

2. Ballads, Literary Imagination and Scotland as a Region

This chapter explores Scotland, and the fashioning of its identity through the selected ballad. It attempts to examine the construction of the social and regional identity of Scotland and the role played by folk forms such as the ballad in this construction. In so doing, it also locates the means through which class/race superiority is expressed. Further, it sets out the political background of Scotland's assertion for autonomy. This background provides the context for an analysis of selected ballads from a historical and literary perspective while locating the landscaped peculiarities of Scotland imagined through the ballads and other folk songs. In so doing, it also unfolds the idea of Scotland and its historical ties with the UK in folklore and imagination of Scottish folk. Some of the key questions that I ask in this chapter are: How has Scotland been imagined and portrayed in the literary imagination of its folk? What is the significance of the ballads and other folk songs in the imaginations of Scotland as a socio-cultural and political region?

This chapter examines Scottish ballads and folk songs, which interweave Scotland's glorious past, culture, and folklore with an outline of the Scottish assertion of identity for autonomy from the fourteenth century until the twenty-first century. Basically, it locates Scotland as a region with its cultural specificities expressed by the Scottish folks and collected by people like Francis J. Childe, Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and found in anthologies such as *The Rebels Ceilidh Songs Book* (1950). A closely reading some of the selected ballads and folk songs will highlight the distinctive Scottish culture and society compared to its counterpart, England, and will show how these specificities are essential to constitute and consolidate Scottish identity. These folk songs have been collected and later published in various ways to invoke the Scottish past and mobilize consciousness to enable claims for sovereignty to be made.

This chapter also illustrates the way folklore is harnessed, particularly ballads and folksongs, at key junctures of the history of Scotland to invoke the Scottish identity against the English. The revival movement that took place in mid-eighteenth century to nineteenth century in the Scotland and on the entire British island was a response to multifaceted political and social changes emerging on the British island as well as from the Europe. The Union of 1707, the Enlightenment, and the romantic interest in the past and nature took the thinkers and writers away from urban locales to the rural spaces where they believed the golden past is still alive. Unfolding the Scottish past, with close analysis

of the selected ballads, and folksongs and the Scottish claims of distinct identity and nation based on it, this chapter argues that the past events are an inevitable force in shaping socio-political identity, which is crucial to making claims for self-governance in Scotland in the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Every country has uniqueness that distinguishes it from the others. It is deeply rooted in and emerges from the history, culture, religion, politics, and from region, and the geographical space in which these different aspects work together to construct an entity. Every region has natural and man-made differences that lead them to be both like and unlike each other. In the context of Scotland, folklores, ballads, and folksongs, in particular, are perhaps the oldest and among the most significant mediums of expression, at least going back to the fourteenth century. First, the bardic tradition and, later, broadside ballads in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both expressed and constructed Scot sentiments extensively at a time of great political upheavals. Indeed, this has continued to the present day.

As the ballads and the songs that have been quoted and analyzed in the last section, depict three broad, significant periods of ballad in which composition emerge. They seem to be associated with a range of events in the history of Scotland which were crucial to shaping its national identity. The first is the pre-1603 union of the crowns period. In this period of the history of Scotland, Battle at Stirling Bridge (1297), the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), the Battle of Otterburn (1388), and they were the most significant wars fought for Scottish Independence. Several ballads have been written on these events, although dates of composition are difficult to track, vividly illustrating Scotland, its politics, and struggle for independence, its assertion of autonomy, both cultural and political.

The second phase is characterized by two aspects: revival and broadside ballads, which went parallel to the German romantic exploration as well as in Scotland and England on the British Isle during the mid-eighteenth to nineteenth century. Before the mid-eighteenth century, ballads and other folk forms remained restricted in the circuits of a community practising and performing it. However, with the coming of print technology and broadside chapbooks, ballads became accessible almost everywhere across the UK and in metropolitan cities.

Riding hard on the development of print technology, several learned scholars from church and universities interested in what then known as antiquities roamed in the interior part of the country and collected from the singers and performers in-person. Later, with

several versions and editions, these scholars published these ballads and folksongs in book form. Francis Childe, Walter Scott, Thomas Percy, and Robert Burns are the prominent names in this effort to anthologize folklore in Scotland and England.

The third momentous move in the history of Scottish folklore is post-World War II. As the majority of the colonies of the Empire started revolting post-war, the Empire started losing its grip over them and lost several colonies. With that, a fresh consciousness emerged within the UK, especially in Scotland. Earlier printed ballads and folksongs were recorded in this era in audio form with several newly written on fresh problems in the UK. *The Rebel's Ceilidh Songs Book* and Hamish Henderson's songs⁴ are significant examples of it. This collection and recording of ballads and folksongs have been widely sung on the occasions of the protests and movements by Scottish people almost up to 1970 and beyond. These are the primary repertoire of images of Scotland as a distinctive region.

In all three key junctures of the history of Scotland as well as its folk, one common theme they carried is the uniqueness of Scotland and its struggle for freedom. With the assertion of both these themes, the identity of Scotland drawn from a geo-political landscape, begins to emerge.

The first section of the chapter deals with a historical and socio-political overview of Scotland, locating the key events in the history of Scottish independence. The second section engages with the portrayal of these events and the crucial figures and symbols of Scottish pride in the course of history in the ballads and other folksongs, the analysis of the select ballads and folksongs, and the cultural particularities expressed in ballads and folksongs. The third and last section revisits the invocation of the past and an imagined region that emerged through the folk imagination and how it feeds into and shapes the Scottish identity against the English and British.

Scotland from Alba to Holyrood: The Journey of the Claim to Independence

Scotland is a part of the British island. It has been a part of Great Britain and United Kingdom. It is located in the north of England. Scotland itself is naturally divided into two regions: The Highland and Lowland. As the name suggests, the Highland is formed by a several hills in the north of Scotland and British island. The other region is the

⁴ see Finlay, Alec (1998) "Hamish Henderson and the Modern Folksong Revival," *Studies in Scottish Literature*: Vol. 30: Is. 1. Available at: <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl/vol30/iss1/24>; Henderson, Hamish. *Ballads of World War II*, 1947.

Lowland. Both the regions not only differ in geography but culturally as well. The Highland as a difficult for livelihood and residence it is population scattered in comparison to the Lowland. Whereas the Lowland being to England it has become a center for social and political activities. The Lowland has greater connection with the England in terms of society, culture, education, literary taste.

Scotland has geographical connection with the Scandinavian countries, like Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Ireland. People from these countries have migrated to Scotland since Roman left the British island. These people have major role in the culture and society of Scotland as they were often led invasion in Scotland and settled as victor. However, France being on the southern part it had been a strong ally to Scotland against England. England falls in between Scotland and France. Scotland, therefore, had been base on the British island for France to challenge the English crown. The coast line of Scotland bore major natural resources to the entire United Kingdom. Natural gases and fossil fuels, fishing and wind energy production have great share in the United Kingdom.

Scotland had been an autonomous nation, a region and integral part of the British island and a part of political union of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and later European Union as well. What makes Scotland distinct is its geography, people who came and settled here and religious, political, cultural and linguistic influences from the neighbouring countries. In book *The History of Scotland* Peter Somerset Fry and Fiona Somerset Fry note that:

[...] These different types of countryside and their respective productiveness have divided Scotland into two distinct parts, as no king or government or foreign conqueror ever could. The Highlands and the Lowlands were regions created by geography and they have been kept separate by economics and politics, even by language and culture. From the earliest times there were two Scotlands, and today it is no less true. And it makes Scottish history and the Scottish character much more interesting and rewarding to study if one bears that in mind. Here, we are concerned with the physical map of Scotland and how it affected the earliest peoples who came from Europe over 8000 years ago. (4)

These two natural regions within Scotland were also pivotal in culture, language, agriculture, economy and politics. Settlers came to the western side of the isle and settled in the nearby inlets. Few of them spread upwards the hills. Later in the Iron Age people came from central Europe and they were known as Celtic, “the first Celts to come to Britain” (P. Fry and F. Fry 11). In the first century BC comes the Roman to the Isles.

The Roman called the people from today's Scotland "Scotti": Fry and Fry say, that Romans found that "Cumbria and south-west Scotland were attacked by parties of fierce warriors coming by sea from Northern Ireland. They were known to the Romans as the Scotti, a word meaning raiders. It is the first time the name appears in history" (4). The Romans left the island in the first century BC. The Scotti remained a continuous threat to the existing population as well as the Germanic tribes Angles and Saxons who later settled on the island. The other Celts known as the Picts also joined the Scotti, their common enemy and presence of Christianity kept them bound together. They fought with the Angles and Saxons at Strathclyde and Lothian (P. Fry and F. Fry 32). Their war with the Angles and Saxons led to the emergence of Scotland as an independent political region. The claims to throne were made in matrilineal system. In the ninth century AD the Pictish king Kenneth took the Pictish throne and united the Picts and Scots establishing a state called the Scotia (P. Fry and F. Fry 32). Conversion to Christianity in next several centuries took place at massive level. St. Columba from Dalraida travelled widely and converted the Picts into Christianity. St. Augustin from Italy converted the Saxons in England during the same period. Majority of the Scottish people in the seventh century had converted to the Christianity. (P. Fry and F. Fry 38-39). The Scotti learnt to live the constant threat from the English and Vikings. Through these circumstances, Scotland became a nation. England continued to be a threat to it and constantly forced it to search for coalitions with foreign kingdoms.

In the eleventh century, Malcolm III's two marriages also contributed greatly to the making of Scotland. He played an important role in drawing a border between Scotland and England at the time of Norman Conquest in 1066. However, both the kingdoms united due to the fear of a common enemy approaching from the South. However, it said that Malcolm accepted English overlordship of William. He brought significant changes in culture and society, with his marriage of Margaret he also was in favour of English language and manner. Gaelic started a process of slow decay (P. Fry and F. Fry 38-39).

The feudal system was also established in both the regions. It involved the giving of land (fief) by the king to the people on charter who had to repay by paying taxes and offering military service. Many neighbours of Scotland came and settled in the northern part of the island. From the Scots, Picts of Ireland and Anglo-Saxons, Norman and in between the Romans have brought significant amount of changes in politics and society based on which the pre-modern Scottish identity was constructed. The English have also considerable role in it, often being both ally and enemy. Three factors of the Scottish

society were important and have continued to be important in the contemporary society and politics: Scotland as a kingdom, clanship and feudal system. These factors remain important in the construction of racial superiority in Scotland and even across the island then and now.

Scotland has long been endeavouring to gain socio-political autonomy from the United Kingdom of Great Britain. From the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn to the Brexit 2020, it has struggled with every possible means to achieve self-governance. The attempts to wrest independence from England can be seen in a wide array of socio-political struggles for autonomy, which have spread over more than seven centuries and are also captured in folk imagination and words. The attempts to achieve politico-cultural autonomy is a socio-political saga of a nation of the invocation of its glorious, independent past.

Scotland was known as *Alba* in Gaelic and *Scotia* in Latin. Scotland, now known as a part of the political and monarchical union of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, has been claiming its autonomy from England at least since the mid-thirteenth century. Dauvit Houston notes that:

In May 1259 an embassy had been sent to Henry III without success to ask (among other things) that he lift his objections, presumably so that Alexander III could be anointed and crowned to mark a formal end to his minority... The requests for coronation and anointment are important evidence of a Scottish desire that their kingdom be recognised as of equal status with any other in Latin Christendom. (1)

The desire to be autonomous has since 1259 turned into murders, treachery, violent bloodshed, and war. This claim was always to and against the English, as historians of Scottish independence observed (1). This desire of Scots to be of equal status as a nation and rule Scotland independently drove them to delineate Scottish identity across different arenas. Rab Houston's study delineates the socio-political association of these political states historically. Houston, in his book *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction* (2008), thematically points out the four dimensions which can be considered as a way of distinguishing Scotland from England. As he notes:

[. . .] while Scotland is not obviously 'multi-cultured' by modern standards, it has historically been marked by pronounced geographic, linguistic, religious, and social differences remarkable in so small a country. Second, it developed and has a strong 'civil society' or 'voluntary sector' that has at times reinforced those differences and at others created homogeneity of vision, notably in ideas about education and

common humanity. Third, whatever the local and regional differences, Scotland developed a sense of national identity during the Middle Ages that has never dimmed, even within the context of the Union with England and even when Scots exalted in being 'British'. (2)

The Declaration of Arbroath in the fourteenth century was a document, which, as Houston notes, "requested to the papacy for recognition of Scottish sovereign state and accept Robert Bruce as the King of Scotland" (2), written and signed by the baron and the people of Scotland in 1320 stating that:

As long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we, on any conditions, be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, that we are fighting, but for freedom of that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself. (Broock, Queen's Printer for Scotland, National Records of Scotland, SP13/7)

The Battle of Bannockburn was the crucial, if not the first martial attempt for Scottish independence in 1314. Before and after that, the Scottish people raised their voices against the English. Houston notes that the changes brought by the Anglo-Norman overlordship laid the foundation of an independent Scotland, later substantiated by the wars started by English King Edward I, which were continued by his successors (8). Another factor that led to the declaration of Scotland as an independent nation was the coming together of the Anglo-Norman and Highland lords, forming a separate aristocracy, which, Houston adds, drove Scotland and England apart in the fourteenth century and ultimately sealed their futures as independent countries (8-9).

Edward I ruled Ireland and Wales and controlled Scotland with overlordship, he can be considered as the monarch close to creating a single British kingdom (Houston 9). Later, Scotland sought alliance with France and signed the most famous treaty in 1295, which came to be known as the "Auld Alliance", which, until the sixteenth century, characterized England as the old enemy (Houston 9). As a result, Scotland's centuries-long struggle for independence began.

Houston further adds that William Wallace in 1302-03 started opposing the British military, but he ended up miserably. Later, in 1314, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, won the Battle of Bannockburn and claimed the crown of Scotland after a series of important

events.⁵ Monarchy emerged after such wars and shaped the Scottish identity. However, the role of an independent church, law, and even education cannot be discarded from the shaping of the identity of medieval Scotland. Except for the Scottish parliament, all the other institutions remained autonomous from Buckingham and London. Houston argues that:

Late medieval Scotland had become a nation built on the monarchy and buttressed by other pillars such as a separate church, a precociously nationalist school of historical writing, and an emerging but already robust legal system. As a state, it was nothing like England, but much closer to decentralized power structures that characterised most continental countries. (13)

After the Battle of Bannockburn, several wars and raids did take place, but they were of lesser importance.⁶The Union of Crown in 1603 was the next major political event that shaped the destiny of the Scots and English until the constitutional and parliamentary union of 1707 and a monarchical union of both the nations.

The death of Queen Elizabeth I, paved the way for the merger of two separate states into one under the rule of James VI of Scotland and I of England in 1603. This amalgamation of states led the monarch to move to the Westminster parliament abandoning the Scottish. The demise of heirless Queen Elizabeth I led to the most significant political dilemma regarding who was the rightful heir to the British throne. The Scottish king and nephew, King James VI, was invited to take over the Crown. He accepted the position and became King James I of England and VI of Scotland. Coming of a Scot as ruler and bearing the Crown did not proselytise the Scots into British. Although it was ruled from London, its institution did cease to work for the Scottish cause. King James VI transferred his court from Edinburgh to London and tried to assimilate the two cultures and unify the two regions at least politically. In this, he succeeded a little, and his successor, Charles I could not maintain the momentum.

⁵He re-conquers Scotland from the Edward II, He was recognized as king of Scotland in 1327, Edward Balliol raising as heir to the Scottish throne. See for more details <https://scottishhistorysociety.com/the-wars-of-independence/>

⁶Various battles and skirmish at Dundalk in 1318 Edward Bruce was killed by the Irish force; at Byland in 1322 where John of Brittany defeated by Robert Bruce; at Dupplin in 1332 Donald Earl of Mar defeated and killed by Edward Balliol; at Halidon Hill at 1333 Archibald Douglas defeated and killed by Edward III. See for more details <https://scottishhistorysociety.com/the-wars-of-independence/>

In the late seventeenth century, England was facing external threats of war from France and its alliances. On the other hand, Scotland was in search of economic wellbeing. England's colonial affairs and business appeared to Scottish high command promising to change the economic scenario of Scotland. These mutual interests laid the grounds for the Union of 1707.

The Union of 1707 of British and Scottish parliaments magnificently shaped the destiny of the Scottish particular and the British Empire as well. People who were in the court of William and Mary discussed and tried to assimilate the Scottish parliament within the British but failed until 1707. The Presbyterian people opposed the idea of union. However, the pro-union group was proposing the benefits that Scotland could have if it would join the union. The effect of the seven ill years across the Europe and British island gave this argument a charge. Simultaneously, the British Empire started flourishing in the Africa and Asia. The economic and military opportunities were enough to lure the Scottish into a union. The pro-union intellectual counted the benefits it offered to the dire economy of Scotland. In contrast, in opposition, people had mixed feelings and views about the subordination Scotland was to face in the context of working under the British institutions of economy, law, education and the church.

Lord Belhaven conceived the act of union as shuddering at the threat to 'our Ancient Mother CALEDONIA' (Houston 14) [capital in original]. As a member of the parliament, he gave a speech about the condition of Scotland in 1706:

...above all, My Lord, I think I see our ancient Mother Caledonia, like Cæsar sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal Blow, and breathing out her last with a *Et tu quoque mi fili.*" Today the roles are reversed: it is those advocating change who have been accused of thinking with the heart, rather than with the head (until the last, febrile days, when increasingly emotional appeal seems fair game from either side). (qtd. in Speccoll; Belhaven)

The constitutional union of the parliaments in 1707 did not, perhaps, unite the society and culture, as they were posed strikingly different and antagonist in the public institutes like parliament, law and in the day to day life. These deep-rooted differences in culture and identity visible in the parliament were expressed in the referendums of the twenty-first century.

After the Union, because of English dominance over polity and politics, a sense of marginalization grew in the people of Scotland. Whether at parliament or at the colonies

Scotch men worked whole heartedly but remain second to, and of inferior class to the English. This inferior and second-class status, the imposition of several taxes and invasion of Bonny Prince Charles from France claiming to be rightful heir to the throne, UK politics again became turbulent in the form of the Jacobite rising of 1745. It was group of lords and aristocrats from Scotland and England who supported James VII as the rightful king, The Scottish Highlander who wanted Prince Charles as be coroneted. However, the uprising was pacified by the British king in 1746, which in a way led to find new ways of understand Scottish life and identity.

Robert Burns, widely acclaimed in Scotland, considered the representatives as a “parcel of rogues” in one of his songs (qtd. in Houston 14) and “bought and sold out for the English gold”. Whereas the Unionists called it a ‘fair bargain’ (Houston 15). Economically, the Union of 1707 did help the Scots to uplift living conditions, but it was earned by the labour of youth who served the cause of the British Empire across its colonies. Some of them even did not return home in their lifetime.

As the Anti-Union claimed, the Union did not bear fruits to the Scots, leading them to dissent. The Jacobite, took the institution of divine right as the prime aim and restoration of the right king. They rebelled against the Crown at different levels and times from 1689 but did their best in 1745. The anti-Union sentiments and the claim for the rightful king after Queen Anne had collaborated became a resource for each other, which deteriorated the situation just after the act of the Union.

After the Union of 1707, warfare between England and Scotland stop in declined. The last major confrontation between Scots and English with other alliances took place in 1745; as Houston argues, Scotland’s Pre and Post-Union parliaments were undemocratic and oligarchic (25). Most of the representatives were in support of the union, and they, with Scotland, were making space in the British state. A sense of exploitation grew post 1707 as the different laws were employed for the Scots and the English, inner conflict between religious divisions and the rising power of oligarchic personnel also came to add to Scottish problems.

The Whig party did try to follow the pathway of the old Scottish tradition of local governance. It had derived impetus from the “protestant, constitutionalist, legalist, and political tendency” while propounding democracy, egalitarianism, and nationalism from 1832 to 1914 (27 author). Houston lists the institutions in place which were functioned by the local people. He notes that there was a system of local government “which made up of a private citizens and run buy part-time, or fix term public position which was

directly responsible to the fellow residents” (28). Scottish Police was another such system that resembles modern-day Policing or constabulary. In this, “18 to 36 economically independent members dealt with the wider remit of environment, health, etc.” (28). it had the power to raise taxes and make social policies (28). It had a fiscal mechanism of burghs to sustain them. In spite of having these systems in place, Scotland, Houston argues, lacked “state traditions” like England. It was functioning in voluntarism at the local level in contrast with what had England at its local, county level (28). This system gave Scotland a new political identity in a unique system of governance.

Early twentieth-century politics in Scotland remained conservative as a unionist. There was a change in the political scenario which began in the 1960s; the people of Scotland, through party politics, gained the devaluated parliament in 1999, which was called as “resumed” or “reopened” since 1707. Struggles for independence are still as alive as they were at the turn of the century. However, Houston points out positive and negative reasons for its coming into being again. He lists under the positive reasons that it was a reaction against Thatcherism, which caused the Miner’s strike in 1989, the Poll Tax protest in 1988, the take-over of flagship companies by the central government, and the employment problem as key reasons for the resumption of the parliament. At the same time, the people wanted stability and prosperity. The New-Right Conservatives tried to overwrite Scottish society’s traditions (Houston33-34).

The modern parliament was modelled on the English, yet it was not the same for Scots as for England. Scotland had a great tradition of electing a king or ruler by virtue, and if he failed to work upon the Scottish Cause, he could be removed from the throne. Citing Declaration Arbroath, he notes that it was indirectly invoking about this as an example of the system. However, these practices were lost (34).

In the twentieth century, UK’s alliance with the European Economic Community was a major shift in the politics of the UK and Europe as the rival colonizer countries came together to form an economic and political alliance. 1973 was pivotal as the Kilbrandon Commission recorded the government intent to devolve the parliament of the UK into two, one in London and the second in Edinburgh. The 1970s are further important as in 1975, sea oil was produced for the first time, and the Referendum for Devolution of Assemblies was held in 1979. The Westminster assembly captured both, which resulted in unrest in Scotland: politically, economically, and culturally. Scottish National Party lost its ground for support and declined, but Margaret Thatcher’s Conservatism in terms of Poll Tax in 1989 helped revive popular support for the SNP in Scotland. This had

informed later development in the Scottish claims. Coupled with the return of the Stone of Destiny by the British government, it bore massive support in the 1997 referendum, which brought the monopoly of the Westminster parliament to an end with powers to the Edinburgh parliament. The SNP proved to be one of the major parties in the first election, securing 35 seats against the 56 Labour seats.

The momentum gained in the last years of the twentieth century converted into a full-scale movement for independence in the first few years of the first decades of the twenty first century. In 2007, the Scottish parliament proposed a National Conversation on Scotland's Constitutional Future, which led the SNP to win and form a government overturning the Labour Party, followed by a majority government in 2011. Alex Salmond, as the First Minister, signed a treaty with David Cameron to hold a referendum for Scottish Independence in 2014.

In the twenty-first century, two referendums, of 2012 and 2016, took place and, which further complicated the status of Scottish independence as Houston put forward puzzling questions about the relationship that Scotland and England share:

Britons and non-Britons alike often struggle to grasp what Scotland is about. Are the Scots really just a sort of English? The answer is an empathic 'No'. Is Scotland a distinctive entity within Britain? Yes. Are the Scots British? 'Sometimes'. Scotland and England share a language, a monarch (since 1603), and a parliament (since 1707) and they went through shared experiences of empire and industrial revolution. Yet many other aspects of their history have made them different. (1)

He further adds that:

The connections again lie in history...Their (Scotland and England) is a story of continuities and change, of consistency and contradiction, of good and bad but what distinguishes Scotland is its experience of government, religion, law, education, social relationship, population mobility, and culture. Only by explaining and evaluating this history can we understand Scotland's present. (1)

This history is very much depicted in Scottish ballads and folk songs. The following section deals with a close reading of some of the ballads and folksongs that significantly sing Scotland's past, which is crucial in shaping the social-political identity of Scotland as a unique socio-political entity on the British Isle.

Ballad as a Genre

Ballads as a genre have been thought and rethought since the revival of in eighteenth century had begun. Certain assumptions have also been made to understand and study the genre. The genre ballad as folklore itself has acquired complexities since its known use. The complexities prevail from factors such as origin to authorship, oral to written, singing to dance, traditional to popular, broadside to chapbook, and traditional and literary. These factors have been major components of the different theories and the definitions offered by the people across the globe.

How and when did the ballad originate is one of the most asked questions in ballad studies. Theories like communal creation theory, individual creation theory and communal recreation theory have been propounded by the scholars of various ages. However, communal theory is widely accepted theory of origin of ballads. The theory focuses on a community in an occasion of social, religious, agriculture and must have expressed emotions in a group in lyrical or rhythmic form. This in turn repeatedly sung and danced. This composition later transmitted to the next generation orally.

Different members of the throng, one after another, may chant his verse, composed on the spur of the moment, and the sum of these various contributions makes a song. This is communal composition, though each verse, taken by itself, is the work of an individual. A song made in this way is no man's property and has no individual author. *The folk is its author*, ... the history of balladry, if we could follow it back in a straight line without interruptions, would lead us to very simple conditions of society, to the singing and dancing throng, to a period of communal composition. (Childe xix and xxii)

The other theory of origin is an individual centric. A person of any poetical ability weaves words into a composition on the special occasions. This composition then flows into the community, community receives and occasionally creates and recreates it in a manner that the original author is often forgotten and it becomes a community or people's property. Ballads must have composed by a person and later let them stream in the community. However, the various versions of a ballad again pose a question on it as the performer of the singer recreates often to suit the situation. For example, Childe's three hundred popular ballads have more than one thousand versions (ESPB Childe; Bond 1). This individual has been identified in the different social positions, a bard, a minstrel, a common man etc.

Alan Bond, however, citing Cecil Sharp argues that those who had accepted these theories had no experience of the society in which these might have sprung. They seem to express what they felt ought to be the origin (4). Cecil Sharp opines that:

Every line, every word of [a] ballad sprang in the first instance from the head of some individual, reciter, minstrel, or peasant; just as every note, every phrase of a folk tune proceeded originally from the mouth of a solitary singer. Corporate action has originated nothing and can originate nothing. Communal composition is unthinkable. The community plays a part, it is true, but it is at a later stage, after and not before the individual has done his work and manufactured the material. Its part is then to weigh, sift, and select from the mass of individual suggestions those which most accurately express the popular taste and the popular ideal... (41)

The simplistic manner of diction with repetition certain types of words and motifs are often found in ballads. J. H. Watkins in his essay 'Early Scottish Ballads' observes that the main objective of the ballad narrative is to transfer the story from one to another generation orally. In so doing it has the best of techniques of compositions: "to assist the oral tradition" and the fulfil the main objective of the composer to handed down the ballads easily and the chain is maintained in the next reiterations (439). He goes far to say that "the very object of the ballad was to avoid the necessity of writing" (450).

Wm. Hand Browne in his essay "Scottish Ballads" defines ballads as:

The popular ballad is a species of poetry which has arisen among the people as distinct from the literary class: it deals with subjects in which the people generally will feel interest, therefore with things touching them nearly, or at least within their mental horizon; of subjects which have interest in themselves, apart from the mode of treatment. It is simple in style, and swift in progress; it eschews literary graces, such as classical allusions, suggestions, figures, or ingenuities of versification; it is, above all things, sincere in tone. (129)

However, in an influential account of the ballad, Louise Pound has argued that traditional ideas about the ballad need to be rethought, particularly, "belief in the "communal" authorship and ownership of primitive poetry; disbelief in the primitive artist; reference to the ballad as the earliest and most universal poetic form; belief in the origin of narrative songs in the dance, especially definition of the English and Scottish traditional ballad type as of dance origin; belief in the emergence of traditional ballads from the illiterate, that is, belief in the communal creation rather than *recreation* of

ballads; belief in the special powers of folk improvisation; and belief that the making of additional ballads is a “closed account” (*Preface* Pound vii).

Meredith L. McGill in her essay “What Is a Ballad? Reading for Genre, Format, and Medium” notes that ballads:

have been assumed to be modular, common to all European language traditions and literary cultures, and authentic emanations of folk sensibility more or less altered or degraded by the history of their transmission. Authentic or traditional ballads are, we are told, anonymous or collective works of art, primitive survivals of preliterate cultures that can rejuvenate a literature grown too effete, too ornamental, or too self-referential. (158)

McGill, examining the different definitions of ballads, argues that “the ballad-as-genre, or more precisely as a poetic and stanzaic form that usefully blurs the relationship between form and genre... are narrative poems distinguished by their concision, episodic structure, objective or neutral tone, and dense patterns of repetition and refrain” (157). Ballads, she shows, were common to all the European countries, and they were considered as lower than the epic in status (159). She further states that: “The casting of ballads as the lyric’s untutored, disreputable double, and the attribution of powers of rejuvenation to anonymous, popular verse, but also suggests that the ballad is not only a preliterate but also a ‘paraliterate’ genre” (161). She maintains that “The ballad is the literary form of nonliterary verse, which is to say that when you recognize a ballad as such, you bring popular poetry under literary scrutiny” (161).

Focusing on the performativity of the text of the ballads she understands ballads as “poems framed in some way by their telling, ... this narrative framing can be seen not only as a stylistic hallmark of the genre but also as a recasting of the material conditions of their circulation” (161). Further in this essay she explores the different techniques that emerged with the publications of the ballads in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. She argues that ballads were published in different formats like broadside, in magazines, in multivolume anthologies with different images of advertisement and designs. This publication of ballads in various formats, she maintains, challenges the “binary distinction of genre in orality and literacy” (167). She concludes that: “The ballad is not a remnant of oral culture preserved in writing, but rather a genre that flourishes with the rise of print. Print enhances the transmission of ballads locally—mediating performances on the streets, in theaters, and in taverns—and enables ballads to circulate transnationally, not only as part of familial or cultural inheritance, but also in authoritative collections

claiming to represent the characteristic expressions of a people, as magazine reprints, as newspaper filler, in chapbooks, and as broadsides passed from hand to hand (167).

Ballads in Scotland

In the case of Scotland, the folk or ballad revival took place when the traditional ballads were collected orally from the singers and performers and then published into the multivolume anthologies from seventeen-sixty onwards. Apart from the book form, ballads in Scotland and England widely circulated in the form of broadside or a single sheet one side print. This form of printing gave it wider circulation and it was easy to print on a single side as well. Moreover, cheap printing material enabled large print runs and huge profits. The broadside ballads were often sold by the people who could sing them, enhancing its market. Adam Fox in his essay 'The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in The Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' notes that "A range of evidence reveals the way in which these broadsides were habitually pasted up in cottages, displayed on alehouse walls, and dispersed around public places. They were performed by professional balladeers as well as sung at work and in leisure by all manner of people" (171).

The publication of the ballads helped the publishing market and the popular culture flourish in the age of enlightenment. It also brought the distinct Scottish culture forth as Fox puts "In many other senses the broadside ballads produced in Edinburgh during this period helped to create or disseminate a diet of distinctive Scottish material" (189). Scotland published ballad broadsheets at larger scale than England (Fox, 172). Edinburgh was the centre for the publication and circulation of the ballads in through the revival period from mid-eighteenth century to nineteenth century but Glasgow emerged as another centre in the last decades of the eighteenth century. While defining the broadside ballads, Fox writes that:

Lyrics written in the Scots language, set to music of native composition, and concerning subject matter of genuinely Scottish interest and perspective were salient characteristics of this material. As a result, the broadside ballads of this period shed valuable light on the political opinions, social values and cultural life of Lowland Scotland in general, and of Edinburgh in particular, on the eve of the Enlightenment. (194)

These printed Scottish ballads captured the literary sensibility of the Lowland. The Scottish identity that emerged from these ballads was of the Lowland. The Highland was uneasy with the dominance of Lowland culture and the use of English.

The prominent poets of the age collected the ballads from the gentry and recreated them in a new manner. Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns wrote ballads on the themes and materials of the traditional ballads.

The Berks of Aberfeldy first appeared in print in the late seventeenth century and was originally the song accompanying a reel, or country-dance for three couples, before being popularised anew in the version later rewritten by Robert Burns. *Auld Lang Syne* was long established before it appeared on a single sheet and subsequently enjoyed versions by Allan Ramsay and most famously by Burns. (Fox 187)

The social, political and economic condition of the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe and Scotland and a new interest in folk paved the way for the revival of the folklore and ballads collections. The wider availability and affordability led the ballad to be one of the major literary genres in the era.⁷

The Anthologies

Thomas Bishop Percy was the first who published a collection of ballads. He titled it as *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry by Thomas Percy* (1765). As the name suggests, it contained the poetry of bards and minstrels before the age of Chaucer and Sidney (3). It consists of close to two hundred poems. He selected the poems which display “the gradation of our language, exhibit the progress of popular opinions, display the peculiar manners and customs of former ages, or throw light on our earlier classical poets” (3). It

⁷Ballad as an important genre continuously represented Scottish life of the past and present. These ballads are categorised in terms of medium in which published, time of publication, theme. They are differentiated as traditional or popular and oral and written. See anthologies for example *Percy's Reliques*, Scot's *Minstrelsy* etc. Ballads were published in books as anthologies, collected volumes, broadside, chapbook in magazine and newspapers. Ballads are often categorised by their time of reference. For example, the ballad 'Sir Patrick Spens' (1765) is much debated about the story it portrays. Many of the ballads scholars are of the view that the story that it narrates do not corresponds with any of the real life historical event. Ballads flourished in both oral and written form in the British island since late eighteenth century. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry by Thomas Percy* published in 1765; Scot, Walter. *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* which was published in 1802.

also includes several Scottish ballads of varying length. He consulted several smaller collections in Cambridge and Oxford as well as other libraries (5).

Another important collection of ballads is by Walter Scott which is titled *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* which was published in 1802. In the 'Introduction' of the collection he finely historicises the border between Scotland and England in the context of the ballads. He has divided the collection into three classes: Historical, Romantic and Imitations by modern authors (liii). The first class he writes was greatly composed and preserved either by minstrels or bards accompanying song and music. The second class of the romantic ballads were found in abundance in the Highland where they were originally composed and they are not directly connected with the life near the border of the Scotland. These ballads are mostly known in the peasantry of the Highland (lv). He chooses to let the third class speak about itself. He concludes his Preface by saying "By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country; the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And, trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings, which I shall not attempt to describe" (Iviii).

Francis James Childe published ballads from America. His collection and study on ballads are much acclaimed across the globe. His anthology was titled *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ran to ten volumes and was published from 1882 to 1898. As published from America this anthology made the Scottish ballads available to the United States of America. Robert Burns also contributed to the corpus of Scottish ballads and folk music. Robert Burns as often considered as Scottish national poet collected ballads and folks with musical notes in *Scottish Musical Museum* (1787). Other such collections were published by John Finley titled as *Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads: Chiefly Ancient* in 1808 in two volumes, *Scottish Ballads* by Robert Chamber in 1829 and *Ancient Ballads and Song from North of Scotland* by Peter Buchan in 1875.

Apart from these anthologies the section draws from *The Rebels' Ceilidh Song Book* published first in 1950 by the Bo'ness Rebels Literary Society. The term *ceilidh* is a Gaelic word means gathering. The book is the result of gatherings arranged by Bo'ness Rebels Literary Society. The book contains forty songs of different length and structure focusing on the Scottish identity and independence.

The next section opens up the themes, imagery and motifs that the Scottish ballads portray and it portrays Scottish life and culture. It examines the select ballads and how they matter in the construction of the Scottish identity.

The Ballads: Historical

In his book, Houston rightly points out that the history of Britain is also the history of Scotland, and the history of Scotland is also part of the history of Britain (1). Scottish and British people opposed each other and together created the history of both of the regions on the battlefield and in the colonies of the Empire. This meant that both these regions have shared close affinities for ages. Nonetheless, they have their own strands of cultures and societies and, therefore, histories. This history or the historic moments in the history of Scotland's becoming of a nation are particular to the Scottish life world, and they are significant to constructing it as a distinct region altogether from the rest of the United Kingdom. It is also partly constructed by and from the landscape that Scotland has been bestowed. Here, I turn to the selected ballads from the collection, their historical background, and their importance in Scottish independence.

Why is the ballad so important to Scots and Scotland? This is because it invokes three different dimensions of Scotland. First, if it was based on a true story, it gives us a sense of the idea of Scotland as an independent country. The second is its unusual geography and weather, which remain the same almost every month. Scotland's political and cultural relationship with other European neighbour countries is the third undercurrent significance.

Since the reign of Kenneth McAlpine Scotland has been an autonomous country. It has also been ruled from the different locations and different territories. It has also been ruled by England or accepted the king of England as an overlord. The ballads of Scotland have often narrated this in the variety of the stories. "Sir Patrick Spens" is one of them. "Scots, wha hae" is another song the portrays Scotland. "The Battle of Otterburn" (Child 302); "The Hunting of the Cheviot" (Child, 38); "Thomas the Rhymer" (Child 163); "Mary Hamilton" (Child 165); "The Bonnie Banks o' Loch Lomond" are the other such ballads which describe Scotland as an independent country and how it has fought with the southerners.

Walter Scott in his anthology of ballads discusses the border at greater length particularly the geography and society around the border. Scottish geography is seen here as an important factor in the construction of the Scottish identity. As mentioned earlier its

natural divisions between the Highlands and Lowlands is seen to be significant. Apart from this atmosphere of Scotland is also interesting in the terms of the historical development took place in Scotland. It has also helped to keep the enemy away and attracted. As narrated in the ballads “Sir Patrick Spens” the rough sea around Scotland make weather unpredictable in Scotland.

Scholars of Scottish ballads such as Robert Jamieson and Frances J. Fischer believed that ancient Scandinavian poetry and Scottish ballads have a common source. Browne notes that two elements, delight in atrocities and supernatural were not a part of English or Scottish poetry before the Norse came. The Norman Conquest could have brought these literary elements to the British island post 1066. “That traces of Scotland’s Nordic ballads could still be found in the last days of the nineteenth century is surprising, but there is nothing “commonplace” about the story of their texts, contexts, and what we know of them more than one thousand years after the Northmen came to Scotland” writes Fischer (307). He, in his essay “Scotland’s Nordic Ballads” examines the geographical position of the Scottish island, Orkney and Shetland, in north of the Scotland and discusses “how this geographic position combined with historical developments to bring us Nordic ballads” (307). It also important to note the communities of various ethnicities had settled on the north of the British island. Norsemen were the one of them. These communities made the idea of Scotland feasible. The ballad “Sir Patrick Spens” hints toward the cross border and ocean relationship of Scotland.

The first essential and much-anthologized ballad is, “Sir Patrick Spens” (Percy 1765; Chamber 1829). It was first published in anthology of Thomas Percy’ *Relinquinsh of Ancient English Poetry*. Scholars have been of different views regarding this composition, but most of the collectors have given space to it in their collections, although different versions of it.⁸ As the title points out, it is about the Scottish sailor Sir Patrick Spens and his ocean adventure story, who had sailed rough sea in obedience to the King. For what he sailed on the sea is again a matter of debate till today.

There are two historical incidents behind the ballad. The first is about the Scottish King, who was seeking a skillful sailor who could sail back Margaret, Maid of Norway, his granddaughter, as an heir to the Scottish throne in the year 1290. One of the oldest knights suggested the name of Sir Patrick, who took charge of bringing her to Scotland.

⁸See Wm. Hand Browne “Scottish Ballads” *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1912, pp. 129-153

However, unfortunately, as he forecasts at the beginning of the ballad, he and his crew members face a turbulent storm and shipwreck in which all of them die. Before they reach the shore, Margaret gets sick and dies on the board. This event happened.

To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the foam;
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis thou must fetch her home.

(Percy 113; Chamber 3)

Thomas Finlayson Henderson is of the view that the second narrative of the incident refers to King James VI and Anne of Denmark. He strongly associates this with King James VI, his pursuit and sailing for marriage with her, but rough weather led him to land in Norway (Browne 133). Nonetheless, divided into twenty-six stanzas, the ballad is one of the oldest, most important, and most popular in print form since *The Relinquish*. However, its exact dating and authorship are still unknown.

The historicity of the ballads is often questioned. The time the ballads present and the time of their production and circulation in the folks might differ. "Sir Patrick Spens" a historical ballad on the deeds of the sailor has also been to the topic of the debated about the authenticity and historical groundings of the ballads and oral literature. One of the events is believed to be the base of the narrative of it: first refers the expedition sent by Alexander III in 1281 to fetch her daughter who supposed to marry the King Eric of Norway. Second refers to the Regents of Scotland who sent an expedition to bring Margaret home upon the death of great-grand father Alexander III. She was the daughter of Eric and Margaret. The supposition is that king James III sent an expedition to take his bride home from Norway. She was the daughter of the king of Norway (Browne 133).

As Browne argues that only historical reference to the ballad is found in "The latest verifiable historical incident serving as the foundation of a popular ballad, is the rescue of Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle by the Warden, Scott of Buccleuch, in 1596" (133).

Several battles and skirmish took place in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. As mentioned above, King Alexander III died heirless with the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway. These events led to a political crisis and civil war in Scotland as more than ten contenders for the Scottish throne claimed the rightfulness of the heir to become king. Later, with the intervention of King Edward I of England, John Balliol was crowned as the King John of Scotland in 1292. Later, he joined hands with French King Philip IV,

which was named and signed as 'Auld Alliance' in 1295. They had mutually decided that Scotland would help France if England attacked, and in return, France would do the same if England attacked Scotland. King Edward I took the secret treaty as an insult and offence and later attacked Scotland, known as the Battle of Dunbar in 1292, also the first battle of the Wars of Independence. Scotland lost the battle, and the English King captured and imprisoned the King. The 'Stone of Destiny' was also shifted to London by Edward I. The stone is also known as the Stone of Scone. It is believed that coronation of the Scottish kings happened seating upon this stone. It was brought in Argyll by Kenneth in I early ninth century when he united the Scots and Picts kingdom. The future kings were to be coronated on the stone. However, it was taken to Westminster Abbey by Edward I in 1226 after victory on Scotland. The Stone is one of the proud possession of Scotland. Apart from this pride the stone is one the symbols of the Scottish monarchy upon which many kings were coronated as the kings of Scotland.

This Stone of Scone and its story is narrated in the finest song "Wee Magic Stane" by John McEvoy when the stone was removed and stolen from the Westminster Abbey.

The Wee Magic Stane

O the Dean of Westminster wis a powerful man,
He held all the strings of State in his hand,
But with all this great business it flustered him nane,
Till some rogues ran away wi' his wee magic stane.
With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

The ballad opens with the description of the dean of the Westminster who was given charge of security of the Stone. However, the stone was stolen and now he is frustrated and anxious because of this. Next stanza describes the hunting for the stone by the police of the dean.

Noo the Stane had great pow'rs that could dae such a thing
And without it, it seemed, we'd be wantin' a King,
So he called in the Polis and gave this decree--
"Go an hunt oot the Stane and return it tae me."
With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.
So the Polis went beetlin up tae the North,
They huntit the Clyde and they huntit the Forth,
But the wild folk up yonder just Kiddit them a',

For they didnae believe it wis magic at a',

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

The police went up till the North in Clyde and Forth. They had to face the people of Scotland who could not believe that this kind of incident had happened. When the dean met the Provost of Glasgow he gave him the idea of making a replica of the stone to send back the Westminster. The next stanza describes what happened when the people who actually had stolen the stone dig it out and send a message saying that the stone you got made is just a replica. They announce that any who finds the stone with an iron ring can claim themselves a king.

Noo the Provost o' Glesga, Sir Victor by name,

Wisawfy pit oot when he heard o the Stane,

So he offered the statues that staun in the Square,

That the High Churches' Masons might mak a few mair.

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

Whan the Dean o' Westminster wi' this wis acquaint,

He sent for Sir Victor and made him a Saint,

"Now it's no use you sending your Statues down heah,"

Said the Dean, "But you've giv'n me a right good idea,"

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

So he quarried a Stane o' the very same stuff,

And he dressed it a' up till it looked like enough,

Then he sent for the Press and announced that the Stane,

Had been found and returned to Westminster again.

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

Whan the reivers found oot what Westminster had done,

They went abootdiggin up Stanes by the ton,

And fur each wan they finished they entered a claim,

That this wis the true and original Stane.

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

So if ever you come on a Stanewi' a ring,
Jist sit yerseldoon and proclaim yersel King,
Fur there's nanewud be able to challegeyir claim,
That you'd croontyersel King on the Destiny Stane.

With a too ra li oorra' li oor a li ay.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

This song can be considered as an important commentary on the relationship between Scotland and England. The usurpation of the stone points toward the transfer of the power and rule on Scotland to England. It also symbolizes that how Scottish have been attempting to get their autonomy back. The character of dean representing the British government unable to find the solution to the real problems of the island and performs the unnecessary action being a powerful figure in the union. The theft and the regaining of the stone also connects the historical past and its contemporary importance for the Scottish.

Later, in the last few years of the thirteenth century, a rebellion broke out as a result of the murder of an English sheriff, which William Wallace led from the Scottish side. In 1297, a Battle of Stirling took place in which gallantry led by Wallace defeated the English army. That was the first major victory in the Wars of Independence, but King Edward did not stop, and he counterattacked on the Scots, where he won and was able to pacify the rebellion. Nonetheless, Wallace was appointed as guardian of Scotland (Johnson). The war scenes are portrayed in the ballad titled "Stirling Brig", available at least in two different versions.

Doon by Stirling Brig,
The Wallace lay in hiding,
As the English host,
Fae the south came riding,
Loud the River Forth,
'Tween them baith was roaring,
Rumbling at its sides,
O'er the Brig o' Stirling.
Watching from the woods,
The Wallace and the Moray,
As the English came,

With the Earl o'Surrey,
Ain by ain they crossed,
Oh the bridge was rumbling,
As they onward came,
O'er the Brig o'Stirling.
The Wallace gave a shout,
Out his men came running,
Stubbed the English host,
At the Brig o'Stirling,
Cressingham turned round,
The bridge was small and turning,
Moray cut him down,
On the Brig o' Stirling.
All the Englishmen,
Ran into each other,
Nane could turn about,
Nane could go much further,
Some fell o'er the side,
In the Forth were drowning,
Some were left to die,
On the Brig o'Stirling.
Surrey he was wild,
Couldnae ford the river,
Wished wi' all his might,
That the brig was bigger,
Then he rode awa',
Loud the man was cursing,
He'd lost all his men,
And the Brig o'Stirling.

(from "Mostly Medieval" <https://www.mostly-medieval.com/explore/stirling.htm>)

This English version of the ballad narrates the war at the Stirling Bridge in which William Wallace and Andrew Murray fought the battle with King Edward I's army. The ballad refers to the historical event with the people who partook in it. It narrates in details mentioned by the Scottish and British leaders. Wallace and Murray's squads had

outnumbered the English army and remaining fled with the King. The second version narrates the speech of William Wallace addressing his soldiers and referring to Scottish ancestors who had fought bravely for the freedom of Scotland and achieved it. The very first line invokes the ancient regime of Scotland and proud English enemies.

To Scotland's ancient realm,
proud England's armies came
To sap our freedom and o'erwhelm
our martial force in shame.
"It shall not be !" brave Wallace cried;
"It shall not be !" his Chiefs replied.
"By the name our fathers gave her,
our steel shall drink the crimson stream,
"We'll all her ancient rights redeem;
Our own broad swords shall save her!"

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricScotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

He said that the English armies came to shape their freedom and lead our (Scottish) armies to shame them by winning over us, but we will let it not happen. We will save our country, Scotland, from all the attacks. With his powerful address, Wallace charged up the army. They then attacked the English army, passing through the narrow bridge like wild waves. They proclaimed that they would dare fight the darkest night to drive the enemy back and win freedom. The stanza goes like this:

With hopes of triumph flushed,
the squadrons hurried o'er
thy bridge Kildean; and heaving,
rushed like wild waves to the shore.
"They come, they come," was the gallant cry,
"They come, they come," the loud reply.
O strength Thou gracious giver
of love and freedom's stainless faith,
We'll dare the darkest night of death
and drive them back for ever.

The following few stanzas narrate the war scene, depicting the bloodshed from both the sides. The ballad ends with a noteworthy stanza that addresses the army, praises it for

its fight for the right against the King, and casts their chains of servitude away. Moreover, we will always do the same wherever the Scotsman will assemble as one army.

High praise ye gallant band, who in the face of day,
Have fought for right gainst England's might and cast your chains away.

The foemen fell on every side. In purple hues the Forth was dyed;
Bedewed with blood the heather, while cries triumphant shook the air.

Thus shall we do.

Thus shall we dare.

Wherever Scotsmen rally!

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

In 1306, after a dispute, Robert Bruce became the king of Scotland. He had been hiding as an outlaw for a year after a clash between the army of Bruce and Edward I over the killing of his co-challenger for the Scottish throne (Johnson). However, with the death of King Edward I in 1307, Bruce roused again and established rule in some parts of Scotland. After almost fifteen years of pacifying Scottish rebels by Edward I, the war took place at Bannockburn in 1314 between Robert Bruce and the English army of King Edward II. The Battle of Bannockburn, which was decisive and significant in the history of Scotland as a nation after these two events, paved the way for it, establishing Robert Bruce as a King and Scotland as a country again.

Several ballads were composed based on the event of battle, and later Scottish poet Robert Burns wrote a ballad, "Scots, Wha, Hae" on the speech of Robert Bruce to his troop before the battle had begun. In this song, he invokes William Wallace, whose sword had saved the freedom of Scotland, and Bruce himself, who has often led the army. He welcomes the soldier in the impending war and cries that if we may die or win, we will not run away as traitors, cowards, or slaves. We will fight until death. It is now the time to fight for freedom.

Scots, whahaewi' Wallace bled,

Scots, wham Bruce has aften led;

Welcome to your gory bed,

Or to victory!

Wha will be a traitor knave?

Wha can fill a coward's grave!

Whasae base as be a slave?

Let him turn and flee!

The fifth stanza is significant in terms of the reason they are fighting against the English might. He avows that although by the woes and pain by oppression on us, because our sons are in service of chains to English, we will fight till the last breath and out sons, successive generations be free, from the tyranny, oppression, and their pain and woes. For that reason, we should fight.

By oppression's woes and pains!

By your sons in servile chains!

We will drain our dearest veins,

But they shall be free!

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricScotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

In the final stanza, he calls his fellow soldiers to eradicate the tyrant usurper, who had usurped their land and liberty. Although this song is written by a known poet in the near past, it captures the passion for independence. Nonetheless, it was sung as a Scottish national song for several decades. In that way, it indeed remained in the folks.

“The Hunting of Cheviots” or “Chevy Chase” is another ballad set in northern England and Southern Scotland, a borderland. This region always remained in conflict and constant flux as this is the point where the English and Scottish cultures get blurred, meet, and converse with each other. However, it is nonetheless vital and disputed as both countries always claim their authority upon it, which often leads to skirmishes and war. The following ballad depicts this conflict of the borderland between Scotland and England and its vital consequences: “Chevy Chase” or “The Hunting of Cheviot”, anthologized by Thomas Percy and James Childe. The ballad set in, as the title suggests, in Cheviot Hills near the border of Scotland and England.

The fine line in the image indicates the border of Scotland and England. The Cheviot Hills are situated in this area, which has been disputed. The ballad describes the event of war that emerged after a skirmish between Percy of England and Douglas from Scotland. The Cheviot is a range for hunting. Once, Percy went hunting and came in counter with Douglas and disputed aroused on the ownership of that part of the land.

Certainly, the key issue that comes up with this ballad in terms of English-Scottish relations is the ownership of land, to whom it belongs. The root cause is undoubtedly a land dispute. Another concern that it brings forth is the way the English overpower the

Scottish. Although it was under the rule of the Scottish king and lord, the English counterpart had easily trespassed into it. There was a general tendency in the English area that Scotland is part of the Isle, therefore, under English rule. However, the Scots continuously resisted the overpowering by any possible means. Moreover, this ballad is an example of the assertion of the Scottish region and its identity as a country.

The ballad Sons of Glencoe recounts the event of the massacre that took place near Glencoe in 1296. The soldiers who were given shelter by the McDonald. The majority of the soldiers were from the Campbell clan who were already enraged with the McDonalds. In order to pacify the rebellions in the Highland this massacre believed to be carried out. Robert Campbell of Glenlyon was the captain who led the soldiers on the order of Sir Dalrymple. The ballad is the account of the Scottish hospitality and the British deceives. The soldiers were loyal to the Crown of England William III and Marry II.

This ballad is divided into six stanzas following the alternative rhyme. It brings the imagery of the North of Scotland: its people, mountain, river, snow, and the culture. The ballad is important in the history of Scotland and the independence as it narrates the enmity of the British and Scottish people. It also shows that how English crown held power in the British island. The song is sung as reminder of the Scottish hospitality and their culture regardless of British attacks and overpowering.

The first two stanzas of the ballad describe the beauty of Glencoe and the clan MacDonald. The narrator of the song asks the MacDonalds to wake. The enemies have come here, why are you still sleeping? The dawn is here and why are yet sleeping. The soldiers attacked on the in the mid-night, when the all of the people of Glencoe were sleeping. The second stanza describes how the MacDonalds were at ease in the night as they were thinking about tomorrow but their dream is shattered as the foe attacked them. Their visions melted like snow with their death caused by a sudden attack.

Ye loyal MacDonalds awaken, awaken,
Why sleep ye sae soundly in face of the foe?
The clouds pass away and the dawn it is breaking,
But when shall awaken the sons of Glencoe?

Ye lay down to rest with your thoughts on the morrow,
Nor dreamt that lives visions were melting like snow,
But daylight has dawned on the silence of sorrow,
And ne'er shall awaken the sons of Glencoe.

The third stanza narrates the unforeseen attack. However, the nature gave them clue with heavy wind and lightning perhaps you are giving shelter to the traitor who have all plan to kill the MacDonalds. Now the houses of the Donalds are cold and destroyed. The forth stanza describes the Campbells and their treacherous desires to kill the MacDonalds. Despite of all hospitality they did not spare the MacDonalands.

The winds howl a warning, the red lightning flashes,
They heap on the faggots a welcome to show,
But traitors are brooding on death o'er the ashes,
Now cold are the hearths of the sons of Glencoe.

O dark was the omen that brought to our sheiling,
The Black-hearted Campbell wi' treacherous smile,
We gave them our food with a brother's own feeling,
For when we believed there was truth in Argyle.

My clansmen strike boldly, let none of you count
On the mercy of cowards who wrought us such woe.
The wail of their spirits when heard on the mountain,
Must surely awaken the sons of Glencoe.

O cruel as adders, ye struck us while sleeping,
But vengeance shall haunt ye wherever ye go.
Our loved ones lie murdered, no sorrow nor weeping
Can ever awaken the sons of Glencoe.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

The last two stanza narrates the courage and the bravery of the MacDonalds and they will not let go the cowards Campbells who attacked on them in the mid-night and MacDonalds revenge will follow them. When the cries of their spirits will be heard from the mountain the son of Glencoe. The narrator challenges the Campbells, who attacked like a snake in the night, will not able run as the revenge of the MacDoland will follow them wherever they will go, our loved ones are dead now but when they awake they will not spare you.

Another essential type of ballad and folksong that play substantial role in the formation of Scottish identity deal with historic symbols connected to the Scottish culture,

people, and history at large. This was the type in which ballads were mostly written in or after the eighteenth century. Robert Burns has written several fine songs, and a couple of them, like a folksong, have remained on the tongue of Scottish people for centuries. “Scot Waah, ho”, and “Flower of Scotland” are examples of these. Before turning to them, there is a category of ballads on Scottish independence and culture written by a known author. One of the best examples is Walter Scots’ “Coronation Coronach”. The ballad narrates the event of the crowning of the monarch of England, Elizabeth II in 1953, and the Scottish response to it. The ballad captures the feeling of loyalty and socio-political change on the coming of a new monarch on the throne. Loyalty, in the sense of belonging to the region and culture that is remotely ruled by the English monarch and the socio-political change it brought with the changing of the ruler. In this ballad, a traditional folk tone, as well as Scottish English, is used, which gives its connectedness to Scotland and its culture. In the last stanza, it invokes the lion.

Sae here’s tae the Lion, the bonny Rampant Lion,
An a langstreetchtae its paw,
Gie a Hampden Roar, an’ we’re oot the door:
- An ta-ta, tiChairlie’s maw.

The last line of the stanza is significant as it calls for walking out from the door with Hampden’s roar. The door could be the court, parliament, or the whole country. It says we are out now from the domination of the English monarch as free and independent Scots.

“Parcel Rogue in a Nation” is also an important ballad written by Robert Burns on the occasion of the Union of 1707. In that event, he believed, several Scots allegedly took bribes and agreed to a union of the parliaments. The song narrates the anger and frustration caused by the Union and the people who were in power to do it, Burn claims they sold our country for English gold. Although it represents the view of people who were against the union but, indeed, it vividly captures the socio-political landscape of Scotland. The first stanza describes the loss the Union would cause as he lists the loss of fame, ancient glory, and Scottish name. However, he gives reference to the natural borders of Scotland that Solway and Tweed naturally divide both countries.

Fareweel to a’ our Scottish fame,
Fareweel our ancient glory;
Fareweel to e’en our Scottish name
Saefam’d in sang and story.

Now Sarkrinstaeth' Solway sands,
An' Tweed runs t' th' ocean..
Tae mark whaur England's Province stands:
Sic a parcel of rogues in a nation!

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,
https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

The third significant revival that took place in Scottish folklore was after the 1950s. Several group bands and folksingers collected, recorded, and sometimes wrote fresh ballads and songs, which have been popular in the folks of Scotland even today. Although 'Flowers of Scotland' is not a ballad, it is widely accepted as an anthem for sporting events, and it connects the people of Scotland with the past and wars for independence. It also recalls and mourns whether it will come back or not. Although the song is patriotic, it invokes Scotland's landscape with a deeper meaning that it has changed now as the season changes. The poet here may be referring to the season of politics; earlier, it held its head high against proud Edward and made him think, but now it lies thick and still as autumn leaves.

O Flower of Scotland
When will we see your like again?
That fought and died for
Your wee bit Hill and Glen
And stood against him
Proud Edward's Army
Moreover, sent him homeward tae think again.
The Hills are bare now
And Autumn leaves lie thick and still
O'er land that is lost now
Which those so dearly held
That stood against him
Proud Edward's Army
And sent him homeward tae think again.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,
https://electricscotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

The author laments about the days of freedom that are past now and asks we will be able to see this kind of day again. When we will be able to see you like those who

fought and died for the cause of Scotland, for Hill and Glen, and like those who confront Edwards's army bravely. He invokes those brave hearts who fought for the country and its integrity.

O Flower of Scotland
When will we see your like again?
That fought and died for
Your wee bit Hill and Glen
And stood against him
Proud Edward's Army
And sent him homeward tae think again.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,
https://electricScotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

Another noteworthy song by Hemish Henderson is 'Freedom Come All Ye' written in 1960. It advocates freedom not only for the Scots but also for the diaspora. People from other countries settled in Scotland too, Irish or African. It invokes the ideas of solidarity, national identity, and independence.

Broken families in lands we've harried,
Will curse our names no more, no more;
Black and white, hand in hand together,
Will drive the tyrants from every shore

More significant is its invocation of imperialism. It asserts that although Scotland was a part of the colonization of other countries, Scotland itself suffered its consequences. Now Scotland wishes the freedom that would come to all, as the wind of change has already begun. Moreover, this thought will make the people in power think and change the ways in which they ill-employ the power for their gains. We will not join them for such activities.

It is a thought that will make our tyrants
(Rogues who fancy themselves so fine and gay)
Take the road and seek other pastures
For their ill ploys to sport and play. (2)

The song outlines the Scottish quest for freedom and social justice. It vividly captures the scenario of Scottish independence with references to Scotland's multicultural, diverse society and the urge for autonomy.

When MacLean meets with friends in Springburn
Sweet the flowers will all bloom that day for thee
And a black boy from old Nyanga
Will break his chains and know liberty.

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricScotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

The song brings together imagery and ideas of the pursuit of freedom and solidarity with diversity, which is rooted in Scottish culture, making it possible to be the anthem for the Scottish independence movement. Since the 1960s, the Scots have widely sung it at events and gatherings for freedom and autonomy. However, some people question it as it does not address all the problems that Scotland has been facing. Nonetheless, the song is exceptional in terms of its appeal to people for solidarity for freedom. It provokes dimensions or, instead, glorifies several attributes of the Scottish identity. In this way, it has remained prevalent in the Scottish folks even today.

“Ballad of the Men of the Knoydart” is yet another remarkable ballad set in the Highland region of Scotland. It narrates the story of the English lord and the Highlander who struggle for the land which is usurped by the former. In that way, it narrates power relations between Scotland and England. Lord Brocket was an English conservative leader and Nazi sympathiser. When seven ex-servicemen claimed some part of his land to settle, he denied it. Their encounter with each other is the storyline of the ballad. He abuses the Scots and threatens them that he will go to court and refers land-owning act.

Most significantly, it is the best example of English overpowering even in the twentieth century—the claim of war veterans denounced by the crooked lord with abuse. Moreover, the other title of it is “Seven Men of Knoydart”, referring to the seven Jacobite companions of Prince Charlie, which raises its historical importance in Scotland.

Written in 1960, the ballad is crucial as it portrays the Scottish struggle for land and independence as well as self-assertion. It challenges the socio-political and economic inequality prevalent in Scotland and even expresses frustration and anger. In this way, it becomes a powerful voice of Scottish assertion for rights and freedom. The following extracts are strong evidence of it.

‘Twas down by the farm of Scottas,
Lord Brocket walked one day,
And he saw a sight that worried him
Far more than he could say,

For the "Seven Men of Knoydart"
Were doing what they'd planned--
They had staked their claims and were digging their drains,
On Brocket's Private Land.
"You bloody Reds," Lord Brocket yelled,
"Wot's this you're doing 'ere?
It doesn't pay as you'll find today,
To insult an English peer.
You're only Scottish half-wits,
But I'll make you understand.
You Highland swine, these Hills are mine!
This is all Lord Brocket's Land.

When Brocket heard these fightin' words,
He fell down in a swoon,
But they splashed his jowl with uisge,
And he woke up mighty soon,
And he moaned, "These Dukes of Sutherland
Were right about the Scot.
If I had my way I'd start today,
And clear the whole dam lot!"

Then up spoke the men of Knoydart:
"You have no earthly right.
For this is the land of Scotland,
And not the Isle of Wight.
When Scotland's proud Fianna,
With ten thousand lads is manned,
We will show the world that Highlanders
Have a right to Scottish Land."

"You may scream and yell, Lord Brocket--
You may rave and stamp and shout,
But the lamp we've lit in Knoydart
Will never now go out.

For Scotland's on the march, my boys--
We think it won't be long.
Roll on the day when The Knoydart Way
Is Scotland's battle song.”

(from *The Rebel Ceilidh song Book*,

https://electricScotland.com/culture/songbook/flower_scotland.htm)

Scottish National Party after the merger in 1935 emerged as a party which devoted for the cause of Scottish independence. William Horn won a municipal election in 1949 from Bo'ness. Bo'ness was the place where the SNP was firmly rooted and working on the campaigns on the Scottish independence. The Bo'ness SNP office used to organize ceilidh in which patriotic songs were sung and performed in a Bo'ness Rebel club which was later named as the Bo'ness Literary Society. It had close affinities with the SNP. The society had published the book *The Rebel Ceilidh Songs Book*.

This book and the events that were held under the banner of it help the people of Scotland keep the performances and memories of the battles and feuds happened for the freedom of Scotland. It helped generate the vigor to act for the cause of nation, Scotland. The society and the book remained of major importance for the Scottish National Party to campaign for the polling based on the propagation of historical autonomy of Scotland and the twentieth century assertion.

The ballads that were analyzed in the previous section are among the thirty-five ballads and folksongs. This collection is itself a propagation of the quest for the independence Scotland has long been desiring since the Union of 1707. Majority of the ballads and folksongs of this collection narrate the desire for independent Scotland, and the struggles for the independence. In so doing they bring the Scottish life-world of the late thirteenth century to the eighteenth century to life and give it contemporary relevance. The ballads and folksongs are also the specimens of influence of the past on the contemporary struggle and movement for the independence of Scotland from the British Crown.

Most significantly the ballads and folksongs collected in this book invoke certain characteristics of the Scottish society and identity. The majority of the ballads and folksongs are set on the background of wars and battles in which they glorify the Scottish nobles and the warriors. The symbols and the imagery that are presented are also directly in relation with the monarch either Scottish or English.

If these ballads and folksongs are taken as representative of Scottish identity, they obviously lack an account of a non-aristocratic class. They do not present an inclusive idea of Scotland. They are often blind to the people away from the court life and wars, the labor class. It also blurs the different ethnicities that have settled in Scotland. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, people from Africa were brought to the British island. These songs do not really invoke the people of lower social, ethnic, economic statuses. Nonetheless, Scotland itself was/is a minority in the British island as the power is always held with the southerners, the English. Therefore, it can be said that the movement and struggles for independence is located in the narrow sense of the Scottish identity. This is reiterated by Collin Kidd. Kidd, he writes: that:

History rather than natural law or political theology derived from Scripture was the backbone of political argument in early modern Scotland. Scottish history as ideology was multifaceted and highly developed. Scotland's past provided material for a national origin myth, for national independence either through the antiquity of settlement or on the grounds of the evident existence of an independent foreign policy in the legendary league of King Achaius with Charlemagne; for competing prescriptive ideologies of the monarchy, constitution, and reformed church; for the religious nation's 'chosen people' status; for the church's autonomy; and for pride in a caste of aristocratic warriors who preserved freedom intact against foreign invaders and domestic tyrants. (Kidd 27)

The pride about history and the aristocratic class is the one such instance of the exclusivist construction of the Scottish identity limiting it to a single representative class. This class and race based paradigms of identity construction performed an ideological function in the colonies as well. The selective appropriation of the history and folklore is, as we shall see, commonly found within the colonial and postcolonial context as well. The next chapter examines the caste based identity construction in Kachchh through an examination of the *lokgeet*.

To recapitulate, this chapter in the first section sets up a historical and political background. It discusses how Scotland as a nation came into being and what political and social factors played role in this process. I have shown that, in the history of Scotland, the Unions of 1603 and 1707 are crucial in relation to the claims for autonomy. Both the unions with British Crown made the question of Scottish independence more complicated and delayed with unions of parliaments as well as creation of new identity which is still persistent. I have next discussed the ballad as a genre and have examined how folklore

revival has paved the way for the publications of numerous volumes of anthologies of ballads in Scotland. I show how ballads in Scotland help sustain the histories of independent Scotland and record the sites of popular memories in the form anthologies, broadsides, chapbook and later in digital recording in the twentieth century. The fourth sections analyses ballads in context of the construction of Scottish identity. It argues that the ballads brought into public by different modes of recording in the eighteenth and nineteenth century majorly focuses on the symbols and imagery that were deemed to be considered as nationalist. These symbols and the images, however, portraying a certain limited class and race based aspect of the people and society of Scotland has tended to be exclusivist. The ballads represent this idea of class and race of the leaders and warriors of the battles fought for Scottish independence. The identity that is constructed based on these ballads leads to narrow and limited sense of identity of the society and nation as whole. In the similar fashion next chapter explores the exclusivist constructions of identity in Kachchh *lokgeet*.