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landownership remains feudal. In 1991, the Scottish Law Commission published a paper entitled *Property Law: Abolition of the Feudal System* (MacQueen 13): this document was, however, for discussion purposes only, and the discussion has continued in the new Scottish Parliament of 1999. In the 1770s, Johnson had remarked on feudal survivals in the Western Isles of Scotland as an intellectual curiosity. In the 1990s, the conflict between Keith Schellenberg, the former Laird of the Hebridean island of Eigg and those islanders who were until recently in a strictly feudal relationship with him, disapprobation was expressed in terms of waste. The newspapers reported the islanders' characterization of the laird as a "playboy" who, in the words of *The Times*, "invited guests armed with tennis balls to reconstruct campaign battles in which Hanoverians triumphed over the Jacobites and . . . drove his 1927 Rolls-Royce Phantom around the island like Toad of Toad Hall." Schellenberg sued the papers for libel, but lost, his costs being estimated at a somewhat wasteful million pounds. In return, Schellenberg called the islanders "rotten, dangerous and totally barmy revolutionaries." Even before this case was resolved in June, 1999, the islanders had ended feudalism by buying the property after raising money, ironically through the postmodern device of an internet appeal.

Yet other parts of Scotland still contain feudal survivals. One of the stranger results of the land changes in Scotland is that the bull on the Ravenswood estate is not unique as a sign of feudal status: other lairds, once they had created "waste" through moving out their tenants, chose to reinstate their properties as wilderness by the introduction of exotic animals. Robert Southey notes that he "walked into the Duke of Gordon's park, and looked at his great ugly house. There is a Zebu, a small, hump-backed Indian cow, in the park" (89). Southey also comments on the Earl of Breadalbane's resettlement of his tenants, some of whom he obliged to hew out a living on patches of "waste." By the 1840s, when Queen Victoria visited it, the Breadalbane property may not have had tenant farmers, but it did have "American buffaloes" (Victoria 17). Finally, the white bulls of Tankerville, the degenerate creatures of the Border country that provided the inspiration for Scott's Ravenswood bull, reside there to this day.

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From Fingal's Harp to Flora's Song: Scotland, Music and Romanticism

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This paper marks the beginning of a larger project which will examine the role of Scottish music and song in the production of British culture in the Romantic era. I am interested both in how the concept of national music evolved within the context of British culture and in how national music works to contest that sense of culture. After a brief preamble outlining the concerns of the larger project, I will turn to the work of Robert Burns for an analysis of a particular site in the general cultural map that I hope to draw.

This idea for this project actually arose from a question that occurred to me while reading Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (1997), which examines antiquarian nationalism in Ireland, Scotland and Wales as a "groundbreaking attempt to describe literature as the product of specific cultural institutions and to understand literary form as a product of a practical national history" (4). The book is wonderful, but what gave me pause was its interpretation of bardic culture as "literary activity" (5).[1] Edward Jones's observation in the *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784), for example, that "had not the fatal accident which overwhelmed, in the hour of its prosperity, the hereditary princedom of Wales, involved in the same ruin its Poetry and Music, our country might have re-

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tained to this day its ancient government, and its national arts" is explicated by Trumpener as follows: "the extirpation of the bardic caste wipes out a flourishing *literary culture* and destroys national institutions" [my emphasis] (5). In part this interpretation quite rightly reflects the concern of certain eighteenth-century antiquarians to foreground the literary aspects of bardic culture in order to legitimize it in the eyes of an eighteenth-century British audience who valued the written over the oral. James Macpherson, for example, emphasizes in the "Preface" to *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* that these particular fragments "are not set to music, nor sung" (*Poems* 6), even though the bards in his poems do appear to sing when they celebrate their fallen heroes.[2] But I also wonder if an exclusive focus on bards as literary figures might blind us to an interesting moment of cultural struggle. I would like to venture that it is precisely the ambiguity surrounding the medium of this bardic discourse—its slippage between categories of "Poetry and Music" and, concomitantly, between literacy, orality and aurality—that made it a particularly important challenge to the construction of culture in eighteenth-century Britain.

By the time that Macpherson was both suggesting and denying the musical performance involved in his Ossianic *Poems*, a number of collections of Scottish music and song—for dancing, musical instruction, and amateur playing—had already been circulating throughout Britain for quite some time (Fiske, Johnson, and Purser). Published variously in Edinburgh, London and even Dublin and Paris, collections of Scottish music and song served varying ideological purposes. Despite focussing on Scottish cultural production, many of the early collections actually served to gloss over Scottish difference. Scottish tunes and lyrics which were originally part of an oral tradition were regularized through the use of time signatures, staves, etc. and were rendered fit for playing on non-traditional instruments: the German flute, hautboy, and the pianoforte at the end of the century (Chanan, chs. 3 and 5). Most early publications showed no distinction between Lowland and Scottish tunes, nor, for that matter, between Scottish and Irish and Welsh tunes, as illustrated in the *Aria di Camera* (1725) and the collections of Burke Thumoth. Quite often, publishers who had been successful with a collection of music of one nation would try their hand at another flavor of national music. While ostensibly celebrating the diverse music of the nations of the British Isles, these early publications actually work to create a homogeneous sense of British culture—an important consideration considering the political threats coming from the periphery up to 1745.[3]

Such Scottish identity as is acknowledged is designed to appeal to an audience interested in a distinctive but harmless Scottish "humour," as Playford's collection (1700) calls it. For the most part, this "humour" is characterized as natural, simple and rural, in opposition to the artificiality of metropolitan culture. Even the collections produced by Scots capitalize on the interest of the metropolis in the periphery. *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725), for example, a collection by William Thomson, a Scot living in London, begins with a poem which contrasts the "True Passion" of the lads in plaids and lasses of Patie's Mill with the "Beaus and Belles so fine and fair" of the capital.

Despite the fact that Scottish identity as represented in musical collections was produced within the context of a British market which valued difference only to contain it within a wider hegemonic system, such publications, particularly toward the end of the century, also served to unsettle any sense of British cultural homogeneity not only by positing a different national culture within Britain but by challenging the primacy of literacy and of print, assumptions through which British culture asserted itself.

In my opening remarks, I briefly alluded to the way that representations of bardic culture, consisting of music and poetry, might have provided a challenge to British eighteenth-century culture by refusing to acknowledge the developing disciplinary divisions. In addition, collections of Scottish music and song created an alternative cultural genealogy, one in which oral culture does not give way to a literary print culture, but in which each is replenished by the other. In particular, the association of Scotland with popular song (encouraged by Joseph Ritson and others) enabled certain interventions that were not possible in Ireland, for example, where the legitimacy of Irish music was built around its association with a harping tradition which was defunct in the eighteenth century. While the expressed motivation behind collecting Scottish music was the need to preserve a dying oral culture, the actual production of volume after volume suggested that, to a certain extent anyway, rumor of its death was greatly exaggerated. David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* of 1769 regrets that "the original words to many favorite tunes, once everywhere known, are now irrecoverably lost, excepting what are to be found in the memories of country people" (iv). However, it also includes an "Advertisement" which notes that the editor intends to publish "other old songs as can by any means be obtained—together with several modern songs, by celebrated authors" (and notes and a glossary) "which could not be contained at the end of this volume" (ix). Furthermore, the editor requests submissions from anyone "possessed of any Scots songs of merit" (x). Scottish song is associated with both lack and excess; lack of the original words, but an excessive amount of material both old and new which promises to be generated. Herd represents "the old Scottish tunes" not only as part of a dying tradition, but as a renewable resource, one which involves an interaction between oral and print sources.

In their "Essay on Scots Music," prefaced to *The Caledonian Muse* (c.1786), the editors, S.A. and P. Thompson register the intervention which Scottish music and song offer to the cultural arena as they refuse to separate music from poetry in tracing Scottish national culture even while chafing at the music's resistance to the technology of print. The "Essay"

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begins by asserting that "most national music, and in particular that of the Scots, originated with the BARDS," whom it characterizes as both "Poets and Musicians" (1). The Thompsons also recognize the recalcitrance that Scottish tunes pose as a result of their origins in orality, as they despair of ever fully capturing the music on the printed page: "There is considerable difficulty in adjusting the more antient tunes. Frequently among several copies, all written by natives, no two were found perfectly alike; and it was not always easy to ascertain the most genuine" (4-5). The violence of such an effort is indicated in their comment that "the basses are modern . . . and some of the airs, which never appeared with any kind of accompaniment before, were with difficulty made to submit to any" (5). Such airs, they note, continuing with the language of conquest and resistance, "often bid a total defiance to modern rules" (5).

Writing at the same time as the Thompsons were publishing their musical collection, Robert Burns draws on the radical potential of the musical tradition of Scotland both to trouble the sense of a homogeneous community of Britain and to suggest an alternative cultural economy. In the "Epistle to John Lapraik," for example, Burns sets up an opposition between the culture of the Scottish and British literary culture, between "rhymin'" and "poetry" (49-50), with the speaker of the poem coming down on the side of the "hamely" Muse that inspired his Scottish predecessors:[4]

> On Fasteneen we had a rockin,
> To ca' the crack and weave our stockin;
> And there was muckle fun and jokin,
> Ye need na doubt;
> At length we had a hearty yokin,
> At *sang about.*
>
> There was ae *sang*, amang the rest,
> Aboon them a' it pleas'd me best,
> That some kind husband had addrest,
> To some sweet wife:
> It thirl'd the heart-strings thro' the breast,
> A' to the life.
>
> I've scarce heard ought describ'd sae weel,
> What gen'rous, manly bosoms feel;
> Thought I, 'Can this be *Pope*, or *Steele*,
> Or *Beattie*'s wark;
> They tald me 'twas an odd kind chiel
> About *Muikirk*. (7-26)

The poem suggests that it is the activity of song in particular which destabilizes British literary values. The action takes place at a "rockin" or "sang about" of the Scottish community.[5] Burns associates his own literary activity in the poem, which he deliberately sets out in opposition to the British literary tradition in the poem, with song. He notes that "critic-folk" are outraged that he dares "To mak a sang" (58), and he concludes the epistle by pledging himself Lapraik's friend and servant "while [he] can either sing, or whissle" (131). Moreover, he posits the reinterpretation of writers from the tradition of British *belles-lettres* within the Scottish oral culture. The speaker's first reaction to the "sang" that touches him most is to conclude that it must be by Pope, or Steele, or Beattie (21), suggesting that it would not be unusual to find works by those writers in the medium of song. In *The Making of the English Literary Canon*, Trevor Ross suggests that poets in the eighteenth century derived their authority from "the canonic masters" before them whose work they received and reproduced "for a modern audience, rendering it accessible through commentary, certifying its canonicity, consecrating it within its own hallowed temple" (4). In the "Epistle to Lapraik," Burns contests the authority of the canonic masters—and the literary economy which they represent—by consecrating them within a Scottish "sang about."

Burns further destabilizes the tradition of British literary culture by including songs within his book of poetry. *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, published at Kilmarnock in 1786 contained five songs. Carol McGuirk speculates that because the songs appear at the end of the book (with the exception of "Man Was Made to Mourn: A Dirge"), they were probably used as filler.[6] But in addition to such a practical consideration, the inclusion of the songs in his book of poetry represents his use of the Scottish musical tradition to create an alternative cultural economy. Burns did not provide titles to his songs. Instead, he gave them the title "Song" or "Fragment" then indicated the name of the tune to which the lyrics are set. This configuration sets up a different relation between reader and writer than that found in a conventional book of poetry. Instead of positioning the author as producer and the reader as consumer, Burns requires a form of production on the part of his reader who must draw on previous involvement in activity outside of the literary marketplace. In particular, what becomes clear is that only the reader with a knowledge of Scottish oral culture will be able to fully appreciate Burns's lyrics.[7] Like Herd, however, Burns does not represent a separation of oral and print cultures or the musical and the poetic; rather he represents them in dynamic interaction.

It was Burns's activity in the publication of songs in the latter part of his life that represented his realization of the full radical potential of Scottish music in British culture. From 1787 until his death, Burns contributed songs to two publications: James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*, published in six volumes from 1787 to 1803, and George Thompson's *A Choice Collection of Original Scotish* [sic] *Airs for the Voice*, published in eight parts from 1793-1818. In *Poetry as an Occupation and an Art in Britain, 1760-1830*, Peter Murphy has suggested that Burns's turn to song at the end of his life "relieved [him] from the oppression of authorship" and having to pander to the taste of the high literary culture of Edinburgh (80). Moreover, the fact that Burns published his songs anonymously and refused to accept money for them

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argues for his desire to set up the collecting of Scottish music as an alternative practice to the marketing of poetry. Burns's work for the *Scots Musical Museum*, volumes two to five of which he edited, establishes a different relationship between author and reader. Burns as author in fact disappears, as he does not discriminate between those songs which he writes and those which he revises or merely transmits from available sources. In addition, the reader is asked to become a performer as well as improviser and to contribute to the collective process. The first volume of the *Museum* included the following request, in a spirit similar to Herd's collection: ". . . if any Lady or Gentleman have any Song of Merit with the Music (never hitherto Published) of the true Ancient Caledonian Strain, that they would be pleased to transmit the same to the Publishers, that it may be submitted to the proper Judges, and so be preserved in this Repository of our National Music and Song" (*Scots Musical Museum*, I: III).

Burns's desire to use Scottish music to create a cultural alternative was short-lived, however, for, as Murphy points out, Johnson revealed Burns's authorship of particular songs soon after his death in Volume Six of the *Museum* and Thomson, too, was to capitalize on Burns's authorship. In fact, Thomson's collections work to repress the disruptive potential of Scottish song which I have been suggesting precisely because they enable a disengagement of the words from the music. In *Fifty Scottish Songs* (1801), Thomson supplies two songs with each tune: the original Scottish lyrics and, in order to render the work "equally interesting in England as in Scotland," one "purely English" (2). Moreover, Thomson remakes Scottish song as Romantic poetry, referring to the Scottish songs in his collections as the productions of "lyric poets." In Thompson's collections, Scots become the universal donors of Celtic sentiment. After Burns's death, Alexander Boswell, Joanna Baillie, Thomas Campbell, and Walter Scott were all commissioned by Thomson to write the songs not only of Scotland, but of Ireland and Wales too.

I would like to conclude by suggesting how Scottish song was further translated into Romantic sentiment in the early nineteenth century. The complexities of the relationship between music and poetry and between print and oral culture which descriptions of bardic tradition and collections of Scottish music offered was largely forgotten. Ballad collections flourished, but they were literary collections intent on preserving the signs of an earlier oral culture.[8] The invocation of Scottish song, particularly Highland song which now received recognition, provided a convenient way of gesturing toward an oral sublime: a representation of that which cannot be represented (Wordsworth's "Solitary Reaper" and Scott's image of Flora singing in *Waverley* spring to mind here). I have tried to trace a brief account of the interventions of Scottish music and song in the formation of British culture at the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, far from "bid[ding] a total defiance to modern rules," as the *Caledonian Muse* had earlier suggested, Scottish music came to help define modernity, as it became representative of a vanished orality and a vanquished nation.

NOTES

[1]I don't mean to scapegoat Trumpener here for a more general neglect of the subject of Scottish music—what I'm talking about can be seen as an issue of disciplinarity more than anything. See Said's "Introduction" for comments on the exclusivity of musicology.

[2]And in a footnote, Trumpener notes that Jones himself indicated that the bards were "redivided, at the end of the eleventh century, into new orders of poets, heralds, and musicians" (295).

[3]Political threats went on longer in Ireland, of course, culminating but not concluding with the 1798 Rebellion which led to the 1800 Act of Union. The relationship between Irish music and political culture deserves more attention than I am able to devote to it here.

[4]Crawford has argued that such juxtapositions work to "upset established categories, raising questions about the way in which we casually assign cultural value" (89).

[5]Burns picks up on the tradition of verse epistles begun by Allan Ramsay and William Hamilton of Gilbertfield (McGuirk 204).

[6]Email correspondence with the author, Dec. 17, 1999.

[7]McGuirk suggests that this demonstrates "Burns' modesty in seeing his lyrics as mere subordinate 'vehicles to the music' " (xvi), but it also suggests he was foregrounding them as a different genre; they could be linked within the volume as sites of alternative cultural practice.

[8]See Fielding for an excellent discussion of the representation of orality in nineteenth-century Scottish novels.

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Gendering the Scottish Ballad: The Case of Anne Bannerman's *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*

Diane Long Hoeveler

When Anne Bannerman died in 1829, very few people mourned her passing or even remembered that earlier in the century she had published two books of poetry, the second of which was one of the earliest forays by a female poet into the gothic ballad tradition. The next year her fellow countryman Walter Scott memorialized her by writing that "Miss Anne Bannerman likewise should not be forgotten, whose *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry* appeared about 1802. They were perhaps too mystical and too abrupt; yet if it be the purpose of this kind of ballad poetry powerfully to excite the imagination, without pretending to satisfy it, few persons have succeeded better than this gifted lady, whose volume is peculiarly fit to be read in a lonely house by a decaying lamp" (IV. 16-7). Scott was accurate in his estimate of both the date of publication and the critics' dismissive reaction to the poems. "Mystical" and "abrupt" are appropriate complaints against the poems. But neither Scott nor Bannerman's other critics appreciated the specifically gendered nationalistic agendas in her ballads.

The ballads express the melancholia, loneliness, disappointment, betrayal, and homelessness, that pervaded Scotland after it had merged with England in the Acts of Union, 1707, and its hereditary leaders (known as "the Pretenders") failed to liberate the country from the English in 1715 and 1745. While *faux* medievalism oozes from the pages of Bannerman's second book of poems, *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry,* published in London in 1802, this "lost" Scottish female poet also participated in at least three major cultural movements.

First, Bannerman subscribes to the Whig nationalistic enterprise of uniting Scotland, Wales, and England as one country by resurrecting in her poem "The Prophecy of Merlin" the legend of King Arthur as a Celtic King of a unified (and never-existing) country to which England, Wales, and Scotland once supposedly belonged. The gothic ballad as popularized by Percy, Scott, Hogg, Leyden, and Lewis ambivalently participates in the construction of the nation as, in Bendict Anderson's words, an "imagined community." Anderson claims that nationality fills in the psychic gaps when the coherence of a religious system is threatened, when language is no longer sacred, and when dynastic power is limited (6; 36). The growth of print-culture facilitates this new movement toward redefining the community in imaginary ways, but in Britain the ballad arose largely as a reactionary attempt to recapture the sacred status of the bard, the value of nativism, primitivism and an oral-based culture, and the ethnically-based power of monarchs and religious leaders. In short, the ballad as a nationalistic literary tool (anti-Augustan and therefore anti-French) is generically at odds with the larger culture's movement toward individualism, nationalism, and capitalism. As Leith Davis notes, literary representations of nationality "struggle with finding a way in which to simultaneously acknowledge and . . . downplay internal difference" (4) in Britain. Bannerman was no exception. At times her ballads appear to advance what Newman labels "nationalist aesthetics"—"oracular, subjectivist, primitivistic, loco-descriptive, populist, and anti-French" (240)—while at other times her work presents a sophisticated cosmopolitanism, an irreligious tendency and progressive moral and social ideologies. Her works can be alternately Whiggish or Tory, keenly concerned with civil and individual rights and then decidedly conservative, nostalgic evocations of a Britain that never existed and yet which was at that very time struggling to come into existence.

Secondly, the vehement anti-Catholicism Bannerman expresses in her poem "The Nun" as well as other works suggests a nationalistic agenda again: she is attempting to persuade her readers of their mutual religious identity and superiority in a nationalized and rational Protestantism.

Finally, and importantly, Bannerman's ballads introduce a new perspective into the traditional construction of the female representation in the ballad genre. Bannerman genders the ballad in a way that her male contemporaries did not. Scott and Percy, Wordsworth and Coleridge certainly

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