hame her bairnis three.
She's one on her back, and anither on her knee,
And the other een's toddlin' hame,
Oh lassie, wi' me tow-roo-ray."

Munro includes this ballad in her study of Lizzie, but says that "this is Jeannie's original version.... which she passed on to her daughter". 18 Lizzie, on the other hand, says that this ballad was one of the first taught to her by her father when she was the age of four. She also considers it to be one of her piping songs. The fact that Jeannie knows it may indicate that she learned it from Donald, but did not pass it on to Lizzie.

The multi-directional transmission in the family often makes it
difficult to determine who learned what from whom.

In any case, the version Jeannie recorded for Hamish Henderson is different from Lizzie's, one Jeannie learned "from someone in the folk-world", says Mrs. Munro. Bronson, however, prints a tune and text of Jeannie's in the Addenda in Volume IV which is nearly the same as Lizzie's, but with the verses arranged differently and with one verse missing, in comparison. It was supposedly learned from Jeannie's mother, probably indicating that this version existed independently in the Higgins and Stewart-Robertson families, which would account for the differences between Lizzie's and Jeannie's versions. It may also be pointed out that Lizzie does not sing Jeannie's other version, properly a version of "The Jolly Beggar" and not "The Gaberlunyie-Man". (See the pertinent discussion on "Davie Faa" elsewhere.)

Bronson puzzles over Child's placing the ballad in an appendix to "The Jolly Beggar":

... there would seem to be better justification for making the present ballad No. 280 [The Beggar Laddie], and reducing Child's 280 to a later redaction of "Gaberlunyie-Man"... The present ballad has had a long life, both textual and melodic.

Bronson evidently feels, as I do, that the plots of "The Jolly Beggar" and "The Gaberlunyie-Man" are far enough apart to justify separating them in Child's canon.

The text which Child prints in his appendix, like that of Robert Ford's in Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland, is not the one which Lizzie sings. Child's text goes back to the 1724 edition of Alan Ramsay's Tea-Table Miscellany and William Thomson's
The version which John Ord prints bears more resemblance to Lizzie’s, with a one-line refrain after each verse, although the tune he includes is a different one, which he calls "the old bothy air".

Ord comments:

There are several versions of this well-known ballad, but the one here printed is the most common in the bothies and farm kitchens in the North of Scotland. I heard the song first sung to this air at a Sunday school soirée in the parish of New Atlyth, Aberdeenshire, upwards of forty years ago. This song itself is attributed to King James V.

It is indeed interesting that this particular form of the ballad, though with another tune, was evidently popular in Aberdeenshire. Lizzie’s version is actually a portion of Ord’s version from the standpoint of plot. In Ord’s version, the beggar comes twice to the same door, the first time asking for lodging and running away with the woman’s daughter, who pleads with him to let her go with him. After two or three years, the beggar returns to the woman’s door, seeking lodging, and the woman refuses him because she has lost her daughter to a beggar. The daughter then appears with her two children, glad that she followed the beggar.

Lizzie’s version begins with the beggar’s second visit, then in Verses 3, 4 and 5 returns to the scene in which the girl convinces the beggar to let her go away with him. In Verse 6 we are back to the second visit, and the beggar points out her daughter to the woman, and the three children with her. This version could easily have become a fragment of the longer Ord version, but we have no tangible proof.
The tradition of the ballad's author being James V is known by Lizzie, although in the scholarly world this tradition has not been substantiated. Greig writes in *Folk-Song of the North-East*:

> One characteristic feature of our Scottish life in bygone days was the presence and potency of the beggar. The progress of social economics has led to the abolition, in theory at least, of begging; but in former times the Gaberlunzie had place and recognition afforded him in the social system, and, as real or, more frequently supposititious, became the subject of many a ballad and ditty. 56

As it stands, Lizzie’s version is simple and self-explanatory, assuming one knows the fuller story. Munro makes a perceptive comment about the refrain:

> Note that the last line varies "lassie" or "laddie" according to the sex of the person addressed — the beggar, the mother or the girl — so one feels the refrain is said by each character in turn: this is implicit in verse 5. Also, in verses 3 and 4, where the lovers speak to each other, the "Oh" is omitted from this line. 57

Lizzie’s refrain differs from that of Ord’s, which is

> La la-tee too roo a ree

but could easily have the same sung rhythm from the number of syllables involved.

Out of general interest, one might note that there are many versions of this ballad, both tunes and texts, in the Greig-Duncan MSS., again indicating its popularity in Aberdeenshire. In one of these versions, the beggar is eventually revealed as the Laird of Drum. 58 There are twenty-one tunes in the MSS., but they are fairly similar and do not resemble Lizzie’s tune. The ballad seems to have
flourished best in its "home" territory, as there are few American versions.\textsuperscript{59}

Lizzie likes this song very much, as it brings to her mind happy early memories of her father teaching it to her. She still performs it in clubs, so it is one of the longest-lived items in her repertoire.

The ballad appears on a record entitled "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Vol. 2" sung by the Scottish revival singer Ewan MacColl.\textsuperscript{60} The version resembles Ord's, and the tune is different from Lizzie's. An outstanding recent recording of the song is to be found on the Clutha's record, "Scots Ballads, Songs and Dance Tunes".\textsuperscript{61} Again, the text follows Ord's closely, but the tune is nearly identical to Lizzie's.
"I'm a forester in this wood an' you're the same design, It is the mantle or your maidenheid, bonnie lassie never mind", Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"Since ye've laid me doon, it's come pick me up again, An' since ye've ta'en the wills o' me, come tell to me your name", Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"Sometimes they call me James, an' sometimes they called me John, An' when I'm on the King's highway, Young Daniel is my name," Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"They neither call you James, or they neither call you John, An' when you're on the King's highway, Young William is your name." Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

When he heard his name called out, he mounted on his steed, She's buckled up her petticoats, an' efter him she's gied, Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

He ran, an' she ran, the lang simmer day, Till they come til a water, it was cried the River Tay, Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

It's "Dae ye see yon castle, 'at's owre on yonder green, There is 'e bonniest maiden there, that would dazzle yer een."
Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"I see the castle that's owre on yonder green, An' I have seen the maiden there, that would dazzle yer een." Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

It's "Did he steal your mantle, or did he steal your fee, Or did he steal your maidenheid, the flooer o' your bodie?" Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"He neither stole my mantle, or he neither stole my fee, But he stole my maidenheid, the flooer o' my bodie." Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

"I wished I drunk o' water, the nicht I drunk o' wine, Tae hae a shepherd's dochter, tae be a love o' mine." Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.
When the marriage it cam off, they laughed to see the fun,  
She was the Laird o' Urie's dochter, an' he was the black-smith's son,  
Singin' diddy-i-o, sing fal-la-do, sing diddy-i-o-i-ay.

This is Lizzie's version of "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter", which she says, "I've heard Jeannie sing all of my life." The ballad passed from Jeannie's mother Maria to Jeannie, and on to Lizzie. It is one of her mother's ballads that Lizzie sings most frequently in club performances; she usually gets the audience to sing the refrain, which contributes to the song's aural effectiveness and its galloping rhythm.

The ballad seems to have a long history, and shares phrases, verses, and motifs with other ballads and works of literature. We lack the space to deal with these literary connections and parallels at length, but will discuss them briefly.

Child comments:

The only English version of this ballad is a broadside, found in the Roxburghe Collection. It was given from a black-letter copy, with changes and the omission of stanza 4, in the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry... Percy infers that the ballad was popular in Elizabeth's time, a supposition probable enough in itself, and confirmed by the fifteenth stanza occurring (as Percy notes), in Fletcher's comedy of "The Pilgrim", 1621.

He adds that Kinloch "is fully justified in claiming for the Scottish ballads decided superiority".

Kinloch remarked in 1827:

The English copy, which is decidedly inferior, both in poetical composition and archness of humour, is entirely destitute of this part, even in allusion. The Scottish language has given such a playful naïveté to these ballads, that one would be apt to suppose that version to be the original, were it not that the invariable use of English titles... betrays the ballad to have emanated from the south, although it has otherwise assumed the character of a northern production.
Lizzie's version could have no more Scottish an alternative title than "The Laird o' Urie's Daughter", although she now usually calls it "I'm A Forester in this Wood".

As Child points out, "Parts of this ballad inevitably suggest a parallel with the tales belonging to the class of the 'Marriage of Sir Gawain'". He mentions Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale" as an example. The ballad also has parallels with a Danish ballad, "Ebbe Galt".

Child prints sixteen versions of the ballad, of which only one, as he says, is English. Greig and Keith call attention to the fact that Cecil Sharp collected four versions from 1905-11. They observe:

It is somewhat remarkable that all these Scottish versions (excepting one of Kinloch's and one of Motherwell's) are of northern origin. Their story is materially different from the English ballad, which, for example, has no mention of the lady's devices to keep up the pretence of her lowly origin...

Lizzie's version omits several strands of the usual ballad story. In six of Child's versions, the lady asks the knight's name, and his reply causes her to show her knowledge of Latin, and to translate his true name. In Lizzie's version, the lady corrects the forester when he says his name is Daniel, saying that it is actually William.

In eight of Child's versions, when the river is reached, the lassie stuns the knight by proving her ability for swimming, and in some cases beats him across the river although he is on horseback. No mention is made of the river crossing in Lizzie's version, nor are we told whom the speaker is in Verse 9, though we must assume him to be connected with the castle referred to.
in Verses 7 and 8.

The knight attempts to bribe the girl not to force him to marry her in nine of Child's versions, whereas the forester in Lizzie's resigns himself to marriage. In some versions the knight turns out to be the Queen of Scotland's brother and the girl of equally fine birth, such as the King of France's daughter, but in Lizzie's version, as in Child K, the forester is only a blacksmith's son.

Because Lizzie's text omits several explanatory verses, one must infer what has happened in several instances. It is therefore possible to interpret the castle with the "bonniest maiden there" as the Laird of Urie's castle, and his daughter, the heroine. This would mean that the girl carries off her masquerade as a shepherd's daughter in front of her father, who presumably asks the forester to marry the girl after he discovers that she has been robbed of her maidenhead. The other possible reading of the text would involve the assumption that, the explanatory verses having been omitted, the owner of the castle is not the Laird of Urie but a local laird who deals with injustices brought before him. Without knowing how much of the ballad, if any, has been dropped in the course of its transmission by Lizzie's maternal ancestors, one can do no more than present two possible interpretations.

It must be said, however, that Lizzie's tendency is to sing shortened versions of many ballads, as evident here and in "Willie's Ghost", "The Beggar Man", "The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie", "Mary Hamilton", and "Son David". Judging by the number of emotion-oriented rather than narrative-oriented songs she sings, Lizzie clearly has a preference for the lyric, but her preferences
may stem in part from her city, as opposed to country, upbringing, as traditional singers in rural areas often show a greater interest in a ballad story. Thus Lizzie's mother, who had more of a rural life when she was young, and who seems to have had a fondness for a good story, often sang fuller versions of the ballads than her daughter. Through Lizzie, we see a transition from the essentially rural oral tradition to the urban oral tradition, from an emphasis on narrative to an emphasis on lyric.

One should compare Lizzie's version of "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" with several Northeast versions available: Bell Robertson's version in *Last Leaves* with a tune from A. Robb, and several other versions in the Greig-Duncan MSS., and John Strachan's version printed with the tune in *The Scottish Folk-singer*. The latter tune is related to Lizzie's but is not identical. Very few North American versions exist of this ballad, and it appears in fewer British collections than some of the other ballads discussed in this study, such as "The Cruel Mother" and "Lord Ronald".

Lizzie's rendition is included on the recently released record, "The Muckle Sangs-- Classic Scots Ballads". Other recordings of the ballad appear on "The Long Harvest", Record Four, sung by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, on Topic's "The Child Ballads No. 2", sung by John Strachan, on Trailer's "Dave Burland", and on "Below the Salt", sung by Steeleye Span. The last is an electric folk treatment of Strachan's version. One should consult Bronson for a full discussion of the history of the tunes used for the ballad.
Lord Lovat (75)

Lord Lovat he stands at his stable door,
He was brushing his milk steed down,
When who passed by but Lady Nancy Bell;
She was wishing her lover God speed,
She was wishing her lover God speed.

"Oh where are you going, Lord Lovat?" she said.
"Come promise, tell me true."
"Going over the seas, strange countries to see,
Lady Nancy Bell I'll come and see you,
Lady Nancy Bell I'll come and see."

He hadn't been gone a year or two,
Scarcelly had been three,
When a mightiful dream came into his head,
"Lady Nancy Bell I'll come and see you,
Lady Nancy Bell I'll come and see."

He's passed down through Capelton church,
An' doon through Mary's Ha';
An' the ladies were a' weeping for,
An' the ladies a' weeping for.

"Who is dead?" Lord Lovat he said,
"Come promise, tell me true."
"Lady Nancy Bell died for her true-lover's sake,
An' Lord Lovat was his name,
An' Lord Lovat was his name."

He's ordered the coffin to be opened up,
And the white sheet rolled down;
He's kissed her on the cold-clay lips,
An' the tears came trickling down, 86
An' the tears came trickling down.

In Early Ballads together with Ancient Poems, Ballads and

Songs (1877), Robert Bell comments:

This popular ballad is believed to be ancient.
Mr. J.H. Dixon informs me that he has seen a
black-letter copy of it, of about the date of
Charles II... The hero was, in all probability,
one of the Lovelies or Delavalles of Northumberland,
celebrated in "Chevy Chase"; and the ballad may
be presumed to be of Border origin.

Neither Child nor Bertrand Bronson mention the historical connection
of the Loveles and Delavalles families, but the connection seems
very plausible.
Like Ailie Munro, I feel that Bronson is erroneous in referring to "Lord Lovat" as "this too too insipid ballad". Anyone hearing a recording of either Lizzie or Jeannie singing it would question his remark, as both women sing it with great feeling and dignity, and their texts do not strike one as being "insipid". Munro comments perceptively:

The girl dies, as Child points out, "not of affection betrayed, but of hope too long deferred", yet the tragedy is real and reflects one of the problems of the man-woman relationship which has only recently been resolved. A young man wants to see something of the world before settling down to marriage with its immediate family responsibilities: nowadays his girl could accompany him and postpone those responsibilities — or alternatively could pursue her own independent life, instead of passively waiting while the durability of their love is tested ...

It will be admitted that some of the texts of the ballad are maudlin and ridiculous, inviting parody, but I believe Lizzie's version reflects the real tragedy of which Munro speaks.

Bronson attributes the popularity of the song and the long life of the text to the "memorable tune", a tune which is similar in most variants. The tunes he includes are British, Manx, and North American, and says, "most are of the present century". When Volume II was published in 1962, Bronson had not obtained a version similar to Lizzie's, but in 1972, he published Volume IV with Addenda, which includes Jeannie's version of "Lord Lovat".

The most noticeable differences between Jeannie's version and the others are a) the name Lovat and b) the structure of the repeated last line. In many of Bronson's versions, and one of Child's, the last words in the line such as "Good speed" are repeated, for example:
... wishing her lover good speed, good speed
or
... wishing her lover good speed, speed, speed.95

In Jeannie's and Lizzie's versions, the entire line is repeated. This
would necessarily indicate at least a slight difference in their tune
from Bronson's other variants.

Lizzie's version does not resemble any of Child's; hers is
shorter than most of Child's and Bronson's versions, as it omits the
familiar verses about Lord Lovat's death. The brevity of Lizzie's
version lends to its effectiveness, as with some of her other ballads
like "The Cruel Mother"; her ballad does not go into laborious and
sentimental explanation as do some of Child's and Bronson's versions.

Looking at Lizzie's rendition more closely, one discovers a
curious line in Verse 4:

An' the ladies were a' weeping for.

The line is ungrammatical, but despite this, we know whom the ladies
are weeping for, and the eccentricity of the phrasing does not detract
from the impact of the ballad. In Jeannie's version, the line reads:

An' the ladies were all weeping forth.96

This makes more sense, but one encounters these slight illogicalities in
Lizzie's songs and is not disturbed by them, nor is she. The slight
changes are, in fact, interesting in showing how a song may change in
passing from mother to daughter, thereby affecting future recipients
of the song.

Lizzie's version is almost identical to Jeannie's, apart from
this word difference, and Lizzie's use of "Capelton church" instead of
Jeannie's "village church" in Verse 4.97 I believe that the
transcription of "good speed" in Jeannie's version may be incorrect, as
on her Topic recording she sings "God speed" beyond a doubt.
In any case, Jeannie’s and Lizzie’s versions show that the ballad has undergone change; Jeannie learned it from an old Perthshire woman named Cameron living in Aberdeen "about 35 years ago" as she was quoted in 1953. Whether the changes had occurred as a result of Jeannie’s failed memory, one cannot say, except that Jeannie was always possessed of a good memory for songs until she had several strokes in recent years. Gower and Porter are of the opinion that Jeannie’s version "probably came the route of the chapbook sources".

Although the ballad was printed by Kinloch, and Greig and Keith, it is fairly rare in British oral tradition, and seems to have taken better hold in North America. Because of the story’s potential for melodrama, it lends itself to parody. In Last Leaves, Greig and Keith noted: "It used to be sung as a comic song by Sam Cowell in Aberdeen, 1850-55, and a parody on it (‘Joe Muggins’) was also popular". According to Ewan MacColl, in the notes to the ballad as it appears on “The Long Harvest” series of records, this same Mr. Cowell appeared on New York music-hall stages in 1829-30, but adds, "whether his appearance has any connection with the remarkable tendency to parody the ballad in the United States has not been confirmed". Coffin comments on the ballad’s "frequent inclusion in pre-Civil War songbooks and broadsides" so that it is not surprising that MacColl tells us that "most of the American parodies are from the American Civil War". Thus we find the parody "Abe Lincoln Stood at the White House Gate" among others.

"Lord Lovat" was, as mentioned previously in Chapters Two and Four, Lizzie’s lullaby when she was a child, so that it holds great personal significance for her. She says, "When I sing this one, I
give it all of me, heart, soul". Anyone hearing her perform it could scarcely disagree.

An Orkney version of "Lord Lovat" may be heard on "The Child Ballads, No. 1" (Volume 1 of Topic Records' "The Folk Songs of Britain" series). The text and tune are both different from Lizzie's. An excellent American version appears on "British Traditional Ballads in the Southern Mountains Vol. 1", sung by the American traditional singer Jean Ritchie.
Davie Faa  (279)

There was a wealthy farmer, lived in the North Country.
He had a lovely daughter, who was always frank and free.
An' it's day by day an' night by night, she was always in my ee.
For there came a jolly tinker lad to this farm house.

"Have you any pots or pans, or candlesticks to mend?
Or have you any lodgings for me, a single man?"
So the farmer he thocht it nae haim the tinker for tae keep,
And the lassie she thocht it nae haim the tinker's bed tae mak.

But the tinker fell oot after her, and he did bar the door.
He catched her by that middle sma', an' he's laid her on the floor,
He's catched her by that middle sma', and up agin the wa',
It's there he's teen the wulls o' her, afore she's won awa'.

Oh the bonnie lassie blushed, an' oh but she thocht shame.
"It's since you've teen the wulls o' me, come tell to me your name."
He whispered in the lassie's ear, "They cry me Davie Faa,
You'll aye mind upon the happy night among the pease straw."

Six weeks had passed and gone, this maid grew very pale.
Nine months an' better brought her forth a bonnie son.
"An' syne my baby's born, I'll ca' him Davie Faa,
I'll aye mind upon that happy night among the pease straw."

"Any man who weds my girl, I'll give him gold quite free.
Any man who weds my girl, I'll give him farrums three.
For although she's tint her maidenheid, oh wheet the waur is she?"

This song, which is shown by Bronson to be a variant of the ballad
"The Jolly Beggar" (279), was published in an article entitled
"Jeannie Robertson: The 'Other' Ballads" by Herschel Gower and James
Porter. Prof. Gower contends that "Davie Faa" is not a Child
ballad, but a localized North-east ballad; however, in all fairness,
the publication of Bronson's fourth volume occurred in the same year as
the publication of the article, so that one can scarcely criticize Gower
for this assumption. The song had not appeared in print previously as
a Child ballad, although Peter Hall, who wrote the notes for Lizzie's
1969 L.P., believed "Davie Faa" to be a version of "The Jolly Beggar".
"The Jolly Beggar" may be found in many Scottish collections, but "Davie
Faa" appears not to be in print as sung by Lizzie, except in Bronson,
and Gower and Porter.
Bronson prints the same version as is in Gower and Porter, as recorded from Jeannie, by Hamish Henderson. Lizzie sings a nearly identical version, but for a few minor variations in text and tune. The tune is the well-known air for "Tramps and Hawkers."

This version of "The Jolly Beggar" is clearly different from the majority of Child's and Bronson's variants, many of which are four line verses with a chorus such as:

And I'll gang nae mair a-rovin',
A-rovin' in the nicht.
I'll gang nae mair a-rovin',
Though the moon shine ne'er sae bricht.

The story of Lizzie's version is much the same as such versions up to the last verses, where the stories diverge. In "Davie Faa" we are told of the girl's pregnancy, and the father's offer for a husband for her. In the main versions of "The Jolly Beggar", the beggar takes his will of the lady, then reveals that he is either a) the king, or b) of noble blood. He then chides her for not being "a decent lass" and leaves.

Tradition has it that "The Jolly Beggar" and its other form "The Gaberlunzie-Man" (the latter being the same as Lizzie's song "The Beggar Man") were written by and about James V of Scotland; Ord writes that "it is supposed to celebrate one of His Majesty's own adventures in clandestine love-making". Child comments that this tradition "has no more plausibility than it has authority". However, in the case of "Davie Faa", there is no mention of the tinker's social status; he appears to be just a tinker, no more. Hall comments: "The family of Faa was once well known in southern Scotland and the stealing of the lady in "The Gypsy Laddie" is often
attributed to them".\textsuperscript{118} Indeed, there is a version of "The Gypsy Laddie" (200) called "Johnny Faa".\textsuperscript{119} The interrelationships and connections between versions of "The Jolly Beggar", "The Gaberlunyie-Man" and "The Gypsy Laddie" are complex and fascinating.

Lizzie's version, one may notice, ends on a humorous note, the father of the shamed girl trying to marry her off, pointing out:

\begin{quote}
For although she's tint her maidenheid,  
ch wheet the waur is she?
\end{quote}

Compared to the fathers of dishonoured daughters in other ballads and folksongs, one must consider his attitude practical and philosophical. This last verse is also missing a line, as compared to the other verses of four lines each, but the tune being the same for the fourth line as for the third, has caused no problems in terms of melodic adaptation.

The ballad is not common in North America, where it is found as a derivative of "The Gaberlunyie-Man" version rather than "The Jolly Beggar".\textsuperscript{120} Its lack of popularity in Canada and America may be due to the fact that the tinker was never a familiar figure as he was in Scotland, and therefore songs about tinkers failed to have any appeal.\textsuperscript{121}
The Laird o' Drum (236)

The Laird o' Drum a-huntin's gane
All on the mornin' early 0,
An' weel did he spy a weel-faured maid,
She wis a-shearin' her father's barley 0.

"Oh could ye fancy me, fair maid,
An' let yer shearin' be, O,
An' come wi' me tae the castle o' Drum
An' if ye fancy me, O."

"I couldnae fancy you, kind sir,
Or let my shearin' be, O,
I am owre low tae be the lady o' Drum,
And yer mistress I scorn tae be, O.

Lizzie's three verses are part of a much longer ballad. She admitted that she had not learned it properly when Munro recorded the song from her in 1970. Lizzie commented:

I don't think that my voice has got the proper volume tae carry the -- this message of this legend over to the people, the same as Jeannie .... so therefore I know bits an' pieces of it. I never sing it in clubs, because I don't think it's my material.... My mother wants me to learn this ballad, but I've got that fear. While her self-confidence has grown considerably since she made these remarks, Lizzie still does not perform it. Her father sang it as well, so it would seem likely that if the ballad had truly appealed to her, she would have learned it from him.

Kinloch, the first collector to print the ballad, tells us:

Though this production has never appeared in any collection, it has been printed on a broadside in the North, where it is extremely popular: the present copy, however, is obtained from recitation.

Drum, the property of the ancient .... family of Irvine, is situated in the parish of Drumoak, in Aberdeenshire. This ballad was composed on the marriage of Alexander Irvine of Drum to his second wife, Margaret Coutts, a woman of inferior birth and manners,
which step gave offence to his relations. He had previously, in 1613, married Mary, fourth daughter of George, second Marquis of Huntly. 124

Child's information on the circumstances of this second marriage is more detailed:

The Laird of Drum suffered extremely in his worldly fortunes through his fidelity to the cause of the Stuarts. This would have been a natural reason for his declining a peerage offered him at the Restoration, and for his marrying, the second time, to win and not to spend. 125

Greig and Keith date the marriage as 1681 or 1682, and comment on its great popularity in the area of collection, Aberdeenshire. 126

Of Child's six versions, D and E most closely resemble the three verses we have from Lizzie, and both are from Aberdeenshire. 127 Not surprisingly, all of Child's versions are Scottish; it is too localized a ballad to encourage a wide distribution. Drum, as Child points out, is "ten miles west of Aberdeen", not to be confused with the House of Drum near Liberton in Edinburgh. 128

The full story of the ballad seems to have two different endings. In the first type, exemplified by Child A, B, and C, 129 the shepherd girl is persuaded to marry the Laird, who takes her to Drum as his bride, much to the disgust of his brother. He tells the brother that he has done no wrong in marrying her, and that she is welcome to Drum. He also points out that his bride will "wirk and win" whereas the brother has "married ane to spend". (A).

The second type of the ballad-story has a wry twist at the end. The story is much the same as above, but when the Laird and his new bride "in ae bed they were laid" (D), the Laird begins to regret his actions:
"Gin ye had been o high renown,
As ye are o low degree,
We might hae baith gane down the streets
Amang gude companie." 130

The girl retorts that she told him before they were married, that she was of lower degree than he, but that he must be content since they are now married and share a bed; she is "just as gude" (D) as he is. For further proof of their equality, she says:

"Gin ye were dead, and I were dead,
And baith in grave had lain,
Ere seven years were at an end,
They'd not ken your dust frae mine." 131

Many versions appear in the Greig-Duncan MSS., including a twenty-nine verse version from 1855. The tunes in the MSS., all major, are closely related, and are similar to that of "The Trooper and the Maid", and to the tune which Lizzie sings.

The ballad can be found in British Ballads from Maine132 and in Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan133 in fragment form. Coffin discusses the North American versions in The British Traditional Ballad in North America.134

Lizzie says that the present Laird of Drum let her mother sit in the Mary Queen of Scots chair at the castle of Drum several years ago.

Jeannie’s version of the ballad may be found on the record, "Jeannie Robertson: 'The Cuckoo’s Nest' and other Scottish Folk Songs".135
Lord Ronald (Lord Randal) (12)

"Whaur hae ye been a' the day, Lord Ronald my son?
Wa' coortin', mither, mak my bed soon,
For I am sick at the ha'rt, and I fain wad lie doon."

"What got ye for supper, Lord Ronald my son?
What got ye for supper, my jolly young man?"
"I got little sma' fishes, all speckled around,
Mother make my bed soon,
I am sick at the ha'rt, and I fain wad lie doon."

Regardless of this ballad's great popularity in both the British Isles and in North America, it is not at all a favourite of Lizzie's. Munro comments in her study of Lizzie:

The singer clearly feels least at home in this ballad—witness her uncertain start to the tune—and for the listener it is the most difficult of the ten to apprehend rhythmically. Feeling that the folk-clubs associate this with Jeannie, Lizzie hardly ever sings it and could only remember two verses (i.e. double verses, with the tune repeated for the second half).

One should see Jeannie's full version in Gower and Porter for comparison. Lizzie's two verses are basically an ellipsis of Jeannie's first eight verses, but are different enough in choice of words to indicate either a fairly radical memory loss or the possibility that Lizzie heard someone else sing the ballad from whom she picked up these differences. The name used by Lizzie, "Ronald", is not used by Jeannie, who employs "Donald". Munro notes: "The difference in this name suggests a mixture of 'Donald' and 'Randal'." Both "Ronald" and "Donald" occur in print and tradition, however, so that it is difficult to determine the reason for this difference. Scott believed the hero to be "more generally termed Lord Ronald" but versions in the Greig-Duncan MSS. and Last Leaves indicate the popularity of "Donald" in the Northeast.

In any case, Lizzie's version ends with Ronald's revelation
that he has eaten the speckled fish for supper, whereas Jeannie's version carries the story through to its normal conclusion: the mother says she believes that the son has been poisoned, then asks, as in the ballad "Edward", what the son will leave his father and his "true-love". Jeannie's version is fairly similar to Kinloch's, although hers leaves out the brother and sister in the testament questions; this may have been due to a lapse of memory, suggested by her faltering in the twelfth verse of the rendition printed by Gower and Porter.

Child prints twenty-five versions of "Lord Randal"; nineteen are Scottish. The version supplied by Burns to Johnson's Scots Musical Museum is the earliest copy, followed by Scott's. Child shows that the ballad is related to a ballad "from a Veronese broadside of the date 1629", and the similar Italian ballad "L’Avvelenato" ["The Poisoned One"].

Greig and Keith comment:

This ballad exists in many continental languages as well as in English, and the "plot" does not greatly vary, although in some versions, both here and abroad, it is a child that is poisoned by a stepmother or other relation. Even the stanza form is common to all the versions.

Child discusses these European versions quite thoroughly, but does not give much attention to what Bronson calls "the nursery branch of the ballad... the 'Croodin Dow' variety in which the hero has retrogressed from young manhood into pre-adolescence." This "branch" seems to be Scottish in origin, and has appeared in England and North America.

Jeannie's and Lizzie's versions leave out a common though not universal plot element; in Child A, C, D, E, J, M, N, O, P, R, and U, Randal, Ronald, Donald, whatever his name be, gives
some of his poisoned supper to his hawks, or most frequently, to
his dogs, who die. The testament verses are also abbreviated
in Jeannie's version, as mentioned; many versions run through
the mother, father, brother, sister, and sweetheart.

One characteristic of the ballad is apparent in Jeannie's,
Lizzie's, and most other versions; as Evelyn Kendrick Wells says,
the son's "matter-of-course statements to his mother are in ironic
disproportion to the facts." She adds:

If a nation's idiom is found in its folk
songs, we might consider this an illus-
tration of British understatement in the
face of tragedy.

While we have the example of Jeannie's version, sung "in the
grand manner" to "a tune of epic proportions", we also have
examples of the ballad parodied in latter-day tradition. A.L.
Lloyd informs us:

In the mid-nineteenth century, "Lord Ran-
dal" was made into a Cockney burlesque song
much favoured by stage comedians, and in
its comic form it may still be heard among
school-children in the poorer parts of Lon-
don.

As Bronson comments,

Such... appears to be the destined end of
too many fine old tragic ballads: they are
not to be permitted a dignified demise, but
we must madly play with our forefathers'
relics and make a mock of their calamities.
The high seriousness of the parents is the
children's favorite joke.

Many fine texts of the ballad have been recovered in North
America, as mentioned, and their distribution and plot variations
are discussed in detail by Coffin. Bronson gives a complete
analysis of the tunes reported for the ballad.

Besides the Topic recording previously referred to, there
are other recordings of the ballad on Topic's "The Child Ballads
No. 1", on Argo's "The Long Harvest", Record One, and on Peg Records' "Shearwater". The first record has a composite of Jeannie's version with two Irish versions, one in English and one in Irish, and a Welsh version, thus bearing testimony to the widespread distribution of the ballad in the British Isles. The second record includes several different versions as sung by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, and the last recording is sung by Martin Carthy, a revival singer.
Three Times Round Went the Gallant Ship

(The Mermaid) (289)

J. & L.:

Three times roun' went the gallant, gallant ship,
An' three times roun' went she.
An' three times roun' went the gallant, gallant ship,
Till she sank to the bottom of the sea-e-e-e-e,
Till she sank to the bottom of the sea.

"Pull 'er up, pull 'er up", cried the gallant sailor boy,
"Pull 'er up, pull 'er up", cried he.
"Pull 'er up, pull 'er up", cried the gallant sailor boy,
"'Fore she sinks to the bottom of the sea-e-e-e-e,
'Fore she sinks to the bottom of the sea."

L.:

Oh the stormy seas may moan,
An' the ships put out to sea,
We every jolly boys is standing up aloft,
And the landlubbers lying down below, below, below,
With the landlubbers lying down below.

J. & L.:

Three times roun' went the gallant, gallant ship,
An' three times roun' went she,
An' three times roun' went the gallant, gallant ship,
'Fore she sank to the bottom of the sea-e-e-e-e,
'Fore she sank to the bottom of the sea.

This rendition of "The Mermaid" was sung by Lizzie and Jeannie together on April 27th, 1973. Lizzie refers to it as a children's street song of Aberdeen, but it is indeed of "nobler blood". It is a curious ballad because some versions, as with this one, omit all mention of a mermaid with the comb and glass in her hand, an omen boding trouble at sea.

Child points out the connection between this ballad and "Sir Patrick Spens" (56). A mermaid appears in the latter ballad in some versions, which suggests her responsibility for the subsequent disaster. Child comments:
If nothing worse, mermaids at least bode rough weather, and sailors do not like to see them... They have a reputation for treachery... 164

The mermaid is such an intriguing and mysterious part of "The Mermaid" that one wonders why, in a family so full of supernatural beliefs, or at least a fondness for the supernatural, the mermaid has been dropped from the Higgins-Robertson text. The mermaid motif may have been dropped by previous carriers of the song who did not believe in mermaids and wished to eliminate the superstition, or may simply have been dropped owing to memory failure.

Bertrand Bronson says:

The musical tradition of this still favourite ballad has been unusually constant in one of its two main branches. Sung to varieties of the same tune-type, the piece is known in Scotland, England, and in many parts of America. 165

Jeannie's and Lizzie's version resembles a two verse variant in Bronson's collection (Variant No. 2), from the Duncan MSS. and from Greig's Last Leaves. 166 The song was transcribed from the singing of a Glasgow woman in 1905:

Three times roun' went our gallant ship,
And three times roun' went she;
Three times roun' went our gallant ship,
Till she sank to the bottom o' the sea, the sea, the sea,
Till she sank to the bottom o' the sea.

When the stormy seas do roar,
And the stormy winds do blow,
And we jolly sailors are toiling up aloft,
While the landlubbers lie down below, below, below,
While the landlubbers lie down below. 167

This text lacks Verse 2 of Jeannie's and Lizzie's, but is in other respects very similar. Most of the other Bronson variants are more complete. It would appear that the ballad existed in Scotland in the shortened form, outside of Aberdeenshire, and before Jeannie was born. It has been taught and sung in Scottish schools in recent decades as
well, and is used in children's games.  It enjoys a widespread popularity in North America, as mentioned. Coffin remarks: "American texts usually have a 'stormy winds' chorus which will vary in position and use in the different versions and variants."
The Gypsy Laddie (200)

Three gypsies came tae oor hall door,
An' oh but they sung bonnie-0,
They sung sae sweet and too complete,
That they stole the heart of our lady-0.

She came trippin' door the stairs,
Her maidens too before her-0,
An' when they saw her weel-faur'd face,
They threwed their spell aroon' her-0.

When her good lord came home that night,
Askin' for his lady-0,
The answer the servants gave tae him,
"She's awa' wi' the gypsy laddies-0."

"Come saddle tae me ma bonnie bonnie black,
Ma broon it's ne'er sae speedy-0,
That I may go ridin' the long summer day
In the search of my true lady-0."

He rode east and he rode west,
An' he rode through Strathbogie-0,
Until he's seen a gey auld man,
He wes comin' through Strathbogie-0.

"Did ye come east, did ye come west,
Did ye come through Strathbogie-0,
An' did ye see a gay lady?
She wes followin' three gypsy laddies-0."

"I've come east and I've come west,
An' I've come through Strathbogie-0,
And the bonniest lady that e'er I saw,
She wis followin' three gypsy laddies-0."

"The very last nicht I crossed this river,
I had dukes an' lords to attend me-0,
This nicht I must put in ma warm feet an' wide,
An' the gypsies widin' before me-0."

"Last night I lay in a good feather bed,
With ma own weddit lord beside me-0,
This nicht I must lie in a caul' corn-barn,
An' the gypsies lyin' aroon' me-0."

"Will you give up yer houses an' yer lands,
Will you give up yer baby-0?
An' will you give up your own weddit lord,
An' keep followin' three gypsy laddies-0?"

"I'll give up ma houses an' ma lands,
An' I'll give up my baby-0,
An' I'll give up ma own weddit lord,
An' keep followin' three gypsy laddies-0."
There are seven brothers of us all,
We all are wondrous bonnie-O,
An' for this very night we all will be hung,
For the stealin' o' the Earl's lady-O. 171

This very popular ballad has an interesting history both in
the general sense and in the particular; the ballad-story has
two historical figures associated with it, and in Lizzie's family,
the ballad has undergone creative reworking.

Child prints twelve versions, the majority (six) being
Scottish. 172 The first published version appeared in the 1740
edition of Ramsay's Tea-Table Miscellany. 173 The basic story
is familiar to most in one form or another: A lady married to
a wealthy lord is visited by a band of gypsies, who persuade
or charm her away from her house or castle. Her husband,
upon discovering her absence, goes after her, and finding her,
is rejected in favour of one or all of the gypsies. The con¬
trast between the lady's former life and her new one is usually
given emphasis in the song. In some versions the lady is seen
to regret her actions, particularly in those appearing in the
Greig-Duncan MSS., and in some the husband hangs the gypsies.
A few versions have the errant lady return to her husband
willingly.

Child notes a version conveyed to him by Rev. Baring-
Gould in which the lady is a gypsy, who has married an earl, and
is seduced back to her old life with the appearance of the
gypsies. 174 Child sums up the major and minor differences
between the versions he prints, so that one may refer to him
for this information. 175

MacColl comments on one of the supposed historical bases
for the ballad:

In the early Scots version of the ballad the gypsy
lover is given the name "Johnny Faa" but the heroine and her husband are unnamed. Faa was an important name among Scots gypsies and John Faw's right and title as lord and earl of Little Egypt were recognised by James V in a document under the Privy Seal, February 15th, 1530. In the following year, however, the Lords of Council passed an Act ordering all Egyptians [gypsies] to quit the realm within 30 days on pain of death. In 1609, gypsies were again expelled from Scotland, this time by an Act of Parliament, and two years later Johnny Faa with three others of the same family name were sentenced to be hanged for having defied the order... In 1624 the name crops up again when Captain Johnnie Faa and seven others are sentenced to be hanged for the same offence. 176

Child comments:

The execution of the notorious Egyptian and chief¬tain Johnny Faa must have made a considerable im¬pression, and it is presumable that this ballad may have arisen not long after. Whether this were so or not, Johnny Faa acquired popular fame, and became a personage to whom any adventure might plausibly be imputed. 177

The name Faa or Faw links up with the second historical figure entwined with the ballad-story. Child tells us that during the end of the eighteenth century, "people in Ayrshire make the wife of the Earl of Cassilis the heroine of the ballad."178 As MacColl observes, "In the course of time the Cassilis-Gypsy Laddie association developed into a full-grown legend."179 He sums up the Cassilis story succinctly:

Lady Jean Hamilton was married to Lord Cassilis when she already had a lover, Sir John Faa of Dunbar.180 Faa later visited the Cassilis residence disguised as a gypsy and persuaded his erst-while mistress to elope with him. They were pursued and overtaken by Lord Cassilis. The erring wife was brought back home and incarcerated for life in a tower, while Faa and his followers were hanged.181

Child adds that "the ford by which the lady and her lover crossed the River Doon is still called The Gypsies' Steps."181 He finds enough historical evidence to the contrary of this story to discredit the possibility of the connection between
Faa and Cassilis. He proposes that the name Cassilis entered the ballad through the corruption of the phrase "the castle gate." Certainly anyone who has sung the ballad at a reasonable pace would understand how easily this could happen; "Cassilis" and "castle" sound identical when sung at speed.

The two versions Greig prints in *Folk-Song of the North-East* employ the name Cassilis. Lizzie's version does not, but is closer to these versions in style and plot than to Child's versions. Two other versions without "Cassilis" appear in *Last Leaves*, in which we have:

There was three gypsy laddies cam to Errol Castle gate (Aa) and

Lord Castles' lady cam down the stair (Bb) showing two more interpretations of "the castle gate" phrase, lending yet more evidence for Child's theory on the name "Cassilis."

Attention should be given to the fact that in Lizzie's version and many others, the gypsies throw a spell onto the lady, thus making the story one of the lady's abduction, and not a voluntary rejection of her elegant life. Alan Lomax and Peter Kennedy comment, "Some scholars suggest it is a rationalization of an ancient Celtic tale of fairy abduction." In any case, one could simply say that it makes for a good story; the ballad has an archetypal ring to it, harking back to stories of enchantment in the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Celtic tale traditions.

Equally fascinating is the story of how Jeannie's text and tune came to be married, and thus passed on to Lizzie.
The story is told in the notes of the recent "The Muckle Sangs," and is summed up by Karl Dallas, author of a recent tribute to Jeannie:

Jeannie heard the song, "The Roving Ploughboy" sung by John MacDonald of Pitgaveny, Elgin, on a tape, and was struck by the obvious similarity of the first verse of the song to the words of "The Gypsy Laddies" as she remembered her people singing it. In fact, it's likely that the "Ploughboy" song had been composed by the father of MacDonald's informant, using "The Gypsy Laddies" as a model. Jeannie took the new tune and set the words of the song she remembered to it, advancing the development of a ballad which is one of the most widespread in the English language.

Lizzie's version is virtually the same as her mother's, so that she has not been inclined to alter it. Their version places the incident in the Northeast with the place-name Strathbogie in Verses 5, 6 and 7. One odd aspect of their version is the sudden leap from three gypsies in Verse 11 to seven in Verse 12. This is probably explained by the fact that there are versions in which there are one, three, or seven gypsies. Indeed, both this version, which has been taken up by several singers in the revival, notably Dick Gaughan, and another version, entitled "Seven Yellow Gypsies," popularized by Martin Carthy, surface frequently in the folk clubs.

Another feature of Jeannie's and Lizzie's version is the lack of connecting verses between the lord's spoken verses (6 and 7) and the lady's (8 and 9).

The story proceeds in this version directly from the spoken verses, rather than from narrative verses. The lady's verses (8 and 9) reveal a hint of uncertainty in the lady's mind about her situation, although in Verse 11, she says she will give up her houses, land, baby, and wedded lord. The last verse is presumably spoken by one of the gypsies, who says that they will
be hung, which does not occur in all versions.

The tune to this ballad is, as Munro says, "very similar in shape and structure to that of 'The Trooper and the Maid,' although the pace is slower." Gower and Porter comment that the tune's "patently extrovert nature is linked psychologically to the graphic immediacy of the text." Bronson discusses the extraordinary number of other tunes for this ballad.

The song is extremely popular in North America, although the essence of the central gypsy figures is changed; Lomax and Kennedy observe that "it tends to lose its special character and become merely the tale of a lady runaway. There sometimes the song has a cowboy setting." The name of the gypsy becomes (usually) Gypsy Davy. Coffin gives many references for the ballad in North America, and discusses nine different story types. He says:

In this country, the hanging of the gypsies and the names of Faa and Cassilis are omitted. The rationalization has frequently been carried further so that the gypsy becomes merely a lover and the lady a landlord's wife, etc.

He notes one of Davis's versions from *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* in which "the gypsies are on their way to becoming Indians." The refrains in North American versions are not present in British versions.

Besides the three records cited already, there is another worth listening to for comparison, "British Traditional Ballads in the Southern Mountains, Vol. 1," on which the ballad is sung to a different tune by Jean Ritchie.
There lies a ship in the North Countree,
And the name of that ship is the "Golden Victoree",
And the name of that ship is the "Gold Victoree",
And they sunk her to the Lowlands low.

Up spoke the captain an' up spoke he,
"Is there any man on board who will sink this ship for me?
Is there any man on board who will sink this ship for me,
Who will sink her in the Lowlands low?"

Up spoke the cabin-boy an' up spoke he:
"What will ye give to me if I sink this ship for thee?
What will ye give to me if I sink this ship for thee,
If I sink her to the Lowlands low?"

"I'll give you silver and I will give you gold,
Likewise my youngest daughter if you turn bold,
Likewise my youngest daughter if you turn bold,
If you sink her to the Lowlands low."

Some was playin' dominos an' others playing draughts,
An' the water comin' in gave them all a great start,
The water comin' in gave them all a great start,
And he sunk her tae the Lowlands low.

"Oh captain, dear captain, it's will ye let me in?
Oh captain, dear captain, it's will ye let me in?
Oh captain, dear captain, it's will ye let me in?
For I've sunk her to the Lowlands low.

"We'll shoot you, we'll drown you, we'll stab ye to the heart,
We'll shoot you, we'll drown you, we'll stab ye to the heart,
We'll shoot you, an' drown you, and stab ye to the heart,
An' we'll sink you tae the Lowlands low."

Munro includes this ballad in her study of Lizzie. Her 1970 recording of Lizzie's version is the only one available at present, as Lizzie had not sung it since she was a teenager, and was amazed to find that she remembered the entire song after so many years. Lizzie used to sing it with her grandmother Maria, from whom she learned it, at the family gatherings at Maria's home mentioned in Chapter Four. Bronson prints Jeannie's version, which is also in the Gower and Porter article on Jeannie. Verses 5 and 6 in Jeannie's version are
omitted in Lizzie's, while Jeannie's omits Lizzie's final verse. Lizzie's version does not tell us how the cabin-boy sank the ship, whereas in Jeannie's, the instrument is a dagger, and in Child's versions A, B and C, the instrument is an auger.

Bronson finds that "judging by the number of copies secured in this century", the ballad "was never more vigorously alive than now". Greig and Keith comment: "Despite its English origin, the ballad was widely current in Scotland". Regardless of its apparent popularity past and present, the ballad seems to have no particular appeal for Lizzie, since she let as much as thirty years elapse without singing it. Yet, the fact that she was able to recall it when singing to Munro demonstrates an important point; as Munro remarks:

The tenacious memory of the artist who learns from oral transmission also amazes those of us who learn almost entirely from the written page, whether it be words or music.

Greig and Keith inform us:

The earliest text of this ballad that has come down to us is a broadside of 1682–85, which Child uses as his A version. More modern derivatives from printed sources and tradition he uses for B and C. Clearly all hark back to the broadside...

Child admits, as Greig and Keith put it, that it is "not quite impossible that the ultimate source of the traditional copies may be as old as the broadside".

There are many versions of this ballad, both British and North American. The variations between them seem to centre on the point of the cabin-boy's ultimate fate. In the notes to Jean Ritchie's record, "British Traditional Ballads in the Southern Mountains, Vol. 1",...
editor Kenneth S. Goldstein observes:

Details of the ballad vary greatly in the many versions collected since Child. Aside from the usual havoc wreaked by oral circulation on names and places, an unusual amount of variation exists in the emotional contexts of the ballad's ending. In some versions, the cabin-boy is amply rewarded for his ship-wrecking activity, in others he is left to drown, or is pulled aboard too late and dies on deck. Some few texts end with the cabin-boy taking his revenge by returning a ghost form and sinking the ship.  

To compare a wide spectrum of versions for these plot differences, one should examine Child B and C, and versions in Bothy Songs and Ballads, English County Songs, The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs and Missouri Ballads and Songs. Coffin discusses the ballad as it appears in North America.

The name of the two ships in the ballad varies from country to country; "The Sweet Trinity" as in Child A is supposed to have been built by Sir Walter Raleigh. In Scottish versions the name of the ship is the "Sweet Kumadee" or the "Goulden Vanity", but no version has been found using the "Golden Victoree" as Lizzie's version does. Coffin remarks:

In America, Sir Walter Raleigh is no longer connected with the song, the ships have "Golden Vanity" and "Turkish (also Russian, Irish, French, etc.) Revelee" names which may vary with historical circumstances.

Jean Ritchie's version is entitled "The Merry Golden Tree". Other American names for the ship and the ballad are: "Gold China Tree", "Golden Vinday", and "Golden Willow Tree".
The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie (199)

It fell upon a day an' a bonnie summer's day
When the clans were awa' wi' Chairlie,
When there fell oot a great dispute
Between Argyll an' Airlie.

Argyll he hez raised one hundred of his men,
It is [?eh] bein' the mornin' airly,
An' he hes gane doon by the back o' Dunkeld,
For tae plunder the bonnie hoose o' Airlie.

Lady Ogilvie looked frae her high castle wa',
An' oh but she sighed sairly,
Tae see Argyll an' his men
Come tae plunder the bonnie hoose o' Airlie.

"Come doon, come doon, Lady Ogilvie," he cried,
"Come doon an' kiss me fairly,
For ere the mornin's clear daylight,
I will no leave a stanin' stane o' Airlie."

"I widnae come doon, you false lord," she cried,
"Or wid I kiss thee fairly,
I widnae come doon, ye false Argyll,
Though ye dinnae leave a stanin' stane o' Airlie."218

Like "The Golden Victoree," this ballad is not popular
with Lizzie. She told Mrs. Ailie Munro, in '970:

This is a song 'at I learnt at school ... when
I was quite-- young, but the song never appealed
tae me. Maybe it was because ma teachers was
too posh... because they've got to be polite in
school... so, it never did appeal to me, I liked eh-- the air of the thing, but it always seemed
long and tiresome... but I used to hear ma mother
and ma grandmother singin' it an' I did learn
that few verses off them...219

The ballad is historical, originally referring to a dispute
between Argyll and Airlie in 1640. Child tells the story in
greater detail:

The Committee of Estates, June 12, 1640, gave
commission to the Earl of Argyle to rise in arms
against certain people, among whom was the Earl
of Airlie, as enemies to religion and unnatural
to their country, and to pursue them with fire
and sword until they should be brought to their
duty or else utterly subdued and rooted out. The
Earl of Airlie had gone to England, fearing
lest he should be pressed to subscribe to the Covenant... Argyle... took Airlie in hand in the beginning of July, and caused both this house and that of Forthar, belonging to Lord Ogilvie, to be pillaged, burned, and demolished... The ballad puts Lady Airlie in command of the house or castle, but none of the family were there at the time it was sacked.  

Child notes that one version moves the incident up to "the 45," "not very strangely... when we consider the prominence of the younger Lord Ogilvie and his wife among the supporters of Charles Edward." This undoubtedly explains the Jacobite sentiment in the second line of Lizzie's first verse, a line which usually runs, "When green grew aits and barley," or "When the corn grew green and bonny," to emphasize the time of year.

Ford includes a version of the ballad in Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland, and a more complete explanation of the story than Child. Ford informs us that the Forthar or Fortar house of the Ogilvie family, also destroyed, "is the scene of the dialogue of the ballad." Child prints four main versions of the ballad with many variants of each; the song also appears in Ord's Bothy Songs and Ballads. Lizzie's version is close to Ord's as far as hers goes; her remark about the tiresome length of the ballad may indicate that she once knew more verses. In most versions, the plundering of Airlie is carried out despite Lady Ogilvie's defiance.

Bronson finds that the ballad tune "appeared in print almost as early as printed records of the text." However, this tune has given way in many instances to the well-known tune to "The Bonnie Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond," which is the tune Lizzie employs.
Ford comments:

No Scottish song or ballad has had a more lively vagabond career than "The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie," which has formed an item in the repertoire of wandering musicians for many generations. Thirty and odd years ago there was a decrepit old man who used to haunt the Nethergate and Perth Road of Dundee who sang nothing else, and his rendition was so singularly absurd that he had many mock imitators among the younger generations therewith, who knew the old vocalist only by the self-created name of "Leddy Ogilby." 228

Such information not only makes one aware of the ballad's popularity, but suggests one of the ways in which ballads become the subject of parodies.

Because of its historical and topical nature, the ballad makes few appearances in North America. 229 A full version is given in Cox's Folk-Songs of the South, however; this is worth comparison with Lizzie's text. 230

For a version of the ballad with a different tune, one may listen to MacColl's rendition on "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," Vol.2. 231
The Trooper and the Maid (299)

A trooper lad come here last nicht,
An' oh but he was weary;
A trooper lad come here last nicht,
An' the moon shone bright and clearly.

CHORUS:
"Bonnie lassie, I'll lie near you yet,
Bonnie lassie, I'll lie near ye,
An' I'll gar all yer ribbons reel
In the morn or I leave ye."

She's taen his horse by the bridle-head
An' led it awa' to the stable,
An' corn an' hay for a pretty soldier boy
To eat while it was able.

CHORUS

She's taen him by the lily-white haun',
And she's led him up tae her chamber,
She's gied him a stoup o' wine for to drink
An' it's flaired tae his lugs like aimer.

CHORUS

She stript off her lily-white goon,
Also her hat an' feather,
He stript off his shoes an' his spurs
And they both lay down together.

CHORUS

They hadnae been in bed an hour,
An' hour but a quarter,
When the drums come beatin' owre the hill
An' ilka beat grew sharper.

CHORUS

"When will you come back again
Tae be the wee thing's daddy?"
"When cockleshells grow in silver bells,
Bonnie lassie we'll get mairried."

CHORUS

She's kilted her petticoats up tae her knees,
And she's efter her trooper laddie;
Her stays got 'at fou that she cannae bou,
An' he's left her in Kirkcaldy. 232

CHORUS

Lizzie learned this ballad from her mother, who sings both a
version similar to this one, and another, which appears in Gower and
Porter. She does not perform the song in clubs, and in all probability has felt either that this was Jeannie's song, or else that it was a bawdier song than she wanted to sing.

Child gives three versions of the ballad, all of which are Scottish. Lizzie's version does not resemble any of them, but is instead very like the versions which may be heard frequently in the clubs at present, where it is quite popular. Ewan MacColl comments in his notes to "The Long Harvest", Record Ten: "The ballad is still sung in Scotland to several tunes, though there is little variation in any of the texts". Because Lizzie's version varies somewhat from her mother's similar version as given by Bronson, one could deduce two possibilities: either that Lizzie learned a slightly different version from her mother's from other folksingers while singing in the clubs, or that Jeannie sang, in actuality, three versions.

Two tunes are currently popular for "The Trooper and the Maid". Bronson comments:

All the copies of a tune for this tale... appear to be related. To judge by the extent of variants, the center of musical tradition in the U.S. inclines to the Aeolian mode, in the authentic range; that of Scots tradition a little earlier is plagal, and closer to the Dorian. But latterly in Scotland a cheerful major form, oftenest hexatonic and authentic, seems to have swept the field.

Lizzie's is in the "cheerful major form". As a matter of interest, this ballad was performed to Jeannie in 1974 by two acquaintances of mine, employing the near-Dorian tune; Jeannie commented drily at the end that it was "nae the richt tune".

Several versions, with no startling variations, appear in the Greig-Duncan MSS. MacColl observes that "No traditional sets have
been reported from England in this century." The North American versions, of which there are several, tend to omit the place-names such as Kirkcaldy in Lizzie's version and Dunfermline in others. The story itself seems to vary more in North America than it has in Scotland; some North American versions end with more hope for the girl's future. MacColl notes that they also tend to abandon the chorus "non-dependent on text".

Lizzie's second verse is obviously garbled; it is dubious whether soldier boys like corn and hay. If one studies the Gower and Porter version of Jeannie's, it will be noticed that the second verse describes the feeding of the horse, and the third verse describes the cakes and wine provided for the soldier. Lizzie has undoubtedly confused the two and run them together.

The ballad appears on Topic's "The Child Ballads No. 2" as sung by the late Jimmy MacBeath of Elgin.
Mary Hamilton (173)

Yestreen the Queen had four Maryes,
This nicht she'll hae bit three;
There is Mary Beaton, an' Mary Seton,
An' Mary Carmichael an' me.

Often I hae dressed my Queen,
An' put gowd in her hair,
An' little I thought for my reward
Wes the gallows tae be my share.

Oh little did my mither ken
The day she cradled me,
The land I wes tae travel in
Or the daith I wes tae dee.

Oh happy, happy is the maid
That's born o' beauty free.
It wes my dimplin' rosy cheeks
That wes the ruin o' me.

A knock come tae the kitchen door,
It sounded through a' the room,
That Mary Hamilton had a wean
Tae the highest man in the toon.

"Whaur is this wean you had last night,
Whaur is this wean I say?"
"I hadnae a wean tae you last night,
Nor yet a wean the day."

They searched high and they searched low,
An' they searched below the bed,
And there they found her ain dear wean,
It wes lyin' in a pool o' blood. 242

Much has been written about the possible origins of this ballad, so that there is little point in joining in the fray; there is no space for more than a brief consideration of the ballad's real and its possible history.

As Greig and Keith point out, "The twenty-eight versions of 'Mary Hamilton,' including fragments, printed by Child, constitute his largest collection of records for any one ballad."243 Child sums up the plot difference between the various versions and deals with the differing theories of origin propounded by the collectors of the ballad, beginning
with Scott, who was the first to publish "Mary Hamilton." 244

Scott believed the ballad to stem from an occurrence in the court of Mary, Queen of Scots, 245 which was related by John Knox in his History of the Reformation (1563), 246 now often quoted. The story is that of a French serving-woman who had an affair with the Queen's apothecary, and murdered the child which was the result. According to Hugo B. Millar, Knox wrongly named the couple involved, but was correct about the infanticide, the names of the parents not now being known. 247

Millar says:

The 'French woman' may have been Mary Hamilton, for the ballad tells the story of such a love affair, though it shifts the blame for her downfall from the apothecary to the King himself. The King was Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley... Darnley was essentially a weak character... a notorious 'dallier with dames,' contracting syphilis in the process. The ballads had obviously linked this fact with the earlier court scandal, though this gypt happened before he arrived at Holyrood. 248

Millar also brings up the matter of the other historical incident supposed by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe to have been the origin of the ballad story. 249 This incident involved a maid of honour to the Russian Empress Catherine in the court of Peter the Great (1718-9); her name was Mary Hambildon, and she was executed for killing three illegitimate children, the result of a long-lasting affair. 250 As Millar comments provocatively:

This odd coincidence has produced considerable speculation as to whether this was not the true origin of the ballad, being possibly grafted on to the story of the Queen's Maries... It should be remembered, however, that balladry was a recognised means of disseminating propaganda in those days, and in view of the notoriety of Mary's court, such a subject would be a natural target. Knox indeed, mentions this, and the old rascal
would not have been above instigating the ballad himself, such was his hatred of the Queen. 251

In the Additions and Corrections to Volume V, Child wrote:

Mr. Andrew Lang has recently subjected the matter of the origin of the ballad to a searching review (in Blackwood's Magazine, September, 1895, p. 381 ff.) 252

Lang's article, in Bronson's words, "reconverted Child (who wanted only to be persuaded) to the older date for the ballad, and which has held the field undisputed since 1895..." 253

Bronson suggests that while Lang's hold on the historical scholarship of this ballad should not go unchallenged, to attack his article would prove extremely difficult; he concludes:

It will probably continue to be impossible to prove conclusively either an early or a late date for the present ballad. The object of the foregoing remarks is simply to suggest that nothing yet has been said on either side which need commit us to a decision. 254

Lizzie's text is much shorter than the Child texts, nor does it resemble the versions given by Greig and Keith 255 and in the Greig-Duncan MSS. As in "The Beggar Man," Lizzie's text involves a flash-back sequence, 256 moving from the gallows lament (Verses 1-4) to the moment when the murder was discovered (Verses 5-7). No more of the story is told. This abbreviation of the narrative is a tendency of Lizzie's, as said previously. Her version of "Mary Hamilton" emphasizes Mary's emotions rather than the story which gave rise to them.

Greig and Keith comment: "In recent years some stanzas of the ballad were revived, and sung with the addition of a few modern verses." 257 According to Barry, Eckstorm, and Smyth,
who include several versions of this ballad in *British Ballads From Maine*, an Edinburgh broadside exists, printed by J. Sanderson. They add:

> It is likely that the broadside has largely helped to give the modern stanzas additional currency, with the result that they have passed into modern tradition.

They publish a Scottish version sung by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, which resembles Version B in *Last Leaves*, and which has these modern verses. Lizzie's version does not have these verses, suggesting that her mother's people were unaffected by the broadside tradition, which to judge by Greig and Keith, the Greig-Duncan MSS., Ord, and Barry, Eckstorm, and Smyth, affected many nineteenth and twentieth century Scottish versions.

One should note that Jeannie's version of "Mary Hamilton" as given on Topic's "The Child Ballads No.2" is partly spoken and partly sung. Jeannie comments:

> Well, when we was children, we used to hear the old people -- we lived there for a while in Perthshire, in Blaigowrie in Perthshire -- and we used to hear the old people just recite it like a poetry. You know, say it like a poetry. And we would say it and imitate them saying it, in their way. Not in our Aberdeenshire way, but in their Perthshire way...

Jeannie speaks the first three verses of the ballad, then sings the other four. The order of Lizzie's version, which is sung and not spoken, puts Jeannie's spoken verses at the end. Jeannie's order of verses, however, is different in Gower and Porter, indicating the basic fluid and lyric nature of the ballad in the family tradition.

Bronson and Gilchrist both discuss the various tunes to the ballad; Gower and Porter comment on Jeannie's tune, which is virtually the same as Lizzie's.
There are other extant tunes for this celebrated ballad text, but none as generally favoured as this one. It belongs to Bronson's Group D classification and is chronologically a comparative latecomer.

The ballad has appeared with relative infrequency in North America, and where it has appeared, has been in areas with Scottish affinities, such as Maine and Nova Scotia. See Coffin's discussion of North American text types for more detail.

Lizzie's fourth verse is noteworthy; the girl sums up her tragedy and sees it as a result of her beauty. The sentiment is expressed in simple but effective language.
Son David (Edward) (13)

"Oh what's the blood that's on yer sword,
My son David, ho son David?
What's the blood it's on yer sword?
Come promise, tell me true."

"Oh that's the blood o' my grey meer,
Hey lady Mother, ho lady Mother,
That's the blood o' my grey meer,
Because she wouldnae rule by me."

"Oh that blood it is owre clear,
My son David, ho son David,
That blood it is owre clear,
Come promise, tell me true."

"Oh that's the blood o' my huntin'-hawk,
Hey lady Mother, ho lady Mother,
That's the blood o' my huntin'-hawk,
Because it wouldnae rule by me."

"Oh that blood it is owre clear,
Hey son David, ho son David,
That blood it is owre clear,
Come promise, tell me true."

"Oh that's the blood o' my brither John,
Hey lady Mother, ho lady Mother,
That's the blood o' my brither John,
Because he wouldnae rule by me."

"But I'm gaun awa' in a bottomless boat,
In a bottomless boat, in a bottomless boat,
Oh I'm gaun awa' in a bottomless boat,
An' I'll ne'er return again."

"Oh when will you come back again,
My son David, ho son David?
When will you come back again?
Come promise, tell me true."

"When the sun an' the moon meets in yon glen,
Hey lady Mother, ho lady Mother,
When the sun an' the moon meets in yon glen,
For I'll return again." 271

This ballad was considered by many of her followers to have been Jeannie's masterpiece, 272 so it is understandable that Lizzie feels particularly awkward about singing it. She recorded it for Munro in 1970, and it appears in Munro's article; 273 interestingly, the versions of mother and daughter are very different. 274 Munro comments about Lizzie's version:
This is a very different interpretation from Jeannie's: the slower of Jeannie's two versions (version 1) is twice as fast as this and she sings both with tremendous impetus and urgency, whereas Lizzie chooses a much steadier, doom-laden pace... The contrast is striking, but each conception has its own integrity and the listener is persuaded that both are equally valid.

Lizzie's slowness of pace seems to be the result of "allowing more time for decorations", but when she recorded it for Munro, she remarked that she felt the ballad did not give "enough play" for her decorations. She clearly feels the ballad is unsuited to her voice, although she may reconsider it after her several years of experience of singing in the folk clubs.

Only three versions are found in Child, and all are Scottish. Percy's version, Child B, is the best known in the literary world, as it is frequently anthologized in poetry collections. Bronson noted in 1959:

This ballad has mainly been confined in European traditional singing to the Scandinavian countries, to Finland, and to Scotland, whence it has traveled to take fresh root in the Appalachian regions.... all the tunes that have been found for this ballad, save one or two, come from the Appalachians, and all have been recovered only in the present century. The ballad would seem to have died out of tradition, in Scotland before Greig began his labors.

As with "The Twa Brothers", Bronson was premature in his elegy for the ballad in Scottish tradition. Jeannie's aunt, Margaret Stewart, sings a version of the ballad, and Jeannie's version is incorporated into the Addenda in Bronson, Volume IV.

In the notes to the record "The Child Ballads No. 1", Alan Lomax and Peter Kennedy comment:

... it is clear the traveller group has a strong attachment for this ancient story, which sometimes concerns fratricide... and elsewhere patricide, with the mother as the real villain.
In actual fact, the mother is implicated only in Motherwell's and Percy's versions. In Motherwell's version, the crime is fratricide, and in Percy's, it is patricide. No reason is given for the killing in Percy's version, except for the mother's "counsels", whereas in Motherwell's version, Child C (a fragment from the Alexander Laing MS), and in many North American versions, the reason for the killing is that the brother cuts a "willow wand" or a "hazel wand" or a "holly bush" which might have been a tree. The strange aspect of Motherwell's version is that this reason is given for the killing, but Davie bequeaths his mother a "fire o coals no burn her, wi hearty cheer" as if she were responsible for the quarrel. However, this paradox is found in a North American variant, called "Type B" by Coffin:

In the version that is half "The Twa Brothers" and half "Edward"... the mother is implicated. However, the implication makes little sense in this "new" story, as we are told earlier that the killing is a result of spontaneous anger and frustration during the fight.

One should compare Child D, E, F and G of "The Twa Brothers" with Flanders' "Edward Ballad" in Ballads Migrant in New England, the latter having been mentioned previously in the discussion of "The Twa Brothers". The Child texts contain the familiar dialogue from "Edward", although the questioner varies from being the mother to the father and the sweetheart.

Coffin comments further:

Unlike Child A, B the American texts (excepting Type B) do not implicate the mother in the crime. This characteristic and the New World emphasis on fratricide (Child A) rather than patricide (Child B) reveals a close relationship of the American tradition with what Taylor (see Edward and Sven I Rosengard, 1931) feels is the original
form of the song. Most of the original story has been lost, however, in Britain, America, and Scandinavia. Nevertheless, because the ballad is continually associating with incest songs (see Child 49 and 51) and because incest is a theme that might well vanish from such a story, an intrafamily fixation is probably the cause of the crime in the older, now lost, texts.

One should compare the two Child versions of "Lizzie Wan" with the question-and-answer verses of "Son David" and "The Twa Brothers".

There is no doubt that Jeannie's and Lizzie's text of the ballad is superb. The question-and-answer method of presentation builds up the tension in the listener and, as Wells comments:

"... a question twice repeated brings truth at last, and in the use of the same words each time the insistence of the questioner is felt rather than expressed. When this device is used in combination with a compact irony of phrase, we have a brief scene, charged with emotion, reduced to simplest terms, with more than a suggestion of major tragedy."

The admission of guilt is followed by David's impassive remarks that he is "gaun awa' in a bottomless boat" and will return "When the sun an' the moon meets in yon glen". The latter remark is a noteworthy line in this version; it is a particularly Scottish and effective turn of phrase.

For a discussion of the tune, see Gower and Porter, as well as Bronson. Gower and Porter remark on one of the unusual characteristics of the tune, which is the "plunging octave leap in the final phrase."

Besides Jeannie's version of "The Child Ballads No. 1", another rendition, by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger, may be heard on "The Long Harvest", Record Eight.
Proud Lady Margaret (1:7)

It was on a night, an' an evening bright,
When the dew began tae fa',
Lady Marg'ret was walkin' up an' doon,
Lookin' owre the castle wa'.
She lookèd east, she lookèd west,
To see what she could spy,
When a gallant knight cam' in her sight
And to her gates drew nigh.

"God mak ye safe and free, fair maid,
God mak ye safe an' free".

"What is yer will wi' me, sir knight,
Oh what's yer will wi' me?"

"My will wi' you is nae small, lady,
My will wi' you nae sma'.
And since there is nane yer bower within,
Ye'll hae my secrets a'."

"Oh I am come tae this castle,
Tae seek love of thee,
Oh if you do not grant me love,
All for yer sake I'll dee."

"If you should dee for me, sir knight,
It is few for you will mean,
For many a better has died for me,
What's graves are growin' green."

"What is the flooer, the ae first flooer,
That grows in moor and dell?
What is the bird, the bonniest bird,
That sings next the nightingale?
What is the colour, the bonniest colour,
That king or queen can wale?
What is the flooer, the ae first flooer,
That grows in moor and dell?"

"The primrose is the first flooer,
That grows in moor and dell.
The mavis is the bonniest bird,
That sings next nightingale.
Yellow is the bonniest colour,
That king or queen can wale.
Oh the primrose is the ae first flooer,
Grows in moor an' dell."

[3 verses missing]

"My body is buriert in Dunferlin,
Sae far ayont the seas.
The worms are my bed-fellows,
The caal' clay is my sheet.
The worms are my bed-fellows,
The caal' clay is my sheet.
The louder that the wind does howl,
The sounder dae I sleep."
"Ye've owre ill-washen feet, Marg'ret,
And ye have owre ill-washen hands.
Ye've too coorse a robes on your body,
And wi' me you winnae gang.
Ye winnae gang wi' me, Marg'ret,
And wi' me ye winnae gang.
Tae sit on Pirie's chair Marg'ret,
It is the lowest seat in Hell."

The text we have here of "Proud Lady Margaret" is incomplete by three verses, according to Lizzie, our text having been taken from Lizzie's singing in the summer of 1973, when she had not sung in public performance (she still has not). At the time when it was recorded, she said that it was too "hefty" a ballad to sing all the way through, and that she was still learning the three missing verses. Her father left her the words before he died, as she had only heard him sing it on rare occasions, and he wished her to be able to sing it.

Child prints five versions of this beautiful ballad, all Scottish. Lizzie's version bears most resemblance to part of Child A and B; A is from Scott's Minstrelsy, while B is a composite version from Buchan's Ballads of the North of Scotland, and Motherwell's Manuscript and Minstrelsy. While the stories of the five versions vary slightly, as Greig and Keith say, "in all of them the story is of a proud lady whose brother returns from the dead to teach her humility", which is a succinct way of describing the plot. Greig's version, from his well-known informant Bell Robertson, is unlike Lizzie's.

Bronson informs us:

This ballad appears not to have wandered often beyond the Scottish boundaries. Reed Smith announced it, by title only, as found in America, but his copy is not discovered. No American tune is as yet on the record.

None of the three tunes he prints is like Lizzie's. She says she
sings it "like pipe music", but that the tune is not a pipe tune; she does employ her decorations, however.

Lizzie tells the story of "Proud Lady Margaret" and her feelings about it in such a dramatic and interesting way, it seems only proper to include it here, despite its length.

I've heard people sing a "Proud Lady Margaret", but it's not the same version. This is my father's version. This eh -- was about a -- young brother and sister. And their father was a very wealthy Northumberland earl. He was a laird o' nine castles. Their mother was a leddy o' three...

And Proud Lady Margaret was a very proud, handsome, hoightly-toightly titled lady in Northumberland... And -- she always broke up -- other titled noblemen's homes, she always stole the other ladies' husbands. 'Cause she was such a beautiful girl wi' golden hair... but she never married... on several occasions, other titled earls were killed over her beauty...

She's only one brother, an' her mother an' father was dead, so her brother can' up tae fight the Scots, way up in the Highlands. An' he fought back down, by Dunfermline... about a year or two after, he gets killed in Dunfermline. Hees body's buried in Dunfermline graveyard, to this day, his remains still lies there.

It was dark at night and... Proud Lady Margaret's walking along the castle walls. In the gloamin', dark, And she was livin' a terrible life of permissiveness. Worse than the day... So she sees this handsome young knight in the half dark, dressed in a hodden grey kinda hood and cloak, ridin' a white stallion, comin' in her gates... She couldnae see his face clearly. So she says till 'im, "What are you doing at my castle gates? I'll have your head on my gates!... Ye see?" She knew he was a stranger.

An' he says till her, oh, he wasnae feared at her, she couldnae kill him... he asked if he could be her boy-friend, but he was only tryin' her out... he was a demond. 'E was a warlock... he was in wizardry, high up in the black eh craft. An' she didna recognize her dead brother anyway... he made on to her that he was her lover. Well -- a young man come to pay her court, I should say. And he was a sir knight.

"Ho ho", she says, she laughed in his face, "not at all", she said. "I've had three sir knights... in fact, graves are growin' green of fighting ovr me"... So, he said till her, "I'll give you a riddle"... No, I tell a lie... She said, "If you are, who you're claiming to be,
you'll answer my riddle"... So she gies him the riddle. An' he answered her back. It was a secret family motto thing, see?

So she asks him anither riddle. An' again he answers her back. So -- she says to him that she was Proud Lady Margaret... and he said to her, "My father's laird o' nine castles and my mither lady o' three. An' my father's laird o' nine castles, and there's nane tae heir but me". Eh -- she wasnae the heir o' a' the money an' a' the castles. He was the heir... But she didnae ken he was deid at this part o' the song. She thought he wis alive...

An' now she begins to realize her brither Wullie, see? So the next verse o' the song is, she says till him, "That was right. How many fishes runs in the sea, how many pennies is in a million pounds?" He answered -- this was a' family secret things, he could answer aye. She says, "Oh, you're my brither Wully". And she opens the gates to let 'im in. See? So he cam in, and says, "Ye'll hae my secrets a'". See? Now... she kens her brother and thinks he's still alive. So he gied her a tellin' off for breakin' up other people's homes...

"Et she should be ashamed to go up to the Kirks on Sundays an' things, an' face the minister...

An'... it tells in the song 'et... she wis gaun to join the witchcraft and she wis gaun a bad road. He couldnae save her reputation as a woman, but he wis tryin' to save her soul frae Hell... So finally he says till her, now, she kens her brother fine an' he says till her:

My body is buried in Dunferlin,
Sae far ayont the seas.
The worms are my bed-fellows,
The caal' clay is my sheet.
The worms are my bed-fellows,
The caal' clay is my sheet.
The louder that the wind does howl,
The sounder dae I sleep.

She wants tae go wi' him... to die an' go wi' him...
She asks him this, ya see?... He's tryin' to put her off an' warn her, to save her soul. He says till her:

Ye've owre ill-washen feet, Margiret,
Ye've owre ill-washen hands.
Ye've too coorse a robes on your body,
An' wi' me you winnae gang.
Ye winnae gang wi' me, Margiret,
Wi' me ye winnae gang.
To sit in Pirie's chair, Margiret,
It's the lowest seat in Hell.

He was advisin' her not to come into the witchcraft. 'At's the last two verses.
It's a big ballad. It takes an' awfa' lot o' singin' to dae it... An' I would never sing it unless -- I could give it all I had. 'Twas my father's favourite ballad. Of all the balladries, pipe balladries, an' classical balladries he knew - that was hees special favourite... An' he learned that from hees mother. An' Jeannie didn't know "Proud Lady Margaret"... My father would never give it till her. She used to hear 'im singin' it, when he was half-drunk to heesel', and to me. He learned me... he wrote it with his ain hands tae me... aboot six month afore he died... 'Cause he wanted to put it in my safekeeping tae sing tae the people, an' give it tae the people.

It's nae a pipe tune... I'm singin' it exactly the way he sung it... I'm picturin' him singin', I hear hees voice... I sung it here once tae mysel'... aboot two year ago, an' I'd been smokin' for four month, see? An' I went through the room, I was lyin' flat oot on my bed... An' I was really lettin' it ge... to see how much breathin' it needed... I sung the whole song frae end tae end. It was that high a song 'at I didn't know all my neighbours in the streets heard me, an' come an' stood at my bedroom window... An' when I was finished, what I thought tae mysel', I heard a tremendous roarin' a clappin' at my windae. I felt ashamed! They said, "My God, Lizzie, you can sing! What a beautiful song!... It was the only time I ever tried it actually on my own, an' -- I was jist lyin' back like that, see how much breathin' I would need on the timin', ye know? Tryin' mysel' oot, an' then I stood up, an' I did it ben here, an' I found out it was the same on my feet as lyin' back in a reclined position... But -- start smokin'... an' I couldn't bring it in the folk world. I knew -- I would make a fool of it.

Several intriguing points emerge from Lizzie's discussion, one of the most fascinating being her insistence that the ballad involves witchcraft. Lizzie claims that the reason for the dead brother's appearance is to discourage Margaret from involvement in witchcraft, to save her soul. It is an interesting theory, but a difficult one to prove, as the ballad leaves room for several interpretations. Lizzie interprets Margaret's wish to go with her brother when she learns whom he is, as a desire to be introduced into the brotherhood of sorcery through her brother.
It is not clear in any of the printed versions why Margaret wants to go with her brother, if we eliminate Lizzie's interpretation, but the folklorist L.C. Wimberly says that "the vain lady would 'go to clay' with her brother", but is "refused admittance to the grave".\(^{305}\) This refusal is evident in Lizzie's last verse, where Willie tells Margaret that she has "owre ill-washen" feet and hands, and "too coarse a robes" to go with him; his words suggest that her time has not come to go to the grave, that she is not prepared. However, his warning about "Pirie's chair" intimates that she may eventually go to Hell for her pride, unless she mends her ways. Wimberly gleans from the Buchan version of the ballad that "Pirie's chair" is "the portion of those who are guilty of pride".\(^{306}\)

The riddling which occurs in the ballad deserves brief comment. Lizzie sees the riddling episode as one in which the brother proves his identity to Margaret by answering her riddles. Wimberly explains the riddling thus:

\[
\text{The proud lady... has been accustomed to put riddles to her wooers, the penalty for their inability to answer being that they must die.}\(^{307}\)
\]

In the Buchan version, after the riddles have been answered, the lady does not realize he is her brother, merely that this man has proven her match at the riddles. Refuting her claim that she is the heir to her parents' castles, he then declares that he is her brother.

Lizzie mentions the fish and the penny riddles, and Willie’s shame that his sister should have the nerve to go to the kirks, when her pride is so sinful; this suggests that her complete version is closest to the Buchan-Motherwell and Buchan texts (Child B and C) in terms of plot. It may be remarked here that it seems somewhat peculiar that a warlock would worry about his sister's daring to appear in the kirk, if we are to accept Lizzie's interpretation.
As Robert Chambers says, "Proud Lady Margaret" is a "strange ballad". The plot is not straightforward; one can interpret it in several ways. Regardless of its inconsistencies, Lizzie's interpretation of it should be our main interest here, for it reveals the way in which she perceives a ballad story and how she tells it. Her remarks about singing are also pertinent; the ballad obviously holds great emotional significance for her, and her desire to save it for public performance until she feels she is up to the standard of performance it requires, clearly shows her perfectionist standards. For Lizzie, it would be improper to sing the song prematurely just to give it to others. She must sing it only when she knows she will not "make a fool of it". Her anecdote about singing it unaware of her listening neighbours is informative as well as humorous. Practising to herself is of obvious importance.

"Proud Lady Margaret" is a curious ballad. If we accept the motive for the brother's visit as that of admonishing the sister for her pride and telling her to give up her sinful ways, we still have some peculiar lines which remain unexplained. One is the brother's statement: "Ye'll hae my secrets a'!". What are the secrets? Lizzie would say that they are the secrets of wizardry or black magic.

The other disturbing lines are:

My body is buried in Dunferlin,
Sae far ayont the seas.

These lines might suggest that there are two places of burial, in Dunfermline, and in the sea. Wimberly notes this peculiarity, but does not attempt to explain it in the ballad. A similar line occurs in "Sweet William's Ghost", which suggests that it is a ballad
formula. Moreover, if we assume the ballad to take place in Northumberland, Dunfermline might be considered to be "far ayont the seas" if one travelled from Northumberland to Dunfermline by sea.

Despite its puzzles, the ballad can be appreciated, if not fully understood. One can compare the Greig version as it appears on the record, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Vol. 2",311 sung by Ewan MacColl, with Lizzie's. The tune is different from hers.

The ballad apparently has not been taken into the North American oral tradition, as Coffin remarks: "I have been unable to find any printed record of its existence in oral tradition".311a The bizarre nature of the story may account for this.
The College Boy

"Oh father, dear father, pray what is this ye've done? You have wed me to a college boy, a boy that's far too young, For he is only sixteen years, an' I am twenty-one, He's ma bonnie, bonnie boy, and he's growin'."

As we were going through College when some boys were playing ball, When there I saw my own true love, the fairest of them all, When there I saw my own true love, the fairest of them all, He's ma bonnie, bonnie boy, and he's growin'.

For at the age of sixteen years, he was a married man, An' at the age of seventeen, the father of a son, An' at the age of twenty-one, he did become a man, Though the green grass o'er his grave it was growin'.

I will buy my love some flannel, an' I'll make my love's shroud. With every stitch I put in it, the tears will flow down, With every stitch I put in it, the tears will flow down, For cruel fate's put an end to his growin'.

This beautiful broadside is unquestionably one of Lizzie's "showpieces." She executes it with great feeling, and it demonstrates her unusual vocal style to the full. She says that she uses her heavy "croom" grace notes in it, among other types of decoration. Hall comments in his notes to Lizzie's record:

This moving song, known variously as "The Bonny Boy is Lang Lang a'Growin" and "The Trees they do Grow High" is popularly supposed to have had a factual basis in an arranged marriage in the early 17th century. However, such marriages were once so common that to pick out one in particular seems entirely arbitrary. Tradition has it that the ballad is originally Scots but there is little concrete evidence of this and a number of the musical variants suggest an Irish ancestry. Lizzie's tune is a fine and fitting pipe air.

The seventeenth century marriage Hall refers to is that of the young Laird of Craigstoun or Craigston, to Elizabeth Innes, according to James Maidment, Ford, and James Reeves. The song "Lady Mary Ann" which Lizzie sings and which is included in this study, is yet another version of "The College Boy," rewritten by Burns, and also associated with the Craigstoun-
Innes marriage.

The precise relationship between "Lady Mary Ann" and "The College Boy" and its many variants under the names of "Still Growing," "Young But Growing," "The Young Laird of Craigstoun," and "The Trees They Are So High," is difficult to pinpoint. It appears, however, that "The College Boy" is fairly old, and that "Lady Mary Ann" is Burns's successful attempt to re-work a version of the song into a happier lyric. Scottish versions of "The College Boy" complex of songs tend to include the name "Craigstoun" in its various spellings. In "Lady Mary Ann" Mary Ann and Charlie Cochran are mentioned, but this was an addition by Burns, who also changed the ending of the older song, so that the death of the boy is absent in "Lady Mary Ann."

The versions in the Greig-Duncan MSS. are well worth consulting in that they are full versions differing substantially from English versions of the song. One version indicates the reason for the marriage more clearly, as well as showing the girl's father's practical business sense:

"Daughter," said he, "I have done you no wrong, For I have married you on a heritor of lan', He's likewise possessed of many bills and bonds And he'll be daily growing, growing dearie..."

As a concession to the daughter, the father sends the boy to college. This version, as with other Scottish versions, presents the song as a story, a narrative, whereas many English versions tend toward the lyric side in that they concern the girl's emotion at the loss of her husband and give this the most emphasis. If the story does indeed concern the Scottish Craigstoun family, it seems logical that some Scottish versions tend to emphasize the narrative element, and those farther removed, in England and North America, are apt to be
lyric rather than narrative in content.

However, Lizzie's version does not tell the full story, and her presentation of it emphasizes the emotional, lyrical aspect. As mentioned previously, her treatment of some of the ballads, such as leaving out the explanatory, connecting verses in "I'm A Forester in this Wood" and "The Gypsy Laddie" indicates that her interest lies not so much in the narrative but in the overall emotional impact of the song, and in the tune. Therefore, Lizzie's "The College Boy" is in keeping with her preferences.

David Buchan comments: "'The Young Laird of Craigstoun' is one of the few ballads which by general agreement may be added to Child's collection." Certainly it appears to be one of the more popular songs in England, Ireland and Scotland right up to the present day; it survives to a lesser extent in North America. One of the features most subject to variation in the existing versions is the initial age of the boy; it ranges from seven years to sixteen or seventeen.

Lizzie learned part of the song from an Irish traveller when she was in her teens, but as she did not like the Irish air to it, she substituted her own air. She undoubtedly recalled the rest of the words from some other source, but she feels that she wrote part of the song. Her oral recreation of part of the song, not consciously realizing that she had heard these words before, could explain her claim that she composed part of it. In the sense that she has molded the song in her distinctive style, she is an author.

Lizzie's version appears in A Collection of Scots Songs, and in The Scottish Folksinger, as well as on her Topic record. Martin Carthy sings a version of the song on his Fontana record.
Young Emslie

Young Emslie loved a sailor boy,
Young Emslie loved a sailor boy,
An' why she loved that sailor boy,
Because he plowed in the Lowlands low.

"If you go to a public house,
A public down by the shore,
An' if you chance to enter it
Do not let my parents know."

As young Edward sat a-drinking,
As young Edward sat a-drinking,
Oh little was he thinking
That sorrow crowned his head.

As young Emslie lay a-slumbering,
As young Emslie lay a-slumbering,
She dreamt a fearful dream.

She dreamt they murdered her own true love,
They robbed him and they stabbed him,
And they sunk his body low.

"Oh mother dear, oh mother dear,
Come tell to me no lies.
What did youse do with the stranger
You saw doon here last night?"

"Oh daughter dear, oh daughter dear,
To you we'll tell no lies.
We murdered him an' we stabbed him,
And we sank his body low."

"Oh you cruel, cruel parents,
Oh you cruel, cruel parents.
And for the murder of my ain true love
You will die on a public show."

This song is included on Lizzie's record, "Princess of the
Thistle". Hall comments in his sleeve notes:

This is probably an English song which has
come up the coast with the expanding fishing
trade in the 19th century. It has been known
in Northeast Scotland for at least 60 years...
the stanza-form is rather different from the
usual English version, and this may be due to
rewriting by a broadside printer, for such
radical changes are unusual in the course of
oral dissemination.
The theory that the song may have been spread to the Northeast through the fish trade is an interesting one, although Lizzie did not learn it "in the fish" but from her grandmother Maria, who sang the song frequently.

Laws gives four nineteenth century broadside references for the song,326 and the editors of The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs comment:

This ballad was evidently a great favourite, for versions of it were printed on ballad-sheets by many printers in England, Scotland, and Ireland.327

Greig prints a version, "Young Emma", in Folk-Song of the Northeast,328 and several appear in the Greig-Duncan MSS. The song's popularity seems to have been even greater in North America, judging from the number of collections which include it.329

Most of Greig's versions, although collected in the Northeast, are English in diction, as is Lizzie's for the most part, rather than Scots, which would suggest the influence of an English broadside. These versions exist with both four and five-line verses, and not only are fuller than Lizzie's, but reveal their origin more blatantly with opening verses such as:

Come, all ye feeling lovers,
And listen to my song,
Concerning gold and silver,
Concerning gold and silver,
That does so many wrong.330

One should notice that Lizzie's fourth and fifth verses omit the third line of text and tune, and that the elision of the second and fourth line of the tune is very smooth, suggesting that this is the way that Lizzie learned it. These omissions have probably occurred at some point in the oral transmission of the song, and the smooth melodic adaptation in these
three-line verses suggest that the change may have occurred some
time ago. Since Lizzie also omits a line in Verse 4 of "Lord Lo-
vat", we must infer that this sort of irregularity does not bother
her, which is often the case with a traditional singer.

The song has a bizarre plot; Emslie's parents kill her lover
in the public house which they own. The usual motive for the mur-
der, absent in Lizzie's version, is money, as is evident in the
Greig version quoted above.

In the two lines:

Because he plowed in the Lowlands low

and

And they sunk his body low,
there lies a hint of similarity between this song and the ballad
"The Golden Victoree" or "The Sweet Trinity", although the story
of "Young Emslie" does not take place on the sea. The above lines
may have migrated to the song from this common ballad, or may
have been incorporated in "Young Emslie" by a broadside author.

The use of endearments in Verses 6 and 7 is ironic under
the circumstances, as in "The Cruel Mother". This serves to
underscore the cruelty and strangeness of the situation.
The Maid of Glenshee

Ae braw summer day, when the heather wis bloomin',
An' the silent hills hummed wi' the honey-lade bee,
It was in my returning, I spied a fair maiden
Attending her flocks on the hills of Glenshee.

The rose in her cheek, it was gem'd wi' a dimple,
An' blithe was the blink o' her bonnie blue ee.
Her face wis enchanting, sae sweet an' sae simple,
Ma hairt soon belonged to the lass of Glenshee.

Believe me, dear lassie, Caledonia's clear waters
May alter their course, an' run back frae the sea.
Her brave hardy sons may submit to that fetters,
But alter what will, I'll be constant to thee.

The lark may forget his sweet song in the morning,
The spring may forget to revive o'er the lea,
But never will I while my senses do govern,
Forget to be kind to the lass o' Glenshee.

Believe me, dear lad, for I'm sure I would blunder,
An' set a' the gentry a-laughing at me.
They are book-taught in manners, baith auld an' young yonder,
A thing we ken nocht on the hills o' Glenshee.

They would say, 'Look at him wi' his dull Highland lady,
Set up in a show in the windae tae see,
Rolled up like a witch in her hamespun plaidie,
And laughing, they jeer at the lass o' Glenshee.

It is seven long years since we buskit together,
The seasons have changed, bit there's nae change in me.
She's ever as gey as the fine summer's weather,
When the sun's at its height on the hills o' Glenshee.

To pairt wi' ma Jenny my life I would venture.
She's sweet as the echo that rings o'er the lea.
She's spotless an' pure like a snaw-robe o' winter,
When laid out to bleach on the hills of Glenshee.

"The Maid of Glenshee" or "The Lass of Glenshee" as it is called
in print has an interesting history which Ford relates in Vagabond

Songs and Ballads of Scotland:

Few ballads of its class have enjoyed a more
intimate lease of popularity in the contiguous
shires of Perth, Forfar, and Fife than this.
Its story, it will be seen, is somewhat similar
to that of "The Laird o' Drum", and may refer
to a Perthshire alliance of the same character.
But of that we have no data. This we know only,
that the ballad was composed by a Perth man, Andrew Sharpe, who was author besides of the once popular ballad of "Corumna's Lone Shore". Sharpe was a shoemaker to trade... He died at Bridgend, Perth, on the 5th February, 1817... The well-known duet, "The Crookit Bawbee"... is simply a free adaptation of this rustic yet wonderfully fascinating ballad.331

Comparison of this song with "The Laird o' Drum" is interesting, but one will notice that the quality of the Child ballad is finer in language and story.

Thirty-one years after Ford wrote his notes on the song, Ord observes:

I do not know a more popular song than this. It has been sung in nearly every farmhouse, cottage, and bothy in Scotland for the past seventy or eighty years. 332

Ord also gives the air as "The Road and the Miles to Dundee", a popular tune used elsewhere.

Several versions, all very similar, can be found in the Greig-Duncan MSS., and a tune as well, which resembles Lizzie's air to "Johnnie My Man". Laws cites three nineteenth-century broadside texts of the song, one of unknown origin, the other two originating in Preston and Durham.333

Both Ford's and Ord's versions have twelve verses, whereas Lizzie's version omits some of the more "flowery" verses (2, 3, 4, and 10) in the two printed versions, without losing continuity of plot. Lizzie learned this song from a cousin, Mary McDonald, who died young, and it would seem that somewhere in the stages of oral transmission in this part of Lizzie's family, the somewhat inflated verses were dropped, and a few other changes made.

In some respects the song is maudlin by present standards, but the central theme, of love between a rustic, uneducated girl and a
wealthy Lowlander, appears in other songs such as "Donald's Return to Glencoe", and seems to enjoy a great popularity. On the sleeve of Lizzie's record, Hall adds:

The difficulty of such a union, always rehearsed in detail before being finally overcome, emphasizes the wide difference between these two regions of Scotland, Highlands and Lowlands.

The song's romanticism and sentimentality evokes the Kailyard era of Scots literature, and although it was written preceding the height of this couthy and parochial literature, it became popular during the height of the Kailyard School, the late nineteenth century. Its popularity in "every farmhouse, cottage, and bothy" can be explained in part by the lines:

They are book-taught in manners, baith auld and young yonder,
A thing we ken nocht on the hills o' Glenshee.

The girl's prideful denunciation and fear of the educated class no doubt reflected the feelings of the rural folk singing the song, who also lacked education.

One final comment should be made on the version we have here. Lizzie's last verse, if taken literally, makes little sense, the first line running:

To pairt wi' my Jenny, my life I would venture.

In the printed version it runs:

To meet wi' my Jenny, my life I would venture.

Both "pairt" and "meet" in the lines are peculiar words, as in the printed version, the marriage is mentioned, and in Lizzie's version we must infer that there is a marriage. Lizzie's version could be explained by an oral change, or her tendency to ignore illogical words and phrases, but the printed version is the subject of more curiosity in its choice of words.
One can compare Lizzie's version with an American one in *Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan*, which was collected in 1916.\(^337\) The diction is Scots, surprisingly, although there are a few noticeable and humorous changes in the text which must have occurred orally, such as in the two lines:

For all these grandem I valley one flea

and

Now years has passed since we buckled together."
She's Only My Auld Shoes (The False Bride)

I saw my own bonnie lass, to the church go,
Gold rings on her fingers, white gloves on her haunds.
Gold rings on her fingers, white gloves on her haunds,
She's away to get wed to another.

Says I, "My own bonnie lass, wait a wee while,
For you are false beguiled.
For you are false beguiled,
She's only my auld' shoes, an' ye've got her".

They were servin' the glasses of brandy and wine,
Here is health to the bonnie lass that should've been mine.
Here is health to that bonnie lass that should've been mine,
For she's only my auld' shoes, an' ye've got her.

But the ladies an' gents, they inquired off of me,
"How many blackberries grows roon a salt sea?"
I gave then one back wi' a tear in my ee,
"How many ships sails in a forest?"

She has broken my hair t' forever left me,
She has broken my hair t' forever left me.
It is not once or twice she has lay now wi' me,
She is there an' she cannae deny it.

Bit I'll lay doon my heid, an' I'll tak a long sleep,
Youse can cover me over with lullies so sweet,
Youse can cover me over with lullies so sweet,
That's the only way I'll ever forget her. 339

This popular song appears in tradition, print, and MSS. under many different titles such as "The False Bride", "A Week Before Easter", "The Forsaken Lover", "The Forsaken Bridegroom", and "I Once Loved a Lass". A seventeenth century black-letter (Gothic type) broadside of the song is included in the Euing Collection of Broadsides at the University of Glasgow, now published. 340 Christie printed a Buchan version entitled "It Hasna Been My Lot to Get Her". 341 Aside from Christie's version, one printed by Ord, and one printed by Greig in _Folk-Song of the North-East_, 342 the only versions in print appear to be either English or North American. 343 Greig comments:

"The False Bride" has a wide vogue, and appears to be fairly old. The song is well-known in England, and probably enough belongs originally to our southern neighbours, the ecclesiastical machinery being Anglican. 344
He points out that English versions usually end with a "dig me a grave that is long, wide, and deep" verse, but that in the Scots version, the young man generally resigns himself to finding another love:

One can quite believe that the independent spirit of the northern folk-singer had rebelled against the idea of a discarded lover taking his defeat lying down, and that the conclusion of the song had been recast so as to substitute defiance for resignation, which latter sentiment, however, it must be allowed, is the predominant note of the earlier part of the song.\[345\]

Most, but not all of the versions which may be found in the Greig-Duncan MSS., bear out Greig's novel theory on the "northern folk-singer"; Lizzie's version fails to lend support to the theory by virtue of its final verse.

The metaphor of the "auld shoes" is not as clear and complete in Lizzie's version as it is in some of the Greig-Duncan MSS. versions, and in the one which Greig printed in *Folk-Song of the North-East*. In these fuller versions, which, however, do not include the riddling verse, the bridegroom tells the disconsolate lover to leave; the young man replies that he has lain with the bride, and adds:

Ye but wear my auld sheen, ye but wear my auld sheen;  
And ye may dance in them till ye dance them deen;  
And when they are deen ye can sole them again,  
But she's but my auld sheen when ye've gotten her.\[346\]

The clever metaphor crystallizes the defiance and anger of the forsaken lover; the lover in Lizzie's version is less defiant than the one above, but the repetition of the line "She's only my aul' shoes, an' ye've got her" in Lizzie's conveys a degree of defiant pride not found in many English versions.

Lizzie employs the standard Scots tune for the song, which is closely related to the English tune.\[347\] She learned the song from Jeannie.
The Butcher Boy

My parents gave me good learnin',
Good learning they gave unto me.
They sent me to a butcher shop
For a butcher's boy to be.

It was there that I met with a fair young maid,
With the dark and the rolling eyes,
And I promised for to marry her
On the month of sweet July.

He went up to her mother's house,
Between the hours of eight an' nine,
An' he asked her to walk with him
Down by the foaming brine.

Down by the foaming brine we'll go,
Down by that foaming brine.
For that won't be a pleasant walk
Down by the foaming brine.

Bit they walked it east, and they've walked it west,
And they've walked it all alone.
Till he pulled a knife from out of hees breast,
An' he stabbed her to the ground.

She fell upon her bended knees,
On fond mercy she did cry,
Roarin', "Billy dear, don't murder me,
For I'm not prepared to die."

He's taen her by the lily-white han',
And he's dragged her to the brim,
And with a mighty downward push
He pushed her body in.

He went home to hees own mother's house,
Between the hours of twelve an' one.
Oh little did hees mother think
What her only son had done.

He asked her for a handkerchief,
To tie round his head,
And he asked her for a candlelight
To show him up to bed.

No sleep, no rest, could this young man get,
No rest he could not fin',
For he thought he saw the flames of Hell
Approaching his bedside.

But the murder it was soon found out,
And the gallas wis hees doom,
For the murder of sweet Mary Ann,
Lies where the roses bloom.
This song is related to a number of British and North American murder ballads, and although Greig appears to be the first to print a version similar to Lizzie's, the song's relatives were making their appearance in eighteenth and nineteenth century broadsides both in Britain and North America. G. Malcolm Laws, Jr. devotes a lengthy discussion to the relationship of the broadsides to the present texts of "The Butcher Boy" and related songs, "The Oxford Girl," "The Wexford Girl," and "The Lexington Murder." Laws gives the text of the oldest broadside, an eighteenth century one entitled "The Berkshire Tragedy; or, the Wittam Miller," followed by the texts of a nineteenth century American broadside, "The Lexington Miller," and "The Cruel Miller," the last being a retelling of the story as found on a late English broadside. Our text of "The Butcher Boy" most closely resembles "The Cruel Miller," in which a miller's apprentice kills his pregnant sweetheart who is pressing him to marry her. Laws remarks that "The Butcher Boy" seems "to be a rewriting of 'The Cruel Miller' and since it contains some features found also in 'The Oxford Girl' and 'The Wexford Girl,' it may represent the variant on which the other pieces were partially based." He concludes that "The Wexford Girl" derives from "The Cruel Miller" and "The Butcher Boy," and that the "substitution of Oxford, the original place name of 'The Berkshire Tragedy,' for the Irish Wexford may have been made simply because Oxford was the more familiar name." "The Oxford Girl" is an American variant as is "The Lexington Murder," which derived from the American broadside mentioned previously, "The Lexington Miller." Laws gives a diagram of the relationship between all the different versions of this murder story.
point is that they have all derived from "The Berkshire Tragedy." To confuse the issue, there is also a North American song called "The Butcher Boy," but this is not the same song; it concerns a girl whose sweetheart, a butcher boy, begins courting another girl who is wealthier, and the betrayed girl hangs herself for grief.

Greig comments on the Scottish "Butcher Boy":

The folk-singer is fond of tragedy. Ballads of Murder and Execution, in particular, are pretty numerous, although it must be allowed that, as far as our North-Eastern minstrelsy is concerned, they are mainly importations. They have likely enough been introduced through broadsides. "The Butcher Boy" is well known in our part of the country, judging from the records which we have got of both words and tune.

Lizzie's version, as mentioned, is close to Greig's. Several more versions can be found in the Greig-Duncan MSS., with a few differences. In a few, as in some of the song's American relatives, the girl's pregnancy is discovered and it precipitates the murder, whereas in Lizzie's it is not mentioned. Lizzie's version omits the common verse about the blood stains on the boy's clothes, which he explains to his mother by claiming his nose bled; this appears in most other variants, British and North American. However, common to Lizzie's and most other versions are the verses about the candle "to show him up to bed" and the "flames of Hell" which torment him once he has gone to his room.

Jeannie's version of the song appears on Topic's "Fair Game and Foul," and according to Lizzie, it was one of Jeannie's favourites. Lizzie, however, sings it infrequently.
Johnnie My Man

"Johnnie my man, dae ye no think o' risin',
The nicht it's weel spent, an' the time's wearin' on,
Yer siller's a' deen, an' yer stoup toom before you,
Arise up my Johnnie, an' come awa' hame."

"Oh what is that I hear speakin' sae kindly,
For I ken it's the voice o' my ain wifie Jean,
Syne come by me dearie, an' sit doon beside me,
There is room in this taivron for mair than een."

"Johnnie my man, oor bairns is a' greetin',
Nae meal in the barrel tae fill their wee wames;
While sittin' here drinkin' ye leave me lamentin',
Arise up my Johnnie, an' come awa' hame."

But Johnnie's he's raised, an' he is got the door open,
Sayin', "Cursed be the taivron that's e'er let me in.
An' cursed be the whisky that maks me sae thirsty,
Fareweel tae ye whisky, for I'll awa' hame."

"Johnnie My Man" can be found in Ford's Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland, Greig's "Folk-Song of the North-East," and the Greig-Duncan MSS., and in Ord's Bothy Songs and Ballads. Lizzie's version appears, as transcribed by Munro, in Tocher. Ford's and Ord's versions both have nine verses, as compared with Lizzie's four. Ford remarks:

Forty and more years ago, this was a common street song in various parts of Scotland, and found ready sale always in penny-sheet form, chiefly among those who required most its pointed moral lesson.

In the notes to the Topic record, "Jack of All Trades," on which the song appears, Alan Lomax and Peter Kennedy comment:

Family life in the industrial slums was constantly threatened by the habitual drunkenness of both wives and husbands who sought solace from the grinding poverty of their lives in the gin shops. Such were the conditions that produced the present song, a popular street ballad in Scotland in the 1860's and '70's...

The version on the record has four verses and is from Port-knockie, Buchan; it is however different from Ford's, Ord's,
and Lizzie's versions.

Ord includes "the air to which it was sung."\(^{367}\) This air is similar to, but not identical to Lizzie's; the difference is particularly noticeable in the second line.

Lizzie's version may perhaps be regarded as an improvement on Ford's, Greig's, and Ord's versions, as she deletes the more sentimental and moralizing verses at the end, such as Ford's final verse:

```
Contented and crouse he sits by his ain fireside,
And Jeannie, a happier wife there is nane;
Nae mair to the tavern at nicht does he wander,
But's happy wi' Jean and his bairnies at hame.\(^{368}\)
```

Lizzie sings this song in an extremely moving way, as does her cousin Stanley Robertson, who sang the song in the 1973 Kinross Festival Men's Singing Competition. This song has undergone much change and improvement in presentation and style between Lizzie's rendition of it on the 1968 record, "The Travelling Stewarts,"\(^{369}\) and a 1973 recording of it from which this text is taken,\(^{370}\) which indicates that she is fond of it and has worked to improve her performance of it.

Besides the Portknockie version already mentioned, another version may be heard on "The Boys of the Lough,"\(^{371}\) entitled "Farewell to Whisky." The latter is a recent and a well-done revival rendition, with the same air as Lizzie's.
Lady Mary Ann

When she saw three bonnie laddies a-playin' at a ba';
An' the youngest he was the flooer among them a',
He's my bonnie, bonnie boy, aye an' growin'-O.

"Father, dear father, I'll tell you what I'll do,
We'll send him tae the college for anither year or two,
And round about his cap I will sew the ribbons blue,
For tae let the ladies know that he's growin'-O."

Lady Mary Ann wis the flooer in the dew,
Sweet an' bonnie, aye bright was her hue,
An' the longer she blossomed, the sweeter she grew,
For the lily in the bud will be bonnier-O.

Young Charlie Cochran wis the sproot o' an aik,
Blythe an' bonnie, aye straight was his make,
An' the sun it shone all for his sake,
An' he will be the brag o' the forest-O.

The simmer it is gane, an' the leaves they are green,
An' the days are awa' that we hae seen,
Far better days I trust will come again,
For ma bonnie laddie's young, aye an' growin'-O.

This lyric song first appeared in Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, and was printed later by Aytoun, Motherwell, and Ford. Like its presumed ancestor, "The College Boy," this song is associated with the marriage of the Laird of Craigstoun to Elizabeth Innes. William Stenhouse writes in his notes to the songs in the 1853 edition of the *Museum*:

This fine old song, with the very beautiful old air to which it is adapted, were communicated by Burns. It was modelled by Burns from a fragment of an ancient ballad, entitled "Craigton's Growing," still preserved in a manuscript collection of Ancient Scottish ballads, which have hitherto been considered as lost...

Henley and Henderson identify the manuscript as that of Rev. Robert Scott of Glenbucket. Burns is also supposed to have obtained the original for "Lady Mary Ann" from a lady's "recitation or singing" in a tour of the Highlands, but Henley and Henderson inform us:
The fact is, Burns got the germ of his song—not from any of these sets nor from a lady during his northern tour, but—from a fragment in the Herd MS., the more characteristic points in which (it is worth noting) are not incorporated in either the northern or the western sets... "Lady Mary Ann" and "Young Charlie Cochrane" are his own, as are the last three stanzas of the ballad.  

The Herd fragment is indeed nearly identical to Burns's first two verses but for the addition of the name "Mary Ann." It should be remarked that Burns's song does not end with the boy's death, unlike "The College Boy."

Kinsley notes a similarity between "Lady Mary Ann" and Scott's "Lady Anne," a version of "The Cruel Mother," which turns up in a similar text in the Greig-Duncan MSS. In "Lady Anne," the woman sees three boys playing ball while she sits in her bower: this similarity to "Lady Mary Ann" is the basis of the parallel which Kinsley draws.

Strangely enough, Motherwell prints "Lady Mary Ann" with the remark:

The stanzas are certainly beautiful, and it is probable that they may refer to some of the Dundonald family. The thrifty habits of one lady of that noble house, at least, have already been commemorated in some wretched stuff, still preserved by tradition in Paisley.

No other editor of the song appears to be acquainted with this historical connection. After all is said and done, however, the name of the original people involved is of debatable consequence; what remains, as with "The College Boy," is a superb song.

This is one of the songs which Lizzie rearranged, as mentioned in Chapter Four. She learned the tune and words from Donald's Aunt Leeb, but did not like Leeb's tune. She and her father chose a pipe air by John MacColl, "MacDonald of Dunach," with which to sing the words. The words and tune married so well
that one would never suspect that they were not originally together. The tune given by Johnson is very different.

Lizzie's text is very close to the original Burns text, and the versions printed subsequently. Her most obvious changes are the use of "O" at the end of each verse rather than "yet" as found in the other texts, and the last line of Verse 2, in which Lizzie has the ribbons indicate that the boy is "growin'-O." These changes may have occurred either before Lizzie got the song from her great-aunt, or with Lizzie herself, but it is impossible to tell. The ribbons normally signify that the boy is married or about to be; the editors of The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs comment that the "presenting and wearing of coloured ribbons, once common in Britain, still plays a prominent part in betrothal and marriage in Central and Eastern Europe." The ribbons motif appears in some versions of "The College Boy."

"Lady Mary Ann" seems to have undergone far less variation than its relative, "The College Boy," in oral tradition, probably owing to its wide availability in print, and the fact that Burns was, in effect, its author. One should note that Lizzie is aware of the connection between the two songs; when performing "Lady Mary Ann" she calls it a version of "The College Boy." She sings it extremely well, and very frequently. She is so fond of the tune that she asked her father long ago if he would play the tune at her funeral should she die.
The Dottered Auld Carle

A dottered aul' carle cam owre the lea,
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
He cam owre the lea, an a' to coor me,
Wi' his grey beard newly shaven.

My mither tellt me tae open the door,
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
I opened the door, an' he tottered in-owre,
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven.

My mither tellt me tae gie him a chair,
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
I gied him a chair, an' he sat on the flair,
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven.

My mither tellt me tae gie him some meat
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
I gied him some meat, he had nae teeth tae eat,
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven.

My mither tellt me tae gie him a drink,
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
I gied him a drink, he began tae wink,
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven.

My mither tellt me tae gie him a kiss,
Ah ha ha, but I widnae hae him.
"If ye like him sake weel, ye can kiss him yersel'! [sae]
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven."

Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven,
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven.
"If ye like him sake weel, ye can kiss him yersel'!
Wi' his aul' grey beard newly shaven."

This humorous song appears in many collections, both British and North American. The song was first printed in Ramsay's Tea-Table Miscellany, but it is a stiffer, more literary version than Lizzie's. Robert Jamieson includes a version in his Popular Ballads and Songs with the note that it is "by the editor" but that "the first stanza is current in Scotland." His version seems to be a literary reworking of the song which was, after all, already extant in a longer version published by Ramsay and ones published by David Herd and James Johnson. Ford prints both Ramsay's version and one like Lizzie's, with
this comment:

The above is evidently just another version of the preceding song [Ramsay's]: which is the older might be the question. In my opinion this is the more felicitous of the two. It has been widely sung in the country districts of Scotland, but, so far as I am aware, has not previously appeared in any song collection. 387

Ford's second version of "The Dottered Auld Carle" is without doubt the "more felicitous"; it displays a simpler and more direct use of language, and simpler verse construction, which is more effective aurally. Greig prints yet another version in Folk-Song of the North-East, 388 and several versions and two tunes unlike Lizzie's tune appear in the Greig-Duncan MSS.

Lizzie's version is virtually identical to Ford's, which indicates either that the song has not changed in oral transmission in Donald Higgins's family (Lizzie got it from her father), or that a printed version was consulted or adhered to in the family. Ford speaks of its popularity, which may have sufficed to keep the song intact in its basic form in Scotland.

In her performance of the song at Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society, Lizzie explained:

The dottered aul' carle was a wealthy old, old man, an'-- this woman was a widow, and she had one daughter. An' she wanted hees money, the mother did, but she woulndae marry him hersel'. So therefore she wanted her daughter to kiss this aul' man an' play up wi' him, for sake of marryin' him an' gettin' the money. But the girl wasnae havin' this... 389

The picture that this song creates is a ludicrous one, but historically it was not unusual for a young girl to be married to an old man with some wealth, either because of parental arrangement, as in the situation Lizzie describes here, or because male contemporaries were too poor to marry and support
a wife. The common theme is treated in a pathetic manner in the lyric song, "A Auld Man Come Coortin' Me" which Lizzie learned from her mother. The spirited heroine of "The Dottered Auld Carle" proves more than a match for her scheming mother, while commenting dryly on the repulsiveness and feebleness of the old man.

Lizzie's club audiences respond well to this song, joining in on the second and fourth line refrain. The song is often associated with Jeannie, although few realize that it was taught to Jeannie and Lizzie by Donald. Lizzie calls this a pipe song with a pipe tune, but this is perhaps dubious; however, the tune can be contained within the Mixolydian scale which most closely approximates the pipe scale.

There are several English versions of the song, and it obviously has a great appeal for singers in North America, judging from the number of North American versions in print. Sharp collected five versions in the Appalachians alone. The fourth line refrain in some versions has become "With his old shoes and leggings," and the song hence sometimes goes by this name. The verses tend to be sillier than in the Scottish and English versions, for example:

My mother gave him some cake,  
And he swallowed a snake.  


The Corncraiks Among the Whinny Khowes

The lassie I lue best of a' wis handsome, young, and fair,
It being tae me a happy nicht along the banks o' Ayr.
It has been tae me a happy nicht, whaur ye saw burnie rows,
And the echo mocks the corncraiks among the whinny knowes.

Lizzie has never sung this song in the clubs, as she took the
air from it to sing with the words to "Bogieside", and she says,
"I cannae sing two songs to one air". She only sang the first
verse given here to demonstrate the tune for "Bogieside", and
subsequent attempts to record the song in full failed, so this sole
verse must suffice.

The song appears in Ford's Vagabond Songs and Ballads of
Scotland and in Greig's Folk-Song of the North-East. Both
collectors comment on the unlikelihood of the corncraik turning up
in a song. Ford writes:

This is the first and only occasion, I think,
in which the Corncraik -- beautifully feathered,
but most unmelodious of birds -- has been mixed
up in a love song... It is quite evidently a
modern effusion, and the author may be living.
I have met with it in various cheap song-sheets,
but nowhere with any name attached. Presumably
an Ayrshire ditty, it has yet been sung over the
wider area of Scotland. The air, a genuine
country one, and attached to other songs, is
supplied by Mr. Walter Deans, Glasgow.

Ford's air has the same basic melodic contour as Lizzie's.

Greig writes, not long after Ford:

This is a pleasant lilt, and fairly popular.
It is not, however, a true folk-song, but belongs
to the class of what may be called "composed
songs", in the construction of which a certain
amount of literary skill and device is exhibited.

Judging by the one verse collected from Lizzie, her text seems very
close to the printed texts. She learned it from her mother, who
may have seen it in print, or who may have gotten it from someone who had seen it in print, but at some point, as it is a composed song, the song had to enter the Robertson-Higgins oral tradition from print.
Bogieside

'Sist me all ye muses, your downcast spirits raise,
An' join me in fu' chorus tae sing brave Huntly's praise.
For the girl I left behind me, whose charms were all my pride
When I said farewell tae Huntly toon, an' bonnie Bogieside.

It's doon the road tae Huntly Lodge, with pleasant steps I've roved,
Almost inspired with raptures, the sweet girl that I loved,
Who joined me in my'rambles, an' chose me for her guide,
Tae walk upon the Deveron's banks on bonnie Bogieside.

Fareweel ye pleasant plantings, of you I'll often talk.
Likewise your hawthorn bushes that grace yon gravel walks.
Until ma hait forgets to beat, and death does us divide,
I'll sing the praise of Huntly toon, an' bonnie Bogieside.

Fareweel ye lads o' Huntly toon, tae you I'll bid adieu.
The pleasures of our evenin's walk, I'll share nae mair wi' you.
The sky was clear an' bonnie, it was on an eventide,
I'll lay me doon and rest awhile upon the Bogieside.

May the powers above protect this girl, sae young an' fair an' fine.
An' keep her from all dangers, who has this heart of mine.
An' keep her in contentment, an' always free from pride.
Oh, I'll return tae Huntly toon, on bonnie Bogieside.

This song appears in Ord's Bothy Songs and Ballads, without any critical comment; however, Ford printed it about thirty years previous to Ord's book, with a comment received in a letter from Ord:

Mr. John Ord ... from whom I recently received the above, writes with regard to it -- 'This song is a great favourite in Strathbogie, and throughout the whole of the north-east of Scotland. So far as I am aware, it has only been once in print, viz., when it appeared, by request, in The People's Journal (Aberdeen and Banff edition), in the summer of 1878. I do not know who the author was, but I know the song has been in existence for not less than half a century.'

Curiously enough, the version Ford prints is very different from Ord's version; the former is in four-line verses, while the latter is in eight-line verses, and is longer. Lizzie's version is nearly identical to Ford's, except for minor word and verse order differences. Ford uses the word "plantains" in the fourth verse, but I have transcribed
"plantings" here, which is what Lizzie sings, and as "plantain" means either a herb or a tropical plant, it scarcely sounds like the right word. "Plantings" here would then be taken as a plantation or grove of trees, which makes more sense. 405

Soon after Ford printed the song, Greig included it in his *Folk-Song of the North-East*. 406 He identifies the author:

In a communication from Mrs. Corbet, New Deer, it is stated that "Bogieside" was written by John Riddel who, born in the parish of New Deer, found his way to Strathbogie, where he went through the experiences recorded in his famous song of "Jock o' Rhymie", and afterwards went to London. "Bogieside" is well-known. The printed versions of the song which we have seen appear to bear a certain family resemblance. 407

Greig was also sent a version from Ord, which Ord did not print himself later, and there are several similar versions of the song in the Greig-Duncan MSS. 408

Lizzie got the words for the song from her great-aunt Leeb. She did not like the tune, however, so she chose to sing it to the tune of "The Corncraiks Among the Whinny Knowes". 409 The tune is a common one, and is also used with the bothy ballad, "Bogie's Bonnie Belle". 410

Lizzie's rendition is included on a 1968 LP, "Back o' Benachie". 411 Hall mentions in his sleeve notes the close relationship of this song with "Bogie's Bonnie Belle", but he points out that the songs had separate authors; a farm worker named Geddes is credited with "Bogie's Bonnie Belle". 412 Lizzie sings "Bogieside" well, as Hall says, probably in part because she is so fond of the tune. It must be said that the diction of this song is more inflated than that of "Bogie's Bonnie Belle"; it advertises its literary origin with lines like the first: "'Sist me all ye muses, your downcast spirits raise".
Oh, Are ye Sleepin' Maggie

"Oh, are ye sleepin' Maggie,
Oh, are ye sleepin' Maggie?
Oh caal' the win' blaws through my plaid,
Oh let me in beside thee, Maggie."

She's opened the door, and she's let her laddie in,
He's cast aside hees dreepin' plaidie,
An' as a win' began tae howl,
The rain came lashing o'er the Warlo[ck] Craggies.

"Oh, are ye sleepin' Maggie,
Oh, are ye sleepin' Maggie?
Oh caal' the win' blaws through my plaid,
Oh let me in beside thee, Maggie."

Lizzie says that this is a pipe tune which is "very old."
She learned it from her father as a small child. Her decorations and wrenched rhythm are the most noticeable features of this song as she sings it.

This is an abbreviated version of the song. Ewan MacColl prints the song in *Folk Songs and Ballads of Scotland*. He comments:

This version of an old song called "Sleepy Maggie" was made by Robert Tannahill (1774-1810), the Paisley bard. Apprenticed to the cotton-weaving trade at the age of nine, Tannahill is said to have spent more time cobbling verses than watching his loom. Country singers in southwest Scotland rank him as one of the most gifted song writers in that great army of working-class bards who followed in the wake of Robert Burns. Tannahill gives the air as "Sleepy Maggie," but if one compares this tune, a reel, as printed in Surenne's *The Dance Music of Scotland*, it is not the tune Lizzie employs.

The Scottish revival singer Ray Fisher sings a similar but less formal version than the one Tannahill and MacColl print, which probably indicates that it has been altered by her or by her source. This version may be found in the American folk-
song magazine, Sing Out! Lizzie's version is basically one verse with the chorus sung before and after. Whether her father taught it to her like this, or whether she forgot some verses through the years is unknown. All the same, however brief Lizzie's rendition, it is an interesting tune with a considerable amount of decoration. Ray's tune shares some melodic phrases with Lizzie's, but is not identical.

Lizzie explains that the "Warlock Craggies" was "a place where the old Scottish devil-worshippers met... for their old and ancient cult."
MacCrimmon's Lament

Round Coolin's peaks the mists is sailin'  
The banshee croons her note o' wallin'.  
Mil' blue een wi' sorrow is streamin'  
For him that shall never return, MacCrimmond.

No more, no more, no more forever  
Shall love or gold bring back MacCrimmond.  
No more, no more, no more forever  
Shall love or gold bring back MacCrimmond.

The breeze on the braes are mournfully moanin',  
The brooks in the hollows are plaintively mournin'.  
Mil' blue een wi' sorrow are streamin'  
For him that shall never return, MacCrimmond.

Chorus.

MacLeod's wizard flags from the grey castle sallies,  
The rowers are unseated, unmoored are the galleys.  
Gleams war-axe and broadsword, clang target and quiver  
For him that shall never return, MacCrimmond.

Chorus.

This moving but formal lament concerns the death of Donald MacCrimmon of the famous family of MacCrimmons, hereditary pipers to the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Skye, who ran a college of piping at Borreraig.\(^{419}\) Magnus MacLean comments that the song is "said to have been composed by his [MacCrimmon's] sister on his departure with the men of the Clan MacLeod for the struggle which culminated at Culloden."\(^{420}\) John Stuart Blackie believes that MacCrimmon himself composed it.\(^{421}\) B.H. Humble remarks about the tune: "It was a lament for himself, foreseeing death. Nor did he return, being the only man killed at a skirmish near Inverness in 1745."\(^{422}\) This latter fact, of MacCrimmon's being the only casualty at the skirmish, rather diminishes the "high tragedy" of the song, but leaving aside this ironic fact, the song stands as a very beautiful lament.

The song, as MacCrimmon or his sister had it, if they
indeed composed it, probably circulated orally until the early nineteenth century, when there appeared numerous Gaelic and English versions of it, none of which probably represent the original form, whatever it may have been. As Mr. William Matheson of the Edinburgh University Celtic Department pointed out to me, Donald Bàn MacCrimmon could neither write nor read music, so this negates the possibility of finding an ur-text and tune in print. Hence, the song from the very beginning was subject to oral variation.

We first meet the song in print in Alexander Campbell's Albyn's Anthology (1818) with the note that it was written for the anthology by Sir Walter Scott; the air is given as "Cha till mi tuille." This song may be regarded as Scott's work, using only the germ of the MacCrimmon story which he must have heard during his travels in Skye. The first verse does not appear in other English versions sung today. If one refers to John Gibson Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., one notices that Scott seemed quite taken with the MacLeod fairy flag, the "wizzard flag" in the first verse of Scott's poem; it appears that he used poetic license in mentioning it in the "Lament," which is not traditionally associated with the fairy flag. The tune given is one of several associated with the song.

The Scott version, which is not to be considered a translation but Scott's reworking of an existing story, is important here because Lizzie sings Scott's final verse at the end of her version. The rest of her version most closely resembles a translation from the Gaelic, now widely sung, made by Blackie in 1876. It is probably the most easily sung of the
English translations; Gaelic is difficult to translate without a resulting stiffness and awkwardness, which characterizes MacLean's and Donald Campbell's translations.  

"MacCrimmon's Lament" is extremely hard to deal with for several reasons, some of which should now be evident. The tune may have come first, then acquired words, both of which became immediately subject to oral variation. No other explanation can account for the different tunes as well as texts appearing in print, together and separately, as well as the existence of the song in the present Gaelic oral tradition in a form quite different from the ones in print. Humble comments that the "Gaelic words have been attributed to Norman MacLeod;" the picture becomes cloudier with the added complication that some of the English translations or "loose renderings," including Scott's, have been translated into Gaelic, which might then be again translated into English. Small wonder that tracing the song's origins becomes virtually impossible.

The point to be taken here is that the printed versions are in actuality "bogus" ones; they have not circulated in oral tradition, and both tunes and texts have been passed off as originals when in fact they were written by those who published them. For example, Lizzie's tune is the one usually sung on the folk scene, but in fact did not appear until 1884 in Colin Brown's The Thistle. The tune to Scott's poem in Albyn's Anthology is different, as well as the pibroch appearing in Angus Mackay's A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd or Highland Pipe Music (1838) and the more recent Logan's Complete Tutor for the Highland Bagpipe. It seems that
the currently popular version of the song is the marriage of Blackie's translation with the Brown tune.

Lizzie admits to having gotten her words to the song from a book. She comments:

... my Uncle Isaac - had - met some people. An' they give 'im some old books, because I was just a kid o' fourteen... old type a educational books. So ma uncle took this big bundle o' books, an' I come across this... song, called "MacCrimmond." So I said t' ma father, "I like this - song" ... An' ma father said, "Oh," he said, "we have 'MacCrimmond's Lament' on the pipes, in pipe music." I said, "Well, that's fine." 'Cause I fell in love with the words. So he played the tune over tae me two or three times till I got the - the hang o' the tune... I finally got the air perfect, an' I fitted in the words just perfect.

What in fact may have happened was that Lizzie saw two books, one with Scott's poem, and possibly Blackie's book, or a book with Blackie's translation, and combined the versions; another possibility is that she picked up the Scott verse later from either an oral or printed source, since it comes last in her version. The tune her father played thus must have been the Brown tune, not the pibroch.

The MacCrimmon family have been the subject of several traditional tales about their piping abilities, so that it is hardly surprising that several stories exist about the "Lament." Tradition has it that one of the first MacCrimmons was given a silver chanter by a fairy, which enabled him to produce remarkable music; he subsequently became the hereditary piper to the MacLeods, and made the piping college at Borreraig famous.

Humble comments:

Apart from legend there is much doubt as to the origin of the MacCrimmons. All we know is that for three or four hundred years up to the end of the eighteenth century they were the hereditary pipers to the MacLeod of MacLeod.
Lizzie's version of "MacCrimmon's Lament" has been altered by her from what we must conclude to have been her sources: Blackie and Scott. She does not sing the second half of Blackie's second verse, which runs:

The warblers, the soul of the groves, are mourning
For MacCrimmon that's gone, with no hope of returning.  

The omission may be due to the stiffness of these two lines:

Lizzie instead repeats the second half of Verse 1. She normally sings Blackie's last verse as a chorus:

No more, no more, no more for ever,
In war or peace, shall return MacCrimmon;
No more, no more, no more for ever
Shall love or gold bring back MacCrimmon.

In this recording she uses the last two lines of the verse and repeats them, possibly due to nervousness. She also sings "MacCrimmond," but as she says "demond" this is probably a characteristic addition. She sings the song well, with great feeling, but some may find a hint of art music style in her "No more, no more" phrase. She could have picked this up from another singer, however.

Two revival versions may be heard on "No more forever" and "Isla St.Clair sings Scottish traditional songs."
Far Over the Forth

Far over the Forth, I look at the North,
But what is the North, wi' its Highlands tae me?
The South nor the East, gie ease to my breast,
It's the far foreign lands o'er the wild rollin' sea.

Ah the lang simmer day, amid the heather and the bracken,
The joy and delight o' hees bonnie blue ee.
I little then kent that the wild westron ocean
Will be rollin' this day 'tween my laddie and me.

Hees father, he frowned on the love of hees boyhood,
And oh hees proud mother looked cauld upon me.
Bit he aye followed me to ma hame in the shielin',
And the hills of Breadalbane rung wild wi' cor glee.

We trysted our love on the cairn on the mountains,
The deers and the roe stood bright maidens tae me.
And my love's trying glass was a pure crystal fountain,
What then wis the world tae my laddie and me.

So I look at the West, as I go to my rest,
That happy my dreams and my slumbers may be.
For far in the West, lives the lad I lue best,
He is seekin' a hame, for ma bairnie and me.

Hall remarks in his notes to Lizzie's L.P.:

The same song appears in James Johnson's The Scots Musical Museum 1787. Lizzie has the words from a printed source but uses a pipe tune from her father's repertoire as the air.441

Johnson calls the song "Out Over the Forth", and it can be found, with an air different from Lizzie's, in Volume III of the four-volume 1853 edition of The Scots Musical Museum.442

The song does not have a particularly extraordinary plot, quite the opposite, but when sung with Lizzie's precise execution and intensity, the song becomes a far more exciting love lyric than it would appear in cold print.

Lizzie learned this song, like "The Beggar Man", as a child from her father. She says it is a "great old pipe folksong and pipe tune"
with "heavy decorations". The song lets her show off her unquestionable ability for ornamentation, and the tune is a strangely beautiful and unusual one, largely owing to the appearance of the flatted seventh in an otherwise major scale. This is a long-lived item in her repertoire, and she still performs it.
The Lassie Gathering Nuts

There wis a lass, an' a bonnie, bonnie lass,
Tae gath' th' nuts did gang.
She's pu'ed them east, she's pu'ed them west,
She pu'ed them as they hung,
She's pu'ed them as they hung.

Tired at last, she laid her doon,
An' slept the wide among,
When by there came three lusty lads,
Three lusty lads an' strang,
Three lusty lads an' strang.

The first o' them, he kissed her mou,
He thocht he did nae wrong.
The second o' them undid her belt,
Tied up wi' London whang,
Tied up wi' London whang.

What the third he did tae her
Is no put in this song,
Bit the lassie risin' tae her feet,
Says, "I fear I hae slept too lang",
Says, "I fear I hae slept too lang".

This lyric song, which Lizzie says her mother gav' to her
to sing on the folk scene, is printed in Robert Burns's The Merry
Muses of Caledonia as a song collected, not written, by Burns.444
The song also appears in Folk Songs and Ballads of Scotland edited
by Ewan MacColl.445 Both the Burns and MacColl texts differ only
slightly from Lizzie's version, so that it has not changed
substantially in oral transmission in coming down to Lizzie.

In The Horn Book, G. Legman contends that "The Lassie
Gathering Nuts" is a "rewriting" of "a traditional French students'
and children's song, 'Fillarette'".446 He points out the closeness
of plot between the two songs, and compares the end of each version:

In the Scottish version the poet ends, "But the
lassie wauken'd in a fright, And says I hae
slept lang", thus denying all conscious
knowledge of, and sinful responsibility for,
herseduction; while the French singer
concludes -- as to what the last young man did
-- with the classic satirical thrust against
female sexual appetite: "Si vous le saviez, Mesdames, vous iriez couper les joncs!".447

(The French lassie went to cut rushes or "couper les joncs" instead of gathering nuts.) The differences in psychology between the two versions are indeed interesting.

Although Lizzie learned this song from Jeannie, she puts quite a few of her piping decorations into it, which enhance its aural impact. The serious, slow manner in which Lizzie sings it contrasts with the almost humorous impersonality and objectivity of the song, lending the ironic last lines an extra "punch". Lizzie summed up the girl's situation one night after performing it by saying, "What a wulling lassie wis she!".

The expression "London whang" may be unfamiliar. Lizzie once gave a surprisingly lengthy discourse on the term:

London whang was an old rough handmade leather ... made by haund, an' made in a rough shape. An' they would tie it roond their middles. Around their old-fashioned hodden grey clothes. It was only the poor who wore London whang. The rich didnae wear London whang, they wore belts o' gold.448

The song appears on the Argo record, "The Amorous Muse", sung by Ewan MacColl.449 The tune is the same as Lizzie's and is given as "The Broom of the Cowdenknowes".
The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby

A lassie wis milkin' her father's kye,
When a gentleman on horseback he cam ridin' by,
When a gentleman on horseback he cam ridin' by,
He wis the Laird o' the Dainty Doonby.

"Oh lassie, lassie, fit wid ye gie,
If I was to lie se nicht wi' ye?"
"To lie se nicht, it wid never never be,
Though ye're Laird o' the Dainty Doonby."

He's catched her by the middle sae sma',
He's laid her doon whaur the grass grew lang,
It wis a long long time or he raised her up again,
Sayin' ye're Lady o' the Dainty Doonby.

It fell upon a day and a bonnie summer's day,
To face the lassie's father some money had to pay,
To face the lassie's father some money had to pay,
Tae the Laird o' the Dainty Doonby.

"Oh good morning and how dae ye do?
And fu' is yer dochter Janet ae noo,
And fu' is yer dochter Janet ae noo,
Since I laid her in the Dainty Doonby."

"My wee Janet, she's no very weel,
My dochter Janet looks uncae pale,
My dochter Janet, she kowks at her kail,
Since ye laid her in the Dainty Doonby."

He's taen her by the lily white hand,
He's led her in his rooms, they were twenty-one,
And placed the keys intae her hand,
Sayin' ye're Lady o' the Dainty Doonby.

"Oh' says the aul' man,"fit will we dae?"
"Oh' said the aul' wife,"we'll dance 'til we dee."
"Oh' says the aul' man,"I think I'll dae that tae,
Since she's Leddy o' the Dainty Doonby."

"The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby" is on Lizzie's record, "Princess of the Thistle", and her text appears in The Scottish Folk-singer (1973). The song was published by David Herd, and also in Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, edited by Hans Hecht, but these versions prove to be longer than Lizzie's, and differ slightly in the plot. In the Herd versions, the Laird accuses the girl of having lain with another man, perhaps as a test, which does not occur in Lizzie's version.
The plot of "The Parks o' Keltie" type is lengthier than that of "The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby" type. Because of this, Patrick Shuldham-Shaw believes the former type to have been the earlier of the two. In "The Parks o' Keltie", a young girl dares to walk alone, and late, through the parks of Keltie, where she meets the young laird who takes his will of her. When this becomes known to her father, he insists that the Laird marry her, which he does. A good number of verses are taken up with the girl's decision to walk through the parks and the seduction, which does not apply to "The Laird o' the Dainty Doonby".

In comparing the Buchan and Hall printed text of Lizzie's version with the one given here, one will note that an obvious illogicality in Verse 4 has been amended by them, understandably.

Lizzie sings:

To face the lassie's father some money had to pay.

This makes no sense, but Lizzie is noticeably undisturbed by garbled lines; it is doubtful that she learned it this way, but one must concede that it is also a possible explanation.

The plot of this delightful song is not unusual, considering the frequency with which seductions occur in Scottish folksong. The Laird seduced the young girl after she rejects his advances, but the
outcome of this situation is not what one expects; usually the
girl is left with a child, and with no hope of marrying her seducer.
Here, the girl's dowry is paid by the father, and the Laird appears
very pleased with his prospective bride, showing her the rooms of
his house and pronouncing her the Lady of the Dainty Doonby. The
father and mother add a comic touch with their glee over their
dughter's successful marriage.

In the final melodic descent of the last line in each verse,
Lizzie often, but not always, puts some decorations into her singing.
This may vary from verse to verse, as it does on the Topic recording
of Lizzie. It is doubtful that Jeannie would employ such ornamentation
in this song; it is characteristically Lizzie's style.
Bonnie Udny

Udny, bonnie Udny, ye shine whaur you staund,
An' the mair I gaze upon you, oh the mair my hairt yearns.
For to keep my eyes from weeping, what a fool I would be,
For a' yer lands in Scotland, bonnie Udny's for me.

For it's you pu' the red rose, an' it's I'll pu' the thyme.
For it's you drink tae your love, and I'll drink tae mine.
We will drink and be merry, we will drink tae we're fu',
For the lang lang walks o' Udny, they're a' tae go through.

They hae stolen my sweethairt, an' they've taen him frae me.
They hae stolen my sweethairt, an' they've taen him frae me.
They hae stolen my sweethairt, bit that they will rue,
For the lang lang walks o' Udny, they're a' tae go through.

We will drink an' be merry, we will drink an' ging hame,
For tae bide here ony longer, we'll get a bad name.
An' to get a bad name, love, for that it wadna dee,
For a' your lands in Scotland, bonnie Udny for me.

Ord includes this song without annotation in his Bothy Songs and Ballads. His version is far more literary than Lizzie's version, which is less stiff by comparison. Ord's version owes its stiffness to an unsuitable marriage of poetic English and Scots, whereas Lizzie's is a homogeneous Scots song. Her version is nearly identical to her mother's, which is printed in Buchan and Hall, The Scottish Folksinger, and also in the School of Scottish Studies publication, A Collection of Scots Songs. Lizzie says that the song has been in her family for a long time.

Gavin Greig provides a fascinating discussion of the song's ancestry in Folk-Song of the North-East. He prints two versions of the song, the first very similar to Lizzie's where they coincide, and the second being identical to Ord's version. Greig comments about the second version:

This latter reading of the song -- more fluent and polished in language and saner in sense, strikes us as the work of a later hand. The
more rugged version of a song is as a rule the older... Dealing with the first version given, we feel that it is a bit of a medley.457 Greig points out the song's similarity to "Portmore" or "My Heart's in the Highlands",458 "The Boys of Kilkenny",459 "The Lads of Sweet Ury", and "Yarmouth is a Pretty Town".460 Greig also turned up a similar song called "Bonny Paisley".461

This is a lyric song; it holds no narrative continuity, as the verses have only slight links with the other. The song describes an unlikely locale, Udny, but then it is following a formula, as suggested by Greig's discussion. Lizzie performs it well, particularly because it is one of her favourite songs, but it requires her to be in good voice to manage the song's broad vocal range.
The hills are clad in purple, and the trees are clad in gold,
The autumn wind is sighing of a beauty growing old.
The grey grouse in the heather, and the wild deers in the glen,
I'm dreaming of the sunshine, when I see that Spring again.

That merry laughing Summer, in its mantle cloak of green,
That merry laughing Summer, in its mantle cloak of green,
It was Autumn, gentle Autumn, with its bonnie eyes of grey,
It wrapped me in the twilight, and it stole my heart away.

This brief song is included on Lizzie's L.P. "Princess of the Thistle." In his notes to the record, Hall remarks:

Like many such "Calendar" songs this is probably of literary origin, later taken in oral currency. If this is so the tune has certainly been freely adapted by the traditional singers who have had it in their keeping.462

The song employs highly literary diction, which bears out Hall's assumption that it had a literary origin. In the second verse, the first line is repeated in the second line, suggesting that one line could be missing, as this is not the pattern in the first verse, but this is only speculation.

Lizzie says, "This sweet little song I learned from a friend of my family. It was a small Scots poem. He gave it the tune." It would seem that this friend had come across a printed version of the song someplace and set it to music.
Wha's at the Windae

Wha's at the windae, oh wha, oh wha?
Oh wha's at the windae, oh wha, oh wha?
Wha but blythe Jimmy Glen's walkit six miles and ten,
Tae tak bonnie Jeannie awa', awa',
Tae tak bonnie Jeannie awa', awa'.

It's no that she's Jeemy's ava, ava,
It's no that she's Jeemy's ava, ava.
Whit maks ma hairt sae weary when a' the lave's sae cheery,
It's because she'll aye be awa', awa',
It's because she'll aye be awa'.

Oh the bridal maidens are braw, are braw,
The bridal maidens are braw, are braw.
The bride's modest ee and her warrum cheek to me
Is abune pearlín an' brooches an' a', an' a',
Is abune pearlín an' brooches an' a', an' a'.

There's mirth in the green an' in the ha', the ha',
There's mirth in the green an' in the ha', the ha'.
They're laughing an' quaffing, they're jestin' an' daffin',
The bride's the blythest o' them a', them a',
Oh the bride the blythest o' them a', them a'.

Lizzie used to perform this song more frequently in clubs several years ago than she does now; this is undoubtedly due to the fact that it is one that Jeannie sang often, and Lizzie may have felt that it was her mother's song. Jeannie learned the song from Maria.

On Lizzie's record sleeve, Hall comments:

This song usually appears as a children's piece and in a very fragmentary form. From these versions the song was related to the night-visiting group but Lizzie's much fuller set puts it closer to "The False Bride" and others of this type. 463

It is in fact not a traditional song, but composed. George Farquhar Graham prints the words and tune in The Songs of Scotland with the note:

The words were written by Mr. Alexander Carlile of Paisley; the air is by the late Mr. R.A. Smith.
In the sixteenth century, and early in the seventeenth, a window song of this kind seems to have been very popular in England ... 464
The tune by Smith is unlike Lizzie's, and a verse not sung by Lizzie is given by Graham, which is also omitted in Whitelaw's The Book of Scottish Song. 465

In Scottish Song, John Stuart Blackie prints the song and informs us about the author, "... Carlile was born at Paisley in 1788...".466 One version appears in the Greig-Duncan MSS. which differs just slightly from Lizzie's. Duncan noted that the song was not traditional.

The song does resemble "The False Bride" as Hall says; the tone of "Wha's at the Windae" is not bitter and defiant as in Lizzie's "She's Only My Auld Shoes", her version of "The False Bride". The speaker in this song here is very much resigned to losing his sweetheart to "blythe Jimmy Glen".

"Lave" (Verse 2) means "the remainder", "the others", according to the Scottish National Dictionary,467 which would mean the rest of the people present at the wedding, as it is used here.
The Gallowa' Hills

I'll tak ma plaidie, contented to be,  
A wee bittie kilted abune ma knee,  
And I'll gie my pipe anither blaw,  
And I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Oh the Gallowa' hills are covered wi' broom,  
Wi' heather bells and bonnie bloom,  
Wi' heather bells an' rivers a',  
An' I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,  
I'll sell my grannie's spinnin' wheel,  
I'll sell them a' when doon fa's a',  
An' I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Oh the Gallowa' hills are covered wi' broom,  
Wi' heather bells and bonnie bloom,  
Wi' heather bells an' rivers a',  
An' I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

For I say, bonnie lass, it's will ye come wi' me,  
And share yer lot in a strange country,  
Tae share yer lot when doon fa's a',  
An' I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

Oh the Gallowa' hills are covered wi' broom,  
Wi' heather bells and bonnie bloom,  
Wi' heather bells an' rivers a',  
An' I'll gang oot owre the hills tae Gallowa'.

This song is often associated with Lizzie's mother, whose favourite song this is. As mentioned elsewhere, Lizzie's brother Jimsy insisted on this song for his lullaby, so that Lizzie undoubtedly associates it with him when she sings it. Norman Buchan includes it in his 101 Scottish Songs as sung by Jeannie. He comments:

This fine song... is evidently based on "The Braes of Galloway" by William Nicholson, the wandering minstrel of Galloway, who lived and roamed and sang from 1783 to 1819. "The Braes of Galloway", which can be found in "Nicholson's Poetical Works", is given as sung to "The White Cockade", and Hamish Henderson suggests that it might in fact be based on an earlier Jacobite song both for that reason and because of the nature of the "departure" comments -- "I'll sell my rock"; "when doon fa's aw" -- and indeed throughout the song.
These "departure comments" do not appear in Nicholson's song, which simply celebrates the beauty of Galloway,\textsuperscript{470} therefore the song has been altered in content, as well as in diction. Nicholson's song employs a literary Scots style, as exemplified in the verse:

\begin{verse}
There's stately woods on mony a brae,  
Where burns and birds in concert play;  
The waukrife echo answers a',  
Amang the braes o' Gallowa'.\textsuperscript{471}
\end{verse}

Lizzie's version of the song, transcribed here from her 1969 Edinburgh Festival performance, is nearly the same as her mother's, although she has rearranged the order of the second and third verses. "The Gallowa' Hills" is a very popular chorus song in the folk clubs, but Lizzie has sung it less in recent years because she feels it is so much her mother's song. However, one month after her mother's death, she finished a performance in Manchester with this song, indicating that she may now begin to sing it more.
Twa Recruitin' Sergeants

Twa recruitin' sergeants frae the Black Watch,
Markets and fairs some recruits for tae catch,
An' a' that they listed was forty an' twa,
Oh list, bonnie laddie, an' come awa'.

CHORUS:
It is over the mountains, an' over the main,
Through Gibraltar to France and Spain.
Get a feather tae your bonnet, and a kilt abune
your knee,
So list, bonnie laddie, an' come awa' wi' me.

Oh laddie, ye dinnae ken the danger that you're in,
If your horses wis to fleg an' your owsen wis to rin,
And the greedy auld fairmer winnae pay your fee,
Oh list, ma bonnie laddie, an' come awa' wi' me.

CHORUS
It is intae the barn an' oot o' the byre,
This auld fairmer thinks ye'll never tire,
It's a slavery job o' low degree,
So list, ma bonnie laddie, an' come awa' wi' me.

CHORUS
Wi' your tatty poorins an' your meal an' kail,
Wi' your soor sowin' soorins an' your ill-breed ale,
Wi' your buttermilk and whey, an' your breid fired raw,
So list, ma bonnie laddie, an' come awa' wi' me.

CHORUS
Oh laddie, if ye've got a sweethairt an' bairn,
Ye'll easily get rid o' that ill-spun yairn,
Twa rattles o' the drum an' that'll pay it a',
So list, ma bonnie laddie, an' come awa'.

CHORUS

This song was made more popular in the Scottish clubs by Jeannie, according to Hamish Henderson; Lizzie sang it in the 1969 Edinburgh Folk Festival from which this text is taken, but since then has stopped performing it, undoubtedly because it is strongly associated with her mother.

The song has an interesting history. In the notes to "A Soldier's Life For Me", on which John Strachan's version appears, Alan Lomax and Peter Kennedy comment:
"Over the Hills and far away" is the running refrain of an earlier form of this ubiquitous soldier piece, which was serving as a recruiting song already in Marlborough's day. Thomas D'Urfey printed a version in 14 verses in *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719) to a tune called "Jockey's Lamentation." The same air appears in the *Beggars' Opera* under the title of "Over the Hills and Far Away"... After the defeat of Prince Charlie, Scotland became a major recruiting ground for the British Army, and the recruiting-sergeant's ballad became a favourite of the Scots shepherd lads and farm servants who fought in English battles on every continent.

The earlier recruiting song referred to is discussed thoroughly by Lewis Winstock in *Songs and Music of the Redcoats*. This same song is found on the Argo record of the same title, sung to the tune given by Winstock, which bears little resemblance to Lizzie's air. Karl Dallas calls D'Urfey's version "a rather soulful lyric" and says that *The Beggars' Opera* tune married with John Gay's words "had a strictly Vauxhall Gardens air to it"; he inclines more to the "roistering, boisterous" versions of Jeannie and Strachan.

Greig prints two versions in *Folk-Song of the North-East*, which Jeannie's and Strachan's are clearly similar to. Jeannie's and Lizzie's versions do not mention Queen Victoria as do one of Greig's and Strachan's versions. The other Greig version has George as the monarch. Strachan's version does not mention the Black Watch regiment, as do Jeannie's and Lizzie's, and Greig's first version. The inclusion of two other versions in the Greig-Duncan MSS. which are similar to Lizzie's would seem to suggest the song's relative popularity in the Northeast.

The recruiting sergeants humorously employ subtle psychology in trying to persuade the young man in question to enlist. They play upon the harsh realities of the farming life,
and the chance to get rid of a sweetheart with a child, with
the money earned. The chorus is infectious when the song is
sung in a group, and the tune is very jaunty and suitting.
The Overgate

As I gaed o'er the Overgate,
I met a bonnie wee lass,
An' she winked tae me wi' the tail of her ee
As I gaed walkin' past,
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

I asked her what her name might be,
She said, "Jemima Rose,
An' I live in Blaeberry Lane
At the fit o' the Beefcan Close,"
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

I asked her what was her launlady's name,
She said, "It is Mrs. Bruce."
An' wi' that, she's invited me
to come awa' tae the hoose,
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

Oh we went up the windin' stairs,
Them being long an' dark,
An' I slipped my money from ma inside pooch
An' tied it to the tail o' my sark,
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

We scarcely had got in the hoose,
An' barely sittin' doon,
When she winked tae me wi' the tail of her ee,
"Come ben intae my room."
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

Oh a' the nicht long I dreamed I wis lyin
In the airms of Jemima Rose.
An' when I waukened I was lyin' on my back
At the fit o' the Beefcan Close,
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

So all you jolly ploomen lads
That gang oot for a walk,
Just lift your money from the inside pooch
An' tie it to the tail of your sark.
Ricky doo dum day, doo dum day,
Ricky dicky doo dum day.

Little can be found about this engaging bawdy song. A long version of it appears in the Aberdeen folksong magazine *Chapbook*, now no longer published, with this accompanying note:
The Overgate has many slight variants textually, but two distinctly different tunes as used to tell basically this story. Jeannie Robertson uses both, calling one the Aberdeen way of it and the other the Dundee style. This version, a popular item in the repertoires of Aberdonians Norman Kennedy and Bill MacLeod... uses the Keach In The Creel melody. The song, a long-standing favourite with audiences up and down the country, is a rollicking romp with a sound moral... 

Lizzie’s version here is the Aberdeen one which the note refers to, with the "Keach in the Creel" tune. Hamish Henderson remarked to me that the Aberdeen version always has the "Ricky doo dum day" chorus, and that its tune is distinctly separate from the Dundee, Fife, and Perthshire versions, which generally have a chorus such as "Wi' my rovin' eye" or "Wi' my tyoorin ay."

One of Norman Kennedy’s versions, "Wi' My Rovin' Eye," appears on his record, "Scots Songs and Ballads," with the note by Peter Hall:

This song is often given as a variant of "The Trooper and the Maid" ... However, the main branch of this song family known as "Seventeen Come Sunday" in England and "As I Roved Out" in Ireland is much closer to "Rovin Eye," so perhaps it is the Child ballad that should be considered the variant. Robert Burns took down a version of the song which he called "The Waukrife Minnie" from a girl in Nithsdale...

There are definite resemblances between "The Overgate" and "The Trooper and the Maid" (see Lizzie’s version), "As I Roved Out," and "Seventeen Come Sunday," but "The Overgate" is certainly the least romantic and delicate of these songs. Unlike "The Overgate," "The Trooper and the Maid," "As I Roved Out" (Child 299), and "Seventeen Come Sunday," all feature a soldier who is taken in by a willing young girl, usually to leave her without the anticipated prospect of marriage. "The Waukrife Minnie"
which Hall refers to appears in The Scots Musical Museum, and is more or less in the same mould as "Seventeen Come Sunday." It should be remarked that in "The Overgate," it is the girl who is the wily one, which sets it apart from the other songs.

The theme of a young man on a spree or seeking to gain entrance to a girl's chamber for the night is an extremely common one, making it difficult to prove a direct relationship between all the above songs and "The Overgate"; the relationship at best would doubtless be indirect. "The Overgate" suggests to me the spirit of the bothy ballads in those songs where a "hireman lad" would go to the big city and get en- shared by a woman after his hard-earned pay.

As said already, "The Overgate" makes few appearances in print, but as Henderson said, "It didn't have to!" The song has indeed been buoyant in oral tradition, and one is apt to hear it sung in the folk clubs.

The "Beefcan Close" is mentioned in many versions I have heard, but the name of the girl varies. Lizzie has not sung this in her performances very frequently, perhaps because it is so strongly associated with Jeannie in her mind.
Lovely Molly

I oncer was a ploughboy, but a soldier I'm now,
I courted wi' lovely Molly as I followed the plough,
I courted wi' lovely Molly at the age of sixteen,
But now I must leave her, and save James, my King.

Oh Molly, lovely Molly, despite all your charms,
There is many's a night you have lain in my arms.
But if ever I return again, it will be in the Spring,
Where the mavis and the turtledoves, and the nightingales sing.

You may go to the market, you may go to the fair,
You may go to the church on Sundays, and meet your new love there,
But if anybody loves you, half as much as I do,
Then I won't stop your marriage, farewell love, adieu.

Oh Molly, lovely Molly, despite all your charms,
There is many's a night you have lain in my arms.
But if ever I'll return again, it will be in the Spring,
Where the mavis and the turtledove, and the nightingale sing.

This simple, suggestively English or Irish lyric appears on Lizzie's L.P., "Princess of the Thistle". The story of how it came to Lizzie in its present form is of great interest. While collecting songs in Kintyre, Hamish Henderson learned the song from Jock MacShannon in Macrihanish. Jock's version had "George" as King rather than "James". Hamish then taught it to Lizzie's mother, who changed "George" to James", and Lizzie learned it from Jeannie in this form. As this change has fooled some into thinking it a Jacobite song, it demonstrates the difficulty in tracing a song's origin when it has been so altered in oral transmission; it is these changes, however, which make the study of folksong full of surprises and delights. Jeannie presumably changed the name of the King to make it sound more Scottish.
The Fair of Balnafannon

I wis coming from the fair, from the fair o' Balnafannon,
When I met a winsome dame, she was as fair as the Annan.
For I asked her where she dwelled, as we strode along together.
"On the bonnie mountainside," she replied, "amongst that heather."

I will build you a bower, down by yon clear fountain,
And I'll cover it owre wi' the flooer o' that mountain.
I will range mountainside, and the dark glen so weary,
I will bring a' my spoils to the bower o' my dearie.

Of this simple lyric, Hall comments:

A number of songs exist of love among the heather, and as they all postdate "The Laird o' Drum" and echo this ballad in both sentiment and setting there is good reason to believe that this is their parent. "The Fair of Balnafannon" seems to be an adaptation of the older "Braes o' Balquhidder" in both melody and text. Other related songs are "Queen among the Heather", "Skippin' Barfit through the Heather" and "Lovely Nancy".491

Both "The Braes o' Balquhidder" and "Skippin' Barfit through the Heather" appear in Buchan's 101 Scottish Songs, both with tunes.492 The former song was written by the Paisley poet, Robert Tannahill, and is included in his Poems and Songs, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect.493 Lizzie's song is clearly related to this.

There are several versions of this song in the Greig-Duncan MSS. with varying place-names such as "Balnaminna", "Balquither", and "Balnamenny". Greig includes "The Fair o' Balnaminna" in Folk-Song of the North-East.494 "Lovely Nancy", mentioned by Hall, appears in the same article.

The song romanticizes the love story, and is overtly literary in diction, but Lizzie's way of performing it makes it more appealing than the text by itself might suggest.
The Banks of Red Roses

When I wis a wee thing, I heard my mither say,
Before I would work, I wid rather sport an' play,
Before I would work, I wid rather sport an' play,
Wi' ma Johnny among the red roses.

Johnny took oot his tune box tae play hees love a tune.
In the middle o' this tune she's stood up an' cried,
"Oh Johnny dear, oh Johnny dear, it's dinnae leave me noo,
In the bonnie bonnie banks beneath the roses."

Bit Johnny took oot a knife, it wis long, thin an' sharp,
He's plunged it right in to his bonnie Mary's heart.
He's plunged it right in to hees bonnie Mary's heart,
And he's left her lyin' low beneath the roses.

Buchan and Hall print a similar version of this song in The Scottish Folksinger, with a tune basically the same as Lizzie's. 495

Hall comments on Lizzie's record sleeve:

In Ireland and England this is a love song in which the wayward hero produces a symbolic instrument, fiddle, tune-box, flute or even tuning-fork, with which he serenades his girl ... the most popular version in Scotland today has Johnny murdering his sweetheart. This change is probably the result of fusion between the former song and a 19th century broadside ballad. 496

The song is indeed a strange mixture of love and death, as if two songs were combined and lost some of their respective coherence.

The version we have here is like a combination of the common English song, "The Nightingale", 497 in which a married soldier seduces a young girl after playing his fiddle to her, and a song like the American "The Banks of the Ohio", 498 in which a girl is murdered while in the arms of her lover because she refuses his proposal.

Both thematic treatments are common in British and North American folksong, but the theme of seduction rarely appears so oddly entwined with the murdered sweetheart motif. Lizzie is not alone, however, in singing this version, as the similar version printed by Buchan and
Hall is as sung by Ruby Kelbie of Macduff. 499

Hamish Henderson suggested to me that the murder motif appears in most Scottish versions, but not usually in Irish versions. Colm O Lochlainn gives a version without the murder in *Irish Street Ballads*, 500 and an American version without the murder appears in Doerflinger's *Shantymen and Shantyboys*. 501

Lizzie learned the song from her father when she was young.
An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me

For a aul' man come coortin' me,
Hi-doo-a-daritie.
For an aul' man come coortin' me,
Hi-doo-a-day.
For a aul' man come coortin' me,
Hi-doo-a-daritie.
Maids when you're young,
Never wed a auld man.

Aye spin ma too-rool-O,
No aye fal-a-dooral-O.
Aye wi' ma too-rool-O,
Aye fal-a-day.
Hie wi' ma too-rool-O,
Hie fal-a-dooral-O,
Maids when you're young,
Never wed a auld man.

These two verses of "An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me" were sung by Lizzie and her mother in April, 1973. As no other recording was available of Lizzie singing this song, this abbreviated text must suffice. For Jeannie's full text and tune, one should consult Gower and Porter, "Jeannie Robertson: The 'Other' Ballads". It will be noticed that the nonsense verse here differs from that in Jeannie's full text; it has been transcribed the way it sounded in this recording, and a number of explanations for the differences are possible, oral variation being the most likely one. In both versions, however, the nonsense verse is not so nonsensical that a few words cannot be distinguished as suggestive in the bawdy sense.

The song is related thematically to "The Dottered Auld Carle", another of Lizzie's songs, although the latter is comic while this song has overtones of tragedy; the old man's impotence is the issue here. As MacColl remarks, the story of this song

... is a perennial joke in folksong, one not only accompanied by guffaws of laughter but
often with real pathos. Most of the sym-
pathy usually goes to the young girl whose
ambitious mother has perhaps pushed her into
marriage, or whose young lover hasn't enough
wherewithal to marry. Very often in such
songs the old man is rich--he has been sav-
ing up all his life in order to marry, only
to find that he has paid for it with his man-
hood.\textsuperscript{503}

The explicitness of "An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me" has resulted
in occasional editing; Kidson wrote below a tune he received for
the song that the accompanying verse was "not desirable to here
reproduce".\textsuperscript{504}

The song appears to be related to a song written by Burns
for \textit{The Scots Musical Museum}, entitled "What Can A Young Lassie
Do Wi' An Auld Man?"\textsuperscript{505} Christie printed Burns's song in his
\textit{Traditional Ballad Airs}.\textsuperscript{506} The Burns song has less impact than
our song here, and does not have a nonsense verse which is one of
the notable features of Jeannie's and Lizzie's version, and which
contributes to the effect of it.

This particular song has few North American variants,\textsuperscript{507}
although the theme of the old man-young girl marriage appears
frequently in other North American courting songs.

Lizzie has never performed this song in clubs to my know-
ledge, but this might easily be explained by the fact that it
was a song her mother was well-known for.
My Grannie's Tripe Shop

Ma grannie's got a tripe shop,
Ma grannie's got a tripe shop,
Ma grannie's got a tripe shop,
An' she maks tattie soup.

Well, I chokit on a tattie,
I begged for teel an' tattie,
I chokit on a tattie,
Wi' ma grannie's tattie soup.

So they sends for the doctor,
The doctor, the doctor,
They sends for the doctor,
Through ma grannie's tattie soup.

'Cause I chokit on a tattie,
I begged for teel an' tattie,
I chokit on a tattie,
Through ma grannie's tattie soup.

Bit I'll tell the bobbie,
The bobbie, the bobbie,
I'll tell the bobbie,
'Boot ma grannie's tattie soup.

'Cause I chokit on a tattie,
I begged for teel an' tattie,
I chokit on a tattie,
Wi' ma grannie's tattie soup.

So they pits me in a coffin,
A coffin, a coffin,
They pits me in a coffin,
Through ma grannie's tattie soup.

This is one of the songs Lizzie sings often in club performances to break up the serious mood created by her ballads and "piping songs." Before singing it one evening in the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society in 1973, she said:

It's about a tripe shop. It was always this time of the year, when ye was waitin' for yer mother comin' home to mak yer supper, an' you was caal', hungry an' it was dark, playin' ootside in the streets. An' the kids was hungry afore the war, there was nae lotsa money in that days in the workin' class. We wis jist waitin' for our supper gettin' made. So we used to a' sing this song about food! 507a

The song appears to be a children's street song, due to
its simple and grotesque humour, and its repetition of similar and simple phrases. Lizzie sings it lightly and enjoyably, throwing herself into the childish humour as if she were still a hungry child in Aberdeen streets.
Sandy is a Sailor

Sandy is a sailor, he works at Ferryhill,
He gets his pay on Setterdays, to buy a half a gill.
Come a-rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la,
Rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, an' a bonnie bunch o' roses.

He gings to kirk on Sunday, a half an oor late,
He takes the buttons off his shirt, an' he pits 'em on the plate.
Com a-rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la,
Rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, an' a bonnie bunch o' roses.

I can wash a sailor's shirt, an' I can wash it clean,
I can wash a sailor's shirt, an' I'll hang it on the green.
Com a-rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la,
Rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, an' a bonnie bunch o' roses.

If you ging doon tae see hees ship, you'll never get him in,
Ye'll fun' 'im in the Hairry Bar, drinkin' back the gin.
Com a-rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la,
Rinkle-trinkle tra-la-la, an' a bonnie bunch o' roses.

This is a children's street song which Lizzie sings to break up
the serious atmosphere created by her ballads and piping songs in club
performances. Lizzie comments:

... Ferryhill's a place in Aberdeen. An' in
this song as well as that, there's "Harry Bar".
Well, the Harry Bar only got demolished last
year ... a very famous landmark.508

She adds about Sandy: "An' he was a real Aberdonian. Buttons on the
plate. That's his money!".509

An Edinburgh version was obtained from a friend, David Stuart,
who learned it at the age of ten and sang it on the playgrounds:

Ma wee lad's a sodger, he works in Mary Hill,
He gets his pay on a Friday night, and he buys a half a gill.
He goes to church on Sunday, half an oor too late,
And pu's the buttons off his shirt, and pits them in the plate.
Singing Rule Britannia, marmalade and jam,
Six pork sausages for my old man.

The tune is a different but common one, and the last four lines are sung,
as would be expected, to part of "Rule Britannia". Mary Hill is in
Glasgow. A similar Glasgow version is given by Buchan in 101 Scottish
Songs, with a different tune from either Lizzie's or the above version.510
Still I Love Him (Can't Deny Him)

He took me to the picters, it's struck nine o'clock,
He's throwt me in the gutters, and he's tore a' my frock,
Bit still I love him, can't forget him,
I'll go with him wherever he goes.

He took me to the pie shop to buy me a pie,
When he come oot he gied me a blue eye,
Bit still I love him, can't forget him,
I'll go with him wherever he goes.

He bought me a hankie of red, white an' blue,
An' afore I could wear it he tore it in two,
Bit still I love him, can't forget him,
I'll go with him wherever he goes.

Staunnin' in the lobby an' muckin' aboot,
Wi' his haunds in his pockets an' his shirt stickin' oot,
Bit still I love him, can't forget him,
I'll go with him wherever he goes.

This is one of the songs which Lizzie sings to lighten the atmosphere in a performance after she has sung her heavier songs and ballads. It has a distinct music-hall flavour about it, but it is actually traditional, and was probably changed and adapted by the children and others who sang it throughout Britain, as new verses are easily made up to this type of song. This is an Aberdeen version of the song.

The song appears in Stephen Sedley's anthology, The Seeds of Love but with different verses and the same refrain. The tune and some of the text were taken from the singing of Isla Cameron, and are East Anglian. The song came to Isla from Bob Roberts, a "spritsail-barge skipper plying along the east coast of England", according to A.L. Lloyd. This would seem to indicate that the song circulates in all walks of life.
Betsy Bell

Oh my name is Betsy Bell, in the Gallowgate I dwell,
Nae doun you'll wunner fit I'm daein' here.
I am lookin' for a man, be hea auld or be he young,
Aye, onything in breeks'll dae wi' me.

For as I gaed oot the nicht, I met aul' Sandy richt,
He asked me for tae be hees loving bride,
When I jumpit at the chance, 'cause it fairly made me dance,
The weddin' wis tae tak place there an' then.
When I bought ma weddin' frock, he said, "Lord, it's a' a joke",
So I wonder fit tae dae wi' a' the men.

Is there onybody here that'll tak a nice wee dear,
Even though I'm three score and ten?
Be he young or be he auld, grey-heided, fringe, or bald,
So I wonder fit tae dae wi' a' the men.513

Lizzie learned this song when she was fifteen, from two fellow fish-workers, both women in their late sixties or early seventies. While no printed information has been found about the song, Hamish Henderson remarked to me that it sprung up in Dundee, as some versions refer to the Overgate which generally means the Overgate in Dundee, as in the song of that title given elsewhere. Despite the hint of the music-hall in "Betsy Bell", Henderson feels the song is too earthy to have come from the Scottish Edwardian music-hall, but that it possibly was a music-hall song which has become a street song through oral transmission. He added that the Stewart family of Blairgowrie also have the song in their repertoire.

The middle verse is two lines longer than the other two; the addition of the two lines is accomplished melodically by Lizzie's introduction of a new strain for the fourth line, followed by the normal third and fourth line strains.

Lizzie has been singing the song off and on since she learned it, and recently performed it at a Manchester club, indicating that it is still part of her performance repertoire.
Auld Maid in the Garret

For I've heard it often said, wi' ma faither an' ma mither,
Tae gang til a waddin' is the makins o' anither

And it's 0 dear me, fit will I dae
If I dee an auld maid in a garret?

Oh it's my sister Jean, she is handsome an' good lookin',
Only sixteen an' a laddie she is coortin';
Noo she's twenty-one wi' a son and a daughter,
An' I am thirty-four an' I cannae get an offer.

And it's 0 dear me, fit will I dae
If I dee an auld maid in a garret?

I can cook, I can clean, an' I'll keep your hoose real tidy,
Arise in the mornin' an' mak your breakfast ready.
Nothing in this wide world'll mak ma ha'rt sae cheery,
If only some aul' man'll cry me his dearie.

And it's 0 dear me, fit will I dae
If I dee an auld maid in a garret.

Oh come tinker, come tailor, come soldier or come sailor,
Onything ava that'll tak me frae ma faither.

And it's 0 dear me, fit will I dae
If I dee an auld maid in a garret?

Be he auld, be he bald, be he wise or be he witty,
Onything ava that will marry me for pity.

And it's 0 dear me, fit will I dae
If I dee an auld maid in a garret?

This song can be found in Buchan's 101 Scottish Songs,
in a version differing slightly from Lizzie's. Buchan comments:

This song, popular all over Scotland and the North of England, sounds as if it were straight out of the Glasgow music-halls of the eighteen-nineties. In fact it goes back to the seventeenth century, to a broadsheet ballad called "The Wooing Maid" by Martin Parker of London. His chorus was:

Come gentle, come simple, come foolish, come witty,
Oh if ye lack a maid, take me for pity.

This still survives in the American version, a striking tribute to the strength of oral transmission.

One should consult Greig's Folk-Song of the North-East for
his article discussing various "old maid" songs, although he

does not print this particular song. 516

Lizzie sings this jauntily, and the chorus is usually
picked up immediately by her audience, attesting to the song's
currency in the club scene. When introducing it to the Edin-
burgh Folk-Song Society, Lizzie commented:

... it wis 'a fishworker 'at I learned it frae--
oh the woman wis aboot seventy. An' that's about--

near thirty year ago. That wis the-- Aberdeen
fish-style of-- "The Auld Maid in the Garret."

The use of "fit" rather than "what" and other broad Scots words
in the song marks this version as being a Northeast one.

The one curiosity of Lizzie's version is the disparity in
length of the verses. There are three verses of four lines, and
two of six lines. 518 It is possible that the missing lines were
forgotten by the woman Lizzie learned it from, or that Lizzie
herself forgot them, although this possibility is less likely as
Lizzie's memory for songs is excellent. In any case, the missing
lines indicate the workings of the oral process.
Tammy Toddles

Tammy Toddles he's a canty chiel
Fae canty an' fae coussie.
The fairies liked him uncae whee
An' built him a wee hoosie.

An' when the hoosie it was built,
All finished but the door,
A fairy map come skippin' in
An' danced upon the floor.

He loupit up, he loupit doon,
He friskit an' he flung,
Till peir wee Tammy Toddles [puir]
Wes mal-messed among the throng.

Tammy Toddles he's a canty chiel,
Fae canty an' fae coussie.
The fairies liked him uncae whee,
An' built him a wee hoosie.

Lizzie learned this song from her father some years ago.

When introducing it to the audience at the Edinburgh University
Folk-Song Society in November, 1973, she commented:

It's a wee Scots fairy song... well, Tammy Toddles he wisnae a dwarf. He wis jist a little wee man. But he wisnae deformed. An'-- because he was so small up in the Highlands, big brawny Highlanders cast him out o' society. So the only thing he could do was go an' build a wee shack himself in the woods, ye know? An'-- he built this wee shack, so he'd no friends or relations or onything like 'is. Anyway the fairies took a likin' til 'im. An' - 'at's the song. Just a little short thing wi' - sweet, short an' bonnie.

She sings it charmingly, usually with a bit of miming when she sings the third verse. The tune is frisky and jocular, but is nearly bare of Lizzie's usual ornaments.

One may easily be puzzled by the second line of the first and last verses. It appears that Lizzie has garbled the line. When asked to explicate the line, Lizzie said:

"Canty an' fae coussie" is aul' Scotch Doric language... There is a haundful of people to-
day in Aberdeenshire does know "cany an' fae coussie"... "fu' cany" - means little and dainty. Fu' cany. A wee perk wee mannie, a wee wee dainty mannie, perkin' full o' life, an' "sae coussie." "Sae coussie" means 'e's just a wee - spark, a bright spark... I wouldnae kent but my father explained it to me.521

From this transcription, it seems logical to conclude, as Mrs. Munro and I have done, that Lizzie confused "sae" and "fu'" and sang "fae" never correcting her mistake. The word "coussie" may either be a corruption of "couthie" or a cant word of the travellers.

Lizzie explains the rest of the song:

Well, he "loupit up" - he danced up toward the fairies, wi' his hands above his heid... "He friskit an' he flung." Means he belted around, an' kickin' hees legs, gaun crazy wi' the dance... "Mal-messed amang the throng." "Mal-messed" was they knocked him down wi' happiness. He fell off his balance... They were 'at jubilant with him, they were a' dancin', skippin' an' jumpin' an' carryin' on, in mad merriment an' he was wi' them... They knocked him off his feet, an' they were a' dancin' on top o' him...522

The original source of the song is not known, and it does not appear in print to my knowledge.
Macaphee

Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Here an' there an' everywhere, the cows are in the corn.

A-waitin' at the shielin' o' very Ban Macree,
A-waitin' at the shielin' o' far away to sea.
Hame will come the bonnie boats, very Ban Macree,
Hame will come the bonnie lads, aye whan hee.

Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Macaphee turn the cattle roon Lochaforum,
Here an' there an' everywhere, the cows are in the corn.

Lizzie commented when she performed this song recently in Manchester:

This is called "Macaphee"... it's really sung in Gaelic. It's a pipe tune. Bit I sing it in Scots... I can't sing Gaelic.

She says that her mother gave the song to her, and that it is mouth music, but that they "always sang it as a song".

Lizzie sings this with a pronounced lilt. The words, some of which make some sense, and others obviously nonsense, are sung to the reel, "Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay". I have transcribed the text of the song the way in which I heard it; the spelling of several words and phrases such as "Lochaforum" and "very Ban Macree" are totally arbitrary, and are only intended to approximate the sound of what Lizzie sings.
Up an' Awa' Wi' the Laiverock

Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' an' awa' in the mornin',
Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' tae the hills for me.

Wi' yer cast an' yer gut an' a wee puckle luck,
Wi' yer cast an' yer gut an' yer rod an' yer reel,
Wi' yer cast an' yer gut an' a wee puckle luck,
Ye'll hae plenty o' fish for to fill up yer creel.

Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' an' awa' in the mornin',
Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the Laiverock,
Up an' awa' tae the hills for me.

There is troot in yer jaw, an' there's troot in Loch Awe,
There's troot in the Leven, the Tummel an' Spey.
Loch Katerine's water is good for a batter,
The mair ye can slaughter, the mair ye can fry.

Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' an' awa' in the mornin',
Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' tae the hills for me.

Wi' yer drum in the fire, ye're Laird o' the shire,
Wi' yer drum in the fire, ye're makin' yer tea,
Wi' yer drum in the fire, ye're Laird o' the shire,
O' the wheepin' an' curlin' the curlew an' free.

Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' an' awa' in the mornin',
Up an' awa' an' awa' wi' the laiverock,
Up an' awa' tae the hills for me.

This song was written by Andrew Hunter, who since his student days in Aberdeen in the 1960s, has been a close friend of Lizzie's family. As he explained to me, he heard the pipe tune, "The Jig of Slurs", played by Lizzie's Uncle Isaac, and chose the third and fourth part of this tune to set these words to. The song represents an attempt to create lyrics akin to diddling, in that if the song is sung with the proper rhythm, it is a good approximation of the tune.
Mr. Hunter dictated the song to me as it was written, and Lizzie has deviated from this, particularly in the first two verses. His first line runs:

Wi' yer flee and yer heuk an' yer cast an' yer gut.

As this song describes fishing experiences in Mr. Hunter's family, this change may indicate Lizzie's lack of knowledge in the finer points of fly fishing. In the second verse, the first line runs in Mr. Hunter's version:

For there's troot in the Jaw, an' there's troot in Loch Awe.

He explained that the Jaw is a little-known loch in the Kippen Hills near Clydebank. Lizzie sings the line differently, understandably, owing to the apparent obscurity of this loch. She makes it into a nonsense line:

There's troot in yer jaw, an' there's troot in Loch Awe.

The last line of the last verse is garbled in Lizzie's text, though it is not terribly surprising. Mr. Hunter's text reads:

O' the wheeplin' curlew curlin' free.

"Wheeplin'" comes from the Scots verb "wheeple" which means to utter sounds or cries like a curlew. The word "curlin'" he describes as "plastic Scots", a word made up to convey the sound of the bird. Lizzie sings, as far as can be made out:

O' the wheepin' an' curlin' the curlew an' free.

The combination of a complex line and Lizzie's tendency to garble certain phrases probably explains this change.

Lizzie is very fond of this song, performs it frequently, and it is the title song of her forthcoming record.
Soo Sewin' Silk

Soo sewin' silk, fa fu fa fu,
Soo sewin' silk, an' the young one's churnin' milk,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

Loose chasin' puss, fa fu fa fu,
Loose chasin' puss roon the barn an' the hoose,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

Kye are in their bed, fa fu fa fu,
Kye are in their bed, and the bairns in the shed,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

Fairmer's went tae ploo, fa fu fa fu,
Fairmer's went tae ploo wi' a turkey an' a coo,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

Calfie's laid an egg, fa fu fa fu,
Calfie's laid an egg a' doon the fairmer's leg,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

It's a tapsill-teerie sang, fa fu fa fu,
It's a tapsill-teerie sang, aye an' broad as it is lang,
An' we're a' blind drunk, an' a jolly man's fu'.

This song has an interesting story behind it. The first two verses were known and sung by Jeannie, but her husband Donald felt that more verses should be added to make the song longer and more complete. Mr. Hunter took up Donald's idea and made up more verses, attempting to continue in the vein of Jeannie's verses. He succeeded admirably.

Lizzie has made a few changes in the text as compared to that dictated to me by Mr. Hunter. The most noticeable change is in Verse 4; his version reads:

For the hen's awa' tae ploo, fa fu fa fu.

Lizzie has changed this to:

Fairmer's went tae ploo, fa fu fa fu.

The other changes are less radical than this one, although when Mr. Hunter noticed that she had dropped "The" (as he had written
it) in front of Verses 3, 4, and 5, he remarked that she had maintained a continuity with the first two verses which lack definite articles.

The theme is of topsy-turvy ("tapsill-teerie") situations. Mr. Hunter told me that Lizzie's family always had a particular fondness for the exaggerated, and for hyperbolic humour, and that this song appealed to them especially for that reason. Lizzie has sung it regularly since she learned it from Mr. Hunter; she very evidently loves it.
Beaumont-Hamel

Rise an' fecht, ye hieland chiels,
Yer wives is fu' o' dule for ye.
Bid yer bonnie bairns fareweel,
An' lay ye doon, an' dee for me.

The hounds of war are at your yetts,
Fight but never ask me why.
Halfaya, Tunis, an' Benghazi,
Blood red in the desert sky.

At Singapore ye focht an' fell,
Changi jail wis a' yer lodgins.
Strapt an' cut, an' cut tae Hell,
The Burma Road lies green an' rotten.

On Flodden's moors the grass grows green,
Owre the graves o' oor hielan' laddies.
Doon fa's rain, bit it ne'er dichts clean
The blood an' sweat o' their tartan plaidies.

Across the fields the gas clouds blaw,
Owre the trenches o' Beaumont-Hamel.
An' the Scottish lads, their lives threw doon,
An' their blood ran rivers on the English channel.

On Flodden's fields, the grass grows green.

This song was written by Mr. Hunter, words and tune both, in honour of the men in Highland regiments who fought in the two World Wars, with a reference to the battle of Flodden (1513) also.

Beaumont-Hamel was the place of a World War I battle (1916) near the Somme in France; it was a tragic and bloody battle for the Highland regiments in the British forces, and costly in lives for the French and Germans as well. A tune was written called "Beaumont-Hamel" according to Mr. Hunter, but he composed his own tune to set his words to. The tune is very suggestive of a pipe air, but as Mr. Hunter is both a fiddler and a piper, and was exposed to much pipe music in the Higgins household, this is scarcely surprising.

The place-names in the second and third verses are the
scenes of World War II battles where Highland regiments fought as well. Halfaya, Tunis, and Benghazi were key locations in the 1941-3 North African campaign in which British troops suffered several agonizing and costly defeats before the Allied forces occupied the German and Italian-held city of Tunis in 1943.530

The third verse makes references to the war in the Pacific, in which the Japanese invaded the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya, and Burma.531 "Changi jail" was a well-known jail in Singapore which many British soldiers came to know. The "Burma Road" was the vital supply line to China which the Japanese fought to close to prevent British and American supplies from entering China. The British fought many a desperate battle in the jungles of Burma against the Japanese in order to keep the Burma Road open.532

In Verse 4, Flodden is mentioned, referring to the tragic and bloody clash between the Scots under James IV, who was killed with many others, and the English under the Earl of Surrey, as Henry VIII was fighting in France.533 Mr. Hunter stressed that all scenes of battle mentioned were ones in which the Scottish casualties were heavy.

He remarked, in addition, that many of the travelling people are fond of songs dealing with the World Wars, as many of their men fought in these wars; it is a matter of pride with them, despite the inherent sadness of the subject of war.

The most startling and effective aspect of Lizzie's rendition of this song is the change of tempo in the fifth verse to faster march time, and the slow and doom-laden repetition of
the line about Flodden. Mr. Hunter explained that it is common to find quick war marches set to seemingly inappropriate and cheerful tunes, hence he conceived the song in this way, using the shift in tempo to follow this peculiar tradition, but the contrast in speed contributing greatly to the emotional impact of the song. The change of pace underscores the ironic mixture of glory, desolation, and tragedy found in war.

In this song and in the preceding two, we see Lizzie's hand in various small changes. Mr. Hunter, in fact, commented that several of her changes in "Beaumont-Hamel" were an improvement from the syntactical standpoint; he was pleased to see that in a sense, she had "sung the song in". It is clear that despite the fact that Lizzie learned all three songs from their composer, she has felt free to alter words and interpret the songs in her own way. This surely indicates that Lizzie perceives songs in a less rigid way than most of us who are inclined to learn and sing songs might; this fluid perspective is but one sign of her distinction as a traditional, not a revival singer, albeit that she is a transitional figure between the two.

Lizzie handles this song with great skill and compassion; its tune must be one of its attractions for her.
Cindy

Cindy, she’s a pretty girl,
She lives away down south,
An’ she’s sweet as the honey bees
That swarm around her mouth.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

Now I wished I wasen an apple,
Hanging on the tree,
By come my Cindy girl
And take a bite at me.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

I wished I had a needle,
And I wished I could sew,
I’d sew the girl to my jacket, boy,
An’ down the road I’d go.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

Now ma Cindy hugged and kissed me,
Kissed me ’til I cried,
Swore I was the sweetest thing
That ever lived or died.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

Now Cindy had twin babies,
Born on Christmas day.
Bashed one in with a bottle of gin,
And the other one got away.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

Well I loved her in the summer,
An’ I loved her in the fall,
But underneath that big clothes, boy,
I loved her best of all.

Get along home, Cindy, get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy,
I’ll marry you someday.

Lizzie learned this American folksong from Peggy Seeger, an American singer living in Britain, and the Scottish revival singer, Ray Fisher. Lizzie enjoys singing it, and this enjoyment clearly
shows when she performs it in clubs.

The song is printed by Alan Lomax in *Folk Songs of North America*, and by Newman I. White in *American Negro Folk-Songs*. White believes it to be an old banjo song of the whites, despite the many versions using Negro dialect words, such as "gwine" and "Massa". In *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, the editors write:

> In many instances there has been no certain indication whether a piece that sounds like a Negro song was certainly of Negro origin or tradition. Dialect is no sure criterion, for the speech of illiterate Southern whites is often indistinguishable from that of illiterate Southern Negroes; and educated or half-educated Southerners when they report the songs or sayings of a Negro informant usually try to do so in a language that they imagine to be that of the Negro... folk song in the South is shared on fairly equal terms between the two races.

The Brown Collection includes several versions of "Cindy" under the heading: "Blackface Minstrel and Negro Secular Songs". These songs are "the white man's interpretation of the Negro", and are, for the most part, "directly traceable to the minstrel show, which first discovered the Negro as a subject for popular art in the 1840s and continued to be a universal purveyor of entertainment all over... until the movie drove it out of business...". Referring specifically to "Cindy", the editors comment: "A rather miscellaneous lot of songs or song fragments have attached themselves to the 'Cindy' refrain of an old... minstrel song". The various Brown versions are all comical, as is Lizzie's, but the verses vary widely from version to version.

Lizzie's version has no Negro dialect words, and it is quite
possible that Peggy Seeger's version never did, as I have heard recent renditions of the song in America without the dialect.

It is interesting that Lizzie omitted the fifth verse when she sang this song to Herschel Gower, his family, and myself on August 6th, 1973. Since she sang it in the 1969 Edinburgh Folk Festival with this verse, this may indicate she felt this verse was in poor taste in our company.

Lizzie remarks:

In a London folk club, when I was finished singing it, they called me a Scots cowboy. I told them that I loved this song, and I did not worry about being called one of the "Scots cowboys".
APPENDIX II
The Aul' Rogie Grey

I walked down the street, like a decent woman should dae, Fen the aul' Rogie follahed me, the aul' Rogie Grey, An' I'll tell youse by an' by fit the Rogie done tae me.

I went up the stairs, like a decent woman would dae, Fen the aul' Rogie follahed me, the aul' Rogie Grey, An' I'll tell youse by an' by fit the Rogie done tae me.

I ged into my hoose, like a decent woman would dae, Fen the aul' Rogie follahed me, the aul' Rogie Grey, An' I'll tell youse by an' by fit the Rogie done tae me.

I ged intae ma bed, like a decent woman would dae, Fen the aul' Rogie follahed me, the aul' Rogie Grey, An' I'll tell youse by an' by fit the Rogie done tae me.

A' nicht he slept wi' me, the aul' Rogie Grey, A' nicht he slept wi' me, the dirty Rogie Grey, So I'll tell youse by an' by fit the Rogie done tae me.

Nine months is passed, I'd a bairnie on my knee, An' nine months is passed, an' the Rogie's marriet me, An' the end o' my tale aboot the aul' Rogie Grey.542

Lizzie performed this song at the Song Carriers Folk Club in Manchester, on April 11th, 1975, too late for inclusion in my discussion of her repertoire in Chapter Four. She commented prior to singing it:

This is about a girl, an' she pretends to be decent. Bit ye see she's tryin' to pick this bloke up. This was an aul' man. His name was Rogie Grey. It's the last song my mother learned me in January this year. It's cheeky, it's cheery, it's got Aberdeen dialect.543

The song presents a different situation altogether from that in "The Dottered Auld Carle" and "An Auld Man Come Coortin' Me". The girl obviously wants to "trap" the Rogie Grey, which she succeeds in doing, for what reasons we are not told, but money is the usual one in such songs.

The song verges on bawdiness, which may indicate that Lizzie feels more comfortable singing such songs of this type than she used to.544
APPENDIX III
Note on the Transcriptions

Time: In these transcriptions of Lizzie Higgins' singing I have aimed at a compromise between two extremes: 1) the skeletal type found in Bronson vols. 1 to 3 (which would have given no idea of this singer's style), and (2) the type which attempts to give an exact reproduction of all details both of pitch and duration (see Scottish Studies XIV for this kind of transcription, also of Lizzie's singing). [Songs nos. (5) and (9) ("Johnnie My Man" and "The Lassie Gathering Nuts") were the most difficult as both these, and especially the latter, are sung very slowly and with very free timing.] All the ornaments are given, since these form an integral part of the style, so that the compromise is chiefly concerned with the time-values.

Plus and minus signs, (+, -) occasionally used above the stave, indicate the speed increases or decreases around that bar. Plus and minus signs after the metronome markings indicate an increase or decrease in the number.

\( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) and \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) are sometimes used when the actual rhythm is nearer \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) and \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \).

Pitch: \( \downarrow \), \( \uparrow \) mean slightly flat or sharp. \( \backslash \), \( / \) mean a slide downward or upward.

Small notes crossed through are ornaments.
Small notes not crossed through represent variants of the tune appearing in at least one other verse. (In song 7, curved brackets are added to these small notes to help further distinguish them from ornaments, since this copy is so closely spaced.) Stalks of these variant notes go in the opposite direction to those of the verse transcribed; where possible the same head is used.

The actual pitch of the performance is given after each transcription. Where variants are written out, the "lines" referred to are the lines of the text. Small changes in the tune, made to accommodate different words, are usually not given. Square brackets round notes mean these notes are omitted in at least one other verse.

Key Signatures: Sharps and flats are only given of those notes which occur in the tune.

AILIE A. MUNRO
ORDER OF MUSIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.

1. The Cruel Mother
2. Willie's Ghost
3. I'm a Forester in this Wood
4. Proud Lady Margaret
5. Johnnie My Man
6. Lady Mary Ann
7. The Dottered Auld Carle
8. Oh, Are Ye Sleepin' Maggie
9. The Lassie Gathering Nuts
10. Sandy is a Sailor
11. Auld Maid in the Garret
12. Tammy Toddles

Note concerning song No. 11, "Auld Maid in the Garret":

The next four lines of text form the only other complete verse. The first pair of lines, and the last two pairs, use the first half of the verse tune below.
She's laid her head against a aik, All alone an' a-lo-ne-o;
She's pushed an' she's pushed till her back's near brake [a] Deon in the bonnie green-wood side-o-o.

\( J = 61 \) ±

(V.3) "Oft hae ye travelled this road, Wul-lie,
Yer bon-nie new love rae see.
Nae mair ye'll travel this road, (w)Wul-lie,
For this nicht a-venged I'll be."
It was on a night, an' an evening bright, When the dew began tae fa'.

Lady Margaret was walkin' up an' doon Lookin' ower the castle wall.

She looked east, she looked west, To see what she could spy,

When a gallant knight came in her sight And to her gate(s) drew nigh.

Johnnie my man oor bairns is a' gree-tin',

Nae meal in the barrel tae fill their wee wames;

While sit-tin' here drinkin' ye leave me 'a-men-tin',

A-rise up my Johnnie, an' come a-way home.'
La-dy Ma-ry Ann loo-kit owre the cas-tle wa'
When she saw three bon-nie ladd-ies a-play-in' at a ba';
And the young-est he was the flooer a-mong them a',
He's my bon-nie, bon-nie boy, aye an' grow-in' o.

A dot-tered owd carle cam owre the lea, (h) Ah- ho- ho, but I wid-nae hae him.
He cam owre the lea, an' o' to coort me, Wi' his grey beard newly shaven.

Oh are ye slee-pin' Mag-gie, Oh are ye slee-pin' Mag-gie?
Oh caud the win' blaus through ma plaid, Oh let me in be-side thee, Mag-gie.
She's op-ened the door, and she's let her laddie in He's cast a-side hees dree-pin' plaid-die,
There wis a lass, an' a bon-nie bon-nie lass,
Tae gait-her nuts did gang;
She's pu'ed them east, she's pu'ed them west
She pu'ed them as they hung,
She's pu'ed them as they hung.

San-dy is a sailor, he works at Fer-ry-hill, He gets his pay on Sat-ur-days to buy a half a gill.
Come-cin-ke trin-ke tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la, A-trin-ke trin-ke tra-la-la an' a bon-ny bunch o' roses.
(v. 4, bar 5) Ye'll fur 'im in the (etc)

Oh it's my sister Jean, she is handsome an' good-lookin', On-ly six-teen an' a lad-die she is coor-tin';
Noo she's twenty-one wi' a son and a daugh-ter, An' I am thirty-four an' I can nae get an offer.
And it's O dear me, Fit will I dae if I see an auld maid in a gar-rett?

(v. 3) He lou-pit up, he lou-pit doon, He Fris-Kit an' he flung,
Till peir wee Tam-my Tod-di-es Wes mal-messed a-mong the throng.
(v. 2, bar 3) All fi-nished but the (etc.)
APPENDIX IV
APPENDIX IV NOTES

List of Abbreviations Used in Notes

The abbreviations in this list have been designed to simplify the reading of the Notes, and to avoid confusion of sources by the same author. The first full reference to a source is followed in subsequent references by the author's surname only, unless that author has written more than one work included in the Bibliography or if there are several authors with the same surname; in such cases, an abbreviation is used, preceded by "Hereafter cited as ... " (See Note 1). To simplify references to works with multiple authors, all references subsequent to the first full reference will employ only the surname of the first author.

The one exception to this system is in those notes in which a series of references is given for a song; in this instance, only the author's last name or the appropriate abbreviation is given, regardless of whether or not that work has been cited in full previously. One may then refer to the list below, or to the Bibliography for the title of the work.

AA: Campbell, Albyn's Anthology.
ABS: Buchan, Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland.
ABTSNE: Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England.
BBB: Johnson, A Book of British Ballads.
BMNE: Flanders and Olney, Ballads Migrant in New England.
Bronson¹: The Ballad As Song.
Bronson²: The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads.
Buchan¹: The Ballad and the Folk.
Buchan²: A Scottish Ballad Book.
Buchan³: The Scottish Folksinger.
CSCEFS: Karpeles, Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folk Songs.
EFSSA: Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians.
EFSSC: Sharp, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions.
FSPN: Karpeles, Folk Songs From Newfoundland.
FSFS: Sharp and Marson, Folk Songs From Somerset.
FSNE: Greig, Folk-Song of the North-East.
FSSU: Morton, Folksongs Sung In Ulster.
Gower²: "Jeannie Robertson: Portrait of a Traditional Singer."
Gower and Porter¹: "Jeannie Robertson: The Child Ballads."
Gower and Porter²: "Jeannie Robertson: The 'Other' Ballads."
Henderson¹: "The Oral Tradition."
Henderson²: "Scots Folk-Song Today."
HOSS: Buchan, 101 Scottish Songs.
JAF: Journal of the American Folklore Society.
JEFDSS: Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.
JFSS: Journal of the Folk-Song Society.
LL: Greig and Keith, Last Leaves.
Lloyd¹: Folk Song in England.
Lloyd²: "Folk-song revivalists."
MFS: Creighton, Maritime Folk Songs.
NCF: The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore.
NCG: Maidment, A North Countrie Garland.
OBB: The Oxford Book of Ballads.
OBSV: The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse.
Reeves¹: The Everlasting Circle.
Reeves²: The Idiom of the People.
SBNS: Creighton, Songs and Ballads From Nova Scotia.
SBS: Maidment, *Scotish Ballads and Songs*.
SGSS: *Scots Guards Standard Settings of Pipe Music*.
SND: *The Scottish National Dictionary*.
SSS: Call and Inglis, *The Select Songs of Scotland*.
NOTES

Chapter One


4. Gower1, 2.

5. Gower1, 2.


10. Gower1, 2. One should give attention to a footnote on p. 6 in which Gower says: "... I am glad to note that Roger Abrahams in his recent book on Granny Riddle [A Singer and Her Songs: Almeda Riddle's Book of Ballads (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970)], puts into practice many of the suggestions set forth in this paper." The Riddle book has been an inspiration in many ways to this study, and will be referred to in subsequent chapters. Hereafter it is cited as Riddle.

11. A Child ballad, as will be explained shortly in this chapter, is a traditional ballad contained in The English and Scottish Popular Ballads by Francis James Child 5 vols. (Boston and New York, 1882-98; rpt. New York, 1965). All future references are to the modern Dover reprint, 1965.

12. See Chapter Two, Note 1, for a discussion of the Scots travellers.

13. Wilgus, 315.

14. See Chapter Four, in which Lizzie's repertoire is discussed in detail. Song-types 5 and 6 need not be defined here, as they will only be discussed in Chapter Four and Appendix I, and will be defined there.


22. Laws, 58.


24. Laws, 34.

25. Laws, 34.

26. Laws, 34.

27. Laws, 81.


29. Laws, 90.

30. See Karpeles, 53.

31. Wilgus, 325.

32. Karpeles, 53.

33. Buchan¹, 4.

34. See Buchan¹, 7-9.

35. Buchan¹, 9.

36. Buchan¹, 1.

37. See Buchan¹, 18 ff.

38. Buchan¹, 215.

39. Buchan¹, 275.

40. Buchan¹, 273.

41. Buchan¹, 273.

42. Buchan¹, 166.

43. Buchan¹, 177.

44. See Buchan¹, 190-1, 215.
Chapter Two

1. The Scots travellers or tinkers have been historically and culturally set apart from the rest of the Scottish population. They formerly travelled the country in horse-drawn caravans, typically doing odd jobs, selling scrap metal, and hawking goods for a livelihood. Because of their itinerant way of life, tinker children often received little or no formal education, especially in the earlier part of this century. This problem has been minimized in recent years, with the travellers' tendency towards permanent homes. These people still meet with prejudice, because of their "difference" from other Scots, whether real or imagined. For an excellent introduction to the problems of the travellers, one should consult Hugh Gentleman and Susan Swift, Scotland's Travelling People: Problems and Solutions (Edinburgh, 1971).
2. Ailie Munro, "Lizzie Higgins, and the Oral Transmission of Ten Child Ballads," Scottish Studies, XIV (1970), 155. Many biographical details about Lizzie and her mother appear in this article. Frequent references will be made to the article, hereafter cited as Munro, in both this and other chapters.


4. See Munro, 160. Transcribed by myself from tape SA 1973/151/A in the School of Scottish Studies Archives. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent transcriptions quoted are my own, and only the Archive number and the side of tape will be given in the footnote reference.

The orthography of Lizzie's speech as I have transcribed it for this study represents a compromise between standard Scots spelling as given in The Scottish National Dictionary edited by William Grant and David Murison, 10 vols. (Edinburgh, 1931-75), and a semi-phonetic spelling intended to indicate how Lizzie actually pronounces the word in question. It will be noticed that my transcriptions differ in orthography from those of James Porter and Ailie Munro at times (see references in Notes 29 and 2). The spelling of certain words is, in this particular study, open to personal interpretation. Moreover, Lizzie does not speak identically to her mother, so that "jeest" is an accurate spelling for Jeannie's pronunciation of the word "just," but not for Lizzie's; she usually says "jist." Lizzie is not consistent in her speech, so that one may easily encounter the English and the Scots form of a word in a short interval of conversation, such as "do" and "dae," "to" and "tae." Inconsistencies in the orthography are thus intended to indicate an inconsistency on Lizzie's part. She is often ungrammatical, but her meaning is usually clear. She frequently drops the "th" in front of words like "this" and "that," so that they become "is" and "at" in my orthography. While the standard Scots spelling of the words "old" and "cold" are usually "auld" and "cauld," I have used "aall" and "caall" at times to indicate the broad "a" sound Lizzie uses, and the dropped "d." "Hees" for "his," "fae" for "from," and "ma" for "me" and "my" are more examples of Lizzie's common usages.

It is hoped that through this system of transcription, the rhythm, sound, and peculiarities of Lizzie's extended speech will be conveyed to the reader, although one should listen to the supplementary tape provided with this study on which some of Lizzie's speech appears. No attempts have been made to alter her sentences, other than omission of unnecessary phrases, such as repeated or garbled statements, and these omissions are indicated by three periods (...). Pauses in her speech are indicated by two dashes (--).

5. "Lord Lovat" or "Lord Lovel" is No. 75 in Child's canon, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, discussed in the preceding chapter.
6. According to The Scottish National Dictionary, hereafter cited as SND, "diddling" means, as used here, to "sing in a rather low-pitched key without words," usually "as an accompaniment to dancing." It also means "to dandle a child," which is equally appropriate in our context. See SND, (1952), III, 66.

7. SA 1973/151/A.

8. SA 1973/173/A.

9. SA 1973/173/A.

10. See Riddle, 151-2, where the editor Roger D. Abrahams discusses Almeda's contact with folklorists. He comments on her as an informant: "... we can, by no stretch of the imagination, view Granny as the 'ideal' folk informant since she knows so much about her own songs and her tradition. This is clear from the bookish words she uses in describing her songs and her tradition and from the argot she uses, picked up from folkniks while on the festival trail." (152).

11. SA 1973/173/A.

12. SA 1973/173/A.

13. SA 1973/173/A.

14. SA 1973/173/A.

15. SA 1973/173/B.

16. SA 1973/173/B.


18. This is a summary of Jeannie's description of the life in Banchory as she told it to Gower (Gower²), 117-8.

19. SA 1973/173/B.

20. SA 1973/173/B.

21. See Munro, 155-6, who also describes Lizzie's work in the fish.

22. See Munro, 156.

23. Munro, 156.

24. SA 1973/173/B.

25. Munro, 156.

26. SA 1973/152/B. Lizzie often mimes as she talks. Here she mimed the men staring at her.

27. SA 1973/152/B.
28. SA 1973/173/B.


30. Porter, SA 1972/221/B.

31. "Princess of the Thistle," Topic 12T185 (1969). Hereafter if the title of a record has been given in the text, only the number will be given as a reference. Also refer to the Discography. The year of the record's release is given if known.

32. From my transcription of SA 1970/23/B, recorded by Munro.

Chapter Three


2. Lloyd², 34.

3. See D. K. Wilgus's speech for the California Folklore Society in From The Sourdough Crock, I.vii (April 1963), 5.


5. Lloyd², 34.

6. Lloyd², 34.


11. Bronson¹, 204.

12. Bronson¹, 205.

13. These songs appear in Appendix I, and also on the supplementary tape provided.

14. SA 1973/173/B.

15. SA 1973/173/B.

16. SA 1973/173/B.

17. SA 1973/173/B.

18. SA 1973/173/B.
19. SA 1973/173/B.


25. Rosselson, 27.


29. Lloyd², 34.


31. SA 1973/173/A.

Chapter Four

1. The Scottish folksinger Ray Fisher (see Note 26) who stayed briefly with the Higgins family in 1959, told me that Donald or "Donty" as he was called, stuttered when he talked, but lost his stutter when he sang, and that he sang well.

2. See Munro, 156-7.


4. SA 1973/151/B. John MacColl was born in Appin, and died in Glasgow at the age of eighty-four in 1945. In 1880, he became Piper to N. M. McDonald of Dunach, near Oban, and did indeed write a tune for his patron, as Lizzie says, entitled "MacDonald of Dunach." This information was supplied to me by the Army School of Piping at Edinburgh Castle. More information may be obtained in the Piping Times, I.ix (1948). MacColl was a composer and a teacher of music. A search for "MacDonald of Dunach" in collections of pipe music failed, but the strathspey "Mrs MacDonald of Dunach" may be found in W. Ross,
Pipe-Major W. Ross's Collection of Highland Bagpipe Music, Book 4 (London, n.d.), 34. This tune was written by John MacColl.

5. SA 1973/151/B.

6. Munro, 156-7. One should consult the transcriptions in Appendix III for musical examples of Lizzie's decorations; they are particularly apparent in "Proud Lady Margaret," "Johnie My Man," "The Dottered Auld Carle," "Oh Are Ye Sleepin' Maggie," and "The Lassie Gathering Nuts." One will notice that the grace notes are used extensively in these songs.

7. Maria Stewart Robertson died in 1952 at the age of seventy-three. She was born in Ballater in 1879, according to Lizzie.

8. Information from James Porter's transcription of SA 1972/221/B.

9. Porter, SA 1972/221/B.

10. Information from a conversation between Partick Shuldham-Shaw and myself.

11. Lizzie gives her grandmother's address as 32 Addaroch Place, but as this does not appear on Aberdeen city maps and "Ardarroch Place" does, I assume the latter to be the correct spelling.

12. SA 1973/152/B.

13. SA 1973/152/B.

14. Aunt Leeb is presumably still alive, and must be about ninety-six or ninety-seven according to Lizzie. She now lives in Prestonpans, and is "dotted" as Lizzie says, meaning senile, and cannot remember her former extensive repertoire of songs, which is why Lizzie has not learned any more songs from her.

15. At the time of writing, I had not seen Lizzie perform for a year. Her mother's serious illness over a period of nine months prior to her death in March, 1975, prevented Lizzie from performing much in 1974 and early 1975. However, one month after her mother's death, on April 11th, 1975, I saw her perform at a Manchester folk club, where she sang more of her mother's songs than usual. She sang "Lord Lovat" and "The Gallowa' Hills" which are strongly associated with Jeannie in Lizzie's mind. She confessed afterward to having been very nervous singing these songs, but that she felt compelled to sing them, in a sense, for Jeannie.


17. SA 1973/151/A.

18. SA 1973/151/B.

19. SA 1973/154/A.

20. Porter, SA 1972/221/B.

21. SA 1973/151/A.
22. SA 1973/154/A.

23. SA 1973/152/A.

24. Lloyd1, 25.

25. See Howard Glasser, ed., "Ray Fisher-- 'A Tremendous Sort of Feeling," Sing Out!, XXII, vi (Jan.-Feb. 1974), 4. This article, in an American folksong magazine, is of great interest, as Ray is not a traditional singer, but, as she puts it, a "singer of traditional songs" (3), and her point of view is therefore different from Lizzie's.


27. Munro, 156.

28. Munro, 156.

29. This scale notation was shown to me by James Porter, of the Folklore and Mythology Group, the University of California, Los Angeles. The three downward arrows indicate the three slightly flat notes, and the two upward arrows indicate the two slightly sharp notes.


34. Collinson, 176. It might be noted for general interest that the Gaelic poet Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724-1812) wrote a poem, "Moladh Beinn Dóhbrain," or "Praise of Ben Dorain," using the structure of pibroch as his framework. See A. MacLeod, ed., The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre (Edinburgh, 1952), 196-225. Kurt Wittig comments: "Macintyre's sole theme is the praise of Ben Doran, a mountain in Glen Orchy, south of Rannoch Moor, on which he had once been employed as a stalker or forester. This is, of course, a limited subject; but in each successive ground and variation, he turns it round and round-- naming many different parts of the mountain and the memories they evoke in him, cataloguing its plants, and describing the life of the deer that he so often stalked there-- until he has exhausted its possibilities, and has thus brought his poem to an end." See Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh, 1958), 188.


36. SA 1974/167/A.

37. SA 1974/167/A.

38. This demonstration is included on the supplementary tape.
39. SA 1974/167/A.
42. Munro, 165.
43. Munro, 156.
44. Munro, 169.
45. For illustration of this point, the 1970 recordings and 1973 recordings of these ballads are included on the supplementary tape.
46. SA 1973/173/A.
47. See Munro, 161, 177, 188.
48. Munro, 188.
49. Munro, 177.
50. Munro, 177n.
51. See Munro, 187.
52. SA 1973/173/A.
53. See Note 45.
54. Henderson1, 29.
56. Frederick E. Danker, "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," *JAF*, LXXXV, cccxxxviii (1972), 309-29. Although I have not quoted from this article, it was a source of inspiration in many ways.
57. Goldstein, 62, 64.
58. Goldstein, 63.
59. Goldstein, 63.
60. Goldstein, 63.
61. Goldstein, 64.
62. Goldstein, 66.
63. See Chapter One for definitions of Child and broadside ballads, lyric songs, and children's songs.
64. The regularity of performance is gauged by the frequency with which Lizzie performs them in public.
65. This remark and others appearing subsequently were written by Lizzie on index cards which I provided her for the purpose of obtaining her thoughts on her repertoire. Henceforth, any undocumented quotation of Lizzie will be understood to have come from these index cards.
67. Munro, 163.
68. Goldstein, 63.
69. Munro, 180.
70. Munro, 180.
71. SA 1970/22/A3.
72. LL, 107.
73. SA 1970/21/A3.
74. SA 1974/167/A.
75. See Ford, 184.
76. SA 1970/22/B4.
77. SA 1974/167/A.
78. There are several printed versions of the song, and it is not known which book (it was probably two books) this might have been that Lizzie found the words in. See my comments on the song in Appendix I.
79. SA 1970/21/B.
82. A song collected from Lizzie in April, 1975 has raised the number to fifty-six songs. It is called "The Aul' Rogue Grey," and is included in Appendix II and on the supplementary tape.
83. Riddle, 154 ff.
84. See Buchan¹, 261, where he says: "The term 'bothy Ballad' can be used in the wide sense, to refer to all those songs which were sung in the bothies, or in the more specific sense, to
refer to those narrative songs which deal directly with the life of the men who inhabited the bothies." The bothy was a building where unmarried farm servants lived. Buchan devotes a chapter to a discussion of these mainly nineteenth-century ballads. See 255-70.

85. SA 1973/151/B.

86. See Riddle, 154, where editor Abrahams comments on Granny Riddle: "Obscene songs are, of course, simply not a part of her repertoire, though she admits to enjoying hearing them occasionally, if they are sung by a woman in a small group of other females."

Chapter Five


4. Wells, 3.


9. LL, xv.

10. Henderson², 49.

11. EFSSC, xdi-xxiii.


14. FSFS, xiiii.


16. Bronson¹, 204.
17. Bronson, 204.
22. Glasser, 7-8.
23. Glasser, 8.
24. Riddle, 132.
26. Riddle, 146.
27. SA 1973/173/A.
31. Having learned "The Cruel Mother" from Lizzie's singing, I sang it to her once with some trepidation, feeling much like a child with a critical music teacher. Later, however, Lizzie said how happy it made her feel to think that her songs (I sing other songs of hers) would travel to America through me, and added that she hoped I would pass them on to others.
32. Gower, 7.

Appendix I

1. This transcription of "The Cruel Mother" is not what Lizzie normally sings in the first verse. She may have been nervous in her performance at the Edinburgh University Folk-Song Society in November, 1973, from which this text was taken. Usually she sings for the first line:

   She's leant her back against a aik.

The brackets around the "a" in the last line of each verse indicate that Lizzie sometimes uses this extra sound, but not always; it appears to be a verbal ornament that she has evolved through constant performance of the song. The use of "sake" in the last verse must also be commented on. She
has started using this word rather than "sae" for an unknown reason. See "The Dottered Auld Carle."


7. Bronson\textsuperscript{2}, I, 276.

8. Wells, 150.

9. One should also compare Lizzie's text with the ones in the references given in Note 19.


13. Annie G. Gilchrist, "Note on the 'Lady Drest in Green' and Other Fragments of Tragic Ballads and Folk-Tales Preserved Amongst Children," JFSS. VI (1918-21), 80.


15. Transcribed from a recording in my possession made at the Song Carriers Folk Club, Manchester, of Terry Whelan's singing.

16. Decca SKL 5116.

17. CBS 52699.


19. Argo (Z) DA 66. For more texts and tunes of the ballad, see: ABS, II, 211-4; ABISNE, I, 231-8; Aytoun, II, 366-8; Barry, 80-93; BMNE, 66-7; Buchan, 51; Christie, I, 104-5; Cox, 29-30; CSCEFS, I, 27; Davis, 133-6; Eddy, 24; EFSSA, I, 56-62; FSFN, 32-8; FSFS, II, 54-5; Goss, 16-7; Greenleaf, 15-6; Greig-Duncan MSS.; JFSS, I, 130-2, VII, 101; JFSS, II, 109-10, III, 70-2; Leach, 103-6; LL 21-3; MacColl, 26; Motherwell, 161a-162a; Ord, 459-60; OBE, 68-9; PBEFS, 28; Purslow, 22; Randolph, I, 73-4; SANS, 3-5; Scarborough, 170-1, 403; Scott, 352-3; SM, II, 331.

20. See Munro, 167, where she transcribes this as "Here 'tis." I believe Lizzie sings "It is" so I have transcribed it as such.


24. Lucy Stewart's version appears on "The Child Ballads No. 1," Topic 12T160 (1961). The death in this version is not accidental, as it is in Lizzie's.


26. See Bronson, I, 384-402. For further British and North American references, see ABTSNE, I, 316-31; Barry, 99-106; BBB, 138-9; Belden, 33-4; BMNE, 96-100; Brewster, 55-7; Chambers, 126-8; Coffin, 60-2; Cox, 33-5; Davis, 146-57; Eddy, 26-8; FESSA, I, 65-76; Jamieson, I, 59-65; JEFDS, VIII, 112-3; Leach, 164-7; Motherwell, 60-5; NCF, II, 49-50. Nimmo, 131-4; OBE, 234-5; Randolph, I, 76-80; Scarborough, 166-7; Sharpe, 50-9.

27. Helen Hartness Flanders and Marguerite Olney, Ballads Migrant in New England (New York, 1953), 96-100. Cited in Note 26 and elsewhere as BMNE.

28. See Coffin, 46, where he comments on this text: "This text is actually a version of 'The Twa Brothers' which has been corrupted by 'Edward.'" See 61, Type E. Child Versions B and C of "The Twa Brothers" contain a suggestion of another ballad, "The Unquiet Grave" (78), with the dead brother's sweetheart weeping or asking for a kiss at the grave.

29. BMNE, 96. See Coffin, 46, 61; also my remarks on "Son David."

30. Child, I, 438-44; IV, 460; V, 291.


33. Note that Child remarks: "Motherwell seems to incline to regard 'Edward' rather as a detached portion of a ballad than as complete in itself." (I, 167).

34. See Coffin's remarks on blood in "The Cruel Mother", 51.

35. See Gower and Porter, I, 44.


39. Bronson, IV, 64-5.
40. Topic 12T179.
41. Peter Buchan, Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1828; rpt. 1875), II, 246-9. Hereafter cited as ABS.
43. Child Nos. 77, 69, and 248, respectively.
44. Child, IV, 415.
47. Bronson, IV, 64.
48. Munro, 165.
49. Munro, 165. Henderson's recording is on tape SA 1954/103.
50. Bronson, IV, 244.
51. Bronson, IV, 244.
52. Ford, I, 241-3.
55. Ord, 377.
56. Gavin Greig, Folk-Song of the North-East, (Peterhead, 1914; rpt. Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1963), Art. XXX. Hereafter cited as FSNE.
57. Munro, 165.
58. See LL, 224.
59. Further references for the ballad are: Barry, 333-6; Callander, 17-96; Christie, II, 106-7; Coffin, 150; FSNE, Art. XXXVIII; HOSS, 46-7; OBB, 626-9; Sedley, 23-5; SMM, II, 234-5.
62. This collection is in the British Museum. Also see The Roxburghe Ballads, eds. William Chappell and J. Woodfall Ebsworth, 9 vols, in 10. (London and Hertford, 1871-99). For this ballad, see III, 449-55. Hereafter cited as The Roxburghe Ballads.


66. Kinloch obtained three versions.


70. LL, 87. See JFSS, V (1914-17), 86-90 for Sharp's versions.

71. LL, 87.

72. Child, II, 462-75, C,D,E,F,G, and J.


75. Child, II, B, D, and G.

76. See Child B.

77. LL, 87-9.


79. See Coffin, 102-3. Other references, British and North American, are: Aytoun, II, 162-70; CSCEFS, I, 129-34; Greenleaf, 35-7; JFSS, III, 222-3, 280-1, V, 86-90; Kidson, 19-21; Leach, 315-20; Motherwell, 378-90; NCF, II, 149-51; OBB, 263-6; Williams, 102-3.

80. Tangent TNGM 119/D (1975). This record is a release of the School of Scottish Studies, and is No. 5 in the Scottish Tradition series.


83. Trailer LER 2082.
84. Chrysalis CHR 1046 (1972).
85. See Bronson, II, 535.
86. This transcription closely follows Munro's, 160, with a few minor changes in spelling.
87. Robert Bell, Early Ballads together with Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs (London, 1877), 134.
88. See Kinloch, 31-2.
89. Bronson, II, 189.
90. See Gower and Porter¹, 46.
91. Munro, 160.
96. Bronson, IV, 472. Also see Gower and Porter¹, 45.
97. However, Jeannie uses "Capelton church" in her Topic recording, "Jeannie Robertson," 12T96.
98. Gower and Porter¹, 45.
99. Gower and Porter¹, 35.
100. See Kinloch, 31-5; LL, 57-8; FSNE, Art. CLIX; the Greig-Duncan MSS. For further references, predominantly North American, see: Barry, 139; Belden, 52-4; Coffin, 78-9; Cox, 78-82; CSCFSS, I, 81-2; Davis, 240-59; Eddy, 39-45; EFSSA, I, 146-9; Gardner, 43-5; JBFSS, I, 134-5; JFSS, VI, 31-3; Leach, 250-2; NCF, II, 84-8; Ritchie, 22-3; Randolph, I, 112-5; Scarborough, 98-103, 389-90; Williams, 145-6.
101. LL, 57.
102. Bwan MacColl, Notes, Argo DA 70.
103. Coffin, 79.
105. Argo (Z) DA 70.
106. Topic 12T160.

110. Gower and Porter, 139.

111. Peter Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185. See Child, V, 109-14 for several versions of "The Jolly Beggar."

112. Bronson, IV, 223. The original recording is on tape SA 1953/247/B11.

113. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.

114. Buchan³, 97.


118. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185. See my remarks regarding the Faas in my discussion of "The Gypsy Laddie."

119. See *SMN*, I, 189.

120. See Coffin, 150-1.

121. See *FSNE*, Art. XXX, for Greig's remarks on the tinker in Scottish life.

122. The recording is on tape SA 1970/20/B6.


124. Kinloch, 199.

125. Child, IV, 322.

126. LL, 182. Also see *FSNE*, Art. XLVI.

127. Child, IV, 325-7. See also *ABS*, II, 184-8; Aytoun, II, 220-3; *BBB*, 176-8; Christie, I, 24-5; Sharpe, 59-62.


134. Coffin, 137.

135. XTRA 5041.

136. This text is taken from Munro's transcription, 162-3, with a few changes in spelling. She notes that the fourth line of Verse 2 is "sung to section C of the tune, which is repeated in the first half of the next line." (163).

137. Munro, 163.

138. Gower and Porter¹, 39-40. See also Bronson², IV, 450.

139. Munro, 163.

140. Walter Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (Edinburgh, 1802-3; rpt. London and New York, 1883 [?]), 308.

141. LL, 13-4.


143. Gower and Porter¹, 40.

144. Not all of these versions are printed with letters assigned to them. They appear in Child, I, 151-66, 498-501; IV, 449-50; V, 208-9.

145. SMM, II, 337.

146. Scott, 308-10; Child, I, 160.


148. LL, 12.


150. Bronson², I, 191.

151. See Coffin, 43-4; Bronson², I, 192.


153. Wells, 86.

154. Wells, 86.

155. Gower and Porter¹, 40.

156. Lloyd, Notes, Topic 12T103.

158. Coffin, 43-5. British and North American versions may be found in the following references: Aytoun, II, 124-5; Barry, 46-72; Belden, 24-9; BMNE, 200-1; Brewster, 51-2; CSCEFS, I, 17-20; Davis, 105-19; Eddy, 19-23; EFSSA, I, 38-45; FSFS, I, 46-9; Gardner, 35-6; Goss, 12-3; Hamer, 76-7; HOSS, 131; JEFDSS, V, 15-6; VI, 15; JFSS, II, 29-32, III, 43-4, V, 117-20; 122-3, 244-6; Joyce, 394-5; Leach, 81-5; NCF, II, 39-41; OBS, 243-4; OBSV, 270-2; Ord, 458-9; Ritchie, 56-7; Scarborough, 178-80; Sedley, 198-9; SSS, 190-200.

159. Bronson², I, 191-2.

160. Topic 12T160.


162. Peg 12 (1972). This version is sung by the revival singer, Martin Carthy.


165. Bronson², IV, 370.

166. LL, 243.

167. Bronson², IV, 371.

168. See Coffin for further references on this subject, 158.

169. British and American references for the ballad are:
Barry, 363-8; Belden, 101-2; Cox, 172-3; CSCEFS, I, 214-7; Davis, 521-8; EFSSA, I, 291-3; Goss, 136-7; JFSS, III, 47-51, 139; V, 227-8; Leach, 673-4; NCF, II, 195-8; Ord, 333-4; PBEFS, 70-1; Randolph, I, 202-4; Scarborough, 189-90; Scott, 507-17.

170. Coffin, 158.

171. This transcription closely follows Munro's, 185-6, but with a few minor changes.


177. Child IV, 64.
178. Child, IV, 64.
179. MacColl, Notes, Argo (Z) DA 68.
180. Child says more delicately that her "affections were pre-engaged" to Sir John Faa (IV, 64).
181. MacColl, Notes, Argo (Z) DA 68.
182. Child, IV, 64. Greig tells us that Cassillis House stands "on the left bank of the Doon, in Ayrshire," in FSNE, Art. CX.
185. LL, 126-7.
187. Tangent TNGM 119/D. Jeannie's version of the ballad appears on this record. See also "Jeannie Robertson," Topic 12T96.
188. See "Jack of All Trades," Topic 12T159 (1961), for a recording of John MacDonald singing "The Roving Ploughboy." See HOSS, 81, for tune and text.
190. See "Prince Heathen," Fontana STL 5529, for a recording of this.
191. Munro, 186.
192. Gower and Porter, 52.
194. Lomax and Kennedy, Notes, Topic 12T161.
195. Coffin, 120-4. British and North American versions appear in: Aytoun, I, 182-6; Barry, 269-77; Belden, 73-6; Brewster, 134; Chambers, 143-6; Cox, 130-3; CSCEFS, I, 160-70; Davis, 423-31; Eddy, 67-9; EFSAA, I, 233-9; FSPN, 81-4; FSFS, I, 36-7; Goss, 94-5; JBFDSS, V, 14-5, VI, 79-80; Leach, 539-44; MacColl, 39; Motherwell, 360-4; NCF, II, 161-8; OBB, 240-50; Ord, 411-2; Randolph, I, 152-60; Riddle, 26-8; Ritchie, 86; SBS, II, 179-87; Scarborough, 215-25, 411-4; Sedley, 69-70; SMM, I, 189.
196. Coffin, 123.
197. Coffin, 123.
198. Folkways Records FA 2301.
199. Munro, 179-81. The transcription of the text here is taken from the article, with a few minor changes in spelling.

200. Munro, 180.

201. See Munro, 180.

202. Bronson \(^2\), IV, 326-7. Also see Gower and Porter \(^1\), 55-6.


204. Bronson \(^2\), IV, 312.

205. LL, 238.

206. Munro, 181.

207. LL, 238. See The Buing Collection of English Broadside Ballads, (Glasgow, 1971), 553, for a broadside of this ballad. Hereafter cited as The Buing Collection.


209. Goldstein, Notes, Folkways Records FA 2301, 4.


213. H. M. Belden, ed., Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, (2nd ed. Columbia, 1955; rpt. 1966), 97=100. Other references for the ballad are: Baring-Gould, 132-3; Barry, 339-47; BBB, 215-7; Brewster, 158-63; Christie, I, 238-9; Cox, 169-71; CSCEFS, I, 211-3; Davis, 516-20; EPSSA, I, 282-90; Ford, I, 105-8; FSPN, 107; FSNE, Art. CXVI, CXIX; Gardner, 214-5; Goss, 134-5; Greenleaf, 43; Grover, 138; JFSS, I, 104-5; II, 244; Leach, 667-70; NCF, II, 191-5; Randolph, I, 195-201; Reeves \(^1\), 123-4; Riddle, 143-6; SENS, 20-1; Scarborough, 184-9; Williams, 199-200.

214. Coffin, 153-5.


216. Coffin, 155.


218. This transcription follows Munro's 176-7, with a few minor changes.

219. As transcribed by myself from tape SA 1970/22/A3.
220. Child, IV, 55.
221. Child, IV, 55.
222. See Child, IV, 56, Versions A and B, for these lines.
225. Ord, 470.
228. Ford, II, 169.
229. See Coffin's remarks on the ballad in North America, 119-20. British and North American references for the ballad are: Aytoun, II, 265-8; Barry, 266-9; Chambers, 92-5; Christie, II, 276-7; Cox, 128-9; FSNE, Art. LVIII; Gardner, 209-10; Goss, 92-3; Greig-Duncan MSS.; Johnson, 162-3; Kinloch, 100-8; Leach, 537-8; MacColl, 17; OBB, 614-6; SSS, 100; Whitelaw, 545-6.
231. Folkways Records FG 3510.
232. This transcription closely follows Munro's, 182-3, with a few minor changes.
233. Gower and Porter¹, 57-8. Also see Munro, 182-3, for her remarks on Jeannie's versions.
234. Child, V, 172-4. See Bronson², IV, 432-3 for the version of Jeannie's not given by Gower and Porter²; this version is closest to Lizzie's.
236. Bronson², IV, 432-3.
237. Bronson², IV, 424.
238. MacColl, Notes, Argo (Z) DA 75.
239. See Coffin, 162. Of the eleven references given here, most are North American: ABS, I, 224-7; Barry, 371-3; Brewster, 166-9; Buchan³, 110-1; Christie, II, 210-1; Davis, 544-6; EPSSA, I, 305-7; Leach, 684-6; NCF, II, 198-9; Randolph, I, 213-4; Sedley, 18-9. Also see my remarks on "The Overgate."
A soldier coming from the south,
The night was dark and gloomy,
She knew the soldier by his horse,
For she loved him dearly.

Verse 1 runs:

A soldier coming from the south,
The night was dark and gloomy,
She knew the soldier by his horse,
For she loved him dearly.

Yes, and dearly,
And so dearly,
She knew the soldier by his horse,
For she loved him dearly.
261. Ord, 457.
262. Topic 12T161.
263. Lomax and Kennedy, Notes, Topic 12T161.
264. Gower and Porter¹, 47-8.
266. Munro, 174.
267. See Bronson², III, 150.
268. Gower and Porter¹, 48.
269. See Gilchrist, 59. More references for this ballad, British and North American, are: ABS, II, 181-4; BMNE, 79-80; Buchan², 118-9, 222; Chambers, 120-5; Davis, 421-2; Goss, 79; Kinloch, 252-9; Leach, 481-3; MFS, 22-3; Motherwell, 311-21; NCG, 19-21; OBb, 328-31; Randolph, I, 151; Riddle, 133-5; SBS, II, 19-38; Sharpe, 18-23.
271. Text taken from Munro's transcription, 170-1, with a few minor changes.
272. See Karpeles, 115.
273. Munro, 170-1.
274. See Gower and Porter¹, 41-2, for Jeannie's versions.
275. Tempo is the main difference between Jeannie's two versions. See Gower and Porter¹, 42, for comments.
276. Munro, 171.
277. Munro, 172.
278. Information from SA 1970/21/A3.
280. It is perhaps of interest that the California poet Robinson Jeffers took the last line of "Edward" (Percy's version) and used it as the title for a poem. See Robinson Jeffers, Such Counsels You Gave To Me and Other Poems (New York, 1937).
281. Bronson², I, 237.
282. Bronson\textsuperscript{2}, IV, 451-2, for this version.


284. Lomax and Kennedy, Notes, Topic 12T160.

285. See Bronson\textsuperscript{2}, I, 237.


288. See Bronson's comments on the ballad in Bronson\textsuperscript{1}, particularly 3,13.

289. Coffin, 46.


291. BMNE, 96-100.

292. Archer Taylor's study of "Edward" is well-known, and should be consulted if one is interested in the ballad's Scandinavian counterpart.

293. Child 49, "The Twa Brothers," I, 438-44; Child 51, "Lizzie Wan," I, 448-9. Coffin reports that Phillips Barry believed that in "The Twa Brothers," the "rivalry was originally for the incestuous love of the sister." (62). See Coffin, 62, for more comments on this. "Lizzie Wan" concerns a girl with child by her brother.

294. Coffin, 46.


296. Wells, 90.

297. Gower and Porter\textsuperscript{1}, 42; Bronson\textsuperscript{2}, I, 237.

298. Gower and Porter\textsuperscript{1}, 42.

300. Child, I, 426-8. See Scott, 366-8; als ABS, I, 89-95; Motherwell, lxxxi. Other versions appear in Aytoun, II, 57-61; Buchan², 151-2, 223; Christie, I, 28-9; Goss, 28-9; Leach, 162-4; OBB, 74-6.

301. LL, 37.

302. LL, 37.

303. Bronson², I, 382.

304. SA 1973/152/A, SA 1974/167/A.


307. Wimberly, 310.

308. Chambers, 259.

309. Lizzie told me in April, 1975, that she had just completed recording a second L.P., on which "Proud Lady Margaret" will appear when it is released.


311. Folkways Records FG 3510.

311a. Coffin, 60.

312. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.


314. See SMM, II, 390, and Laws, 243, O 35. Laws lists the broadsides of the song, one of which is reprinted in JFSS, II (1905-07), 275-6. English versions are usually similar to this broadside, and do not mention "Craigstoun". Laws uses the word "rewritten" in reference to Burns's "Lady Mary Ann". James Kinsley, editor of The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns (Oxford, 1968), 1402-3, feels that Burns found a variant of a two-verse song in David Herd's manuscript, rather than having rewritten an older song, following the opinion of his predecessors, William Ernest Henley and Thomas F. Henderson, eds., The Poetry of Robert Burns, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1897), hereafter cited as Henley and Henderson. This two-verse song appears in Hans Hecht, ed., Songs From David Herd's Manuscripts (Edinburgh, 1904), 145. Kinsley believes that the Herd fragment and "Lady Mary Ann" discredit the Craigstoun connection. The editors of PBEFS argue the point with more persuasive logic along the lines of Hall's argument. (See PBEFS, 124n.) Also refer to my discussion of "Lady Mary Ann".
315. See EFSSA, I, 410; the Greig-Duncan MSS; Buchan, 133-4; Reeves, 265.

316. See NCG, 13-4; Christie, II, 212-3; Buchan, 133-4.


318. Quoted from a version in the Greig-Duncan MSS. Maidment and Buchan print similar versions. Henley and Henderson inform us that Maidment's version is "the ballad of the Scott MS," and quote a verse similar to the one given here from the Greig-Duncan MSS., referring to it as "a handful of the rubbish"! (390).

319. See Buchan, 223.

320. Buchan, 223.

321. See PBEFS, 124n. Besides the references already given in the text, one can refer to the following for British and North American texts: Baring-Gould, 8-9; BMNE, 196-7; Buchan, 71; CSCEFS, I, 243-53; EFSSC, 33-4, 192-3; FSFS, I, 48-9; JEFSS, VI, 86-7; VIII, 20; JFSS, I, 214-5, II, 44-7, 95-7, 206, 274-6, V, 190-3; MFS, 100-1; OBSV, 298-9; Ord, 112; PBEFS, 99, 124-5; Sedley, 191-2.


323. Buchan, 71.


325. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.


328. FSNE, Art. CXXIII.

329. Further references for "Young Emslie," British, Irish, and North American, are: Belden, 127-8; Brewster, 202-3; Cox, 345; CSCEFS, I, 290-1; EFSSA, I, 350-7; FSFN, 130-1; FSSU, 33-4; Gardner, 62-3; JFSS, I, 124, III, 266, VIII, 227-8; Leach, 703-5; NCF, II, 266-9; Purslow, 101.

330. FSNE, Art. CXXIII.

331. Ford, I, 14.

332. Ord, 76.

333. See Laws, 295-6, 0 6, "The Lass of Glenshee."

334. FSNE, Art. XLIV.
335. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.
336. Ord, 76.
339. Transcribed from a recording made at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September, 1969, by Edgar Ashton.
340. The Euing Collection, 171.
342. Ord, 175. FSNE, Art. XXIV.
343. See Baring-Gould, 198-9; Copper, 236-7; CSCEFS, I, 268-73; FSFS, 120-9; FSFS, 40-1; JEFDSS, III, 241-3; IV, 185-6; JFSS, I, 23, II, 12-15. For a recording, listen to "Dave Burland," Trailer LER 2082.
344. FSNE, Art. XXIV.
345. FSNE, Art. XXIV.
346. FSNE, Art. XXIV.
347. See Sedley, 147-9, and PB EFS, 37.
348. See Gower and Porter², 149, for Jeannie's version.
349. FSNE, Art. CXXXVII. Another version can be found in CLXXIX.
352. Laws, 112, points out that "The Cruel Miller" can be found in JFSS, VII (1922-6), 23 and 44, under the titles "Hanged I Shall Be" and "The Prentice Boy." Also see Sedley, 94-5.
353. Laws, 104.
354. See Belden, 134-5, Version A, for an American text, "The Oxford Girl," which is similar to this broadside. Belden also discusses the song's history.
355. Laws, 118.
Other references for the songs discussed by Laws are: Cox, 311-3; CSCEFS, I, 294-7; EFSSA, I, 407-9; Gardner, 77-9; Hamer, 40-1; Scarborough, 159-64, 402.

See NCF, II, 271-9 for texts of this song.

FSNE, Art. CXXXVII.


Tocher 1 (Spring 1971), 16-7. This magazine is a publication of the School of Scottish Studies.

Ford, II, 256.

Topic 12T159 (1961). This version of the song is sung by Jessie Murray from Buchan.

Lomax and Kennedy, Notes, Topic 12T159.

Ord, 368.

Ford, II, 256.

Topic 12T179 (1968).

The recording was made November 16th, 1973.

Trailer LER 2086.

SMM, II, 390.

Aytoun, II, 117; Motherwell, 86-7; Ford, II, 183-4.

See the discussion of this marriage under "The College Boy," and the references in Notes 313, 314.

SMM, IV, 349.

Henley and Henderson, III, 389.

Ford, II, 184; also, Kinsley, III, 1402-3.

Henley and Henderson refer to the MS version, a version Motherwell obtained, and Maidment's version of "The Young Laird of Craigstoun."

Henley and Henderson, III, 390. The "northern and western sets" refer to Maidment's and Motherwell's versions. See my notes on "The College Boy"; also Hecht, 145, for the Herd fragment. See Kinsley, III, 1403; Hecht, 299. Kinsley remarks: "I think it is ... likely that he [Burns] communicated a variant of Herd's song to Johnson, together with its traditional air ... " (1403). Hecht writes in reference to the Herd fragment, 145: "Burns used the two verses almost literally in his song 'Lady Mary Ann' ... " (299).
381. Motherwell, 86.
382. PBEFS, 124m.
383. See the version in PBEFS, 99.
384. Ramsay, I, 126-7. The version here is entitled "The young lass contra auld man."
387. Ford, I, 142-3.
388. FSNE, CXLIX.
389. SA 1973/174/B.
390. EFSSA, II, 93-5. Other references for the song are: Belden, 264; Brewster, 255-6; Cox, 489; CSCEFS, II, 24-6; Eddy, 132-5; Gardner, 413-4; Grover, 85; JEFDS, III, 130-2; NCF, III, 17-20; PBEFS, 76-7; Purslow, 65; Whitelaw, 93; Williams, 73.
392. NCF, III, 19.
393. NCF, III, 17-9.
394. Cox, 489.
395. EFSSA, II, 93.
397. Topic 12T197 (1961). Also see XTRA 5401.
399. Ford, II, 244-6.
400. FSNE, Art., CLXXV.
401. Ford, II, 246.
402. FSNE, Art., CLXXV.
404. Ford, II, 118.
405. "Plantins" is used in the title of a Northeast song, "Strichen's Plantins." See FSNE, Art., II and IV; also SND (1967), VII.ii, 159.
406. *FSNE*, Art. XXVIII, XXX, CII.

407. *FSNE*, Art. XXVIII.

408. Ord's version is in *FSNE*, Art. CII.

409. See the discussion of this song in Chapter Four and elsewhere in Appendix I.

410. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T180, ["Back o' Benachie."]


412. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T180.


414. MacColl, 8.


416. J. T. Surenne, ed., *The Dance Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1852), 52. See Call and Inglis, pub., *The Select Songs of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London, n.d.), 37, and Note, 197: "The air, 'Sleepy Maggie,' to which the song was written and first published, is different from the one it is now sung to, which is known as 'Culloden,' a song of that name describing the battle being sung to it."

417. Glasser, 6. For Jeannie's version, listen to XTRA 5041.

418. SA 1974/167/A.


421. John Stuart Blackie, *The Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1876), 299.


425. Lockhart, IV, 304-5. Scott's journal reads: "I also saw a fairy flag, a pennon of silk, with something like round red rowan-berries wrought upon it ... the fairy-flag had three properties. Produced in battle, it multiplied the numbers of the MacLeods—spread on the nuptial bed, it ensured fertility—and lastly, it brought herring into the loch." (304-5).

426. Blackie, 299-300.


428. I discussed the song with Mr. Matheson, who sings a traditional version himself, obtained from his mother, which he says is different from the songs in print. For more versions in print not mentioned in my discussion, see: J. Michael Diack, The New Scottish Orpheus Tenor Album (London and Edinburgh, N.D.), 47-9; Helen Hopekirk, Seventy Scottish Songs (Boston, 1905), 93-5. Jeannie's rendition appears on Topic 12T96.

429. "Bogus" was the word which Mr. Matheson used in reference to the printed versions; his point is well-taken about the printed songs not having come from the Gaelic oral tradition.


431. Angus Mackay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd or Highland Bagpipe Music (Edinburgh, 1838), 17-20.


435. Humble, 68.

436. Blackie, 300.

437. Blackie, 300.

438. Consult the supplementary tape for this passage.

439. Trailer LER 2086.

440. Tangent TGS 112.

441. Topic 12T185.

442. SMM, III, 434.

443. One should consult the supplementary tape for the tune.


449. Argo (Z) DA 84.

450. Topic 12T185.


452. See Herd, II, 232-4; Hecht, 221-3.


455. See Buchan, 103, and *A Collection of Scots Songs*, 11-2.

456. *FSNE*, Art. XXXII.

457. *FSNE*, Art. XXXII.

458. See Whitelaw, 89.


460. See *FSNE*, Art. XXXII, for verse of "The Lads of Sweet Ury" and "Yarmouth is a Pretty Town."

461. *FSNE*, Art. XXXII.

462. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.

463. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.


465. Whitelaw, 368.


467. *SND* (1962), VI, i, 12.

468. Transcribed from a tape in my possession, recorded at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September 1969, by Edgar Ashton.
469. HOSS, 154.


472. This recording is in my possession, made by Edgar Ashton at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September 1969.


475. Lomax and Kennedy, Notes, Topic 12T196.


478. Karl Dallas, The Cruel Wars (London, 1973), 20. This is Jeannie's version he prints, which is slightly different from Strachan's.

479. Dallas, 20.

480. FSNE, Art. CLXXVI.

481. The first and titled version given, "The Recruiting Sergeant," Art. CLXXVI.

482. This text is transcribed from a recording made by Edgar Ashton at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September 1969.

483. See Bronson 2, IV, 266-70, tune nos. 22, 24, and 25.

484. Chapbook II,ii, 3. This magazine was published by the Aberdeen Folk-Song Club. For comparison, a version of Jeannie's appears on "Jeannie Robertson: 'The Cuckoo's Nest' and Other Scottish Folk Songs," XTRA 5041.

485. See A Collection of Scots Songs, 26-8. These are Fife and Perthshire versions sung by Jean Redpath and Belle Stewart.


488. See Reeves\textsuperscript{2}, 126-8.

489. See \textit{SMM}, II, 298, given as "A Waukrife Minnie".

490. See \textit{FSNE}, Art. LXXXI, "The Tarves Rant"; also, one may refer to the record, "The Frosty Ploughshare: Bothy Songs and Ballads sung by Ian Manuel", Topic 12TS220, with particular attention to "The Toon o' Dalry".

491. Hall, Notes, Topic.12T185.

492. \textit{HOSS}, 129 and 112.


494. \textit{FSNE}, Art. XLIV.

495. Buchan\textsuperscript{3}, 52.

496. Hall, Notes, Topic 12T185.


499. See Buchan\textsuperscript{3}, 154.

500. Colm O Lochlainn, \textit{Irish Street Ballads} (Dublin, 1939), 158.


505. \textit{SMM}, II, 327. Also in Henley and Henderson, III, 93-4. See the editors' note on the possible models for Burns's song, too lengthy to reproduce here.


507. Listen to the Canadian version on "The Female Frolic", Argo (Z) DA 82. Other British variants can be found in \textit{CSCEFS}, II, 30; Purslow, 66; Sedley, 230-1.

507a. SA 1973/174/A.

508. Transcribed from a tape in my possession, recorded 11th April, 1975, at the Song Carriers Folk Club in Manchester.

509. SA 1973/174/A.

510. \textit{HOSS}, 146.
Sedley, 242-3.

See the notes to the record "Still I Love Him—Traditional Love Songs" sung by Isla Cameron and Ewan MacColl, Topic 10T50.

This text is transcribed from Lizzie's performance at the Song Carriers Folk Club in Manchester, April, 11th, 1975.

HOSS, 152.

HOSS, 152.

FSNE, Art. XVII. See Bell Robertson's composition beginning:

I am an auld maid and I live in a garret.

The resemblance to Lizzie's song stops there, however.

The preceding song in the article also mentions a garret but bears no likeness to Lizzie's song.

SA 1973/174/B.

See Munro's note pertaining to this song preceding the tune transcriptions in Appendix III.

SA 1973/174/A.

See Munro's transcriptions in Appendix III.

SA 1974/167/A.

SA 1974/167/A.

Transcribed from a tape in my possession, recorded April 11th, 1975, at the Song Carriers Folk Club, Manchester.

Ibid. It should be remarked that Mr. William Matheson of the Edinburgh University Celtic Department sang a bit of the Gaelic port-a-beul from which Lizzie's song comes.

The vowel sounds in the Gaelic are somewhat similar to those in Lizzie's words; the name of the loch in the first two lines in Gaelic is Loch a' Feorain, which is close to Lizzie's "Loch a Forum."

See Surenne, II. Also see Logan's Complete Tutor, 5, and Scots Guards Standard Settings of Pipe Music (London, 1965), 205; hereafter cited as SGSS. The tune was composed by Pipe Major J. Mackay.

SGSS, 267.

SND, (1975), X.ii, 131.

Jeannie's verses derive from an old song called "Wha's Fu" or "I Saw An Eel Chase the Deel" in Scotland, and "Martin
Said To His Man" in England. For the former, see AA, II, 32-3, and Topic 12TS242; for the latter, see E. F. Rimbaudt, A Little Book of Songs and Ballads (London, 1851), 115-7.

532. See Esposito, 227.
533. See Brown, 151-5. See Child, III, 351-60, for a ballad entitled "Flodden Field."
534. Transcribed from a recording made by Edgar Ashton at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September 1969.
535. Alan Lomax, Folk Songs of North America (Garden City, 1960), 225-6, 233.
536. White, 161.
537. NCF, III, 482-5.
538. NCF, III, 480.
539. NCF, III, 481.
540. NCF, III, 482.
541. SA 1973/153/B.
542. Transcribed from a recording in my possession, made April 11th, 1975, at the Song Carriers Folk Club, Manchester.
543. Ibid.
544. See my discussion of Lizzie's feelings about bawdy songs in Chapter Four.
APPENDIX V
Abrahams, Roger D. "Folklore and Literature as Performance." Journal of the Folklore Institute, IV, ii-iii, 75-94.

______. "Jean Ritchie, Folksinger in a Commercial Medium." Midwest Folklore, X, ii (1960), 96-100.


______. The Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands. Edinburgh, 1876.


Brewster, Paul G. Ballads and Songs of Indiana. Bloomington, 1940.


Chapbook, II.ii. Aberdeen, n.d.


Eddy, Mary O. *Ballads and Songs from Ohio.* New York, 1939.


Folk-Lore. London, 1890-.

Folk Review. London and Nantwich, 1972-.


Gilchrist, Annie G. "Note on the 'Lady Drest in Green' and Other Fragments of Tragic Ballads and Folk-Tales Preserved Amongst Children." Journal of the Folk-Song Society, V (1914-17), 80-5.


Greig-Duncan MSS. Aberdeen University Library Nos. 701-93, 998/1-998/22.


Journal of American Folklore. Austin, 1888-


Journal of the Folklore Institute. Bloomington, 1964-


_____.


_____.

_____.


_____.


Maclean, Donald. Typographia Scoto-Gadelica, or Books Printed in the Gaelic of Scotland from the year 1567 to the year 1914. Edinburgh, 1915.

MacLeod, Angus, ed. The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre. Edinburgh, 1952.


Midwest Folklore. Bloomington, 1951-64.


Nimmo, A. Songs and Ballads of Clydesdale. Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1882.


Piping Times. Glasgow. 1947-


*Southern Folklore Quarterly.* Gainesville, 1937-


*Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin.* Murfreesboro, 1935-


Tocher. Edinburgh, 1971-

Western Folklore. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1942-


See The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore.


Speech for the California Folklore Society. From the Sourdough Crock, I, vii (April 1963), 5.


Yates, Mike. "It being in the blooming Spring ..." Folk Review, IV, i (Nov. 1974), 10-11.

Additional items.


TAPE BIBLIOGRAPHY

School of Scottish Studies Archives

Number  Collector
SA 1953/247  Hamish Henderson
SA 1954/103  Hamish Henderson
SA 1958/25   Hamish Henderson
SA 1970/20   Ailie Munro
SA 1970/21   Ailie Munro
SA 1970/22   Ailie Munro
SA 1970/23   Ailie Munro
SA 1970/78   Ailie Munro and Peter Cooke
SA 1972/221  Hamish Henderson and James Porter
SA 1973/151  Stephanie Smith
SA 1973/152  Stephanie Smith
SA 1973/153  Stephanie Smith and Herschel Gower
SA 1973/154  Stephanie Smith and Herschel Gower
SA 1973/155  Ailie Munro and Stephanie Smith
SA 1973/173  Stephanie Smith
SA 1973/174  Stephanie Smith
SA 1974/167  Stephanie Smith

In my possession.

Copy of a tape recorded by Edgar Ashton at the Edinburgh Folk Festival, September 1969. The tape includes several evenings of Lizzie's singing.

Cassette tapes recorded by myself at the Song Carriers Folk Club, Manchester, April 11th, 1975.
### DISCOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title and Artist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argo</td>
<td>(Z) DA 84</td>
<td>The Amorous Muse, Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argo</td>
<td>(Z) DA 82</td>
<td>The Female Frolic, Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argo</td>
<td>(Z) DA 66-75</td>
<td>The Long Harvest, Records One through Ten, Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argo</td>
<td>(Z) DA 147</td>
<td>Songs and Music of the Redcoats, various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>52699</td>
<td>Singers Three, The McCalmans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysalis</td>
<td>CHR 1046</td>
<td>Below the Salt, Steeleye Span</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decca</td>
<td>SKL 5116</td>
<td>From the Beggar's Mantle, Barbara Dickson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkways</td>
<td>FA 2301</td>
<td>British Traditional Ballads in the Southern Mountains, Vol. 1, Jean Ritchie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkways</td>
<td>FG 3510</td>
<td>The English and Scottish Popular Ballads No. 2, Ewan MacColl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontana</td>
<td>STL 5529</td>
<td>Prince Heathen, Martin Carthy and Dave Swarbrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontana</td>
<td>STL 5269</td>
<td>Martin Carthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Folk</td>
<td>F-LFR-100</td>
<td>On the mountains high, Margaret McArthur and Family of Marlboro, Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Records</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peg Records</td>
<td>PEG 12</td>
<td>Shearwater, Martin Carthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polydor</td>
<td>Super 2382 232</td>
<td>The Well Below the Valley, Planxty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangent</td>
<td>TGS 112</td>
<td>Isla St Clair sings traditional Scottish songs, Isla St Clair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangent</td>
<td>TNGM 119/D</td>
<td>The Muckle Songs: Classic Scots Ballads, various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T180</td>
<td>Back o' Benachie, various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T103</td>
<td>English and Scottish Folk Ballads, A. L. Lloyd and Ewan MacColl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T96</td>
<td>Jeannie Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Title and Artist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T185</td>
<td>Princess of the Thistle, Lizzie Higgins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T178</td>
<td>Scots Songs and Ballads, Norman Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>10T50</td>
<td>Still I love Him, Isla Cameron and Ewan MacColl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12TS242</td>
<td>The Clutha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T157</td>
<td>The Folk Songs of Britain Series, Vol. 1, The Songs of Courtship, various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T158</td>
<td>The Songs of Seduction (Vol. 2), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T159</td>
<td>Jack of All Trades (Vol. 3), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T160</td>
<td>The Child Ballads No. 1 (Vol. 4), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T161</td>
<td>The Child Ballads No. 2 (Vol. 5), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T195</td>
<td>Fair Game and Foul (Vol. 7), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T196</td>
<td>A Soldier’s Life For Me (Vol. 8), various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12TS220</td>
<td>The Frosty Ploughshare: Bothy Songs and Ballads Sung by Ian Manuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>12T179</td>
<td>The Travelling Stewarts, various artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailer</td>
<td>LER 2082</td>
<td>Dave Burland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailer</td>
<td>LER 2072</td>
<td>No More Forever, Dick Gaughan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XTRA</td>
<td>5041</td>
<td>The Cuckoo’s Nest and Other Scottish Folk Songs, Jeannie Robertson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>