

# Robert Burns's Friend Robert Cleghorn in his Cultural Context

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Robert Burns's correspondence shows him in a variety of relationships which bring out a number of facets of his character and give insight into various aspects of contemporary society. The relationship with Robert Cleghorn caught in the letters illuminates the song culture of Scotland, and especially of Edinburgh, at a time when vocal music was both widely performed and highly regarded. Since performance is intangible and ephemeral, vocal music is often elusive and the references to it, and discussion of it, in this correspondence are valuable in giving glimpses of this activity focussed on a musical member of the Midlothian farming community.

Although Robert Cleghorn (1748–96) is familiar as one of Burns's friends, there has not previously been a full study of him and even his dates of birth and death had not previously been determined (Lindsay 2013: 87). He is placed here in relation to members of his extended family and their lands in the adjacent parishes of Corstorphine and Colinton in the county of Midlothian.

When Burns, while living in Dumfries, said in a letter to William Lorimer of August 1795, 'I have two honest Midlothian Farmers with me, who have travelled threescore miles to renew old

friendship with the poet' (Roy 1985: 2; 365), he was referring to Robert Cleghorn and Robert Wight. They were accompanied on their visit by John Allen, a medical doctor, and these three travellers are linked together by a woman who had remained at home in Midlothian: Beatrix Wight, who was the sister of Robert Wight, the mother of John Allen, and the wife of Robert Cleghorn.

Burns's friendship with Cleghorn involved him in associations with his whole family network and he would have been familiar with the Cleghorn and Wight farms of Saughton Mills and Kingsknows and also with Allen's father's estate of Redford. This article first treats the families and their lands and then places Cleghorn in the musical milieu that he shared with Burns so far as is discoverable through their correspondence.<sup>1</sup>

## THE FAMILIES AND THEIR LANDS

### *The Wights at Kingsknows*

Robert Cleghorn's wife, Beatrix, and her brother, Robert, were the children of Robert Wight, 'Tenant in Kingsknow', and of Elizabeth Simson whose marriage was proclaimed on 20 October 1748.<sup>2</sup> The couple had two sons and four daughters whose births are registered in the parish of Colinton: Agnes 1749, Beatrix 1751,

Elizabeth 1753, David 1754, Janet 1756 and Robert 1758. Beatrix was born on 13 February 1751 and Robert on 27 August 1758. Robert was a close contemporary of Burns, being just five months older.

An advertisement placed by Robert Wight, senior, in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 30 April 1750 demonstrates his high standards and indicates the ready market in the city for the produce of the farms in the vicinity.

ROBERT WIGHT Farmer at Kingsknows, near Colington, being to open a very large DAIRY against Whitsunday next, proposes to sell his SWEET MILK in the City.

The Inhabitants may rest assured, that Mr. Wight will use all possible Precautions that his Milk be delivered unmixed and genuine as it comes from the Cows; for which Purpose he is to send it in on Horse-back in proper Vessels locked up, he himself keeping the Key, and the Milk will be drawn out by Brass Cocks, that there may remain no Opportunity of mixing it with Water or otherwise out of his Presence.

Till such Time as this Scheme be brought to such a Bearing that he can serve Families at their Houses, the Milk will be sold for ready Money only at several Stations in Town, beginning at the Corn-market; proceeding from thence, up the West-bow, and down the High-street, and returning by the Cowgate: And the Inhabitants will have Notice when his Milk comes to the several Stations, by the blowing of a Horn.

In an account of this farm in 1778 in a report on the *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*, Andrew Wight gives details of the farming practice, which included the breeding of sheep and the planting of hoop willows in swampy ground, and he mentions the point that Robert Wight preferred oxen to horses for ploughing. Wight sketches the history of the farm in this way:

*Robert Wight*, forty-four years ago, took the farm of Kingsknow, naturally a thin and poor soil upon rock, a high ground, and rendered still worse by mismanagement. For the first ten or twelve years, it was a hard struggle between him and the land which should get the better. The first thing that turned the balance in his favour was the being employed to carry building stone to Edinburgh from a quarry in his farm, which gave him the opportunity of bringing home his carts loaded with Edinburgh dung. He was the first in that part of the country who attempted levelling the surface, straightening the ridges, raising potatoes and turnip in the drill husbandry, sowing red clover for summer food, and grass-seeds for hay and pasture, inclosing with ditch and hedge, &c. All these, particularly the smothering crops, have turned to great account; and now, by skill and perseverance, his returns from his farm are sufficient for comfortable living, and for rearing up his children to gain their bread in a way suitable to their station; and lastly, so many years remain of his lease, as, in all probability, will equal his life, by which he has the prospect of enjoying in his old age, a pleasant spot, made so by his own labour and industry. It is at the same time no small comfort to him, that, having finished all the rough and laborious work in his younger years, it will be a pleasure, rather than a toil,

even for an old man to preserve his farm in perfect good order. (Wight 1778–84, vol. 3, part 2, 454–6)

The long lease had ended when the farm of Kingsknows 'as presently possessed by Robert Wight' was advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 27 July 1805 to be let for nineteen years from Martinmas 1806. The advertisement mentions that the farm 'consists of about 150 acres of good arable land'. It is not known when Robert Wight, senior, died, but he was dead before 25 May 1809 when there is a record of a discharge by Robert Wight, tenant in Kingsknows, as the executor of his deceased father, Robert Wight.<sup>3</sup> The death and burial record of the son in the parish of Colinton runs: 'Robert Wight died at Damhead on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1826 and was interred in the Churchyard here on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1826 aged 68 years.'<sup>4</sup> As noted below, the farm of Damhead was in the possession of Robert's nephew, James Cleghorn, at this time.

### *The Allens at Redford*

Robert's sister, Beatrix, moved only a short distance from Kingsknows to Redford when she married James Allen. Redford House, which is now a listed building at 133, 135 and 137 Redford Road,<sup>5</sup> was probably built by George Haliburton who had acquired the Redford estate in 1712. He sold Redford to John Young, brewer, in 1740–1, and it passed first to Young's daughter, Mrs Allen, and then to her son, James (Murray 1863: 93–4). James was a writer and banker in Edinburgh, but he fell into financial difficulties and, when he died in May 1778, he had become

bankrupt.<sup>6</sup> Redford Estate was advertised for sale in 1777 but was withdrawn and was re-advertised in June 1778 and was then purchased by John Home, coachbuilder.<sup>7</sup> The description of this fine property runs as follows in the advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 2 July 1777:

The Lands and Estate of Redford, Gallowlee, and Little Fordell, with the teinds, parsonage, and vicarage of the said lands, lying in the parish of Collington, and shire of Edinburgh, about four English miles south west from the city of Edinburgh.

These lands, according to an accurate plan and survey lately made, consist of about 100 acres Scots measure; are all inclosed, and properly subdivided into fourteen different inclosures, with stripes of planting in a thriving condition, a great part of which is ready for cutting.

There is on the premises a very good dwelling-house, with convenient offices of all kinds, a well-stocked pigeon-house, a good garden laid out with taste, and well supplied with fruit-trees of the best sorts. There is also upon the lands of Little Fordell a good steading for the accommodation of a tenant. The burn of Braid runs through the garden and part of the grounds, at the side of which there is a convenient washing-house and green. The situation of the house, and of the policy, is very pleasant and romantic.

James and Beatrix Allen had three sons, of whom, John, born on 3 February 1771 and baptised on 5 February, was the oldest.<sup>8</sup> The births of his brothers, Robert Eveleigh 1773, and Andrew Simpson 1776, are recorded under

Colinton parish but no further mention has been found of them. After the loss of Redford, the widowed Beatrix Allen moved to a house called Linthill in the village of Colinton (Murray 1863: 94). When she later married Robert Cleghorn, her son John was part of their household at Saughton Mills farm.

John Allen had a great love of learning and a fine intellect (Courtney 2004). He began medical studies at Edinburgh University in 1786 and received his MD in 1791, and he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1799.<sup>9</sup> Later in life he was engaged mainly in historical and political studies. He left Scotland in 1802 and became secretary to Henry Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland (1773–1840), and was one of the Holland House set which was at the core of Whig politics. He published two books: *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England* in 1830 and *Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland* in 1833. He became Master of God's Gift College Surrey in 1820 and died on 10 April 1843 at Lady Holland's home at 33 South Street, Grosvenor Square.

Lord Byron called Allen 'the best informed and one of the ablest' men that he knew (Lansdown 2015: 156), and he also commented memorably on the letters from Burns to Cleghorn that Allen showed to him (see below). As a young man, Allen held revolutionary convictions. He was one of a party who celebrated Bastille Day in Edinburgh and was in some danger from the government (Craig 1849: xii–xvi). His lifelong friend, John Thomson, Professor of Military Surgery at Edinburgh, referred to this situation and

also spoke warmly of Robert Cleghorn's hospitality when he recalled that Allen avoided notice on one occasion by saying that 'he was to dine that day at Stenhouse Mills, the house of Mr Allen's stepfather, where all Mr Allen's friends at that time experienced the comforts of a kind home' (Thomson, Thomson and Craigie 1832–59: 1, 31).

Allen bequeathed to Thomson his family keepsakes consisting of 'the portrait of my mother which hangs in my bedroom at Holland House and also a small miniature of my father a mourning ring for my uncle who died in 1760 and a small locket containing some of the late M<sup>r</sup> Cleghorns hair'.<sup>10</sup> Nothing is known of the later history of these mementos.

### *The Cleghorns at Saughton Mills*

Robert Cleghorn, unlike Robert Wight, was not brought up on a farm but started out life in the city. On 21 September 1786, 'Robert Cleghorn, farmer at Saughton', was made a burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh in right of his father, James Cleghorn, who was a brewer at Gairnshall, which was located in or near Buccleuch Street (Watson 1933: 35). Robert's mother was Jane, or Jean, Gelletry, or Gellately. The couple had eleven children whose births are listed in the records of St Cuthbert's parish: William 1747, Robert 1748, Allison 1750, James 1751, Jane 1752, Helen 1754, David (who is female despite the male name) 1755, Clementina 1756, Mary 1758, Christian 1759 and James 1761. The entry for Robert's birth under December 1748 runs: 'James Cleghorn Brewar at Gairnshall & his spouse Jane Gelletry a Son Robert born 5<sup>th</sup> inst Witt: William Gelletry

& John Moir Merchants in Edinburgh'.<sup>11</sup>

The death records of three of Robert's sisters, Allison in 1817, Clementina in 1824 and Jane in 1834, name the place of death as Buccleuch Street and, in the case of Jane, the address is given specifically as 60 Buccleuch Street.<sup>12</sup> This is the postal address for Miss Cleghorn in the *Edinburgh Directory* from 1812–13 onwards but prior to this, from 1784–5, the address appears as 'opposite Archers' hall' (the hall being located at 66 Buccleuch Street) and Burns's letter to Cleghorn dated 31 March 1788 was addressed care of Miss Cleghorn 'opposite Archer's-hall' (Roy 1985: 1; 269). It seems likely that the sisters shared a home here at the time of Burns's residence in Edinburgh. Burns sent his compliments to 'the Miss Cleghorns' in his letter of 29 August 1790 (Roy 1985: 2; 48). Not all of Robert's siblings have been found in the records apart from their birth notices but we learn that his sister David married William Dick, merchant, in 1778,<sup>13</sup> and that Christian died in 1784 before Burns met the family.<sup>14</sup> William became a merchant at Fig Tree Court, Inner Temple, City of London, and provided an annuity for his sister Janet (that is, the Jane mentioned above) on his death in 1827.<sup>15</sup>

A family-history listing called 'The Cleghorn Saga' gives the date of the marriage of Robert Cleghorn and Beatrix Wight as c. 1783 and that of the birth of their daughter Elizabeth as 1784.<sup>16</sup> Precise dates are not known since regular marriage and birth records are not available for Corstorphine parish for this period.<sup>17</sup> However, there is a precise date for the birth of the Cleghorns' son, James, since it appears in a list of irregular

birth entries which does survive. The entry runs: 'James son of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Cleghorn Farmer in Saughton Mills and his spouse B— Wight was born 14<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1787 – Witnesses of his baptism Mess<sup>rs</sup> Robert Wight Kings Knows and David Wight Chemist Collington.'<sup>18</sup> It seems to have been this entry that led Charles Rogers to make the unwarranted assumption that the Cleghorns were Episcopalian.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, they were Presbyterian as the many records noted here demonstrate. Possibly James's baptism was performed by the minister of Colinton where the witnesses resided rather than by his own parish minister and was reckoned irregular on that account.

Burns was acquainted not just with Robert Cleghorn but with the Cleghorn family as a whole and his letters sometimes contain greetings to family members. Of course, one point of contact between Burns and Cleghorn was their shared concern with farming and Burns would have been able to look over Saughton Mills farm and observe Cleghorn's practice. Cleghorn opens his first letter dated 27 April 1788 (Currie 1800: 2; 144–6): 'My dear brother farmer' and he offers to pass on to him the fruits of his experience, saying: 'Any skill I have in country business you may truly command. Situation, soil, customs of countries may vary from each other, but *Farmer Attention* is a good farmer in every place.'

After Burns was settled at Ellisland, he wrote to Cleghorn in January 1789 (Roy 1985: 1; 361–2) saying 'My farming scheme too, particularly one, the management of one inclosure of Holming land, is to be decided by your superior judgement.' and Cleghorn gave him practical assistance by

sending him '2 Bolls of seed Tares' on 11 March (Roy 1985: 2; 406). As regards politics, Cleghorn was apparently in sympathy with Burns's views, as is suggested by his reference to Burns's anonymously published song 'A Man's a Man for A' That' in the broken fragment of the letter he sent to Burns on 9 October 1795: 'Dined with a party where they sung wi ... -quests leave to send "a' that & a' that".'<sup>20</sup>

Cleghorn became ill in the spring of 1796, and Burns wrote to George Thomson in April (Roy 1985: 2, 37) saying: 'Poor Cleghorn! I sincerely sympathise with him! Happy I am to think that he yet has a well-grounded hope of health & enjoyment in this world. As for me – but that is a damning subject!' Burns again expressed his concern in a letter to Thomson in May (Roy 1985: 2; 380) where he says: 'Do, let me know how Cleghorn is, & remember me to him.' Cleghorn was evidently already gravely ill and he died on 11 November 1796 as noted in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18 November. The burial of 'Robert Cleghorn in Stenhouse' was recorded on 15 November under Colinton parish.<sup>21</sup>

Cleghorn had outlived Burns by less than four months. One of his last acts was donating to the fund being raised on behalf of Burns's family. The subscription list published in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* on 23 August records donations of two guineas each from Robert Cleghorn, John Allan and Robert Wight and of a guinea from Mrs Cleghorn.

After Cleghorn's death, the farm was re-let from November 1797, and the tenant who entered then was William Stevenson who later

edited the *Scots Magazine*. The advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 18 February 1797 gives a good impression of the property as it was during Cleghorn's lifetime:

FARMS IN THE COUNTY OF MID-LOTHIAN

To be let,

For 19 Years, and entered to at  
Martinmas 1797,

THE FARMS OF SAUGHTON MILLS and  
PARKHEAD, the property of Charles Watson,  
Esq.,<sup>22</sup> in the barony of Saughton and shire  
of Edinburgh. These Farms are situated on  
the Glasgow road, by Livingston, about three  
miles to the west of Edinburgh, and contain  
above 144 Scots acres, of which about eight are  
in pasture and the rest arable.

The lands are in excellent condition,  
and are inclosed with hedge and ditch, and  
properly subdivided. There is a large and  
excellent House, with a suitable Garden on the  
farm of Saughton Mills, together with proper  
barns, stables, threshing machines, &c.

The Lands will be shown on applying to  
the house at Saughton Mills; and proposals in  
writing for the farms may be addressed to Mrs  
Cleghorn at Saughton Mills, or to Mr Inglis,  
writer to the signet, any time between and the  
1<sup>st</sup> of April.

Stevenson did not stay long in the farm, and it is interesting to find that, when it was re-advertised to let in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 12 July 1800, proposals could still be sent to Mrs Cleghorn, whose address was now Surgeon's Square where she appears in the *Edinburgh Directory* from 1800–1 to 1805–6.

The Cleghorns' daughter Elizabeth died on

24 July 1804.<sup>23</sup> Beatrix had become a friend of William Stevenson's wife Elizabeth and when Mrs Stevenson, now living in Chelsea, had a daughter on 29 September 1810, the Stevensons commemorated Elizabeth by giving the name of 'Elizabeth Cleghorn' to their baby girl who grew up to become famous as the novelist Mrs Gaskell.<sup>24</sup> Since Elizabeth's place of death is given as Kinleith in Currie parish, a little over a mile from Colinton village, Mrs Cleghorn was perhaps living there also with or near her son James, who had the Kinleith connection noted below. She died on 8 January 1823 and the death notice runs: 'At Edinburgh, Mrs Cleghorn, Collington'.<sup>25</sup>

James married Clementina Moir 'daughter of the late William Moir Physician at Bombay, resident in Meadow place' on 20 July 1812.<sup>26</sup> The births of their first five children were registered in the parish of Colinton: Clementina 1813, Robert 1815, William 1816, Elizabeth 1818 and Allen 1819, and the births of the next three in the parish of Lasswade: James 1821, Beatrix 1823 and Jane Gellatly 1825. The births of two further daughters were registered in the parish of St Cuthbert's: Alison 1828 and Janet 1830. Not found registered in Scotland are a son, Andrew, born in 1832 (Gilbert 1991), and a daughter, Margaret, who is listed after Alison and Janet in John Allen's will.<sup>27</sup>

James was a farmer and cattle-dealer at Pentland Damhead in Colinton parish and also a paper-maker at Kinleith Paper Mill but was declared bankrupt in 1827.<sup>28</sup> In the *Caledonian Mercury* of 5 May 1827, the farm of Pentland Damhead 'at present possessed by Mr James

Cleghorn' was advertised to be let, and the family moved to Edinburgh where James appears in the *Directory* at 17 Archibald Place in 1827–30 and at 4 Gardner's Crescent in 1830–1. At some point that was after the birth of Janet in May 1830 and was probably before the birth of Andrew in 1832, the Cleghorns emigrated to Canada and Allen, in his will signed on 29 October 1842, was able to make a bequest to 'the family of my half-brother the late James Cleghorn now established at La Praerie near Montreal'.<sup>29</sup> James's widow, Clementina, died at St Phillippe, district of Montreal, Quebec, on 26 February 1873, and a document relating to her estate was signed in the following year by her sons Allen and James residing at Brantford, Ontario, and Andrew residing at London, Ontario, all merchants.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE MUSICAL MILIEU

Burns was in contact with Cleghorn through the Crochallan Fencibles which met for convivial purposes in Anchor's Close, off the High Street. After he left Edinburgh, he depended on the continuing association with the three friends in the club that he names in a letter to Peter Hill of February 1794 (Roy 1985: 2; 278) – William Dunbar, Robert Cleghorn and Alexander Cunningham.

If you meet with my much-valued old friend,  
Colon<sup>l</sup> Dunbar of the Crochallan Fencibles,  
remember me most affection[ately] to him. –  
Alas! Not infrequently, when my heart is in a  
wand[e]ring humor, I live past scenes over again  
– to my mind's eye, you, Dunbar, Cleghorn,  
Cunningham, &c – present their friendly phiz;  
my bosom achs with tender recollections!

In this letter to Hill, he includes Hill among the friends he recollects, but it was the other three that he was particularly close to as he indicates in his letter to Cunningham of 4 May 1789:

Cleghorn is a glorious production of the Author of Man. – You, He, & the noble Colonel of the Crochallan Fencibles are to me  
Dear as the ruddy drops that warm my heart –  
I have a good mind to make verses on you all, to the tune of, Three guid fellows ayont yon glen.

—<sup>31</sup>

Burns liked to commemorate his friends in verse but unfortunately his intention of mentioning Cleghorn in this projected song was not carried out. He did compose a song to this tune that refers to his three close companions in the Crochallan Fencibles, but it was a brief and unfinished piece that named only ‘Willie’ (William Dunbar). The song as it appears in Burns’s hand is given below.<sup>32</sup> The line of crosses is an indication that it is incomplete.

There’s three gude fellows ayont yon glen

Chorus

There’s three true gude fellows,  
There’s three true gude fellows,  
There’s three true gude fellows  
Down ayont yon glen.

Its now the day is dawin,  
But or night tofa’in,  
Whase cock’s best at crawin,  
Willie, thou sall ken. –

There’s three &c.

+ + + + + + +

See this tune in McGibbon

The tune Burns mentions, ‘There’s three gude fellows ayont yon glen’, appears in McGibbon’s *Second Collection of Scots Tunes* (McGibbon 1746: 50). Burns and Cleghorn were both immersed in a song culture where reference to tunes could be made by names which were often the titles of associated songs. Burns sent the following songs to Cleghorn, and he indicated that they were all composed to named tunes.<sup>33</sup>

1 ‘Bonie Dundee’ to the tune of the same name;

2 ‘Song’ beginning ‘The small birds rejoice’ to ‘Captain O’Kane’;

3 ‘Three wives’ to something like ‘Tak your auld cloak about ye’;

4 ‘When Princes and Prelates’ to ‘The Campbells are comin’;

5 ‘Come cowe me, Minnie’ to ‘Minnie’s ay glowerin o’er me’;

6 ‘Act Sederunt’ to ‘O’er the muir amang the heather’;

7 ‘Wat ye wha that loves me’ to ‘Morag’.

The last tune, ‘Morag’, was published with Burns’s song ‘The young Highland Rover’ in *The Scots Musical Museum* in 1788 and had been supplied by Burns.<sup>34</sup> The other tunes appear in a number of instrumental collections including those of Oswald, McGibbon, Bremner and McGlashan.<sup>35</sup>

The songs of his that Burns sent to Cleghorn fall into two categories. Three were intended for open publication, with ‘Bonie Dundee’ appearing in *The Scots Musical Museum* 1787, no. 99 (Pittock 2018: 2; 146), and ‘The small birds rejoice’, and ‘Wat ye wha that loves me’ in Thomson’s *Select*



Collection, 1799 (McCue 2021: 130-31; ST71: 80-1; ST44). The others are bawdy items intended for the Crochallan Fencibles, and all but one of them were published in *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*.<sup>36</sup> It was partly the bawdy element in the songs in Burns's letters to Cleghorn that inspired Byron's much-quoted general observation on Burns:

Allen ... has lent me a quantity of Burns's unpublished and never-to-be-published Letters. They are full of oaths and obscene songs. What an antithetical mind – tenderness, roughness – delicacy, coarseness – sentiment, sensuality – soaring and grovelling, dirt and deity – all mixed up in that one compound of inspired clay.<sup>37</sup>

The first two songs included in Burns's letters are of particular interest since Burns was in the process of composition while he was corresponding with Cleghorn. In the case of 'Bonnie Dundee', Burns had a traditional song as his starting point while in the second case he related to tradition through a tune, 'Captain O'Kane'.

'Bonnie Dundee', Burns's revision of the folksong, was published in *The Scots Musical Museum* to the folksong tune that he knew as no. 99. Burns composed it at a turning-point in his career when his association with this publication had just been established (Pittock 2018: 2; 15), and it is one of the few songs of his to be included in the first volume, the preface to which is dated 27 May 1787. Burns's other songs in this volume are 'Green grows the Rashes' (no. 77) and 'Young Peggy' (no. 78b), both of which had been composed earlier, and the words of 'Loch Eroch Side' (no. 78a) may also be his.<sup>38</sup>

As regards Burns's traditional source of

'Bonnie Dundee', Robert Chambers in his *Songs of Scotland Prior to Burns* speaks of it as 'a simple ditty which still retains a certain degree of popularity in Scotland' (Chambers 1862: 133). He prints its opening eight lines which are shown in Figure 1 with the tune published in *The Scots Musical Museum* (to which minor modifications have been made here in order to accommodate the words) to give an approximation of the song Burns had as his base.

It was this tune that Walter Scott had running in his head when he composed his own 'Bonnie Dundee' beginning 'To the Lords of Convention, twas Claver'se who spoke' in 1825 and he mentions that it was the tune of 'a common song' from which he quotes the lines:

Oh where gat ye that haver-meal Bannock  
Ye silly blind body and dinna ye see  
I gat it out of the Scots laddie's wallet  
Atween Saint Johnstoun and bonnie Dundee.<sup>39</sup>

The first three of these lines are also found much earlier at the opening of Thomas D'Urfey's broadside ballad 'Bonny Dundee, or, Jockey's Deliverence' of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century which was also sung to this 'Bonnie Dundee' tune:

Where got'st thou the Haver-mill Bonack,  
blind booby canst thou not see,  
Ise got it out of the Scotchman's wallet, ...<sup>40</sup>

In all these versions, the woman is visibly pregnant with the 'bannock' and has not yet given birth. Burns made a radical change when he revised the last two lines of the stanza equivalent to that quoted by Chambers to include mention



O whar gat ye that ha-ver-meal ban-nock?  
 Sil-ly blind bo-dy, O din-na ye see? I gat it frae a  
 brisk sod-ger lad-die, A-tween St John-ston and  
 Bon-nie Dun-dee. Oh, gin I saw the dear  
 lad-die that gae me't! Aft has he dou-dled me on o' his knee. But  
 now he's a-wa', and I din-na ken whar he's, O  
 gin he was back to his min-nie and me!

Figure 1: 'Bonnie Dundee'. (Source: Katherine Campbell).

of the baby, thus creating a contradiction with the traditional opening line which he retained. He had already made the change when he jotted down his opening stanza on a blank page in a letter from the Earl of Buchan dated 1 February 1787.<sup>41</sup> The stanza is untitled and runs:

Whare gat ye that happer meal bannock  
 O silly blind body O do ye na see  
 I gat it frae a Sodger laddie  
 Between S<sup>t</sup> Johnston's & bony Dundee  
 O gin I saw the laddie that gie me't  
 Aft has he doodl'd me on his knee  
 May Heav'n protect my bony Scotch laddie  
 And send him safe back to his babie and me

The word 'protect' has been altered from 'preserve'.

It was at this stage, probably about March 1787, that Burns wrote to Cleghorn the undated letter given below. It seems, from Burns's remarks in it, that Cleghorn already knew this much of Burns's song and perhaps also knew that Burns had aimed to develop it.

Bony Dundee

"O whare gat ye that hauer-meal bannock?"  
 O silly blind body, O dinna ye see;  
 I gat it frae a Sodger laddie  
 Between Saint Johnston's and bony Dundee;  
 O gin I saw the laddie that gae me't!  
 Aft has he doodl'd me on his knee;

May Heav'n preserve my bony Scotch laddie,  
And send him safe hame to his babie an' me!

My blessins on thy sweet, wee lips!  
My blessins on thy bony e'e-brie!  
Thou smiles sae like my Sodger laddie,  
Thou's dearer, dearer ay to me!  
But I'll big a bow'r on yon bony banks  
Whare Tay rins wimplan by sae clear,  
An' I'll cleed thee in the tartan fine,  
An' mak thee a man like thy Dadie dear.

D<sup>r</sup> Cleghorn,  
you will see by the above that I have added a  
Stanza to bony Dundee. – If you think it will  
do, you may set it a going

“Upon a ten-string Instrument”  
“And on the Psaltery” –

R. B.<sup>42</sup>

As can be seen, Burns used the traditional base extensively for his first stanza but the possible relationship of his second stanza to the traditional song has still to be explored. Since Chambers calls the words he gives the beginning of the song, he evidently knew that there was more of it than he prints. A starting point in discovering the rest of the song is provided by a footnote in Chambers where he quotes two eight-line stanzas (printed in quatrains) beginning ‘O whar got ye that auld crooked penny?’ from *Notes and Queries*. It appeared in the issue for 20 August 1859 where a correspondent signed ‘Yemen’ and writing from Arabia asked for information about it. This elicited a response when it was republished in the (Glasgow) *Morning Journal* and the *Notes and Queries* issue for 24 September reprinted the response dated 9 September 1859 which had been communicated

to the *Morning Journal* by David McQuater Inglis, the minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Stockbridge in Berwickshire. Inglis wrote:

I am not aware that the ballad has found a place in any published collection; but I heard it sung in Glasgow more than sixty years ago. I was then a mere child, and I have not heard it since – yet it is fresh in my memory; and I recollect an additional stanza with which the song commenced. It was:–

‘O! whar got ye that bonnie blue bonnet? –  
Silly, blind body, canna ye see?  
I got it frae a braw Scotch callan,  
Between St. Johnstone and bonnie Dundee.

O! gin I saw the dear laddie that gied me’t;  
Fu aft has he dandled me on o’ his knee:  
But noo he’s awa, and I dinna ken whar he’s –  
O! gin he were back to his minnie and me!’

Inglis’s dating of when he heard the song takes it back to the end of the eighteenth century. As he indicated, he acquired the song when he was a young boy, and he was born in Paisley on 23 December 1790.<sup>43</sup> In Inglis’s recollection, the stanza he gave was succeeded by the stanzas of ‘O whar got ye that auld crooked penny?’, but it does not occur in other versions of this song, which is called ‘The Crookit Bawbee’,<sup>44</sup> and it belongs instead to the song entitled ‘Scots Callan o’ Bonnie Dundee’ found on a broadside dated c. 1880–1900.<sup>45</sup> Apart from small differences, Inglis’s words are the same as those on the broadside, as can be seen in Figure 2.

Clearly the opening of this song with its mention of the gift of a ‘bonnie blue bonnet’ has been modified to remove the metaphorical reference to the young woman’s pregnancy found in the

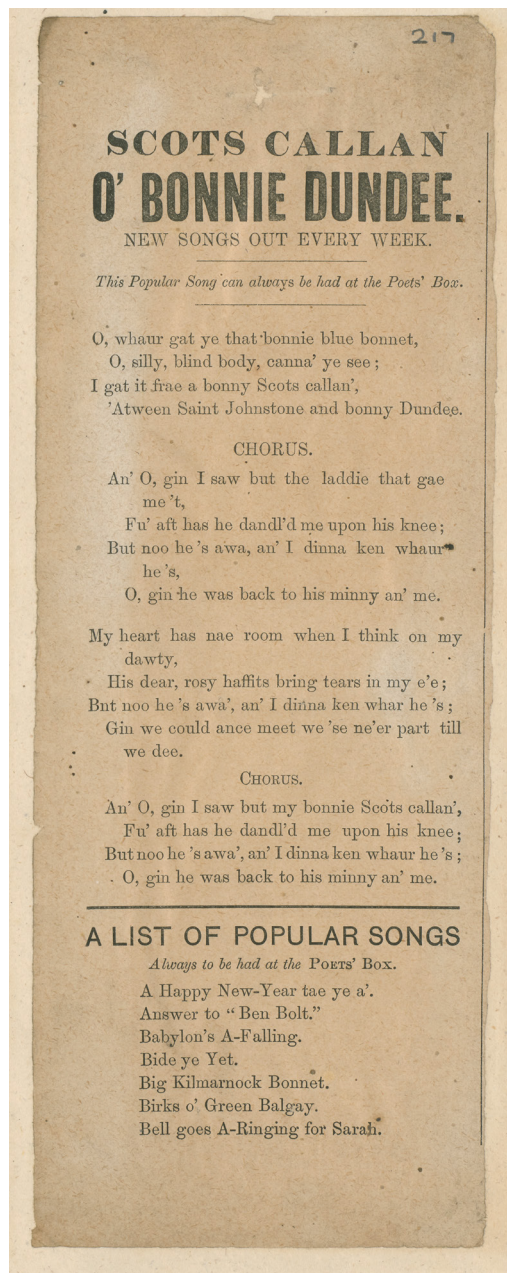


Figure 2: 'Scots Callan o' Bonnie Dundee'. (Source: NLS broadside L.C.Fol.70[119b]).

'havermeal bannock' form. Apart from that change, however, it seems likely that the broadside gives the pattern and words of the song much as Burns knew it. As can be seen strongly indicated on the

broadside, the song consists of two four-line verses plus a chorus which has slightly different wording in its first line when it is repeated. The second of the broadside verses beginning 'My heart has nae room' which was not quoted by Inglis occurs in a hybrid song called 'Bonnie Dundee' published in 1843 which incorporates Burns's lines (Whitelaw 1843: 574–5).

The first verse and the chorus were taken over by Burns with the main change in the last two lines already noted of the baby's having been born. Burns was probably motivated by a sense that the mention of the mother was inappropriate to a romantic song. It could be thought that the young man's return to his mother and his sweetheart was a homely touch giving a sense of neighbourhood, but it is certainly surprising to have the mother named in this context. The change is sharply marked by the replacement at the end of the chorus lines of 'his minnie and me' by 'his babie an me'. Another change made by Burns is the introduction of religious language, when the girl calls on Heaven to protect her laddie and this use of religious language is continued into the second verse where the girl calls down blessings on her son.

In the second verse of the broadside song, the girl expresses deep affection for the love-object (the young man) and is particularly moved when she sees in imagination a feature of his face (the rosy cheeks), and she ends by looking to a hoped-for future when they will be together until death.

My heart has nae room when I think on my  
 dawty,  
 His dear, rosy haffits bring tears to my e'e;  
 But noo he's awa', an I dinna ken whar he's;

Gin we could ance meet we'se ne'er part till we  
dee.

Similarly, in the Burns song the girl expresses deep affection for the love-object (the baby) and especially calls down blessings on two features of his face (the smiling lips and an eye-brow).

My blessins on thy sweet, wee lips!  
My blessins on thy bony e'e-brie!  
Thou smiles sae like my Sodger laddie,  
Thou's dearer, dearer ay to me!

Since Burns apparently decided not to have a chorus, he has four lines to add unsupported by his source except that the idea of a future together, as in the traditional song, is expressed in his idyllic closing lines.

When Burns invited Cleghorn to try out the song that he had just completed, he employed a slightly modified quotation from Psalm 92 verse 3 in which the Psalmist praises the Lord:

On a ten-stringed instrument,  
upon the psaltery,  
And on the harp with solemn sound,  
and grave sweet melody.

Burns elsewhere equates the harp of the Old Testament with the fiddle<sup>46</sup> and it seems quite likely that he is alluding here to Cleghorn's accompanying himself on the contemporary many-stringed instrument, the harpsichord. There is no indication that a harpsichord was available in the tavern where the Crochallan Fencibles met and probably we should see Cleghorn as performing on it in his domestic setting. When Cleghorn

paid the visit to Dumfries mentioned at the beginning of this article, Burns gave him a copy of Stephen Clarke's *Two sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* and inscribed it 'To Miss Cleghorn the daughter of the friend of Rob<sup>t</sup> Burns. Dumfries August 12<sup>th</sup> 1795' (NLS L.C.Fol. 171). By this date, Elizabeth was aged about eleven and Burns evidently thought that she would have an interest in the sonatas and would one day be able to play them.

In the case of the next song sent to Cleghorn, Burns is again in the situation of having a single stanza in hand, and this time Cleghorn had an active involvement in the creation of a second stanza. Burns discussed the stanza he had just composed in a letter written at Mauchline on 31 March 1788:

Yesterday, my dear Sir, as I was riding thro' a parcel of damn'd melancholy, joyless muirs, between Galloway and Ayrshire, it being Sunday, I turned my thoughts to "Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual Songs;" and your favourite air, Capt'n Okean, coming in my head, I tried these words to it. – You will see that the first part of the tune must be repeated –

Song – tune – Capt'n Okean –

[Eight lines of verse are omitted here and are given with the tune in Figure 3.]

I am tolerably pleased with these verses, but as I have only a sketch of the tune, I leave it with you to try if they suit the measure of the music.

–<sup>47</sup>

Slow

The small birds re-joice in the green leaves re - tur - ning, The  
mur - mur - ing stream - let winds clear thro' the vale; The  
prim - ros - es blush in the dews of the mor - ning, And  
wild scat - ter'd cow - slips be - deck the green dale: But  
what can give plea - sure, or what can seem fair, While the  
lin-ger-ing mo-ments are num-ber'd by Care? No birds sweet-ly sing-ing, nor  
flowers gay-ly spring-ing, Can soothe the sad bo - som of joy-less Des-pair!

Figure 3: 'Captain O'Kane'. (Source: Katherine Campbell).

Burns defers to Cleghorn in speaking of the music and Cleghorn in his reply of 27 April (Currie 1800: 2, 144) confirms the matching of words to tune, saying:

I was favored with your very kind letter of the 31st ult. and consider myself greatly obliged to you, for your attention in sending me the song to my favorite air, *Captain Okean*. The words delight me much, they fit the tune to a hair.

Burns's verse as sent to Cleghorn is given in Figure 3 with the tune that was published in *The*

*Scots Musical Museum* in 1803 with the words of an elegy for 'Captain O'Kaine' called 'Row safely, thou stream' that was composed to this air by Richard Gall (1776–1801).<sup>48</sup> Minor modifications have been made to the melody to fit the words.

The air 'Captain O'Kane' was one of the many compositions of the famous Irish blind harper, Turlough O'Carolan (O'Sullivan 2001: 173). Both Burns and Cleghorn speak of the tune as Cleghorn's favourite air, and, according to Mrs Burns, it was also a favourite with Burns. In notes

she made for John M'Diarmid, she refers to it by its later name, 'The Chevalier's Lament', and says: 'Burns was remarkably fond of the air of the "Chevalier's Lament," "The Sutor's Daughter," "Coolen" (an Irish air), &c., &c.'<sup>49</sup>

Cleghorn goes on in his letter of 27 April to suggest how Burns might develop the song, saying (Currie 1800: 2; 144-45):

I wish you would send me a verse or two more; and if you have no objection, I would have it in the Jacobite stile. Suppose it should be sung after the fatal field of Culloden by the unfortunate Charles. Tenducci personates the lovely Mary Stewart in the song *Queen Mary's Lamentation*. Why may not I sing in the person of her great-great-great grandson.

Burns did follow up on this suggestion and the version of the song he wrote out in his 'Second Commonplace Book' included a second verse where Prince Charles mourns the plight of his followers (Leask 2014: 98-9). The second verse is given here from the broadside copy recently acquired by the National Library of Scotland, which is headed 'THE CHEVALIER'S LAMENT, / After the battle of Culloden':

The deed that I dar'd, could it merit their malice,  
A king and a father to place on his throne!  
His right are these hills, and his right are these  
vallies,  
Where the wild beasts find shelter, but I can  
find none.  
But 'tis not my suff'rings, thus wretched, forlorn,  
My brave gallant friends, 'tis your ruin I mourn;  
Your faith prov'd so loyal in hot bloody trial,  
Alas! can I make it no better return.<sup>50</sup>

Cleghorn inspired the composition of this

second stanza, and his comment on Prince Charles in relation to Mary Queen of Scots may also have been one of the influences that led Burns to compose his own 'Mary Queen of Scots Lament' beginning 'Now nature hangs her mantle green' which was completed in June 1790.<sup>51</sup> The seasonal placement of Mary's sorrow in the spring with its associated greenery, flowers and birdsong makes the opening of this song a parallel to the first stanza of 'The Chevalier's Lament'. The contrast between the joyous season of spring and the queen's sorrow is not made in Anne Hunter's 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' beginning 'I sigh and lament me in vain' that Cleghorn alluded to as one of the songs with which the castrato singer

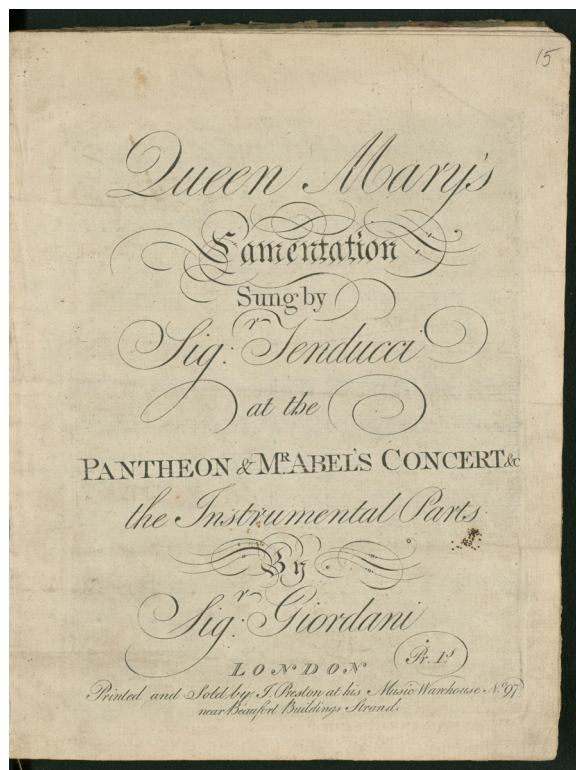


Figure 4: Title page of the score of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' published by J. Preston, 1782. (Source: NLS Mus.E.I.273[15]).



Giusto Fernando Tenducci moved his audience.

Anne Hunter (née Home) composed these words to a pre-existing tune as she records in a manuscript list of her poems and songs: 'The Ballad of Queen Mary's Lamentation written for and adapted to a very ancient Scottish Air; Verses by Mary Queen of Scots composed during her confinement in Fotheringay Castle'.<sup>52</sup> When the words of Hunter's song were published anonymously with music in 1782 the probability is that the air was the one to which she had composed the song. The instrumental parts were the work of Giuseppe or Tommaso Giordani (see Figure 4).<sup>53</sup>

The name of Tenducci as the singer was associated with this song in the London context as the publication shows by its references to his performances at the Pantheon and in a concert organized by Carl Friedrich Abel. In the Edinburgh context, the plan books of the Edinburgh Musical Society record a performance of 'I sigh and lament me' in Saint Cecilia's Hall on 9 May 1783 and, although the performer is not named, it is likely that it was Tenducci.<sup>54</sup>

George Thomson, in his memoir of the St Cecilia's Hall concerts, names several singers but Tenducci is the only one he treats at length saying:

Tenducci, though not one of the band, nor resident among us, made his appearance occasionally when he came to visit the Hopetoun family, his liberal and steady patrons; and while he remained, he generally gave some concerts at the hall, which made quite a sensation among the musicals. I considered it a jubilee year whenever Tenducci arrived, as no singer I ever heard sung with more expressive simplicity, or was more efficient, whether he sung the classical songs

of Metestasio, or those of Arne's Artaxerxes, or the simple melodies of Scotland. To the latter he gave such intensity of interest by his impassioned manner, and by his clear enunciation of the words, as equally surprised and delighted us. I never can forget the pathos and touching effect of his 'Gilderoy,' 'Lochaber no more,' 'The Braes of Ballenden,' 'I'll never leave thee,' 'Roslin Castle,' &c. These, with the 'Verdi prati' of Handel, 'Fair Aurora' from Arne's Artaxerxes, and Gluck's 'Che faro,' were above all praise.<sup>55</sup>

In his discussion of the 'instrumental department' Thomson commends: 'Signor Puppo, from Rome or Naples, as leader and violin concerto player, a most capital artist; Mr Schetky, from Germany, the principal violoncellist, and a fine solo concerto player; Joseph Reinagle, a very clever violoncello and viola player; Mr Barnard, a very elegant violinist; Stephen Clarke, an excellent organist and harpsichord player'. Three of these instrumentalists accompanied Tenducci's singing when he performed during a celebration at Hopetoun House, the palatial home near South Queensferry of James Hope-Johnstone, 3rd Earl of Hopetoun, and on this occasion 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' is named as one of the songs Tenducci sang. The following extracts from an account of the celebration are from the *Caledonian Mercury* for Saturday, 24 August 1782.

Wednesday last, the 21st, being the seventeenth marriage-day of the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun, was celebrated at Hopetoun-house, the seat of the family, with unusual festivity, by a select company of friends, who assembled in honour of the day. ...



[T]he company were delighted by Mr Tenducci's enchanting voice, who sung with heart and soul to render this little *Fête*, truly *Champêtre*, more pleasing; accompanied by those excellent musicians, Mess. Clerk, Rainaigle, and Schetky...

Friday morning, Mr Tenducci favoured them with his celebrated air called the AURORA never sung but at Bach's Concert, for which it was composed by that great Master of Music; Queen Mary's Lamentation, wrote by Whitehead to an original tune of David Rizzio; and Banar's Banks, for which his predeliction is well known.

'Banar's Banks' is evidently a reporting error for 'The Braes of Ballenden' (Pittock 2018: 2, 139) which was one of Tenducci's favourites, and 'Aurora' is the 'Fair Aurora' from Thomas Arne's opera *Artaxerxes* mentioned by Thomson. The words of Hunter's 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' are here being erroneously ascribed to William Whitehead, who was the Poet Laureate. The ascription of the tune to David Rizzio, lutanist at the court of Mary Queen of Scots, is in keeping with a fashion for ascribing anonymous old Scottish tunes to him,<sup>56</sup> and is an indication that the audience would have regarded it as a Scottish air.

The melody line of Tenducci's singing of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' (not including the instrumental introduction and the instrumental interlude which occurs at the double bar line mid-way through the piece) is shown in Figure 5.

The same air to this song was included in Thomson's *Select Collection of Scottish Songs*, this time with a setting by Haydn.<sup>57</sup> Thomson's whole enterprise of producing this ambitious publica-

tion of songs and their settings over many years was inspired, as he says, by hearing Tenducci and Signora Corri 'sing a number of our songs so charmingly'.<sup>58</sup> Thomson must have been one of Cleghorn's circle of acquaintances but there is little information about this. It was Thomson who told Burns about Cleghorn's final illness, as Burns's reply to Thomson shows, but no mention of Cleghorn has survived in the revised version of his letters that Thomson allowed Currie to publish. Burns, writing to Cleghorn on 21 August 1795 (Roy 1985: 2; 366), has the question and comment: 'Did Thomson meet you on Sunday? If so, you would have a world of conversation.' It can be assumed that the conversation would have been about songs.

Vocal music had pride of place in Scotland at this period (Edwards 1999; 2021) and vocal music was accessible to all. This study of a small cross-section of material that relates to Burns's contact with Cleghorn ranges from a memory of a song heard in boyhood, to home performance accompanied by the harpsichord, to singing in the male company of a convivial club, and to peak performances by a professional singer in the concert hall and at the residence of a nobleman. The tunes were available in print and were also internalised, and it was accepted practice for those who knew them to create fresh words for them as Burns, Scott and Hunter did in the instances discussed. Cleghorn did not compose songs himself, so far as is known, but he clearly took pleasure in the song culture that flourished around him and was one of the companions who offered support to Burns in his creative endeavours.

Largo

The image shows a musical score for the melody line of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation'. It consists of six staves of music in a 3/4 time signature, marked 'Largo'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are: 'I sigh and la - ment me in vain These walls can but e - cho my moan, A - lass! it in - crea - ses my pain, When I think of the days that are gone. Thro' the grate of my Pri - son I see, The birds as they wan - ton in air, My heart how it pants to be free, My looks they are wild with des - pair.' The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, trills, and dynamic markings.

I sigh and la - ment me in vain These walls can but  
e - cho my moan, A - lass! it in - crea - ses my  
pain, When I think of the days that are gone.  
Thro' the grate of my Pri - son I see, The birds as they  
wan - ton in air, My heart how it pants to be  
free, My looks they are wild with des - pair.

Figure 5: Melody line of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' as published by J. Preston, 1782. (Source: Katherine Campbell). To hear the melody, download the article and open it in Adobe Acrobat Reader. Click on the icon below and enable permissions for multimedia extensions if prompted.



### Conclusion

The friendship between Burns and Cleghorn was a deep and lasting one which can be understood in a more rounded way when their correspondence is put in the framework of Cleghorn's life and family network as has been done in this article. Cleghorn's role in the Edinburgh scene into which Burns made his meteoric entry after the publication of his *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* in 1786 is a hitherto largely unexplored aspect of that overall context which can now be more fully appreciated.

### Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to Dr John Burnett and to the librarians in Edinburgh and Scottish Collections of Edinburgh City Libraries for their assistance. We would also like to thank the National Trust for Scotland for providing a scan of Robert Burns Birthplace Museum MS 3.6251 'There's three gude fellows ayont yon glen' and Gillian Findlay, Curatorial and Engagement Manager, Museums and Galleries, City of Edinburgh Council, for providing a photograph of the Burns addition to the Earl of Buchan's letter of 1 February 1787 in

the Writers' Museum, Edinburgh. Figures 2 and 4 appear by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland and we are appreciative of the help of the librarians. Lastly, we are grateful to the staff of the Corstorphine Heritage Centre for their help in searching for biographical information on Cleghorn.

### *Abbreviations*

|     |                              |
|-----|------------------------------|
| K   | Song number in Kinsley 1968  |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland |
| NRS | National Records of Scotland |
| OPR | Old Parish Registers         |

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### Endnotes

- 1 There are eleven known letters from Burns to Cleghorn (see Roy 1985) and James Currie had in his possession six letters from Cleghorn to Burns and published the first of them in Currie 1800: 2, 144–6. The mutilated abstracts of all six are given at Roy 2, 395–435 in Appendix I 'Currie's List of Letters to Burns'.
- 2 NRS OPR Marriages 677/ 30 109 Colinton.
- 3 NRS GD1/675/31 'Discharge by Robert Wight, tenant in Kingsknows, executor nominate and general disponee of his deceased father, Robert Wight in Kingsknows, in favour of Robert Pitcairn, planter in Jamaica, 25 May 1809.'
- 4 NRS OPR Deaths 677/ 60 59 Colinton.
- 5 British Listed Buildings. Listed Buildings in Colinton/Fairmilehead Ward, City of Edinburgh: 252B Redford House, Redford Road, Edinburgh. <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/scotland/colintonfairmilehead-ward-city-of-edinburgh/#.Yi9rqjWnyUk> [accessed 14 March 2022].
- 6 Burial record NRS OPR Deaths 677/ 30 284 Colinton, 11 May 1771. On the bankruptcy of James Allan/Allen, see *Caledonian Mercury* 19 May 1773, 8 January 1774, 25 March 1775 and 15 June 1778.
- 7 *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 June 1778; Murray 1863: 94.
- 8 NRS OPR Births 677/ 20 127 Colinton. The surname is spelt 'Allan'.
- 9 For Allen's admission as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh on 1 August 1799 (roll number 296), see <https://archiveandlibrary.rcsed.ac.uk/surgeons-database> [accessed 14 March 2022].
- 10 Will of John Allen, National Archives PROB 11/1978/333, 4 May 1843.

- 11 NRS OPR Births 685/ 2 70 216 St Cuthbert's.
- 12 The death records, which are under Edinburgh parish, are NRS OPR: 685/ 1 99 257 Allison, 1 February 1817; 685/ 1 990 415 Clementina, 22 November 1824; and 685/ 1 1000 533 Jane, 25 December 1834.
- 13 OPR Marriages 685/ 1 510 107 Edinburgh.
- 14 OPR Deaths 685/ 1 970 333 Edinburgh.
- 15 Will of William Cleghorn, National Archives PROB 11/1731/444, 31 October 1827.
- 16 These dates are according to the Edinburgh Cleghorns section in Gilbert 1991.
- 17 See [https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Corstorphine,\\_Midlothian,\\_Scotland\\_Genealogy](https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Corstorphine,_Midlothian,_Scotland_Genealogy) [accessed 14 March 2022].
- 18 NRS OPR Births 678/ 20 477 Corstorphine. This birth record is included in a seven-page appendix of irregular entries 1787–1812 that comes after December 1815.
- 19 Rogers 1889–91: 1, 125 and 128 n. 1. The statement that Robert Cleghorn was Episcopalian is repeated at Roy 1985: 2, 446 and Lindsay 2013: 87.
- 20 Roy 1985: 2, 429. The song was published anonymously in the *Glasgow Magazine* in August 1795; see Kinsley 1968: 2, 762 and Irvine 2013: 369. See also A. Benchimol in Benchimol, Brown and Shuttleton 2015.
- 21 OPR 677/ 30 297. Stenhouse Mills was an alternative name for Saughton Mills. The entry that appears, under Midlothian, in the *Edinburgh Directory* for 1786–8 runs: 'Rob. Cleghorn Stonehouse mills Corstorphin' and Burns's letter of 31 March 1788 (Roy 1985: 1, 269–70) has Stenhouse-mills in the address.
- 22 The farm is included in an estate map of 'Saughton the property of Charles Watson Esq<sup>r</sup> Surveyed by John Johnstone 1795' (NRS RHP 11151).
- 23 Anonymous August 1804: 646: 'At Kenleith, Miss Elizabeth Cleghorn, daughter of Mr Robert Cleghorn of Saughton Mills, deceased.'
- 24 Wiltshire 2011: 105, letter of 5 July 1866 from Mrs Gaskell's daughter Meta to Charles Eliot Norton. The biographer A. W. Ward was told by daughters of Mrs Gaskell that Mrs Cleghorn was 'a kind Edinburgh lady friend of her parents' (Chapple 1997: 85).
- 25 Anonymous February 1823: 256.
- 26 NRS OPR Marriages 685/2 180 381 St Cuthbert's.
- 27 Will of John Allen; see note 10.
- 28 Anonymous August 1827: 262, and NRS CS96/695 'James Cleghorn, farmer and cattle dealer, Pentland Damhead, sederunt book, 1827–8.'
- 29 Will of John Allen; see note 10. There is a mention of James Cleghorn's 'will of 15.01.1836' in Gilbert 1991. The section on Canadian Cleghorns prepared by Gilbert is missing from the typescript.
- 30 National Archives J 121/2519 Court of Probate, Mrs Clementina Moir Cleghorn, 2 October 1874.
- 31 Roy 1985: 1 405. The quotation is from stanza 3 of Thomas Gray's 'The Bard'.
- 32 Robert Burns Birthplace Museum MS 3.6251. The end of the second line in the verse appears in Pittock 2018: 2, 528 as 'to fain' or possibly 'to fa in' and Kinsley, with a view to making sense of this, had emended to 'do fa in' (Kinsley 1968: 2, 854). However, the characters in Burns's holograph form a single word, 'tofa'in' which, in extended form, is 'tofalling' and this word may be compared with 'to-fall' in the expression 'the to-fall of the night' under *Oxford English Dictionary* 'to-fall', noun 3 (Scottish), of which there is an illustration in William Hamilton's '*Braes of Yarrow*': 'But e're the toofall of the night / He lay a corps on the Braes of Yarrow'. The words 'or night tofa'in' can be glossed 'before nightfall'.
- 33 1 Roy 1985: 1, 103, K157; 2 Roy 1985: 1, 269, K220; 3 Roy 1985: 2, 113, K338; 4 Roy 1985: 2, 126–7 and 2, 308, K395; 5 Roy 1985: 2, 255, K435; 6 Roy 1985: 2, 255, K436; 7 Roy 1985: 2, 374, K509.
- 34 Pittock 2018: 2, 202, no. 143. This tune for the song 'Morag' with the first verse beginning '*S tu Mhòrag rinn mo bhuaireadh*' ('Morag, you're the one who has haunted me') was taken down on Burns's behalf by the singer Anna Munro Ross following his Highland tour; see Campbell and Lyle 2020: 93–100.
- 35 Oswald 1745: 29 (3); Oswald 1760: 12 (4); McGibbon 1746: 39 (1); McGibbon 1762: 62–3 (5); Bremner 1757: 77 (6); McGlashan 1786: 36 (2).
- 36 Burns, R., *Merry Muses* 1799 introduced by G. Ross Roy (1999), 80–2, 121–2, 94. 'Three Wives' was first published in Barke and Smith 1964: 72.



- 37 Lansdown 2015: 156. The passage is quoted as an epigraph to McIntyre 1995.
- 38 The four songs and the related notes appear at Pittock 2018: 2, 124–5, 146, and 3, 20–2, 26–7. For Burns's contributions to this volume, see Pittock 2018: 2, 16; the verse of 'Here awa, there awa' (2, 104) mentioned there was not added until the edition of 1803 as noted at Pittock 2018: 3, 15–16.
- 39 Anderson 1972: 45 and Scott's letter to Mrs Walter Scott of Lochore dated 29 December 1825 in Grierson 1932–7: 9, 356. Scott's song subsequently became popularly sung to the tune known as 'The Band at a Distance' with which it appears in Graham rev. Wood 1887: 372–3.
- 40 English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) 34062, dated 1683–1716? <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> [accessed 14 March 2022]. See also NLS Crawford.EB.1334 and online.
- 41 Manuscript in The Writers' Museum, Edinburgh, accession number LSH 696/92. In a letter written to William Tytler in August 1787, Burns noted that 'happer-meal' was an error and should be altered to 'hauver-meal'. See Campbell and Lyle 2020: 71.
- 42 The song text is in NLS MS 15957, f. 13r, and 'To Mr Cleghorn' is written on the verso which also includes four lines of 'Simmer's a pleasant time' (Pittock 2018: 3, 71). The bottom of the sheet of paper has been torn off but the prose section of the letter that it contained can be seen in the facsimile published in Gebbie and Hunter 1886: 2, 251 from the original that was then in the possession of Mr James Raymond Cleghorn of Philadelphia. The wording 'To Mr. Cleghorn, farmer. God bless the trade!' is given after the signature in Stenhouse 1839: 1, 103 and this could have been written on the verso. The letter as published at Roy 1985: 1, 103 does not include the song.
- 43 NRS OPR Births 559/ 30 140 Abbey.
- 44 Roud 2281 'Crookit Bawbee'. In Roud Folk Song Index, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, <https://www.vwml.org/> [accessed 14 March 2022].
- 45 NLS 'Scots callan o' bonnie Dundee' [Dundee?]: Poet's Box, [1880–1900?], L.C.Fol.70(119b) and online in 'The Word on the Street'.
- 46 Campbell and Lyle 2020: 49, quoting lines 55–8 of 'The Ordination' (K85).
- 47 Roy 1985: 269–70. The song text is not included in Roy and is given from Ferguson 1931: 1, 213.
- 48 For the tune 'Captain O'Kane' and Burns's words to it, see McCue 2021, ST71 'The Small Birds Rejoice'. On 'Row saftly, thou stream', see also Gall 1819: 111–12.
- 49 M'Diarmid 1867. 'The Sutor's Dochter' is the air to which Burns composed 'Wilt thou be my dearie' (Pittock 2018: 2, 558) and the air 'Coolun' is discussed by McCue with Burns's song ST73 'Now in her green mantle' to which it was matched by Thomson.
- 50 NLS AP.6.217.01. The broadside is reproduced and discussed online in Betteridge 2017 and Scott 2016.
- 51 See Pittock 2018: 2, 490 'Now nature hangs her mantle green' and note 3, 151–2. The text was first published in Burns 1793: 2, 177–80 with the title 'Lament of Mary Queen of Scots'.
- 52 Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections MS 2206/22/11 'Gregory family: notes, lectures and essays: Odes, ballads, songs, sonnets and other poems by Mrs Hunter of Leicester Square, London', <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/special-collections> [accessed 14 March 2022]. See also Hunter 1802: 75–6.
- 53 NLS Mus.E.I.273(15) *Queen Mary's Lamentation. Sung by Sigr. Tenducci at the Pantheon & Mr Abel's concert &c, the instrumental parts by Sigr. Giordani*. London, J. Preston, 1782. The catalogue entry names Giuseppe or Tommaso Giordani.
- 54 Macleod 2001: 135 and Edwards 2015: 98. For discussion of Tenducci in the Edinburgh context, see Baxter 1999: 1, 120–39.
- 55 Chambers 1847: 243–4. The memoir in this edition is signed only with the initials 'G. T.' (p. 245), and Chambers in his 1868 edition (p. 278) expands to: 'G. T., it may now be explained, was George Thomson'.
- 56 Baxter 1999: 1, 45–8 gives an account of how Scottish traditional songs came to be ascribed to Rizzio.
- 57 Thomson 1826: 118. See also Grigson 2009.
- 58 Wilson and Chambers 1840: 1, 39, quoted and discussed in McCue 2021: xxxvi.