

Defining Strains

The Musical Life of Scots in the
Seventeenth Century

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Introduction

Defining strains: Tradition, invention, genre and context in musical life

The seventeenth century in Scotland has often been written off as disastrous, or at the very least, bleak. Wedged between the Renaissance (and Reformation) on the one hand and the Enlightenment on the other, it has been viewed by historians as a strife-torn period marking a low point for both social harmony and artistic production. The traditional portrait of this ‘unhappy age’ in a small, poverty-ridden country of a million souls on the fringe of Europe has been that it was ‘marked by cultural failure, religious fanaticism, economic decay, political violence and corruption, lacking any clear positive identity to offset these negative characteristics’.¹ Chroniclers of musical life have tended on the whole to follow this picture.² The

- 1 See David Stevenson, ‘Twilight before Night or Darkness before Dawn? Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland’, in *Union, Revolution and Religion in 17th Century Scotland* (Hampshire, 1997), pp.37–47. Many historians, preoccupied with separating the ‘myths’ from the ‘reality’ of seventeenth century Scotland, seem not to have realized that the two are intimately intertwined, and that this is true of any country’s historical consciousness.
- 2 Just as importantly, musicologists have prized the aesthetic qualities of fine art composition over the social value of music and song to the public at large. Ernest Walker, *History of Music in England* (1907), wrote that from the Reformation, ‘Scottish church music has, apart from psalm tunes, been an absolute desert’ (quoted by Henry George Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* [London: 1947; repr. New York: 1970], p.170). But Farmer, *History*, pp.171–238 is more circumspect in his discussion, as are Kenneth Elliott and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London: 1973). These last observe that the century was one of the gifted amateur and the collector, and that this period saw the first attempts to record oral tradition. John Purser,

transition from the late Renaissance flourish of Tobias Hume's viol pieces to the Italianate cantatas of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik took place, we are asked to imagine, against a background of regal absence, civil strife, sectarian intolerance, and state terror. Music became, as it were, a forlorn sideshow, surviving only in a fragmented and joyless state.

In this overall picture, scholars of opposing traditions have taken a negative stance, for different reasons. Patriotic historians have viewed it as a period in which the rulers of the country, corrupted by close links with England after the Union of the Crowns, failed to preserve an independent nation and its organs of cultural expression.³ Historians who regard the Union with favour, on the other hand, have pointed to the country's poverty, the oppression and violence, and the saving grace of the impending Treaty of Union of 1707.⁴ Socialist commentators, meanwhile, have stressed the revolutionary character of the early Covenanting period.⁵ The later span, from 1660 to 1689 – at which latter date the Scottish Convention declared that James VII had forfeited the crown (not 1688 as in England) – has generally been branded 'one of the most dismal periods in Scottish history'.⁶ Yet sectarian intransigency and judicial harshness, especially in reigns of

Scotland's Music (Edinburgh and London: 1992), deals with Highland as well as Lowland music, pp.125–41.

- 3 See, for example, Paul H. Scott, *The Union of 1707: Why and How* (Edinburgh: 2006).
- 4 For instance, Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: 2006).
- 5 *Ibid.*, p.38. See further David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637–44* (Edinburgh: 2003), and his *Revolution and Counter Revolution 1644–51* (Edinburgh: 2003). Also V.G. Tiernan, 'A Banner with a Strange Device: The Later Covenanters', in Terry Brotherstone (ed.), *Covenant, Charter, and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History* (Aberdeen: 1989), pp.25–49.
- 6 Henry W. Meikle, *Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Glasgow: 1947), p.5. From the 'seven ill years' of crop failures in the 1690s, the national disaster of the Darien expedition, and the Massacre of Glencoe was emerging a new, more critical sense of cultural identity – even although that had continuing problems for the relationship between Highlander and Lowlander.

Charles II and James VII and II, could exist side by side with fervent psalm singing and gentle, haunting lute airs.

Other assessments of the post-Reformation period have been more balanced. The ‘Godly Scotland’ of the Reformers, after all, was far from being uncultured.⁷ Students of the Enlightenment, too, have had to reach back into the seventeenth century in order to trace its flickering origins.⁸ Now, however, cultural historians are beginning to face up squarely to the century’s conflicts and to interpret those – as they affected cultural production – with greater sympathy. More importantly for musical life, it was throughout this period that a distinctive Scots melodic idiom crystallized, laying the foundations for what was to come after 1700. Accordingly, this volume takes an expanded and less negative view of ‘the seventeenth century’ as it relates to musical life and practice. The ‘defining strains’ of the period were a sign of a creative tension in musical practice and invention at all levels of society, Highland and Lowland alike.

Historians conventionally see the period as enclosed by the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the Treaty of Union in 1707. But it makes more sense, musically speaking, to take a date such as 1579, the year of King James VI’s regal majority and the so-called ‘Act of tymous remeid’ that was to revitalize the Chapel Royal and burgh sang schules, as a starting point.⁹ To include the musical events of King James’s Scottish as well as English reign admits the evolving role of royal patronage, an issue hugely affected by the removal of the

7 See Gordon Donaldson, ‘The Culture of Jacobean Scotland’, in Donaldson, *Scotland: James V–James VI* (Edinburgh: 1965), pp.256–75; also Jenny Wormald, ‘Confidence and Perplexity: The Seventeenth Century’, in Wormald (ed.), *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: 2005), pp.143–76; here, p.171.

8 See, for example, Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: 1992); R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (eds), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: 1982); Stevenson, ‘Interpreting Seventeenth-Century Scotland’, p.40.

9 In autumn of 1579 the French Huguenot composer Jean Servin (1529?–1609) came from Geneva to Scotland to present his polyphonic settings of George Buchanan’s Latin paraphrase of the psalms to the young King James VI; see *ALHT*, vol.xiii, p.292; also James Porter, ‘The Geneva Connection: Jean Servin’s Settings of the Latin Psalm Paraphrases of George Buchanan (1579)’, *Acta musicologica*, forthcoming.

Scottish court in 1603. This departure was, of course, particularly damaging for musicians who depended on regal or aristocratic patronage. It was also a blow for the burgh musicians as purveyors of ceremonial music; James even took his trumpeters with him. And without royal visits the burghs, and their cultural and musical life, inevitably went into decline.¹⁰

The secular tradition of the people was confined by religious strictures through the rest of a turbulent century up to the Union of 1707. Tunes in the Lowlands betray this popular discontent in their titles: 'An [if] the kirk wad let me be' (found in the Guthrie, Cockburn, and Balcarres MSS), and, slightly later, 'Deil stick the minister' (Playford's *Scotch Tunes* [1700], p.16).¹¹ Despite punitive legislation, a large number of strolling players and musicians, such as the well-known fiddler Patie Birnie, plied their trade. Among the legally employed was Habbie Simpson, the piper of Kilbarchan, known for his playing of the old tune, 'The Day It Daws'.¹² The severity that attempted to suppress dancing, and the penny weddings at which such tunes were played, gradually began to ease from around 1715 until 1725, when the floodgates of Scottish musical activity, evident in southern broadsheets for a century or more, burst open.¹³ Following the lead of Allan Ramsay's verse compendium, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723), the first edition of William Thomson's vocal collection with tunes, *Orpheus Caledonius*, was published in London in 1725, captivating a metropolitan appetite already whetted by the amount of song that had filtered south after 1603, and also, to some

- 10 See Alexander McGrattan's essay in this volume. Also John J. McGavin, 'Secular Music in the Burgh of Haddington, 1530–1640', in Fiona Kirby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: 2001), pp.45–56. On the cultural effect of King James's departure, see Morna R. Fleming, 'The Translation of James VI to the Throne of England in 1603', in Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (eds), *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), pp.90–110.
- 11 On the popularity of this tune see Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1858), vol.ii, p.453.
- 12 Farmer, *History*, pp.188–9.
- 13 Penny weddings were still prohibited in Dunfermline in 1711; see Ebenezer Anderson, *The Annals of Dunfermline and Vicinity* (Glasgow: 1879), p.388.

extent, by the droll pastiches of ‘Scotch song’ cobbled by Thomas D’Urfey following the Restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660.¹⁴ The year 1725, then, provides a convenient end-date for this expanded view of the century.

It was, though, a century of crisis in language as well as music. While Gaelic was still the language of the Highlands and the Scots vernacular continued in vigorous oral forms such as the popular ballad, the influence of English literature was beginning to supersede that of French, as the song poetry and psalm-texts show.¹⁵ Another significant influence came from the United Provinces, to whose universities rather than those of France Scots graduates turned after 1625. The link, for example, between the innovative map-making of Timothy Pont (d. c.1614), appointed minister of Dunnet, Caithness in 1601 and that of Joan Blaeu is significant. The latter’s *Atlas Novus* (1654), a major work of Dutch publishing and of Scottish geography and history in a European context, had contributions by Robert Gordon of Straloch, compiler of an important lute-book.¹⁶ The true nature of Scots music, like a distinctive landscape or sonic map, was being ‘discovered’.

- 14 See C.H. Firth, ‘Ballads Illustrating the Relations of England and Scotland during the Seventeenth Century’, *SHR*, vol.vi, no.22 (1909), pp.113–28; also Vivian de Sola Pinto, Allan Edwin Rodway (eds), *The Common Muse: An Anthology of Popular British Ballad Poetry XVth–XXth Century* (London: 1957), p.20, where the editors claim that ‘the seventeenth century was perhaps the golden age of the English street ballad’. The street ballad and the oral traditional ballad continued to influence each other as broadside compilers borrowed from and re-circulated oral ballads.
- 15 See Theo van Heijnsbergen, ‘Amphibious Lyric: Literature, Music and Dry land in Early-Modern Verse’, in *Notis musycall: Essays on Music and Scottish Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, ed. Gordon Munro et al. (Glasgow: 2005), pp.165–80.
- 16 Ian Cunningham, Christopher Fleet and Charles J. Withers, ‘Putting Scotland on View: Joan Blaeu’s 1654 *Atlas Novus*’, *Folio* (National Library of Scotland), issue 9 (2004), pp.2–5.

The century had opened with songbook activity – much of it in Straloch's Northeast – such as David Melville bassus part-book (1604) and book of roundels (1612), and the Forbes of Tolquhon cantus part-book (1611); at about the same time Tobias Hume (d. 1645), an itinerant soldier possibly of Border origin, was compiling his original and sometimes eccentric compositions of for the London court.¹⁷ Duncan Burnett's music book (c.1610) records striking key-

17 For songbooks in the Northeast, see Helena Mennie Shire, 'Scottish Song-book, 1611', *SR*, vol.1/2 (1954), pp.46–52; 'Court Song in Scotland after 1603: Aberdeenshire', *TEBS*, vol.iii (1957), pp.161–8; vol.iv (1974), pp.3–12. See *The Melville Book of Roundels*, ed. Granville Bantock and H.O. Anderson (Edinburgh: 1916); the original is in the Library of Congress. The Tolquhon part-book is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The Melville bassus part-

board pieces by William Kinloch that were probably composed just before the turn of the century. Earlier, the artistic traditions of the Scottish court and those of the vernacular had existed side by side, feeding freely upon each other, as the ‘Christis Kirk on the Green’ poetic tradition demonstrates.¹⁸ In Scotland, still very much a land tied to pastoral cycles and rural ways, Renaissance conceptions continued to govern the depiction of music in relation to its sister arts and to the natural world.

Plate 2: Rustic scene, early seventeenth century; panel owned by family of Sir Hew Dalrymple (1652–1737), Burrell Collection, Glasgow City Council Museums

book is GB-Lbl Add. MS 36484. Tobias Hume published his *The First Part of Ayres* (1605) and *Poeticall Musicke [...] for Two Bass Viols* (1607). On Hume’s origins, see the essay by Michael Rossi in this volume.

- 18 See Allan H. MacLaine, *The Christis Kirk Tradition: Scots Poems of Folk Festivity* (Glasgow: 1996). The fifteenth-century poem of the title includes reference to the morris dance, and a morris dance tune is present in the Skene MS (see essays by Edwards and Mackillop, below).

But wider influences were beginning to be felt. The ‘three kingdoms’ of England, Scotland and Ireland under the later Stuarts came into closer if not always comfortable cultural embrace, as is evident in links with Irish harpers on the one hand and English music publishers on the other.

Liturgical music

Following the Reformation in Scotland (1560) psalms were performed at ceremonial and royal occasions. The Wedderburn brothers of Dundee had already included metrical psalms in their *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (1542–1546), to be sung to popular tunes, but these were not adopted for church use on account of their Lutheran origins. Following Calvinist practice in Geneva, the incorporation of psalms into the Reformed Order of Service meant that these were to be sung by congregations ‘in a plain tune’ i.e., in unison. Robert Carver (1484/1485–after 1568), and his younger colleagues John Angus (fl. 1543–1595), Andro Blackhall (1535/1536–1609), John Buchan (fl. 1562–1608), Andro Kemp (fl. 1560–1570) and David Peebles (fl. 1530–1576) grappled with the new order, bringing the praise of God into the mouths of ordinary people and at the same time composing psalms ‘in reports’ i.e., employing imitative techniques for voices.¹⁹ These composers transformed the decorative older style of musical art into austere settings that used chordal harmony and polyphonic lines similar to those current in England and France.²⁰ The settings, especially those ‘in reports’, complemented unison psalm singing by the people, who were aided by the forging of metrical psalms from 1564,

19 See D. James Ross, ‘Robert Carver, Canon of Scone: New Perspectives on the Scottish Renaissance Composer’, in *Notis musicae*, pp.95–114.

20 See Gordon J. Munro, ‘The Scottish Reformation and Its Consequences’, in Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper (Glasgow: 2000), pp.273–303.

when the first Scottish Psalter appeared.²¹ This psalter, which appeared in sixty-four editions between 1562 and 1644, included forty-two tunes from Geneva, of which thirty-one were French and only a few were German.²² French melodic influence was therefore strong.

Harmonized psalm tunes are readily found in the illuminated part-books of Thomas Wode, reader in the Reformed Church at St Andrews, who compiled his important manuscript psalter in the years 1562–1566.²³ Settings of a similar kind for choirs, though, had to wait decades before being published, for it was only in 1625 that the first harmonized psalter appeared in print. The Genevan practice of singing psalms in unison ('a plaine tune') had been approved for congregational singing, a practice in contrast to the efforts of Wode and others such as John Davidson (c.1549–1604) of Dunfermline, whose didactic publication of 1602, *Some helpes for young Schollers in Christianity*, is the first Scottish source of a printed psalm-setting (Psalm 130, possibly set by Andro Blackhall) and also the earliest example of part-music printed in Scotland.²⁴

Another manuscript, the music book of Duncan Burnett (c.1615) contains some forty psalm-settings by Andro Kemp, while anonymous settings are contained in the post-1615 addenda to Wode's Psalter, the Rowallan cantus part-book (c.1627–1637), the William Stirling cantus part-book (c.1639), and other contemporary manuscripts.²⁵ Arrange-

21 See Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (London: 1949).

22 For a summary of the psalms performed in this period, see Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation', *passim*.

23 On Wode, see Hilda S.P. Hutchison, 'The St. Andrews Psalter, Transcription and Critical Study of Thomas Wode's Psalter, Mus.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1957; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, pp.65f; also Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and Its Consequences', pp.277f.

24 Thomas Wode part-book (tenor), *GB-Eu* La.III.483, 167; Hutchinson, 'The St. Andrews Psalter', vol.i: pp.3, 194; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, pp.65–74. See also Kenneth Elliott, 'Some Helpes for Young Schollers: A New Source of Early Scottish Psalmody', in Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, 1994), pp.264–75.

25 The Rowallan cantus part-book is *GB-Eu* La.III.488; the Stirling cantus part-book is *GB-En* Adv. MS 5.2.14. The Duncan Burnett Music Book is *GB-En* MS

ments of this kind were probably intended for those private chapels that kept trained choirs. In parallel fashion, Huguenot composers in France and Geneva were setting Latin and French psalm texts in both homophonic and polyphonic styles even when these were a relaxation of Calvin's desire to have only unison singing of psalms at divine worship.²⁶

The danger of letting musical skills lapse in the Reformed climate in Scotland had been faced in the critical Act of 1579 that bound burgh councils and college provosts 'to erect and sett up ane sang scuill with ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of the yowth in the said science of musik'. This Act had the effect, for a time at least, of halting the decline of composition in the form of part-writing.²⁷ What is more, between 1560 and 1633 the towns of Aberdeen, Ayr, Cupar, Dumfries, Dunbar, Dundee, Elgin, Inverness, Irvine, Lanark, St Andrews and Tain siphoned payments to music masters from their common good fund.²⁸ These masters, such as Andrew Stewart of Ayr, appointed on 28 August 1583, had to teach 'the bairnis that singis to read and write Inglis' and 'sing in the kirk the four parties of musik beginning ilk Sunday at the second bell'.²⁹

9447; see fos. 140v–61. Settings from Wode's collection can be heard sung by Cappella Nova on *Sacred Music for Mary Queen of Scots* (ASV Gaudeamus GAU 136, 1993); and by the Edinburgh University Renaissance Singers on *Psalms for the Regents of Scotland (1567–1578)* (EURS 003, 1999).

26 For example, the settings of Claude Goudimel, Claude Le Jeune, and Jean Servin; see fn.9 above. See also Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester, NY.: 2001); Timothy Watson, 'Preaching, Printing, Psalm-singing: the Making and Unmaking of the Reformed Church in Lyon, 1550–1572', in Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture: The Huguenot World 1559–1685* (Cambridge: 2002), pp.10–28. For studies of the Huguenot psalter, see Orentin Douen, *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1878–1879; repr. 1967); Pierre Pidoux, *Le Psautier Huguenot du XVIe Siecle: Mélodies et documents recueillis* (Basle, 1962); also Rowland E. Prothero, *The Psalms in Human Life* (London: 1904), pp.180f.

27 *APS*, vol.iii, p.174.

28 See *Maitland Miscellany*, vol.ii (1), pp.39–50.

29 NAS B6/11/1 (1), fo.162v.

After the turn of the century, however, not all sang schules maintained their discipline.

The history of psalm singing in Lowland Scotland is well documented.³⁰ Briefly, ordinary folk had difficulty memorizing the many ‘proper’ tunes for individual psalms in the early published psalters, and after the turn of the century a group of ‘common tunes’ (probably from Fr. ‘chant commun’) in common metre (8.6.8.6) was devised. The people, familiar with this metre from traditional ballads, took readily to these tunes and others known from earlier psalters. Andro Hart published twelve Common Tunes as a self-contained group in 1615: ‘Old Common’, ‘King’s’, ‘Duke’s’, ‘Dundee’, ‘Dunfermline’, ‘English’, ‘French’, ‘Glasgow’, ‘London’, ‘Martyrs’, and ‘The Stilt’ (called thus because of its intervallic leaps).³¹ Of these, nine are probably of Scottish origin because they are not found in any English book of earlier date.³² In the Highlands five of these tunes (‘Dundee’, ‘Elgin’, ‘French’, ‘Martyrs’, ‘Old London’), in their metrical form foreign to Gaelic-speaking culture, were adopted and gradually subjected to elaborate ornamentation.

The triumph of word over melody arrived in the tuneless Psalter of 1650, produced by the Westminster Assembly and somewhat reluctantly adopted by the Scottish Kirk. No supplement of ‘spiritual songs’, as there had been in the 1635 Psalter, was included. The practice of ‘lining out’ – the singing of a line by a precentor as in England – was adopted and continued in the Lowlands until 1746.³³

30 See William Cowan, ‘Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556–1664’, *PEBS*, vol.10 (1913), pp.53–100. See also Cowan, ‘Reformation Psalmody’; pp.38f; Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries*, pp.45f.

31 Hart also published the epoch-making *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio*, &c, *Auctore et Inventore Joanne Napero, Barone Merchistonii*, Scoto (1614).

32 For a description of the 1615 Psalter see Frost, *Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, pp.35–6. Also Neil Livingston (ed.), *The Scottish metrical psalter of A.D. 1635, reprinted in full from the original work...and the whole illustrated by dissertations, titles and facsimiles* (Glasgow, 1864); Frost, *Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, pp.41–3.

33 ‘Of the Singing of Psalms’, *The Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God*. See C.G. McCrie, *Public Worship in Presbyterian Scotland*, pp.204–5.

This neglect of simple part-music for church use had various causes: concern for literary accuracy, Puritan influence, apathy among the clergy, the civil strife of the period, and the decrepit state of the sang schules. Nevertheless, the metrical psalms were increasingly sung to the Common Tunes. When the first tunes for the new Psalter were published by the Aberdeen printer John Forbes in 1666, it contained only twelve of these: 'Common', 'Abbey', 'Duke's', 'Dunfermline', 'Dundee', 'Elgin', 'English', 'French', 'King's', 'London' (the Scots tune 'Newtoun', altered to 'London New' by John Playford in his 1671 Psalter), 'Martyrs', 'Stilt' (called 'Yorke' by Thomas Ravenscroft in his 1621 Psalter, where he acknowledges his debt to Scottish psalmody) and, for local reasons, 'Bon Accord'. A four-part setting of Psalm 25 was added.³⁴

Court, aristocracy and patronage

The removal of the Scottish court south in 1603 resulted in neglect as well as a withdrawal of resources. In 1606, for example, King James proposed to assign the Chapel Royal emoluments (or what was left of them) to his 'chamber child', John Gib, a man with no musical office whatsoever. Parliament protested in a well-worded Act, showing that public opinion in post-Reformation Scotland was not so hostile to the arts as some would suppose.³⁵ James had fostered a court where poetry and music were cultivated by the so-called (but mis-named)

See also Farmer, *History*, p.262. The practice is still in use in some areas of the Outer Hebrides.

- 34 Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries*, p.111. This psalm, with its tune, in double short metre, appears to have been a favourite in Aberdeenshire (and perhaps elsewhere). See Munro, 'Scottish Church Music and Musicians', vol.i, p.317. Manuscript psalters often included 'Newtone' in addition to the twelve tunes mentioned above; see the Kirkpatrick MS (*GB-En* MS 784) and Gardner MS (*GB-En* Adv. MS 5.2.11), both dated c.1700.
- 35 See Hilda S.P. Hutchison, 'The Chapel Royal of Scotland at Holyroodhouse', *ML*, vol.26 (1945), pp.209–14.

‘Castalian band’.³⁶ The removal not only weakened James’s links to his Scottish poets and composers but, diverted by the riches of the south, he neglected his northern realm even though he had promised to return ‘every three year at the least, or oftter, as I shall occasion’.³⁷ His one foray back to his native land, in May 1617, included observing the English service in Holyrood’s Chapel Royal, ‘with singing of choristers, surplices, and playing on organes’ and music by Orlando Gibbons.³⁸

On 17 June, riding from Holyrood to the Tolbooth, he offended his Scottish subjects by doing ‘England and Englishmen’ much honour and grace in order to ‘reduce the barbarity of Scotland’ to the ‘sweet civility’ of England.³⁹ To be fair to James, he did write home two years later indicating that before 1603 he had provided funds for a music school from the rents of the Maison Dieu hospital in Elgin (founded 1595), and asked his Scottish treasurer to continue payments.⁴⁰ Queen Anna, for her part, created in 1610 a similar foundation at Dunfermline for £100 annually to be paid to the sang schule

36 The term ‘Castalian band’ has been used by writers who drew the term from one of James’s own sonnets, first published in 1911. But the term properly referred to the sisterhood of the Nine Muses. See Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘The Castalian Band: A Modern Myth?’, *SHS*, vol.80/2 (2001), pp.251–9.

37 Some of Montgomerie’s songs can be heard on the CD, *Thus spak Apollo myne: The songs of Alexander Montgomerie* (Gaudeamus GAU 249, 2002), sung by Paul Rendall (tenor), with Rob MacKillop (lute). For the kind of music enjoyed by James in London, see Ross W. Duffin, ‘To Entertain a King: Music for James and Henry at the Merchant Taylors Feast of 1607’, *ML*, vol.87, 3/4 (2002), pp.525–41.

38 Calderwood, *History*, vii, p.246. See also Philip Brett, ‘English Music for the Scottish Progress of 1617’, in Ian Bent (ed.), *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music. A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart* (London: 1981), pp.209–26. An Act of Parliament in 1612 sought to restore the Chapel Royal and move it from Stirling to Edinburgh. It was then officially called the ‘Chapel Royal of Scotland’. See Hutchison, ‘The Chapel Royal of Scotland’, p.209. A general account of James’s Progress is William A. McNeill and Peter G.B. McNeill, ‘The Scottish Progress of James VI, 1617’, *SHR*, vol.75 (1996), pp.38–51.

39 Stewart, *The Cradle King*, p.290.

40 *Hist. MSS Commission, Report on the MSS of th4e Earl of Mar and Kellie* (1904), p.87; *RMS*, vol.vi, p.349.

master.⁴¹ But James was the first Scots king for a century not to circumnavigate the Hebridean Isles in person, despite his stated intention to do so, in 1596, 1598 and 1600. Instead, he engaged in a process of cultural aggression towards the people of the Highlands, citing a policy of ‘civilizing these rude partes’.⁴² This included the suppression of the bards, who were accused of nurturing feuds, by the Bonds and Statutes of Iona (1609).

James, governing Scotland from London ‘by a stroke of the pen’, saw the main obstacle to regal union of his kingdoms in the nature and governance of the Scottish kirk. This he resolved to change by imposing an episcopalian church government, with bishops. In England he planned with Archbishop John Spottiswoode of Glasgow (and later St Andrews) how this might be accomplished.⁴³ Later, with the reign of his son Charles, came about the attempt to settle a prayer book on an unwilling people, the uproar in St Giles, Edinburgh on 23 July 1637 and the signing of the National Covenant in Greyfriars Kirkyard on 28 February 1638.⁴⁴

Yet despite popular opposition to Stuart policy and kirk opposition to the public enjoyment of dancing, the landed classes in both Highlands and Lowlands supported musical activity, sometimes in connection with foreign policy. In 1627 ‘Harie m’gra’, harper fra Larg’ and two pipers joined a company of bowmen ‘shipped’ at

41 E. Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline* (Glasgow: 1879), pp.267–70.

42 See Maurice Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: 1990), pp.199–200; also Allan I. Macinnes, ‘Crown, Clans and *fine*: The “Civilizing” of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587–1638’, *NS*, vol.XIII (1993), pp.31–55.

43 Stewart, *The Cradle King*, p.285. It is worth remembering that for almost half of the seventeenth century, from 1618–1638 and 1661–1688, Stuart kings imposed episcopacy on Scotland.

44 See description of the event in the *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, ed. G.M. Paul, 1637–1639 (Edinburgh: 1911). Wariston and the Rev. Alexander Henderson were the chief framers of the Covenant, which was signed by all social classes in the Lowlands. In the conservative Northeast, however, Catholics and Episcopalians were not impressed by this notable declaration, and both sides began to arm.

Campbeltown for service in France.⁴⁵ In the Lowlands court song, now with increased English and continental influences, was cultivated by the Forbeses of Tolquhon and Andro Melvill in Aberdeenshire, as well as others such as William Stirling.⁴⁶ This was the case among a number of pre-Restoration Covenanters such as Sir William Mure of Rowallan (1594–1657), whose lute book (1612–1628) and cantus part-book (1627–1637) survive, Alexander Hume (1557–1609), minister of Logie near Stirling – whose ‘jolie lute’ gave him pleasure before religious devotion weaned him away – James Melville the diarist, and Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross.⁴⁷

Indeed, the landed classes were often lovers of ‘fine art’ music, and the portrait of the presbyterian as narrow and uninterested in artistic expression was developed mainly after the Restoration as radical Covenanters defied the imposition of prelacy.⁴⁸ Mure of Rowallan, for example, wrote of music and its practice in his time:

To charme the Eare and mixe a sweete concent
Of Melodie, by voice, by instrument,
With choice divisions of an hundredth kinds,
About to mouve, and melt the hardest minds.
(‘The True Crucifix’)

The Rev. Robert Edward (c.1617–1696), moreover, minister of Murroes parish ten miles north of Dundee, was making notes on the

45 See Francis Collinson, *The Bagpipe: The History of a Musical Instrument* (London: 1975), p.164.

46 The elegant secretary hand in the first part of the manuscript (fos.1–25^v) suggests a compiler (or compilers) of refined sensibility. The date of ‘May 1639’ is found on fo.31 along with (but separate from) the later signature of ‘Williane Stirling’. See the discussion by Edwards, this volume.

47 See Henry George Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: 1947; repr. New York, 1970) pp.137, 227; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp.203–4; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, pp.144f. Hume had borrowed a lute from the lady of Menstrie, wife of the poet Sir William Alexander, and had two other unidentified instruments; see Hume, *Poems*, p.213. See further James Reid-Baxter, ‘The Songs of Lady Culross’, in *Notis musycall*, pp.143–63.

48 On class structure at this time see Maureen M. Meikle, ‘The Invisible Divide: The Greater Lairds and the Nobility of Jacobean Scotland’, *SHR*, vol.71 (1992), pp.70–87.

theory of music and compiling his valuable collection of Scots, English, French and Italian music. Friendly with the aristocratic Maules of Panmure, Edward kept a commonplace book that is a key document for the musical taste of the educated classes from the 1630s. It contains not only part-music and psalms but also popular ballads such as 'Little Musgrave'.⁴⁹ This century saw many of the historical events that were to become rugged ballads with tunes, made and re-made over time, and as such were transmitted even into the present century through print and oral tradition.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the visit of Charles I for his Scottish coronation on 18 June 1633 was promising for the Chapel Royal as a source of royal patronage of music. The music director who had been appointed in 1624, Edward Kellie, installed 'one organ, two flutes, two pandores, with viols and other instruments, with all sorts of English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Latin, Italian and old Scotch music', and assured the king of the diligent practice of music by the choir and instruments.⁵¹ Charles himself had seven musicians and six trumpeters in his company when he arrived.⁵²

49 Kenneth Elliott, 'Robert Edwards' Commonplace-Book and Scots Musical History', *SS*, vol.5 (1961), pp.50–6.

50 See Bertrand Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*, 4 vols. (Princeton, NJ.: 1959–1972); Edward J. Cowan (ed.), *The Ballad in Scottish History* (East Linton: 2000).

51 See Dauneay, *Ancient Scottish Music*, pp.365–7. The letter from Kellie to Charles was dated 'at Whitehall, 24th Januarii 1631, after the English account'. The fate of the music books is as yet uncertain. For a fuller account of Kellie and his successor from 1634 to 1638, Edward Millar, see Gordon Munro, *Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500–1700*, unpublished PhD thesis, 2 vols, University of Glasgow (2000), vol.i, pp.61f.

52 James Balfour, *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour, published from the original manuscripts*, 4 vols (1824–1825), vol.iv, pp.389f.