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Songs Lost and Found: Katherine Philips's *Pompey's Ghost*

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SONGS LOST AND FOUND: KATHERINE PHILIPS'S *POMPEY'S GHOST*

INTRODUCTION

Katherine Philips (1632–1664) was one of the most important poets of her day. Deeply connected with the artistic milieu of early Restoration London, her words were set to music by Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes, Henry Purcell, and others. Over a dozen of these song settings survive and will be published as part of the forthcoming OUP *Complete Works of Katherine Philips*, edited by Elizabeth Hageman and Andrea Sununu. The most famous and enduring of these songs is Purcell's exquisite setting of *O! Solitude*, Philips's translation of stanzas from 'La solitude' by Antoine Girard de Saint-Amant.¹ Apart from *O! Solitude*, however, musical settings of Philips's texts were not widely disseminated: most survive in single sources, few were printed. Much of what we know about the existence of the music associated with Philips's works was brought to light by Hageman and Sununu in a 1993 article.² Shortly its publication Hageman discovered another setting of a Philips lyric, in a manuscript, mostly comprising psalm tunes, compiled in New England in the late eighteenth century (**Ex. 1, Pl. 1**). The song was from Philips's 1663 play *Pompey*, a translation of Pierre Corneille's tragedy *Pompée*: specifically, the Act 3 song beginning 'From lasting and unclouded day'. The only other setting of the song to have survived is thought to have been written by John Banister for a London revival of the play in the early 1670s; the setting of the song for the original stage production in Dublin has been lost. This new setting appears to have been composed in the 1670s or 80s. In the manuscript it was titled after the character who delivers it, 'Pompey's Ghost', but otherwise there was no reference to its original context or creator(s). This obscure setting was, however, no isolated instance. In fact, as this essay will show, this setting of *Pompey's Ghost* enjoyed a long afterlife in New England, well into the nineteenth century. Moreover, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the song also acquired a mythology as being of Scottish origin. In Scotland it was, however, sung to a different tune although no notated sources of it survive.

This essay builds on Hageman's discovery by examining the complex afterlife of the song that became known as *Pompey's Ghost*. I will argue that although one of Philips's least known songs today it was in fact her most widely disseminated text, though it largely circulated anonymously, leaving room for misattribution and appropriation. Between 1663 and 1806 the song was set to music at least five times, with two of these settings enjoying independently significant afterlives. In the process, the song acquired attributions to at least two other authors and became entwined with nationalistic mythologies of both Scotland and New England. Moreover, the tune to which it was sung in Scotland, which had been thought lost, can now also be identified, thus revealing yet more of the song's complex history.

Pl. 1 near here.

Ex. 1 near here.

¹ It was set by Purcell in the mid-1680s. Recording: *Henry Purcell: The Complete Secular Solo Songs*. The King's Consort. Hyperion CDS44161/3 (2003).

² Elizabeth Hageman and Andrea Sununu, 'New Manuscript Texts of Katherine Philips', *English Manuscript Studies*, 4 (1993), 174–219. See also, Joan Applegate, 'Katherine Philips's "Orinda upon Little Hector": An Unrecorded Musical Setting by Henry Lawes', *English Manuscript Studies*, 4 (1993), 272–80; Line Cottagnies, 'New Sources for Two Songs by Katherine Philips', *Appositions: Studies in Renaissance / Early Modern Literature and Culture*, 7 (2014), online <<http://appositions.blogspot.com/2014/07/line-cottagnies-two-songs-by-katherine.html>>; Linda Phyllis Austern, 'The Conjunction of Word, Music, and Performance Practice in Philips's Era', in David L. Orvis and Ryan Singh Paul (eds.), *The Noble Flame of Katherine Philips: A Poetics of Culture, Politics, and Friendship* (Pittsburgh, PA, 2015), 213–41.

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SONG ORIGINS

Katherine Philips's *Pompey* was first staged at the newly opened Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin, probably on 10 February 1663. The playbook was published anonymously in 1663, appearing in two editions printed by John Croke: first in Dublin, then shortly after in London. Elizabeth Hageman suggests that the play was also staged in London soon after the Dublin performance, before the publication of the London edition.³ *Pompey* was evidently well received. According to the title page of the 1663 London playbook, it was 'Acted with Great Applause'. Philips's success was short-lived, however. By the following summer she was dead, succumbing to smallpox. Thereafter the performance history of *Pompey* is uncertain, though the play text was reprinted in posthumous collection *Poems by the Most Deservedly Admired M^{rs}. Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda*, edited by Sir Charles Cotterell (London: Henry Herringman, 1667, 1669, 1678; Jacob Tonson, 1710).⁴

Pompey was significant in two ways: it was the first play by a woman to be produced on the professional stage in the British Isles and it was pathbreaking in its use of music. To her translation Philips appended a newly written song to the conclusion of each act. These songs reflect upon the action and, in Acts I and IV, drive it forward: something unique in Restoration drama. The singular use of music in *Pompey* was first discussed by Curtis Price in 1979.⁵ As he explained, between 1660 and c.1705 London theatre audiences typically heard short instrumental pieces (act tunes), unrelated to the drama, performed between the acts by a small orchestra housed in the music room or in front of the stage in the pit. It is rare to find songs substituted for act tunes before the turn of the eighteenth century, something which thereafter became increasingly common with the influx of foreign singers.

We know from Philips's letters that the songs for the Dublin production of *Pompey* were set to music by members of the circle of her patron, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery.⁶ The Act I and V songs were set by the Welsh royalist Colonel John Jeffreys (d. 1688). The Act II and IV songs were each set by an unidentified French composer, one of whom is identified only as 'Le Grand'. The Act III song was composed by the polemicist Sir Peter Pett (1630–99), who sat in the Irish parliament as MP for Askeaton (1661–6) and who served as the Advocate-General for Ireland.⁷ Of the Dublin production the music only appears to survive for the Act IV song.⁸ There are, however, also settings of the Act I, III, IV, and V songs attributed to the London composer John Banister (d. 1679). Banister held a place in the violin band at the court of Charles II, an ensemble that also contributed music to the London theatres. Banister is known to have written music for a range of stage productions in the 1660s and 70s.⁹ Although there are no records of a revival of *Pompey*, the circumstantial evidence suggests that Banister wrote his settings for a London production staged in 1672.

The setting discovered by Elizabeth Hageman is for the Act III song, in which Pompey's ghost comforts his widow Cornelia, who has fallen asleep on a couch, reassuring her of Caesar's impending demise. Philips's lyric comprises thirty-three lines in eleven stanzas (aaabbbccc etc.).

³ Hageman, 'Reading Katherine Philips's Plays in Manuscript, on Stage, and in Print', paper read at *Restoration Women Writers and their Readers*, virtual conference, The Huntington Library, 15–16 April 2021.

⁴ *Pompey* was not included in the unauthorized edition (*Poems. By the Incomparable, Mrs. K. P.*) issued in London by Richard Marriott in 1664. The Tonson edition was a reprint of the Herringman. For a discussion of the publication history of the play, Germaine Greer and Roger Little (eds.), *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda*, vol. 3, *The Translations* (Essex, 1993).

⁵ Curtis Price, 'The Songs for Katherine Philips' *Pompey* (1663)', *Theatre Notebook*, 33 (1979), 61–6; reprinted in condensed format in his monograph *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 61–5.

⁶ Katherine Philips, *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus* (London, 1705).

⁷ For Pett, see J. K. Laughton, rev. Sean Kelsey, 'Pett, Sir Peter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* [ODNB] (last accessed 8 Sept. 2021). See also, Price, 'The Songs for Katherine Philips' *Pompey* (1663)', 65 n. 14.

⁸ First line: 'Proud monuments of royal dust'; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. G.640, fos. 31^v–30^v (inv.).

⁹ For Banister, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1550–1690* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1995), chapter 12.

A truncation of the stage directions seems to account for the title, *Pompey's Ghost*, by which the song became widely known. The lyric is given as follows in the Dublin playbook:¹⁰

After the third Act, to *Cornelia* asleep on a Couch,
Pompey's Ghost sings this in a Recitative Air.

*From lasting and unclouded Day,
From Joys refin'd above Allay,
And from a spring without decay.*

*I come, by Cynthia's borrow'd Beams
To visit my Cornelia's Dreams, 5
And give them yet sublimer Theams.*

*Behold the Man, thou lov'dst before,
Pure streams have wash'd away his Gore,
And Pompey now shall bleed no more.*

*By Death my Glory I resume; 10
For 'twould have been a hasher Doom
T' outlive the Liberty of Rome.*

*By me her doubtfull fortune try'd,
Falling, bequeaths my Fame this Pride,
I for it liv'd, and with it Dy'd. 15*

*Nor shall my Vengeance be withstood
Or unattended with a Flood,
Of Roman and Egyptian Blood.*

*Cæsar himself it shall pursue,
His dayes shall troubled be, and few, 20
And he shall fall by Treason too.*

*He, by severity Divine
Shall be an offering at my Shrine;
As I was his, he must be mine.*

*Thy stormie Life regret no more, 25
For Fate shall waft thee soon a shoar,
And to thy Pompey thee restore.*

*Where past the fears of sad removes
We'l entertain our spotless Loves,
In beauteous, and Immortal Groves. 30*

¹⁰ *Pompey: A Tragedy* (Dublin: John Croke, 1663), 46–7. To aid the discussion below, the lines of the song have been numbered but do not reflect the song's position in the play. The Dublin playbook was compiled under Philips's supervision and is taken throughout the following discussion as the copytext for comparison with other sources. For this song there are no significant deviations between the Dublin print and that issued in London by Croke (1663), nor with the posthumous editions of the *Poems* cited above.

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*There none a Guilty Crown shall wear,
Nor Cæsar be Dictator there.
Nor shall Cornelia shed a Tear.*

The stage direction confusingly describes the song as a ‘Recitative Air’. Ahead of the London reprinting of the play, in a letter to her friend Sir Charles Cotterell, dated 2 May 1663, Philips included the following among her corrections: ‘After the third Act I have us’d an Expression which I take to be improper; *Recitative Air*: I desire it may be made *Recitative Musick*’ (Letter XXIX). The revision did not make its way into print. John Banister nevertheless understood the intended meaning and responded with a through-composed song in G minor (the key associated with death in seventeenth-century England) in a declamatory style, mixing elements of recitative and more lyrical air: the opening is given in **Ex. 2**. The song was thus designed to be dramatically functional, reinforcing the suggestion that Banister’s settings were made for the stage. The style of his setting meant, however, that it was unlikely to be popular or widely disseminated: indeed, it is found only in two manuscripts, both dating from the 1670s.¹¹ By contrast the setting in E minor discovered by Hageman (**Ex. 1, Pl. 1**) is a strophic song comprising six, six-line stanzas (the additional three lines generated by repeating Philips’s last stanza), with each of the six lines syllabically set to a short two-bar phrase. The lyric of the E minor setting is close to that of the published wordbook of *Pompey*. It is tempting to assign this simple setting to Peter Pett. However, in terms of style it is more consistent with songs the 1670s or 80s than the early 1660s. Moreover, especially given his close association with Philips, one would expect Pett to have made some effort to engage with the overall intended style of ‘Recitative Air’, as did Banister. Instead, the transformation of the song into a simple and singable one points to an independent setting apparently divorced from its dramatic context.

Ex. 2 near here.

The E minor setting of *Pompey’s Ghost* seems to have originated in London. It is, however, found with music notation in only a single British source: the manuscript songbook of one Sarah Jones, compiled around the turn of the eighteenth century. The songbook, now in the Library of Congress, Washington (M1.A18 No. 1), comprises two manuscripts copied *dos-à-dos*; in total there are several short instrumental pieces and thirty-five songs, secular and sacred, by a range of Restoration composers including Matthew Locke, Henry and Daniel Purcell, and John Eccles. The otherwise unknown Sarah Jones signed the front of the manuscript and dated it ‘1703. 1704’.¹² The first song is *Pompey’s Ghost*. The setting is unattributed. The lyric includes minor variants from that in the printed playbook. Only the vocal melody is given, which corresponds to the Tenor part of the setting later copied in New England (**Ex. 1, Pl. 1**), though here it is given an octave higher and in treble clef. On fo. 10^v, an otherwise unused page of the manuscript, *Pompey’s Ghost* was partly copied again, by what appears to be the same person. The first two lines or so were written beneath the first stave of music, though with minor variants from that copied at the start of the book; the opening six notes were also copied, without time-signature, key signature, or bar lines—and headed ‘y^e Treble to Pompeys Ghost’. Although the manuscript offers no detail on the origins of *Pompey’s Ghost*, many of the secular songs are connected to the London stage (plays and concerts). Several have concordances in early instalments of *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick, or the Newest Songs Made for y^e Theatres & other Occasions*, a music periodical issued between 1702 and 1711 by John Walsh and John Hare.¹³ As

¹¹ Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 350, pp. 93–7; London, British Library, Add. MS 33234, fos. 30^v–31^v.

¹² I am grateful to Susan Clermont (Music Division Librarian) for providing me with a copy of images from the manuscript.

¹³ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson (eds.), *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702–1711: A Facsimile Edition* (Aldershot, 2007), introduction.

Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson note in their facsimile edition, the periodical ‘appealed to young ladies wishing to sing the most fashionable and popular theatre songs, gentlemen wishing to play the tunes on their flutes and music masters wanting the latest songs to teach to their pupils.’¹⁴ Given that *Pompey* does not seem to have been revived after 1672 it seems likely that the song lyric was set independently but it was evidently performed publicly. *Pompey’s Ghost* was one of a number of secular songs that also circulated in New England, where it enjoyed considerable popularity. It is to New England that we first turn.

BENJAMIN TRUMBULL’S TUNEBOOK

Hageman discovered the *Pompey’s Ghost* setting in a tunebook in the Huntington Library (MS HM 13717).¹⁵ The manuscript was compiled by the historian and preacher Rev. Benjamin Trumbull (1735–1820), whose family came to Connecticut around the turn of the eighteenth century and became prominent in the colony. Benjamin’s grandson Lyman Trumbull (1813–96) represented Illinois in the US Senate and co-authored the 13th amendment to the US Constitution, formally abolishing slavery. Born in Hebron, Connecticut, Benjamin Trumbull studied theology at Yale, enrolling in 1755. He graduated in 1759 before being ordained pastor of the Church at North Haven, Connecticut, in 1760, a post he held until his death. In 1762 Trumbull received the degree of A.M. He took the D.D. in 1796, also from Yale. Trumbull served as soldier and chaplain in the Revolutionary War, and published sermons, pamphlets, and books, the most famous of which is *A Complete History of Connecticut* (vol. 1, Hartford, 1797; vol. 2, New Haven, 1818). Trumbull maintained an active musical role throughout much of his life. He taught music during his time at Yale, keeping accounts of ‘money receiv’d for writing and scholling in New Haven in the year 1758’, including ‘making a singing book’ for two students.¹⁶ After graduation in 1759 Trumbull played an active role in the musical life of his church. In 1768 he conceived a plan for congregational music, and in the early 1780s he led a committee advising the singing school in New Haven of appropriate tunes to be sung.¹⁷

Trumbull’s tunebook has received little scholarly attention. It is a small oblong octavo manuscript (c.120x180mm), bound in contemporary brown leather, comprising 161 numbered pages, prefaced by four unnumbered leaves of different paper. There is an incomplete index at the end. The manuscript is typical of American tunebooks of the period. The main section begins (pp. 2–12) with rudiments of music, derived from an edition of Thomas Walter’s popular *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*.¹⁸ Most of the rest of the manuscript is taken up with psalm settings and hymns tunes (with and without text) for two, three or four voices (‘Treble’, ‘Counter’ or ‘Counter Tenor’, ‘Tenor’, and ‘Bass’), commonly found in psalmody publications from in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Trumbull also copied half a dozen secular songs of English origin. The parts in Trumbull’s manuscript are given on a single opening, with many copied stratigraphically; additional texts for several pieces are copied on adjacent unruled pages. These kinds of manuscript psalmody compilations from New England were primarily intended for secular performance, rather than for use in the church.¹⁹

¹⁴ Baldwin and Wilson (eds.), *The Monthly Mask*, 3.

¹⁵ I am grateful to staff at the Huntington Library for providing me with a copy of the manuscript and information on its physical characteristics.

¹⁶ Quoted in Ruth Mack Wilson, assisted by Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Connecticut’s Music in the Revolutionary Era* (Hartford, CT, 1979), 56. Trumbull’s papers are housed at New Haven, Yale University (MS 505: <<https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/3089>>).

¹⁷ Wilson, *Connecticut’s Music in the Revolutionary Era*, 64–5 and 89–91.

¹⁸ Walter’s influential treatise was first published in Boston in 1721 and went through six editions to 1764. See also, Matt B. Jones, ‘Bibliographic notes on Thomas Walter’s “Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained”’, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 41 (1932), 235–46.

¹⁹ See Nikos A. Pappas, ‘Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture of the American South and West (1700–1820)’ (2 vols, Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 2013), i. 770–1.

Trumbull's manuscript is difficult to date precisely. Hymn tunes were primarily disseminated through printed publications in America until the Revolutionary War (1775–83). Richard Crawford and David P. McKay have argued that the War brought music publishing to a virtual standstill and led to an increase in manuscript dissemination.²⁰ The majority of the hymn tunes in Trumbull's manuscript appear to have been derived from printed sources. However, as tunes were frequently reprinted it is generally impossible to state with confidence which editions were used. The unnumbered leaves at the front of the manuscript include the tune for *The Funeral Thought*, first published in Aaron Williams's *The Universal Psalmist* (London, 1763). The pieces towards the end of the manuscript were added after 1770. William Billings's *Brookfield Tune* (p. 128) was first published in 1770 and the *XLVI Psalm Tune* (p. 154) was first published in 1778. Trumbull's initials, but with no indication of his degrees also appear on p. 10, among the rudiments of music, suggesting that the opening section was copied before 1762. Two settings towards the end of the manuscript carry the inscription 'Composed in three Parts, by B.T. A.M' (pp. 147, 149), which suggest that they were entered after Trumbull's graduation in 1762 but before he took the D.D. in 1796. These tunes (*Gilead* and *The CXLVIII Psalm Tune*) also show that American composers were adding new tunes to the repertory. Crawford and McKay have argued that the impetus for American composers to 'contribute to a musical repertory essentially imported from Europe' was coincident with the rise of manuscript dissemination in the 1770s and early 1780s.²¹ Thus the evidence suggests that Trumbull's manuscript was copied c.1760 and c.1785, with much of it completed in the 1770s. The *terminus ante quem* is reinforced by the absence of Lewis Edson's highly popular and widely copied tunes *Lenox*, *Bridgewater*, and *Greenfield*, all published in 1782.²²

Trumbull copied the secular songs together towards the middle of the manuscript (pp. 108–25). They date from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; many are commonly found in New England manuscript tunebooks. The first song is *Pompey's Ghost*. The earliest song is, however, William Lawes's famous setting of Robert Herrick's *Gather ye rosebuds*, composed in the 1630s: here titled 'Advice to the Fair Sex', with the text given in Latin. The English text was to be supplied on p. 122 but only the title was entered. The other secular songs were also quite old by the time they were copied. For example, *The Duke of Marlborough's taking a town in Flanders* (pp. 94–5) refers to the first Duke, John Churchill (1650–1722) and the 1705 campaign in Flanders as part of the War of Spanish Succession. One of the most interesting songs is titled 'Great Brittain's Resolution Against the French' (pp. 112–13, 116), a combination of Henry Purcell's two famously patriotic numbers *To arms, your ensign straight display* and *Britons strike home* from the play *Bonduca, or the British Heroine* (Z574) (1695). Both songs were popular in the eighteenth century and often printed together as broadsheets. Trumbull copied the treble part but an octave lower than the original, and in tenor clef: an arrangement style common in his and other similar tunebooks. There are some minor variants when compared with the main printed sources. The bass for *To arms, your ensign straight display*, however, appears to be new: the imitation of the original replaced with a bass that largely shadows the tenor part, sometimes in octaves, in a style similar to that of the *Pompey's Ghost* setting.

POMPEY'S GHOST IN NEW ENGLAND

While Hageman was first to identify *Pompey's Ghost* as a setting of a Katherine Philips's lyric, the song's presence in New England tunebooks had in fact been commented upon in print, albeit in passing, as early as 1979. In her monograph *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, Ruth Mack Wilson noted that *Pompey's Ghost* was one of several 'perennial favorites' among manuscript

²⁰ Richard Crawford and David P. McKay, 'Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tune-Book of 1782', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 84 (1974), 43–64 at 48–9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

²² A point made also by David W. Music in his analysis of a similar tunebook: 'The Meyer Manuscript: An 18th-Century American Tunebook', *Current Musicology*, 29 (1980), 31–40 at 34.

tunebooks books compiled in eighteenth-century Connecticut.²³ Wilson did not expand upon the sources in which she found *Pompey's Ghost*, except to note that 'Staple items in manuscript commonplace books, from Miles and Whitman to Deacon Story and Benjamin Trumbull, were pieces such as "Pompey's Ghost", "Advice to the Fair Sex", and the "Divine Use of Musick"'.²⁴ Of these sources *Pompey's Ghost* is not found in either the Deacon Story manuscript (compiled: Durham, Connecticut, c.1760)²⁵ nor in Susannah Miles's 'Singing Book' (compiled: Connecticut, 1759).²⁶ The Samuel Whitman manuscript does include *Pompey's Ghost*, but only the text.²⁷ The manuscript was compiled in West Hartford, Connecticut, and is dated 1768.²⁸ Whitman (1753–1809) enlisted in the colonial militia in 1775; after the War he became an esteemed horse breeder. His manuscript is in the same format as that of Trumbull, with (printed) rudiments of music at the front followed by mostly hymn tunes. Towards the rear of the manuscript the text of *Pompey's Ghost* is given in full: it is not clear whether the music was also once included but excised. The text is closely related to that given in the printed playbook, even retaining many of the archaic spellings. However, as in the Trumbull manuscript, the text is arranged in six, six-line stanzas, with the final three lines of the original repeated. As did Trumbull (cf. **Pl. 1**), Whitman numbered each stanza but reordered them as 1, 3, 4, 2, 5, 6. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the text implies that it was intended for, or related to, the same musical setting as found in the Trumbull manuscript.

Nikos Pappas in his 2013 doctoral dissertation on 'Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture of the American South and West (1700–1820)' also noted the presence of *Pompey's Ghost* in two further manuscripts, those once belonging to John Sandey and to Henry Wells Jr. Pappas does not, however, discuss the music nor did identify the author or origin of *Pompey's Ghost*. The Sandey manuscript is housed at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.²⁹ It is similar in structure and contents to Trumbull's manuscript, comprising seventy sacred and secular tunes for tenor and bass, prefaced by a brief explanation of the rudiments of music: a number of the hymn tunes are American in origin. The manuscript (115 pages) was copied by several hands over several decades. The front and rear inside covers are dated 14 April 1756 and inscribed 'John Sandey': he has not been identified.³⁰ There are several other inscriptions (practise signatures, chits, maxims) throughout the manuscript, including the years 1741 and 1756, and 'Jethro Briggs his Book / 1782'. This was presumably Deacon Jethro Briggs (1744–1824) of Newport, Rhode Island,³¹ ordained in 1783.³² The Sandey and Trumbull manuscripts share a large number of concordances, including the Latinized version of *Gather ye rosebuds* (titled 'Advice to the Fair Sex'), though here the text is also given in English. Apart from some minor textual variants, the setting of *Pompey's Ghost* is the same as that found in Trumbull's manuscript. The tunebook of the Presbyterian Henry Wells Jr (b. 1765), now in the Library of Congress, was

²³ Wilson, *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, 56. Wilson does not discuss the music or identify the settings.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁵ Chicago, Newberry Library, VAULT Case MS minus VM 2116 .S88r 1740.

²⁶ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, f.453.

²⁷ I am grateful to Sierra Dixon of the Connecticut Historical Society for providing me with a copy of the manuscript.

²⁸ Hartford, Connecticut, Connecticut Historical Society, Whitman Papers, Box 3, Miscellaneous Folder.

²⁹ The manuscript is listed in the American Antiquarian Society's database *American Vernacular Music Manuscripts, ca. 1730–1910* (<<http://popmusic.mtsu.edu/ManuscriptMusic/>>). Pappas discusses the manuscript briefly and lists its contents ('Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture', i. 261–5) but does not discuss the setting. The complete manuscript can be viewed online at <<https://archive.org/details/ManuscriptMusicBookJohnSandey/>>.

³⁰ Pappas gives Sandey as the compiler, and notes that it bears a location, though he does not cite a page number: 'Portsmouth, most likely in Rhode Island, north of Newport on Rhode (Aquidneck) Island in Narragansett Bay' ('Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture', i. 238).

³¹ Samuel Briggs, *The Archives of the Briggs Family* (Boston, 1880), 232.

³² J. O. Choules, *A Sermon Preached November 26, 1829* (Newport, 1830), 14.

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3 compiled in Montague, Massachusetts mostly between 1781 and 1782.³³ The manuscript survives
4 incomplete, with about two-thirds of the approximately 170 pages lost. The repertoire compiled
5 by Wells was influenced by trends in Connecticut and heavily favours American tunes over
6 European ones. The setting of *Pompey's Ghost* is the last item, and one of only two secular songs
7 now in the manuscript. At the time of writing it was not possible to obtain a reproduction of the
8 song from the Library of Congress. Pappas describes *Pompey's Ghost* as in three parts in an
9 AA'BB'CC' structure; his coded incipits suggests that the middle and lower parts largely
10 corresponding to the Tenor and Bass familiar from the Trumbull and Sandey manuscripts; the
11 treble part was newly added. What appears to be the same three-part setting (with minor
12 variations) is found in another Connecticut tunebook, which also seems to have been compiled
13 in the early 1780s: the Jesse Rogers manuscript, housed at the Watkinson Library, Trinity
14 College, Hartford,³⁴ which comprises over 100 pages of repertoire spanning much of the
15 eighteenth century. It includes the same printed 'Gamut' instructions as that in the Whitman
16 manuscript and others. As Ruth Mack Wilson notes, these rudiments were printed before music
17 notation was widely available in print in America: the text was printed but the 'Musical
18 Characters' (staves, clefs, notes etc.) had to be added by hand. In the Rogers manuscript the
19 'Musical Characters' of the 'Gamut' are all printed, suggesting that it dates to the post-war
20 period, making it roughly contemporaneous with the Wells manuscript.³⁵ The three-part version
21 (Ex. 3) adds a treble line above the two-part version found in the Trumbull and Sandey
22 manuscripts. The additional part simply harmonizes the Tenor, forming mostly complete chords,
23 and could have been arranged or improvised with relative ease.
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Ex. 3 near here.

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31 The *Pompey's Ghost* lyric is also found in another New England manuscript, a
32 commonplace book housed in the Department of Special Collections at the University of Notre
33 Dame (MSN/EA 8604-1).³⁶ It includes no music and comprises poems, song lyrics, hymn texts,
34 epigrams, and a pun. Written by a single unidentified copyist, there are twenty-one titled items,
35 supplemented with fifteen other, shorter, untitled, items, which appear to have been copied from
36 the late 1780s into the early nineteenth century. The manuscript is difficult to date precisely as
37 much of the contents are older, often dating to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century,
38 though frequently reprinted. Some of the texts carry attributions, though most do not. Several
39 items indicate that the copyist was based in or near Boston. Most obviously, there is an *Ode on the*
40 *opening of the Bridge at Boston*, from the opening of the Charles River Bridge at Bunker Hill in June
41 1786. Near the end of the manuscript is a hymn *Friendship to every willing mind*, first published in
42 1789 in the *Philadelphia Songster* and reprinted into the late nineteenth century, especially in New
43 England. The last item in the manuscript is Alexander Pope's *Ode for music on St Cecilia's Day*, set
44 by Maurice Green in 1730 but also towards the end of the century by Oliver Holden (1765–
45 1844). Holden was largely based in Charlestown; his setting was first published in his *American*
46 *Harmony* (Boston, 1792). *Pompey's Ghost* stands out as the earliest item in the manuscript. All
47 thirty-three of Philips's lines are given, arranged in eleven (numbered) stanzas, as in the
48 playbook. Indeed, the text overall is close to that found in the printed playbook.
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56 ³³ Washington, Library of Congress, M 1495 .T89 1782 Case. Pappas discusses the manuscript in detail: 'Patterns in
57 the Sacred Music Culture', i. 759–91 and provides an inventory at 846–52.

58 ³⁴ I am grateful to Henry A. Arneith (Special Collections Assistant, Trinity College) for providing me with a copy of
59 the song.

60 ³⁵ See Wilson, *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, 58.

³⁶ I am grateful to Professor George Rugg for providing me with a copy of the manuscript.

Further evidence of the popularity of Philips's song in New England was first brought to light by Nathan Tinker,³⁷ who in a 2014 conference paper noted its inclusion in Lydia Huntley Sigourney's anonymously published *Sketch of Connecticut, Forty Years Since* (Hartford, CT, 1824). Born in Norwich, Connecticut, Huntley (1791–1865) married Charles Sigourney, a wealthy merchant, in 1819. She became a popular and prolific writer, credited with over sixty books. Popularly known as the 'Sweet singer of Hartford', Sigourney published works include collections of poems and books on social conduct aimed at young women. While American female writers of the period were often informed by domesticity, as Sandra Zagarell has shown, Sigourney's *Sketch* used the emerging genre of the village sketch 'to represent a locality with a diverse population as a microcosm of the nation at its founding'.³⁸ The *Sketch* is situated in early 1784, as the United States was emerging from the war with Britain as a nation in its own right. Sigourney thus presents a fictionalized Connecticut town, 'N_' (based on Norwich), to represent the nation. She argues that within the nation various groups are excluded—white women, Indians, and blacks—but 'suggests that all could be accommodated within a communitarian mode of life based on New Testament principles of charity and empathy ... which, she exemplifies in a matriarchal figure named Madam L_'.³⁹ *Pompey's Ghost* was included as part of an anecdote of Madam L, who had been 'educated in the sobriety and economy of more ancient times'.⁴⁰ Madam L_ was based on Jerusha Lathrop (1717–1805; née Talcott).⁴¹ Sigourney's father was a gardener for Lathrop, and the Huntley family rented out part of her house. Sigourney recounts Lathrop as being particularly generous to children and exciting in them a thirst for knowledge. Lathrop had a substantial library and allowed children to use it, sometimes giving them books as gifts; the children would also recite poems.⁴² As the extract offers significant information on the reception of *Pompey's Ghost* it is worth quoting at length:

These little groups could not be persuaded to separate, without a song from their kind patroness. Her memory, well stored with songs which had been fashionable in her youth, and her voice, of great melody and compass, were always at the command of these lilliputian [sic] visitants.... The address of the 'Ghost of Pompey to his wife Cornelia', was considered as the climax of this part of the entertainment. It is here subjoined, as a specimen of the grave song, admired at that period among the better educated part of the community. Its antiquity is not known to the writer, but it has been used as a song in Connecticut, for more than a century.

[Here the text of *Pompey's Ghost* is given: thirty-three lines, in three-line stanzas.]

³⁷ Nathan Tinker, 'KP in Connecticut: The Surprising Afterlife of Pompey's Ghost', unpublished conference paper read (by Marie-Louise Coolahan) at the *Katherine Philips 350: Writing, Reputation, Legacy*, Marsh's Library, Dublin, 26–8 June 2014. I am grateful to Dr Tinker for sharing a copy of his paper with his initial findings: a more developed version is forthcoming, provisionally titled 'Katherine Philips's "Pompey's Ghost": 1663–1963'. Tinker deals only with the text of the song.

³⁸ Sandra Zagarell, 'Expanding "America": Lydia Sigourney's *Sketch of Connecticut*, Catharine Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie*', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 6/2 (1987), 225–45 at 225.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 226–7.

⁴⁰ Sigourney, *Sketch of Connecticut*, 98–9. See also Sigourney's autobiographical *Letters of Life* (New York, 1866).

⁴¹ See, Mary Elizabeth Perkins, *Old Houses of the Antient Town of Norwich: 1660–1800* (Norwich, CT, 1895), especially 143–6, which also quotes from Sigourney's anecdote discussed here; Joseph Strong, *A Sermon Delivered at the Funeral of Mrs. Jerusha Lathrop* (Norwich, CT, 1895). 'Pompey's Ghost' is also referenced in a biographical sketch of Sigourney from the early twentieth century by Grace Lathrop Collin, 'Lydia Huntley Sigourney', *New England Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, New Series, vol. 27 (Boston, 1903), 15–30. Clearly working from Sigourney's *Sketch*, Lathrop Collin notes (*ibid.*, 15) that '[Sigourney] lived in the sweet old days.... When the little girls became young ladies, as they did in incredibly early teens, they could sing, perhaps accompanied by the guitar, "The Distracted Lady", "Indulgent Parents Dear" or "The Ghost of Pompey to his Wife Cornelia"—ballads acceptable for their delicacy of sentiment.'

⁴² See also Gordon S. Haight, *Mrs. Sigourney, The Sweet Singer of Hartford* (New Haven, 1930), 4–5.

Perhaps some young mind imperceptibly imbibed a love for the lore of Rome, from the explanations often connected with these quaint stanzas, whose tune, by her manner of execution, possessed exquisite harmony. Inquiries, from the more intelligent, would invariably follow, about Rome and Caesar, and ‘Cynthia’s borrow’d beams’, which the Lady answered in such a manner as to excite stronger curiosity. She would then direct them to proper books for gaining requisite knowledge, and propose questions to be answered respecting it, at their next meeting. Frequently, during the intervals of these parties, the infant students might be heard asking each other, ‘do you know perfectly where Rome was? and how large? and who was its founder? and what were the characters of Pompey and Caesar? and why Cynthia’s beams are said to be “borrow’d beams?”’ Each was anxious to render the most clear account to their benefactress, who often rewarded patient research, with some book adapted to excite it anew. But, not satisfied with sowing the seeds of knowledge in the soil of infancy, she sought to implant the germs of piety. Her stock of devotional pieces of music was large; many of them simple in their construction,—all rendered delightful by her powers of voice, and perfect elocution.

However idealized Sigourney’s sentimental recollection of *Pompey’s Ghost* might have been there is no doubt that it retained a particular significance in the early nineteenth century. It is worth noting that the version printed in Sigourney’s account and that given in the Notre Dame manuscript both present the song as eleven, three-line stanzas (as in the printed playbook), rather than the six, six-line stanzas with the repeated final three lines of the other New England sources. Sigourney’s version includes several minor variants in common with other New England sources, but also has unique variants (see **Appendix**). Of course, we cannot necessarily assume that these texts were associated with the song setting preserved in the manuscripts discussed above. One suspects that the omission of the final stanza arose from their primary functions as literary (rather than musical) documents. Nevertheless, the weight of circumstantial and textual evidence strongly suggests that Sigourney’s anecdote refers to the same song as found in the Trumbull manuscript, et alia. It is also clear from the anecdote that the song had long since lost any connection with Philips and its original dramatic context.

The presence of *Pompey’s Ghost* in the Sarah Jones manuscript adds a good deal of credence to Lydia Huntley Sigourney’s fictionalized anecdote. We recall that she claimed that *Pompey’s Ghost* was ‘used as a song in Connecticut, for more than a century’. Although written in the early 1820s, the *Sketch* is set in 1784. Whether her comment related to the time of writing or the post-war setting of the *Sketch*, it coincides roughly with the date of the Sarah Jones manuscript, suggesting that this setting of *Pompey’s Ghost* was transmitted to New England around the turn of the eighteenth century.

‘IN IMITATION OF “POMPEY’S GHOST”’

While the number of copies of *Pompey’s Ghost* combined with Sigourney’s account is a clear indication of the cultural resonance of the song in New England, arguably a surer sign of significance is imitation or parody. I have come across only one other poem titled *Pompey’s Ghost*, which seems to have first appeared in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humourist* (London, 1840), 531: ‘Pompey’s Ghost. / A Pathetic Ballad’,⁴³ penned by the English poet Thomas Hood (1799–1845). The poem (fourteen stanzas of eight lines) is prefaced by a quotation from William Cowper’s poem ‘The Negro’s Complaint’:⁴⁴

⁴³ It is found in several publications in the following years, such as *The Comic Annual* (London, 1842).

⁴⁴ Written 1788; first published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, December 1793: <http://www.luminarium.org/eightlit/cowper/negroscomplaint.htm>.

Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same

The name ‘Pompey’ was associated with slaves especially in America since the early eighteenth century: slaves were often given names derived from antiquity reflecting the education of their owners. In Hood’s poem Pompey is a black servant whose ghost visits a white lady. Given the apparent association with Whig ideology, it is tempting to suggest that Hood conceived as a parody of the Philips song. If so, it was thematic, as the two texts are unrelated in terms of rhyme scheme, metre, or structure.⁴⁵

While the source of Hood’s inspiration may be conjectured, another example is unequivocal. In 1796 Abiel Holmes (1763–1837) included the poem ‘Andre’s Ghost: In Imitation of “Pompey’s Ghost”’ in *A Family Tablet: Containing a Selection of Original Poetry*.⁴⁶ Holmes was born in Woodstock, Connecticut. He graduated from Yale in 1783 before becoming a minister in South Carolina and then in Midway, Georgia, where he remained until 1791; the following year he became a minister in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His *Family Tablet* comprises forty-seven poems, intended, according to the preface, ‘To perpetuate the remembrance of such joys, and, at the same time, to pay a funereal tribute to the memory of those friends who, when living, were the source of them’. *Andre’s Ghost* contains thirty lines in five stanzas, but follows the end-of-line rhyme (aaabbb, ccdddd etc.) and the metrical structure of Philips’s song. However, the grouping of stanzas into lines of six suggests that it was not inspired by Philips’s original but by the popularity of the musical setting discussed above. Given its obscurity, the poem is worth quoting in full:

ANDRE’S GHOST: IN IMITATION OF ‘POMPEY’S GHOST.’

From visions of unclouded day,
From joys refined without allay,
And heavenly charms without decay,
I come, through dark and dreary gloom,
Where fond Elia wastes her bloom
Near the cold mansions of the tomb.

Behold thy Brother’s ghost, fair Maid!
In robes of purest light array’d,
In robes whose beauties never fade!
By death this glory I obtain:
‘Tis heaven’s illustrious martyr’s gain,
When freed from momentary pain.

Inglorious fate thine Andre bore—
My Sovereign call’d; I wish’d no more,
But hasten’d to Columbia’s shore
On Hudson’s banks—Ah! Traitorous tide!
No more thy waters sweetly glide,
Nor navies there securely ride.

⁴⁵ Peter Morgan, repeating the misattribution of ‘Pompey’s Ghost’ to John Lowe (discussed below), noted that the poem ‘may have been at the back of Hood’s mind when he penned “Mary’s Ghost”.... Lowe’s and Hood’s “Pompey’s Ghost” deal with a similar lugubrious theme.’ Morgan goes on to compare several lines from each. He also notes that Hood corresponded with Allan Cunningham ahead of the publication of his edition of the Burns’s *Works*, and cited the 1835 Leipzig edition in his own writing: ‘Thomas Hood’s Literary Reading, as Shown in his Works’ (Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1959), especially 132 and 434–5.

⁴⁶ Abiel Holmes (ed.), *A Family Tablet: Containing a Selection of Original Poetry* (Boston, MA, 1796), 8–9.

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2
3
4 Arnold himself shall oft repine,
5 And mourn his fate was not like mine,
6 Since he is doom'd to wrath divine:
7 His shade shall stalk on some drear coast,
8 To life, to honour, glory lost,
9 No monument of same shall boast.

10
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12 Then stay those tears, sweet Maid! prepare
13 T'exchange for heaven this scene of care,
14 Immortal honours wait thee there:
15 There no harsh traitor finds his way,
16 Nought can obscure the face of day,
17 Nor Arnold shall his friend betray.

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20 Each of the poems in *The Family Tablet* is signed by a pseudonym. *Andre's Ghost* was penned by
21 'Eugenio', the name taken by Ezra Stiles Jr (1759–84). His father was the Rev. Dr Ezra Stiles
22 (1727–95), President of Yale University and Holmes's father-in-law. Ezra Jr was also educated at
23 Yale and Harvard, studying law, and graduating in 1778. The identities of *The Family Tablet*
24 authors, all members of the Stiles family, were first revealed by James Hammond Trumbull
25 (1821–97) in 1868.⁴⁷ Elsewhere Trumbull confessed to being unconvinced by the merits of
26 *Andre's Ghost*, noting only that 'It is not much worse than some other poems that were written on
27 the same theme—which is about all that can be said of it'.⁴⁸ Indeed, the parody was written in
28 1781, fifteen years before the publication of *The Family Tablet*, to commemorate the British spy
29 Major John André, who was controversially executed in October 1780. *Andre's Ghost* evidently
30 enjoyed some local popularity: an uninspiring song setting by the Massachusetts psalmodist Isiah
31 Mann was published in 1789.⁴⁹

32
33 Coincidentally James Hammond Trumbull was a grandson of Rev. Benjamin Trumbull,
34 who may well have known Eliza Stiles Sr from their time at Yale, where they both studied
35 theology. Benjamin Trumbull certainly knew members of Jerusha Lathrop's family. He and her
36 brother, Joshua, were members of the Missionary Society of Connecticut: both served as
37 Trustees in 1798.⁵⁰ Of course, this is all circumstantial, but it does at least demonstrate that these
38 prominent New England families moved in the same circles and probably had some direct
39 connection. They certainly experienced a shared cultural heritage.

40 41 42 POMPEY'S GHOST IN BRITAIN

43 As we have seen, the setting of *Pompey's Ghost* popular in New England originated in Britain, and
44 most likely in London, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Remarkably that setting is
45 found only in a single British music source (Sarah Jones's manuscript, 1703/4). The song lyric,
46 however, continued to be appear in British sources into the nineteenth century. Although these
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51 ⁴⁷ *The Historical Magazine*, 2nd ser., vol. 4 (New York, 1868, published c.1870), 276–7. Online facsimiles:
52 <http://www.cse.psu.edu/~deh25/post/Timeline_files/Historical_Magazine.html>. Henry Reed Stiles reprinted
53 the poem and Trumbull's article in his book *The Stiles Family in America. Genealogies of the Connecticut Family* (Jersey
54 City, 1895), 219–21; see *ibid.*, 249–53 for a biography of Ezra Stiles Jr. See also, Roger E. Stoddard (comp.), David
55 R. Whitesell (ed.), *A Bibliographic Description of Books and Pamphlets of American Verse Printed from 1610 Through 1820*
(University Park, PA, 2012), entry 544.

56
57 ⁴⁸ *American Bibliopolist*, 2 (New York, 1870), 224, which gives the poem in full. Trumbull's comment is also quoted in
58 Stiles, *The Stiles Family in America*, 251.

59
60 ⁴⁹ I am grateful to Nathan Tinker for this reference and for providing me with a copy of Mann's setting. *Massachusetts
Magazine* (December, 1789), 794, titled 'ANDRE'S GHOST. The Poetry from a late Publication. Set to Musick by E.
Mann of Worcester'. Indeed, in the contents list of *The Family Tablet*, the poem is given as 'Andre's Ghost: a Song'.

⁵⁰ *The New York Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence for the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (New York, 1800), 168.

sources do not contain music notation analysis of them reveals that the *Pompey's Ghost* setting popular in New England was known in England into the middle of the eighteenth century but also that the lyric was set to music at least a further two times. One of these later settings acquired a mythology as a Scottish song, and its authorship was not only effaced but reassigned—at least twice.

In his conference paper, Nathan Tinker also noted the appearance of the *Pompey's Ghost* text in four British publications and its misattribution.⁵¹ However, with the range of digitized (word-searchable) resources now available, this this provisional list can be greatly expanded and with it emerges a clearer picture of the complexity of the song's reception and dissemination: see **Table 1**.⁵² A brief overview of the sources will be useful before discussing the implications of the textual variants found within them.

Pompey's Ghost is found in four manuscript commonplace books or poetic miscellanies copied in Britain. Each offers a version of the lyric close that that in the printed playbook. None appears to relate directly to a musical setting: they instead seem to record the words as a poem (to be recited or read) rather than as a song lyric (to be sung), though in truth that distinction is difficult, if not impossible, to prove. First, the earliest copy seems to be Rawl. Poet. 196 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), a poetic miscellany, possibly of Scottish provenance,⁵³ compiled by several hands in the early eighteenth century. It includes the texts of several Restoration theatre songs. *Pompey's Ghost* is titled 'Song's'; a second hand added an attribution to Philips and made several minor emendations. Second, MS Lt 15 (Brotherton Library, Leeds) was mostly compiled by 1723: *Pompey's Ghost* is untitled and unattributed and is given in ten, three-line stanzas: omitting lines 22–4, which are included in all other sources. Most variants are in spelling. This copy is closest (though not directly related) to that printed in Arthur Clifford's 1813 edition of *Tixall Poetry*, transcribed from a seventeenth-century source (see below). MS Lt 15 also includes Thomas Flatmann's elegy for Philips ('A long adieu to all that's bright') and sixteen lines of Philips's translation of 'La Solitude de St Amant. Englished', set to music by Henry Purcell (*O! Solitude*). Third, the manuscript of Ashley Cowper (d. 1788), Clerk of the Parliaments, now in the British Library (Add. MS 28101). Cowper dated the manuscript 1747. He copied *Pompey's Ghost* in full, in three-line stanzas, numbered 1–11. He was clearly working from a source close to the printed playbook. The only variants are in spelling and his title is derived from the stage directions: 'A Song—In the Tragedy of Pompey—By M^{rs}. Cat. Phillips / Pompey's Ghost sings to Cornelia asleep'.⁵⁴ No other eighteenth- or nineteenth-century copy shares this level of textual fidelity to the printed text. And it is one of the few sources to acknowledge the origin of the words. However, the only two other sources to identify the lyric as from Philips's *Pompey* did so rather obscurely: Arthur Clifford's 1813 edition of *Tixall Poetry* identifies the song origins but only in the notes at the end of the collection; Alexander Dyce (1798–1869) included his correction in his unpublished manuscript 'Reminiscences', largely written 1867–9 (unpublished until 1972).⁵⁵ Finally, the latest of these four manuscript copies seems to be Osborn commonplace book compiled in Surrey by a member of the Porter family in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, now in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale (Osborn

⁵¹ Tinker identified sources A16, B1, B3, and B5 of Table 1, below.

⁵² Several of the sources listed in the Table are given in the online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700* [CELM]. (<<https://celm-ms.org.uk/authors/philipskatherine.html>>), as PsK578–80.

⁵³ Nigel Smith (ed.), *The Poems of Andrew Marvell* (London, 2003), 190.

⁵⁴ The song is given on fos. 114^r and 115^r, not on fos. 114^r–114^v, as recorded in CELM (<https://celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/british-library-additional-25000.html#british-library-additional-25000_id661673>).

⁵⁵ Richard J. Schrader (ed.), *The Reminiscences of Alexander Dyce* (Columbus, OH, 1972), 253. Dyce was an expert in seventeenth-century literature and owned a substantial library, which included a copy of the 1663 playbook for *Pompey* and copies of the 1667 and 1710 editions of Philips's *Poems*, as well as the *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*. See, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by the Reverend Alexander Dyce*, 2 vols. (London, 1875), i. 208, item 2492 and ii. 155, items 7416, 7417, 7418, respectively. He also included four of Philips's poems and a short biographical note in his *Specimens of British Poetesses* (London, 1825), 76–85.

c83, vol. 1). While some of the variants are unique, several are shared with the version printed by Mary Deverell in 1781 (see below): for example, they are the only sources to only omit lines 13–15 and to begin line 30 with ‘In blissful’ (rather than ‘In beauteous’).

The text of *Pompey’s Ghost* was also printed several times from around the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. The earliest instances are in several songsters—small, pocket-size collections of popular song texts, generally without music notation.⁵⁶ Several of these songsters are undated, including what appears to be the earliest source: *The Vocal Medley* (York). This is the same collection as *The Gold-Finch* (London), but with different title-pages. The Bodleian Library copy of *The Vocal Medley* has a manuscript date of 1756.⁵⁷ *The Gold-Finch* is typically dated to c.1765 in catalogues. In the absence of other information those dates have been used here. The earliest dated copies of the *Pompey’s Ghost* lyric appear in two Scottish songsters both published in 1764: *The Blackbird* (Edinburgh) and *A Choice Collection* (Glasgow). A version of the lyric was also included in *The Northern Minstrel*, published in Gateshead in 1806. It was also printed in two periodicals: *The Bee, or Weekly Literary Intelligencer*, edited by James Anderson (Edinburgh, 1792),⁵⁸ and *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* (Belfast, 1811).

As noted, Arthur Clifford (1778–1830) included *Pompey’s Ghost* in his 1813 edition of *Tixall Poetry*, copied from the untraced Tixall MS 3, a late seventeenth-century manuscript, formerly among the papers of the Aston family, of Tixall, Staffordshire: James Aston, Fifth Lord Aston of Forfar was Clifford’s grandfather. The textual variants suggest that the Tixall copy was derived from a source closely related to the printed playbook. Finally, the song was also quoted in the second volume of Mary Deverell’s two-volume *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, 1781). Deverell (1731–1805), a moral essayist, adopted the persona of Philanthea and addressed her letters using pseudonyms from antiquity. According to the dedication, Deverell intended the *Miscellanies* as ‘a light kind of summer reading’ aimed at ‘some improvement to younger minds’. The collection, which sold at seven shillings, attracted 419 subscribers from across the country (and one from Amsterdam), purchasing a remarkable 820 copies (including 300 to ‘The Companies at Bangal’). The essays are wide-ranging and reflective of Deverell’s Whiggish politics and feminist advocacy.⁵⁹ *Pompey’s Ghost* is quoted towards the end of her essay *On the Fortitude of Roman Characters*, written in the form of a letter to ‘Victoria’. Using examples of female characters from Roman history, Deverell espouses the virtues of self-control and the dangers of being trapped in an unhappy marriage. She offers the story of Pompey and Cornelia in support of her hypothesis that marriage ‘when entered into with prudence, greatly enhances the importance of other domestic characters’.⁶⁰ She ends the essay by quoting (unacknowledged) Philips’s song, introducing it thus: ‘I will conclude my characters of fortitude, and Pagan virtues from thence, with Pompey’s Ghost; which, I think, is expressive of the supposed sentiments of the greatest and noblest soldier that Rome ever produced; and, at the same time, it breathes the soft strains of an Arcadian lover!’.⁶¹ Deverell even went so far as to attribute the song to ancient Rome itself:

I will not presume to say I have given a just transcript of the song, having never seen in it writing; and it being nearly one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six years ago, I suppose it is out of print. I do not see why ancient historical songs should not claim

⁵⁶ Songsters in general are surprisingly understudied, especially for the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century songsters have received more attention, most recently: Paul Watt, Derek B. Scott, and Patrick Spedding (eds.), *Cheap Print and Popular Song in the Nineteenth Century: A Cultural History of the Songster* (Cambridge, 2017).

⁵⁷ Corroborated in Samuel Tupman, *A Catalogue of a Valuable Collection, of Books* (Nottingham, 1790), lot 1252, though the copies may be one and the same.

⁵⁸ The poem is given on p. 25 of vol. 11 (Wednesday, 5 September 1792), titled ‘POMPEY’S GHOST’. Vols. 1–18 can be accessed online at: <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000060016>>.

⁵⁹ See also Moira Ferguson, ‘British Women Writers and an Emerging Abolitionist Discourse’, *The Eighteenth Century*, 33/1 (1992), 3–23.

⁶⁰ Deverell, *Miscellanies*, ii. 29–44

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 41; the song is given at ii. 41–2.

some share of regard, as well as ancient coins; therefore I send you this for its antiquity.⁶²

Despite her narrative, it is much more plausible that Deverell had access to a copy of the source closely related to the printed playbook. Elsewhere in the volume Deverell also quotes from Shakespeare (attributed) and, among others, Thomas Otway's play *The Orphan* (1680) suggesting that she had access to other similar works. She gives *Pompey's Ghost* in three-line stanzas, omitting lines 13–15; she also introduced several variants, some of which could be read as modernizations. The indirect relationship between Deverell's copy and the roughly contemporary Osborn manuscript has been noted above.

While Deverell was disingenuous about the origins of *Pompey's Ghost*, Robert 'Rabbie' Burns (1759–96) would a few years later unintentionally rewrite the song's history completely, and so began its mythology as a Scottish song. In June 1787 Burns was gathering material for inclusion in the second volume of James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* and was eager to include *Pompey's Ghost*.⁶³ He sought the assistance of his childhood friend James Candlish, to whom he wrote:

I am engaged in assisting an honest Scotch enthusiast, a friend of mine, who is an engraver, and has taken it into his head to publish a collection of all our songs set to music, of which the words and music are done by Scotsmen. ... Pompey's Ghost, words and music, I beg from you immediately. ... Do be so kind as to send me the song in a day or two: you cannot imagine how much it will oblige me.

Candlish (a native of Galloway, then living in Glasgow) was, however, only able to partly oblige. He replied, 'Being myself unskilled in music as a science, I made an attempt to get the song you mentioned, set by some other hand; but as I could not accomplish this, I must send you the words without the music'.⁶⁴ The implication is that Candlish knew how to sing the melody but not how to transcribe it. Recalling the song from his childhood, it is significant that Burns understood *Pompey's Ghost*, 'words and music', to be Scottish. Writing a few years later, he would identify that Scotsman as Alexander Lowe.

In late 1792 Burns had made a copy of the first four volumes of the *Scots Musical Museum*, with blank pages interleaved so that he could provide notes and comments on the songs. There he attributed *Pompey's Ghost* to Alexander Lowe, whose poem *Mary's Dream* was included in the first volume (with two musical settings), simply noting that Lowe 'likewise wrote another beautiful song, called "Pompey's Ghost"'. Burns gave the annotated volumes to his friend Captain Robert Riddell (1755–94); they are now housed at The Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, South Ayrshire. By the early nineteenth century the annotated volumes were in the possession of Riddell's niece, from whom Robert Hartley Cromek acquired access and permission to publish the notes in *Reliques of Robert Burns*, first published in 1808.⁶⁵ The author of

⁶² Ibid., ii. 43.

⁶³ James Johnson (ed.), *The Scots Musical Museum*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1787–1803).

⁶⁴ The oft-cited correspondence is quoted in Allan Cunningham (ed.), *The Works of Robert Burns*, 8 vols. (London, 1834), vi. 138–40 at 138 and 139, respectively. Cunningham's edition was reprinted a number of times in the nineteenth century in various formats: for example, a four-volume edition (Boston, 1834), and a second edition as a single volume (Leipzig, 1835; London, 1835, 1845, 1847, 1850). Used as a measure of his commitment to Scottish song, extracts from Burns's letter are also reprinted in Robert Chambers, *The Scottish Songs*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1829), i. pp. lx–lxi.

⁶⁵ Robert Hartley Cromek (ed.), *Reliques of Robert Burns: Consisting Chiefly of Original Letters, Poems, and Critical Observations on Scottish Songs* (London, 1808), 187–306; the notes for *Mary's Dream* are at 216. Cromek's collection was reissued several times in the nineteenth century. The comments on *Mary's Dream* and *Pompey's Ghost* were among the excerpts included in a review of Cromek's edition in *The Critical Review*, 3rd series, vol. 16, no. 4 (April 1809), 337–51 at 349. Cromek reprinted the passage in his *Select Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1808), 51. In both collections he repeated the attribution to 'Alexander Lowe'. The 'Alexander Lowe' attribution was repeated

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2
3 *Mary's Dream* is, however, more commonly given as John Lowe (1750–98). The earliest
4 correction (to John Lowe) appears to be Allen Cunningham's 1834 edition of Burns's *Works*.⁶⁶
5 Cunningham also included the text of *Pompey's Ghost* in his editorial gloss. His source appears to
6 have been closely related to one of the songsters published in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in 1764,
7 mentioned above, which presumably was the same song remembered by Burns. A second edition
8 of Cunningham's collection appeared in 1835 and was reprinted several times (and in different
9 formats) over the following decades. These editions themselves also influenced other
10 nationalistic projects. For example, on the strength of Burns's note *Pompey's Ghost* was also
11 included in the retrospectively nationalistic *Book of Scottish Song* compiled by Alexander Whitelaw
12 (1823–79), published in Glasgow in 1843 (reissued in 1844, 1855, 1867), where it was again
13 attributed to John Lowe.

14
15 The attribution to Lowe remained unquestioned until William Scott Douglas's 1871 two-
16 volume Kilmarnock Popular Edition of the Burns *Complete Works*. Born in Hawick in 1815,
17 Douglas was educated in Edinburgh and worked as a mercantile accountant and in his spare time
18 acquired a deep knowledge of Burns and his works. His Kilmarnock edition was reissued, revised
19 and expanded, in 1876, followed shortly after by a six-volume edition.⁶⁷ Characteristic of his
20 rigorous scholarship, in a footnote Douglas recounted Burns's efforts to obtain a copy of
21 *Pompey's Ghost*:

22
23
24 This song (if such it can be called) used to be sung, or recited, by an early friend of the
25 poet—Mr. James Candlish.... The poet, in common with all writers who have referred
26 to this beautiful poem, is mistaken in assigning its composition to Lowe. The editor is
27 in possession of a collection of songs, published in Edinburgh in 1764, entitled "The
28 Blackbird" [i.e. William Hunter's *The Blackbird: A Choice Collection of the Most Celebrated*
29 *Songs*], in which this production is inserted, without note regarding its authorship.

30
31
32 Citing the fact that Lowe was born in 1750, Douglas reasonably concluded that

33
34
35 It would appear, then, that Lowe had picked up this poem in Edinburgh—admired it—
36 set it to music (for he was a musical amateur, and composed the air to his own 'Mary's
37 Dream') and in this way he would enjoy the credit of being the author of *Pompey's Ghost*,
38 which, however, is of a higher order of poetry than anything he was ever known to
39 compose, and never could be the work of any school-boy.

40
41 Like James Candlish, John Lowe was born in Galloway. He was educated at the parish school in
42 Kells before being apprenticed to a weaver, teaching sacred music and violin in his spare time.
43 He enrolling to study Divinity at Edinburgh University in 1771 and became a tutor to the
44 McGhie family of Airds, before. Lowe emigrated to Fredericksburg, Virginia in 1773, where he
45 endured an unhappy marriage, struggled with alcoholism, and died in 1798.⁶⁸ We might only

46
47
48 elsewhere, for example: The Ettick Shepherd [James Hogg] and William Motherwell (eds.), *The Works of Robert Burns*,
49 5 vols. (Glasgow, 1834–6), v. 306–7. For Burns's contribution to the *Scots Musical Museum*, see Gerard Carruthers,
50 'Robert Burns's *Interleaved Scots Musical Museum*: A Case-Study in the Vagaries of Editors and Owners', *Essays and*
51 *Studies*, 66 (2013), 78–96; Murray Pittock (ed.), *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volumes II and III: The*
52 *Scots Musical Museum* (Oxford, 2018).

53 ⁶⁶ Cunningham (ed.), *Works of Robert Burns*, viii. 35–6.

54 ⁶⁷ William Scott Douglas (ed.), *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, 2 vols. (Kilmarnock, 1871); idem (ed.), *The*
55 *Works of Robert Burns*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877–9). For Douglas, see T. F. Henderson, rev. James How, 'Douglas,
56 William Scott', *ODNB* (last accessed 8 Sept. 2021).

57 ⁶⁸ For Lowe, see William Gillespie, 'Brief Memoir of the Life of John Lowe, Author of "Mary's Dream"', in Robert
58 Hartley Cromek (ed.), *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (London, 1810), 342–70; Allan Cunningham (ed.), *The*
59 *Works of Robert Burns* (2nd edn., London, 1835), 532–3; George Farquhar Graham (ed.), *The Songs of Scotland, Adapted*
60 *to their Appropriate Melodies*, 3 vols. (London, 1849), ii. 55; George Eyre-Todd (ed.), *Scottish Poetry of the Eighteenth*
Century, 2 vols. (London, 1896), i. 101–2.

speculate whether Lowe did in fact deliberately pass off *Pompey's Ghost* as his own work, though it seems to have been an association cemented in his absence. Either way, through the agency of Burns's pen—and the editorial memorialization of his marginalia—the attribution became a long-standing one. Indeed, the misattribution persisted in some quarters into the early twentieth century.⁶⁹ And, as we shall see, although Lowe may well have set *Pompey's Ghost* to music, he did not write the tune.

Table 1 near here.

PATTERNS OF DISSEMINATION

Robert Burns's failure to obtain a copy of *Pompey's Ghost*, with words and music, highlights the importance of oral transmission working in tandem with notated sources, which in turn presents obvious difficulties in recovering the song as Burns knew it, given that no notated sources have come to light. Thus before discussing the tune it is necessary first to present what might be gleaned from the textual evidence. Given the lack of notation in most sources, it is tempting to understand the above instances of *Pompey's Ghost* as being interrelated, with any textual deviations explained as the usual corruptions that arise in the process of dissemination, especially over almost two hundred years and across two continents. However, analysis of the textual variants reveals that in the decades after Philips's death there were two main lines in the transmission of the *Pompey's Ghost* lyric, labelled here as Groups A and B (**Table 1**). This is not to say that all sources within these groups are related, they are not, though some do suggest indirect connections. Apart from differences in spelling, most sources have unique variants or those that are not shared by the group as a whole; however, there are enough common characteristics to establish the two groups (**Appendix**).

The most obvious textual variants that distinguish the sources in Groups A and B are found in the opening two lines of the song. In the 1663 playbook the first lines read:

From lasting and unclouded Day,
From Joys refin'd above Allay,

The Group A sources all largely preserve these lines. Sarah Jones's copy offers corrupted versions of the first line ('From lasting and from Cloudy day' and 'From lasting and from uncloudy day') similar to that given in Clifford's *Tixall Poetry* ('From lasting and uncloudy day'). The undated mid-eighteenth-century songsters, *Vocal Medley / Gold-Finch*, retain the original opening line but render line 2 as 'From Joys serene above allay'. Notably the Group B sources give these lines as

From perfect and unclouded Day,
From joys complete without Allay,

The exception is Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Song* (1843), which gives the line 1 variant above but with the unaltered second line. Sources within the two groups also tend to share several other variants. For example, Group A sources tend to preserve 'Behold' at the start of line 7 and 'Pure' at the start of line 8, whereas Group B sources begin line 7 with 'I'm' or 'I am' and line 8 with 'The', 'These' or 'Those'. Group B sources also tend to render line 17 ('Or unattended with a Flood') as 'Nor unattended by a Flood' and line 22 ('He, by severity Divine') as 'He, a justice all

⁶⁹ See, for example, William McIlwraith, 'A Sketch of Scottish Literature from the Earliest Times: The Eighteenth Century', *The Annual Burns Chronicle & Club Directory*, 19 (1910), 5–33 at 17; A. W. Ward, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, 18 vols. (Cambridge, 1907–21), xi. 48.

1
2
3 Divine'. A variant shared by most sources from both groups is the second clause of line 24 ('he
4 must be mine'), commonly given as 'he shall be mine'.

5
6 Several of the Group B sources also offer significantly truncated versions of the song
7 reducing the thirty-three lines of the original to either eighteen or twenty-four lines. In each
8 source stanzas IV and V (lines 10–15) are omitted. Cunningham's edition of the *Works of Robert*
9 *Burns* (1834 etc.) also ends the song at line 24, as does Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Song*, derived
10 from it. William Scott Douglas in his 1871 edition of the *Works* restored nine lines, largely from
11 his copy of *The Blackbird* (1764). *The Blackbird* and *Choice Collection* were published in Edinburgh
12 and Glasgow, respectively, in the same year: unsurprisingly they offer similar versions of the
13 song. It is also worth noting that all the Group B sources that include Philips's final stanza (lines
14 31–33) invert the last two lines.

15
16 While the textual variants are indicative of these two main lines of transmission, at least
17 three distinct musical settings are implied, in addition to the Pett and Banister settings associated
18 with staged productions. The setting associated with Group A is that preserved in the music
19 manuscripts, most of which circulated in New England throughout the eighteenth century (**Ex.**
20 **1**). As noted above, the setting renders the song as thirty-six lines (by repeating the last three
21 lines of the original) arranged in six-line stanzas. This was necessary to allow a strophic musical
22 structure with internal phrases corresponding to each line. The odd number of lines was not a
23 problem for a composer trying to emulate what Philips originally described as 'Recitative Air'.
24 Bannister's setting is an obvious example. The earliest source of the Group A setting is Sarah
25 Jones's book; it is found in a further four New England manuscripts. This same musical setting
26 is implied by the text in the Whitman manuscript and in the two undated mid-eighteenth-century
27 English songsters, *Vocal Medley / Gold-Finch*, suggesting that the same setting was known both
28 sides of the Atlantic into the second half of the century, despite the lack of (notated) sources.

29
30 Most of the remaining sources in Group A seem to preserve *Pompey's Ghost* as a poem,
31 rather than as a song text associated with a particular musical setting. The exception is *Sketch of*
32 *Connecticut*. Although Huntley Sigourney gave the text in full without any repetitions, we know
33 that she was citing a specific setting of the text: the circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that
34 it was the song preserved in the Group A music manuscripts. As suggested above, the repeated
35 final stanza was most likely omitted because of the primary function of her book as a literary
36 document. Only three of the Group A sources give truncated versions of the text, each omitting
37 lines 10–15. Why these lines were omitted is open to conjecture. The result would, nevertheless,
38 still allow the text to fit with the strophic structure, but with five stanzas instead of six.

39
40 The Group B sources indicate two musical settings. One is related to a single source: *The*
41 *Northern Minstrel* (Newcastle, 1806), a songster printed and sold by John Marshall, a prominent
42 publisher based in Newcastle in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The volume
43 comprises sixty-three song lyrics, mostly by local authors as well as some from Scotland.
44 Marshall was careful to offer attributions (name and region) for forty-six items. He identified
45 eight songs as being sung to a named popular tune, and four as being set to music (i.e. having
46 new music composed for them). This last category included *Pompey's Ghost*, which he noted (p.
47 71) was taken 'From a Friend's MS.—Lately set to Music'. The structure of the text implies a
48 distinct, now lost, setting. Marshall was aware of the vicissitudes of dissemination, as noted in his
49 preface: 'It frequently happens, that when pieces of this kind are confined to manuscript, owing
50 to the carelessness of transcribers, imperfect and mutilated copies get abroad, highly derogatory
51 to the author.' His concerns over textual fidelity were clearly justified by the copy he received of
52 *Pompey's Ghost*. As with several other Group B copies, Marshall's version comprises twenty-four
53 lines, presented in four, six-line stanzas, with no internal repetitions. While the first nine lines
54 roughly correspond to those of the original (stanzas I, II, III; lines 1–9), they are followed by
55 stanzas IX (lines 25–7), XI (lines 31, 33, 32), VI (lines 16–18), VII (lines 19–21), and VIII (lines
56 22–4). Apart from the reordering of the stanzas and one unique variant, the *Northern Minstrel*
57
58
59
60

version is, however, textually close to the other Group B sources and even includes the inverted final two lines despite not ending with them.

All but two of the remaining Group B sources seem to be related to a single musical setting. The exceptions are *The Bee* (1792) and *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1811): the *Pompey's Ghost* lyric is given in the 'Poetry' sections of both, and neither source includes the internal repetition of lines characteristic of many of the Group B sources (see below). Though unrelated the two periodicals offer similar versions of the song, omitting original stanzas IV and V (lines 10–15) and inverting the final two lines. Interestingly, while the text was included in the September issue of *The Bee*, in his address to the 'TO CORRESPONDENTS' of the April issue, the editor, James Anderson noted: 'Thanks for the old poem of Pompey's ghost, though it seems not a correct edition. If any of my correspondents can furnish a correct copy of this poem it will be deemed a favour.'⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that he describes *Pompey's Ghost* as a poem, not a song. We must assume that the version he did print was deemed a 'correct copy', despite (what we know to be) the truncation. Anderson's note implies that the lyric had an established tradition and was well-known enough for some copies to be deemed 'correct' while others were not. The measure of fidelity was clearly not, however, in relation to Philips's original. Born in near Edinburgh in 1739, Anderson managed his large farm in Aberdeenshire before moving to Edinburgh in 1783. A prolific writer, he wrote much of *The Bee* himself, envisioning it as having a broad readership though primarily aimed at businessmen.⁷¹

It seems no coincidence that most of the Group B sources originated in Edinburgh or Glasgow. The earliest sources are the songsters printed in 1764. Closely related are the heavily truncated versions (omitting the final three stanzas of the original lyric) printed in Cunningham's editions of the Burns *Works* and by Whitelaw. These four sources also share a further significant characteristic. In each case the second line of the new stanzas is repeated. A transcription of the first stanza from *The Blackbird* will serve as illustration:

From perfect and unclouded day,
From joys complete without allay,
From joys, &c.
And from a spring without decay,
I come, by Cynthia's borrow'd beams,
To visit my Cornelia's dreams,
And give them still sublimer themes.

Although the variant appears inconsequential (partly because the line is not written-out), it has significant musical implications with the transformation of the six-line stanza structure (aaabbb) into a seven-line one (aaaabbb). A similar structural manipulation is found in the editorial notes by William Scott Douglas from his 1871 edition of Burns's *Complete Works*. After explaining Burns's efforts to acquire the song, Douglas pointed out that

All other copies of *Pompey's Ghost* which the editor is aware of, want not only the closing verse, but also the second line of each stanza, the hiatus being supplied by a repetition of line third, [sic]—rendered necessary to make it suit the music.... A complete copy of a lyric which Burns felt so much interest in, and which, on its own merits, is so worthy of preservation, is here recorded for the benefit of the reader.⁷² (emphasis added)

Douglas's version restored lines 25–7 and 31–3 of Philips's original but instead of including the repeated lines he supplied new ones (lines 2, 9, 16, 24 of the below transcription), using square

⁷⁰ *The Bee*, vol. 8 (Wednesday, 25 April 1792), 392.

⁷¹ For Anderson, see Rosalind Mitchison, 'Anderson, James', *ODNB* (last accessed 19 June 2021).

⁷² Douglas (ed.), *Burns: Complete Works*, ii. 360.

brackets to delineate the additions. The textual (and circumstantial) evidence suggest that Douglas was primarily working from his copy of *The Blackbird* (including the inversion of the final two lines), or a source close to it as he also introduced several new minor variants. His rendering of Cornelia as Cordelia was presumably a misreading:

From perfect and unclouded day,
 [Where Phoebus sheds no parching ray;]
 From joys complete without allay
 And from a spring without decay
 I come, by Cynthia's borrowed beams, 5
 To visit my Cordelia's dreams,
 And give them still sublimer themes.

I am the man you loved before
 [He crossed the stream to yonder shore,]—
 The streams have washed away my gore, 10
 And Pompey now can bleed no more!
 Yet vengeance shall not be withstood,
 Nor unattended by a flood
 Of Roman and Egyptian blood!

Caesar himself it shall pursue 15
 [With cares which Pompey never knew;]
 His days shall troubled be and few,
 And he shall fall by treason too!
 He, by a sentence all divine,
 Shall fall a victim to my shrine,— 20
 As I was *his*, he shall be *mine*!

[Thy stormy life regret no more,
 For Fate shall waft thee soon on shore,—
 Yes, Fate shall waft thee gently o'er,
 And to thy Pompey thee restore: 25
 There guilty heads no crowns shall wear,
 Nor my Cordelia shed one tear,
 Nor Cæsar be Dictator there!]

As Douglas noted, the additional line in each stanza was 'necessary to make [the text] suit the music'. Clearly this does not refer to the Group A setting that originated in London and which mainly circulated in New England. The answer was provided in *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* published 60 years before Douglas's edition. There the *Pompey's Ghost* lyric was accompanied by the following editorial note:⁷³

These lines were written, many years ago, by a Mr. Ballantyne, of Glasgow, and are now remembered, not so much perhaps for their intrinsic merit, as by having been linked to early and sweet associations. The ideas seem better than the execution, contrary to most of our poetasters, whose workmanship far excels the materials. It was set to the tune of Prior's, 'In vain you tell your parting lover.' It was sung, or rather recited, by the writer

⁷³ *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, vol. 6 (Belfast, 1811), 51.

in a deep sepulchral voice. Several of the lines still come over the ear, in grand and sweeping tone; and the whole awakens in the mind classical recollections.

I have not been able to identify the ‘Mr. Ballantyne, of Glasgow’: it is presumably coincidence that the Edinburgh publisher James Ballantyne issued the volume of *Tixall Poetry* (which included *Pompey’s Ghost*) in 1813.⁷⁴ It may, however, be of note that *Davidson’s Universal Melodist* (London, 1867, vol. ii. 438) includes the song ‘The Cypress Wreath’: ‘The Poetry by Sir Walter Scott [1771–1832]; the Music by A. Ballantyne’. Whatever the case, Ballantyne had clearly made the song his own, singing it to the tune of *In vain you tell your parting lover* a song by the English poet and diplomat Matthew Prior (1664–1721), first published in 1709:⁷⁵

A SONG.

In vain you tell your parting lover,
 You wish fair winds may waft him over.
 Alas! what winds can happy prove,
 That bear me far from what I love?
 Alas! what dangers on the main
 Can equal those that I sustain,
 From slighted vows, and cold disdain?

Be gentle, and in pity choose:
 To wish the wildest tempests loose:
 That thrown again upon the coast,
 Where first my shipwreckt heart was lost,
 I may once more repeat my pain;
 Once more in dying notes complain
 Of slighted vows and cold disdain.

The rhyme structure is similar to the modified version of *Pompey’s Ghost* first published in *The Blackbird* (aaaabbb): seven-line stanzas, aabbcc. Obviously to fit Philips’s text to a tune carrying Prior’s words would require seven-line stanzas. However, while the words are easily identified, the potential tune is less obvious. Indeed, in a 1943 article, Majl Ewing listed six independent settings of Prior’s poem (here adapted):⁷⁶

1. Anon. setting in *Mercurius Musicus: or, The Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs ... Compos’d for, and Sung at the Theatres, and other Publick Places* (London, 1700), 20–1
2. Anon. setting published as an undated single-sheet folio (London, [c.1730?])
3. Anon. arrangement; tune by Francesco Geminiani. First dated publication: Thomas Arne, *The Monthly Melody: or Polite Amusement for Gentlemen* (London, 1760); also as undated single-sheet folios
4. William Jackson (1730–1803), *Twelve Songs*, Op. 1 (London, [c.1755]), no. 5
5. Andreas Lidel (arrived in London, 1778; died before 1789), undated single-sheet folio (London, [c.1780?])
6. Dominico Corri (1746–1825), undated double-sheet folio (London, [c.1790?])

⁷⁴ See, *The Ballantyne Press and its Founders, 1796–1908* (Edinburgh, 1909). *Tixall Poetry* is therein thus described: ‘A beautifully printed 4to volume, with large margins, having some English-made Scotch songs among many other poems. This was one of the unfortunate speculations of [Sir Walter] Scott, which proved so disastrous to both the printing and publishing firms’: *ibid.*, 171.

⁷⁵ *Poems on Several Occasions*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1709), i. 39–40; reprinted by subscription with additional poems in 1717–19.

⁷⁶ Majl Ewing ‘Musical Settings of Prior’s Lyrics in the 18th Century’, *English Literary History*, 10/2 (1943), 159–71 at 164–5.

1
2
3
4 Taking 1764 as the *terminus ante quem* rules out the settings by Lidel and Corri. For the same
5 reason we can also exclude the three-part setting by Jonathan Battishill, published in his *A*
6 *Collection of Songs for Three and Four Voices*, Book 1 (London, 1775), not known to Ewing. As this
7 Group B setting of *Pompey's Ghost* seems to have been disseminated in part orally, the most likely
8 setting is that which is the economical in structure, melodically and rhythmically simple in a
9 limited range, and thus easy to sing. On those grounds the setting by Jackson can be eliminated
10 because of its technically demanding style, as well as the instrumental introduction and
11 conclusion. The same can be said of the anonymous setting published in London as a broadsheet
12 *c.*1730: its strophic setting is structurally economical, but the melody is difficult with complex
13 rhythms that are often imperfectly notated resulting in a somewhat corrupted text. The earliest
14 setting, also unattributed, was published in the March/April 1700 instalment of the periodical
15 *Mercurius Musicus*.⁷⁷ Though a singable line, the structure is more complex than one would expect
16 for a popular tune: for example, the first stanza is set in duple time, the second in a triple meter.

17
18 The most likely candidate for *Pompey's Ghost* is the 'Geminiani' setting (Ex. 4). In addition
19 to being the most economical in structure and melodically memorable, it is also the tune most
20 widely known judging by the number of times it was reprinted. Francesco Geminiani (1687–
21 1762) came to London in 1714, where he spent much of the rest of his life. As Rudolf Rasch has
22 recently demonstrated, several of Geminiani's minuets from larger-scale works enjoyed
23 widespread popularity in the eighteenth century as independent pieces and as song tunes.⁷⁸ For
24 example, the minuet from his unpublished Sonata for Violin and Continuo (*c.*1720) was adapted
25 to Arthur Bradley's song *Gently touch the warbling lyre*; indeed, the second edition of the songster
26 *The Charmer* (Edinburgh, 1752) suggests that this melody was also used for several songs in
27 Edinburgh.⁷⁹ The origin of Geminiani's minuet in F major associated with *In vain you tell your*
28 *parting lover* is not known, though stylistically the attribution is plausible. Assuming that the
29 attribution of the minuet to Geminiani is correct, he is unlikely to have been responsible for the
30 arrangement. The earliest dateable source is Thomas Arne's *Monthly Melody* (London, 1760). The
31 song was reprinted often in the following decades. The simple, diatonic melody, supported
32 primarily by tonic and dominant chords, is memorable and easy to sing. The twenty-eight bars of
33 3/4 time comprise seven, four-bar phrases: each opens with a simple motive based around
34 repeated notes or a stepwise descending third; phrases 1–4 and 7 cadence on the tonic, phrases 5
35 and 6 on the dominant. The first two phrases are repeated (abab), while the next three are
36 derived from them. The double bars at bar 16 indicate the original binary division of the minuet
37 (i.e. |:A: ||:B:|). For adaptation to Prior's text the internal repeat is ignored and the melody sung
38 through, with each of the seven lines fitted to a phrase. The phrases are ideally suited for lines of
39 seven, eight, or nine syllables. The first two lines Prior's text have nine syllables, the rest eight:
40 Philips's lyric is octosyllabic throughout. The important point to note is that while the minuet is
41 an effective song tune, matching *Pompey's Ghost* to it required thought.

42
43 Given the discussion above and the fact that the minuet tune appears to have been
44 known in Edinburgh from around the middle of the century, John Lowe is a plausible candidate
45 for fitting it to *Pompey's Ghost*. Thus supposedly Scottish song, with words and music by
46 Scotsmen, as understood by Rabbie Burns, was in fact a much more diverse affair, written by an
47 Anglo-Welsh female poet and sung to a continental minuet by an Italian composer working in
48 London.

77 There were seven instalments for 1700: see, <<https://uk.rism-ch.org/catalog/993122145>>.

78 Rudolf Rasch, 'Geminiani's Minuets', in John Cunningham and Bryan White (eds.), *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* (Woodbridge, 2020), 137–62.

79 Five songs, including Shakespeare's 'Take, O! take those lips away', are given to the tune of 'Gently touch the warbling lyre' (i.e. the Geminiani minuet). The text of 'In vain you tell your parting lover' is also given but indicated as having an 'original tune'. Further editions of *The Charmer* appeared in 1765 and 1782.

Ex. 4 near here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What made *Pompey's Ghost* so enduringly popular in New England is a matter for speculation. The tune no doubt played its part, though the words of the song seem themselves to have evoked a lasting resonance. However nostalgic Lydia Huntley Sigourney's recollection of *Pompey's Ghost* might have been it seems that the song occupied an important place for Jerusha Lathrop, who was born in 1717. Hers was a generation for whom the Enlightenment and American Revolution loomed large in the cultural imagination. In New England *Pompey's Ghost* likely resonated with an anti-tyrannical sentiment.⁸⁰ Connecticut was one of the Thirteen Colonies that opposed British rule. The appeal of the lyric perhaps had its roots in Enlightenment thinking in which Caesar was a threat to the republic, emblematic of absolutist monarchy and despotism. As W. Jeffrey Tatum notes, in England 'Joseph Addison's *Cato* enshrined Caesar's mortal enemy as the darling of Whig sentiment, and it was also Cato whom the American colonists embraced, for reasons of their own.'⁸¹ In the absence of Cato, Pompey was a reasonable substitute.

By the 1770s *Pompey's Ghost* also emerged as a Scottish song, an association reinforced through several editions of Robert Burns's works. His attribution to (Alexander) John Lowe secured the song's unlikely place in an emerging nationalistic canon, as exemplified by its inclusion in Whitelaw's *Book of Scottish Song*. Whitelaw's collection is prefaced by a detailed essay constructing a narrative nationalistic context in which the book was created: the aim was to be comprehensive and widely affordable. Styling Robert Burns as the 'High Chief of Scottish Song',⁸² Whitelaw sought to authenticate his canonical formation of 1270 Scottish songs 'ancient and modern' in historicity and authorial identity, accompanying them 'with such particulars regarding their history, age, or authorship, as could be gathered from the literary records of the country, or might be elicited from personal inquiry and research among the lovers of song'.⁸³ For *Pompey's Ghost* he clearly relied on Burns, or rather on traditions established in nineteenth-century editions of his *Works*. Whitelaw had no reason to question the ultimate authority of Burns's attribution of *Pompey's Ghost* to Lowe. Indeed, a few decades later, in 1871, William Scot Douglas could only point out the logical inconsistencies of the attribution by his chance possession of a rare song collection. At the same time, however, he reasserted the song's Scottish heritage, noting that 'In the Berean and Glassite hymn-books printed during the latter portion of the eighteenth century, several of the hymns composed in this peculiar measure [i.e. 8.8.8.8.8.8.], are directed to be sung "to the tune of *Pompey's Ghost*".'⁸⁴ The Bereans and Glassites were both founded in Scotland: the former in Edinburgh in 1773 by John Barclay, the latter by John Glas in Dundee the early 1730s.⁸⁵ Secular tunes were certainly used in the Berean church. In his early twentieth-century study of *The English Hymn* Louis Benson noted that Barclay 'inconsistently denying that there was any distinction between sacred and secular music, composed for them [his congregation] hymns and paraphrases in a great variety of metres adapted to the airs of Scottish songs'.⁸⁶ Barclay (1734–98) and John Lowe were in Edinburgh around the same time in

⁸⁰ Much has been written on allegory in the original play of *Pompey*: for example, see Anne Russell, 'Katherine Philips as Political Playwright: "The Songs Between the Acts" in *Pompey*', *Comparative Drama*, 44/3 (2010), 299–323. Also, Nathan Tinker, "'The Meeting of Agreeing Souls": Katherine Philips and the Sexual/Textual Politics of the Coterie' (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 2002), chapter 2, especially 121–37.

⁸¹ W. Jeffrey Tatum, 'Julius Caesar, reception of', in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (<<http://classics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-8069>>).

⁸² Whitelaw (ed.), *Book of Scottish Song*, p. x.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁸⁴ Douglas (ed.), *Burns: The Complete Poetical Works*, ii. 359–60.

⁸⁵ See, H. Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism* (Glasgow, 1960).

⁸⁶ *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (London, 1915), 158. For Barclay's views on adapting existing tunes, see the introduction to his *Rejoice Evermore: Or Christ All in All* (Glasgow, 1767), especially pp. xi–xii.

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3 the early 1770s, when *Pompey's Ghost* appears to have been popular. Barclay may well have
4 appropriated Geminiani's eminently singable tune. However, while Douglas has generally proven
5 to be a reliable witness, I have yet to find any references to *Pompey's Ghost* in psalmody
6 publications.
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8 It is important to stress that anonymity and misattribution are commonplace in song
9 sources: Philips was by no means unusual in this regard.⁸⁷ The persistent misattribution and
10 anonymization of *Pompey's Ghost* lay partly in the anonymous publication of the playbook (in
11 Dublin and in London), which is likely to have been a source for several of the early copyists.
12 The lack of authorial attribution was befitting of someone with 'pretensions to social rank', to
13 use Patrick Thomas's phrase.⁸⁸ Compounding the issue was Philips's relative obscurity in the
14 decades after her death. Her reputation dwindled significantly by the early eighteenth century,
15 when Sarah Jones was copying *Pompey's Ghost* into her manuscript songbook. The last complete
16 edition of Philips's works before the twentieth century appeared in 1710: 'By the closing of the
17 [seventeenth] century, Orinda was little more than a name, even to her fellow women writers,
18 and her work had ceased to be a source of inspiration for them'.⁸⁹
19

20 In many ways *Pompey's Ghost* remained hidden in plain sight. Modern literary scholars
21 have noted instances of the song text without acknowledging that the textual variants have
22 significant implications for the song's history through music.⁹⁰ While *Pompey's Ghost* has also been
23 noted by musicologists working on American psalmody sources they seem to have been content
24 to identify items by title, rather than by first line or by tune. In doing so even a famous song,
25 *Gather ye rosebuds* becomes rendered anonymous, its identity shifting to 'Advice to the Fair Sex'.
26 Knowledge is much more readily accessible today than ever before. The increased drive towards
27 digitization of sources along with word-searchable databases such as *Eighteenth-Century Collections*
28 *Online*—or even rudimentary internet searches—have made the task of identification infinitely
29 easier. Yet more sources of *Pompey's Ghost* may well surface in the future, perhaps revealing an
30 even more complex afterlife.
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34 Appendix near here.
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55 ⁸⁷ See John Cunningham, "'What's in a name?': Authorship and Shakespeare Songs in the Eighteenth Century", in
56 Mervyn Cooke and Christopher Wilson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Music* (Oxford, forthcoming).

57 ⁸⁸ Patrick Thomas (ed.), *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda*, vol. 1, *The Poems* (Essex, 1990), 19.
58 Thomas was referring to Philips's negative reaction to Mariott's pirated edition, noting that it had more to do with,
59 what we might call, optics than with an objection based on fidelity.

60 ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁰ See, for example, the list of sources given in CELM (<<https://celm-ms.org.uk/search/?q=pompey>>).

PL. 1. Anon. setting of Pompey's Ghost: San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 13717, pp. 108 (music), 109 (additional stanzas).

108. *Pompey's Ghost. Tenor.*

*From lasting and unclouded Day; From joys refined above allay;
And from a Spring without Decay; I come by Cynthia's borrow'd Beams*

Bass.

To visit my Cornelia's Dream, And give them yet Sublimier Themes.

109. *Pompey's Ghost.*

1. *Phoebus when thou lay'st thy face
Thou beams has nuptial morn'g in eyes,
And Pompey, now shall bleed no more
Thy death's his glory, I returne
My borrow'd beams from a haughty Queen,
I out say the Subtleties of Rome,
Challenging greatness my name this Crow,
Forsiden, and with't it, I
I'll shade my Purgance with blood,
For unattain'd with a blood
Of Roman, and Egyptian blood.*
2. *Carthage's Mantle of shall perfume
This Day, that wander'd to him few
Who the shall fall by Scipio's feet,
He by devoted Wreath,
Shall be an offering at my shrine,
Who's for him, He shall be mine.*
3. *Oh! My Army life request no more,
I shall fight with the gods a show
Who to my Pompey the veterans,
Shall that stand for Hercules
I'll entertaine our spots, I'll
In beauties and Immortall Prizes.*
4. *There none a guilty Queen shall price
Nor Caesar's, be'st Father there,
Nor shall Cornelia shed a tear,
Thy none a guilty Queen shall see;
Nor Caesar's be, &c.*

Table 1. Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Sources of *Pompey's Ghost*: Groups A and B.

Sigla are those used in the Textual Commentary (Table 2). In addition to the printed playbooks (Dublin and London, 1663), the table omits the following Group A sources: *Poems* (1667, 1669, 1678, 1710); the manuscript copy, in an unknown hand, of *Pompey* (Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru, MS 776B, the 'Rosina MS'); the copies of the John Banister setting, c.1672 (Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 350, pp. 93–7; London, British Library, Add. MS 33234, fos. 30^v–31^v).

GROUP A



Manuscripts (by library)	
A1	GB-Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS Lt 15, pp. 114–15: no title or attribution. Manuscript is dated 13 November 1723, with additions c.1730s and 40s; compiled in England by unidentified copyists.
A2	GB-London, British Library, Add. MS 28101, fos. 114 ^r and 115 ^r : 'A Song – In the Tragedy of Pompey – By M ^{rs} . Cat. Phillips / Pompey's Ghost sings to Cornelia asleep'. Dated 1747; compiled in London by Ashley Cowper, Clerk of the Parliaments.
A3	GB-Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet. 196, fos. 18 ^v –19 ^r : 'Song's' / 'out of M ^{rs} Phillips' (at end by second hand). Early eighteenth-century; possible Scottish provenance; copyists unidentified.
A4	US-Hartford, Connecticut, Connecticut Historical Society, Whitman Papers, Box 3, Miscellaneous Folder, MS 72802, fo. 18 ^v and following unfoliated leaf: 'Pompey Ghost'. Dated 1768; compiled in West Hartford, Connecticut by Samuel Whitman.
A5	US- Hartford, Connecticut, Watkinson Library, Trinity College, MS 24, pp. 95–6 (music, and lines 1–6 in block text), 'Pompeys Ghost' and pp. 113–14 (all stanzas), 'Pompeys Ghost'; music setting for Treble, Tenor and Bass. Compiled in Connecticut, c.1780s, by Jesse Rogers.
A6	US-New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn c83, vol. 1, no. 13: 'Pompeys Ghost to his wife Cornelia' Late eighteenth-century; probably compiled by member of the Porter family, Surrey.
A7	US-Notre Dame, Indiana, Notre Dame University, Department of Special Collections, MSN/EA 8604-1, fo. 2 ^r : 'POMPEY'S GHOST'. Probably compiled in Boston, late 1780s–early 19th century, by an unidentified copyist.
A8	US-San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 13717, pp. 108 (music), 109 (additional stanzas), 'Pompey's Ghost'; music setting for Tenor and Bass. Compiled in New Haven, Connecticut, c.1760–85, by Rev. Benjamin Trumbull.
A9	US-Washington, DC, Library of Congress, M1.A18 No. 1, fos. 1 ^r –1 ^v , 'Pompeys Ghost'; tune (i.e. tenor line) only, with text (A9a); fo. 10 ^v includes a fragmentary 'y ^e Treble to Pompeys Ghost' (A9b). Compiled c.1703–4 in (London?) England by Sarah Jones.
A10	US-Washington, DC, Library of Congress M 1495 .T89 1782 Case, p. 171: 'Pompey Ghost'; music setting for Treble, Tenor and Bass. Compiled in Montague, Massachusetts, 1781–2, by Henry Wells Jr.
A11	US-Worcester, Massachusetts, American Antiquarian Society Library, John Sandey MS, [fos. 47 ^v –48 ^r] (additional stanzas; unpaginated) and [fos. 48 ^v –49 ^r] (music; contemporary pagination, 63–62 [sic]), 'Pompey's Ghost'; music setting for Tenor and Bass. Compiled in Connecticut by several unidentified copyists; several owners and dates inscribed, including John Sandey 14 April 1756, and Jethro Briggs 1782.

Prints (by date)	
A12	<i>The Vocal Medley or, Universal Songster. Being A Choice Collection of Two Hundred and Thirty One of the Newest and Most Favourite English and Scotch Songs, Most of which have been Set to Music, and Sung at the Public Theatres and Gardens, in and about London</i> (York: John Jackson, [1756?]), 87–8: ‘SONG 116. Pompey’s Ghost’. Text only.
A13	<i>The Gold-Finch: or Comus’s Court. Being a Choice and Valuable Collection of Two Hundred and Thirty One of the Most Celebrated English and Scotch Songs which have been Set to Music and Sung with Universal Applause at the Public Theatres and Gardens</i> (London: W. Bristow, [1765?]), 87–8: ‘SONG 116. Pompey’s Ghost’. Text only.
A12 = A13, with different title pages	
A14	Mary Deverell, <i>Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, Mostly Written in the Epistolary Style: Chiefly upon Moral Subjects, and Particularly Calculated for the Improvement of Younger Minds</i> , 2 vols. (London: J. Rivington, for the author, 1781), ii. 41–3: text only, no title or attribution.
A15	Arthur Clifford (ed.), <i>Tixall Poetry; with Notes and Illustrations</i> (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1813), 164–6: ‘XLV. POMPEY’S GHOST’. Text only. No attribution in the main text but in the endnotes Clifford identifies the song as being from Philips’s <i>Pompey</i> (370–1). Collection edited from the untraced late seventeenth-century Tixall MS 3, formerly among the papers of the Aston family, of Tixall, Staffordshire.
A16	[Lydia Huntley Sigourney], <i>Sketch of Connecticut, Forty Years Since</i> (Hartford, CT: Oliver D. Cooke & Sons, 1824), 100–1: text only; no attribution.



GROUP B (all copies of the text only)

B1	William Hunter, <i>The Blackbird: A Choice Collection of the Most Celebrated Songs. Few of which are to be Found in any other Collection</i> (Edinburgh: J. Bruce and Co. and John Moir, 1764), 230–1: ‘Pompey’s Ghost’.
B2	<i>A Choice Collection of Scotch and English Songs Taken from Amaryllis, Phoenix, Orpheus, Charmer, Tea-Table, &c. &c. &c.</i> (Glasgow: printed for the booksellers, 1764), 281: ‘Pompey’s Ghost’.
B3	James Anderson (ed.), <i>The Bee or Weekly Literary Intelligencer</i> , vol. 11 (Edinburgh: printed for the Editor [by Mundell and Son], 1792), 25: ‘POMPEY’S GHOST’. 163 vols. issued, 1790–4.
B4	John Marshall (ed.), <i>The Northern Minstrel: Or, Gateshead Songster. Being a Choice Collection of the Most Approved Modern Songs: Including a Number of Originals, From the Manuscripts of the Respective Authors</i> (Gateshead upon Tyne: John Marshall, 1806), 71–2: ‘Pompey’s Ghost’.
B5	<i>The Belfast Monthly Magazine ... Vol. VI. From January till June, 1811</i> (Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1811), 51: ‘THE GHOST OF POMPEY’, attrib. in editorial note to ‘a Mr. Ballantyne, of Glasgow’. 12 vols. issued 1808–14.
B6	Allan Cunningham (ed.), <i>The Works of Robert Burns with his Life</i> , 8 vols. (London, 1834), viii. 35–6: ‘Pompey’s Ghost’, attrib. John Lowe.
B7	Alexander Whitelaw, <i>The Book of Scottish Song: Collected and Illustrated with Historical and Critical Notices</i> (Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1843), 174: ‘Pompey’s Ghost’, attrib. John Lowe. The collection was reprinted in 1844, 1855, and 1867.
B8	William Scott Douglas (ed.), <i>The Kilmarnock Edition of the Poetical Works of Robert Burns Arranged in Chronological Order with New Annotations, Biographical Notices, etc.</i> , 2 vols. (Kilmarnock: James McKie, 1871), ii. 359–60: ‘POMPEY’S GHOST’. The collection was revised and expanded in 1876; at least twelve editions issued to 1912, with further twentieth-century reprints (in one volume).

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4 Ex. 1: Anon., *Pompey's Ghost* (edited from San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM
5 13717, p. 108).
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9 Tenor 
10 From last - ing and un-cloud - ed Day; From Joys re-fin'd a - bove al-lay;
11
12 Bass 

16
17 
18 And from a Spring with-out De - cay; I come by Cyn- thia's bor-row'd Beams
19
20
21 Bass 

26
27 
28 To vis - it my Cor - nel - ia's Dreams, And give them yet Sub - lim - er Themes.
29
30
31 Bass 

Ex. 2: Opening bars of 'From lasting and unclouded day'. Source: Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 350, pp. 93-7, titled 'Pompey's Ghost to Camilla. Cornelia' ['Cornelia' added in a different ink by the same copyist] / 'M^r [John] Banister'.

9 Pompey's Ghost

10 From last-ing & vn-cloud-ed day, from joyes re-fin'd a-boue al-lay & from a

11

12

13 [Continuo]

14

16

17 6

18 spring with-out de-cay, I come by Cyn-thias bor-rowed beams to vn-fit

19

20

21

22

23 6 6 4 3

24

25

26 10

27 my Cor-nel-ia's dreams, and giue them yet sub-lim-er theams

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ew Only

Ex. 3. Anon. setting of *Pompey's Ghost*, for three voices. Source: Hartford, Connecticut, Watkinson Library, Trinity College, MS 24 (the 'Jesse Rogers MS'), pp. 95–6, titled 'Pompeys Ghost' and pp. 113–14 (all stanzas). The manuscript gives six stanzas in block text, none underlain with the music; the first is editorially set here. Tenor, original clef is c4; an additional crotchet-rest is given at the start of b.11 in all voices.

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Treble
[From Last - ing and Un-cloud - ed Day From Joys Re-fin'd a - bove Al-lay

Tenor
[From last - ing and un-cloud - ed Day; From Joys re-fin'd a - bove al-lay;

Bass
[From last - ing and un-cloud - ed Day; From Joys re-fin'd a - bove al-lay;

6
And from a Spring with-out De - cay I Come by Cyn- thea's Bor-row'd Beams

And from a Spring with-out De - cay; I come by Cyn- thia's bor-row'd Beams

And from a Spring with-out De - cay; I come by Cyn- thia's bor-row'd Beams

11
To Vis - it my ___ Cor - nel - ias Dreams A[nd]give them yet Sub - lim - er Themes.]

To vis - it my ___ Cor - nel - ia's Dreams, And give them yet Sub - lim - er Themes.]

To vis - it my ___ Cor - nel - ia's Dreams, And give them yet Sub - lim - er Themes.]

Ex. 4. Anon. setting of *In vain you tell your parting lover* to Minuet tune by Geminiani, published in Thomas Arne, *Monthly Melody* (London, 1760), 34; violin melody omitted. For ease of comparison, the first two stanzas of *Pompey's Ghost* have been editorially set to the same tune below Prior's text.

Slow and tender

Voice

In vain you tell your part - ing Lov - er, You wish fair winds may waft him ov -
 Be gen - tle and in pi - ty chu - se, To wish the wild - est Tem - pest lo -
 From per - fect and un - cloud - ed day, From joys com - plete with - out al -
 I am the man you lov'd be - fore The streams have wash'd a - way my

Continuo

6 6 4 3 9 8 6 3

8

er, Al - as! what winds can hap - py prove, That bear me far from her I
 ose; That thrown once more up - on the Coast, Where first my Ship wreckt Heart was
 lay, From joys com - plete with - out al - lay, And from a spring with - out de -
 gore, The streams have wash'd a - way my gore, And Pom - pey now can bleed no

6 6 4 3 9 8 6 3

16

love, Al - as what dan - gers on the Main, Can eq - ual those which
 lost, I may once more re - peat my pain, Once more in dy - ing
 cay, I come, by Cyn - thia's bor - row'd beams, To vis - it my Cor -
 more; Nor shall ven - ge - ance be with - stood, Nor un - at - tend - ed

6 6 6 5 6

23

I sus - tain, From slight - ed vows, and cold dis - dain.
 Notes com - plain, Of slight - ed voes, and cold dis - dain.
 nel - ia's dreams, And give them still sub - lim - er themes.
 by a flood Of Rom - an and E - gypt - ian blood.

6 6 6 4 3 6 6 4 3

Appendix. Textual Commentary: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Sources of *Pompey's Ghost*.

Copy-text: *Pompey* (Dublin: John Crooke, 1663), 46–7. Variants in spelling and punctuation have not been collated; nor have expansions such as ‘borrowed’ for ‘borrow’d’ etc. Most copies of ‘Pompey’s Ghost’ modernise spellings to some degree: for example, ‘dayes’ rendered as ‘days’ etc.

Two sources reorder the lines. A4 (in six-line stanzas): 1–6, 13–24, 7–12, 25–33, 31–3, 31–3 (*bis*). B4 (in six-line stanzas): 1–9, 25–7, 31, 33, 32, 16–24 (lines 10–15, 28–30 omitted). B8 interpolates new lines (after original lines 1, 7, 19, 26), not recorded here: see transcription in main text, above. A9b contains only lines 1–2 and the opening of line 3: see description in Table 1.

- 1 lasting ... unclouded] lasting ... from Cloudy (A9a), Lasting ... from uncloudy (A9b), lasting ... unclowdy (A15), perfect ... unclouded (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8)
- 2 refin’d above] serene above (A12, A13), refined above (A15), complete without (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8); line repeated (B1, B2, B6, B7)
- 4 come ... Beams] come ... beaytes (A9a), came ... beams (B3)
- 2 Cornelia’s] Cordelia’s (B8)
- 6 give them yet sublimer] give them yet sublime (A4), give them still sublimer (A7, B1, B2, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8), teach her yet sublimer (A12, A13), bring them still sublimer (B3)
- 7 Behold the ... thou lov’dst] Behold the ... you lov’d (A6, A14), Behold y^e ... that loved (A11), I’m the ... you lov’d] (B1), I am the ... you lov’d] (B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7), I am the ... you loved (B8)
- 8 Pure streams have wash’d ... his] Pure streames have washt ... his (A1, A15), Pure streams has wash’d ... his (A4, A8), Pure streams hath washt ... his (A5), Pure streams has washt ... his (A11), The streams have wash’d ... my (B1, B2, B4), These streams had wash’d ... my (B3), These streams have wash’d ... my (B5), Those streams have wash’d ... my (B6, B7), The streams have washed ... my (B8); line repeated (B1, B2, B6, B7)
- 9 now shall] now can (B1, B4, B8), he shall (B6, B7)
- 10–15 omitted (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8)
- 10 By Death my Glory ... resume] By Death this Glory ... resume (A4, A5, A8, A11, A16), By deathless glory ... assume (A7), By Death my glories ... resume (A15)
- 11 For ’twould have been a hasher] For ’twould have been an harsher (A4, A7), It would have been a harsher (A12, A13), Nor could I bear the fearful (A16)
- 12 T’outlive the Liberty of Rome] ’tha’ outliv’d the Liberty of Rome (A1), T’have outlived y^e Liberty of Rome (A3), To have out liv’d the Liberty’s of Room (A4), To outlive the Liberties of Room (A5), To have outlivd the liberties of Rome (A6), To outlive the liberties of Rome (A7, A16), T’out liv’d the Liberties of Rome (A8), To outlivd the liberty’s of Rome (A9a), To out live the liberty of Rome (A11), To’ve outliv’d the Liberties of Rome (A12, A13), To have outliv’d the liberties of Rome (A14), To have outliv’d the Liberty of Rome (A15),
- 13–15 omitted (A6, A14)
- 13 By me her doubtfull fortune try’d,] It’s doubtful Fortune by me try’d (A1), By me its doubtfull fortune try’d (as emendation) (A3), By me her doubtfull fortunes try’d (A4, A5, A9a, A11, A15), By me your doubtful fate was tried (A7), By me let doubtful Fortune try’d (A12, A13), By me her changeful fate was tried (A16)
- 14 Falling, bequeaths my Fame this Pride,] falling bequeathed my fame this pride (A1, A5, A8, A15), Fortune bequeathed it at my side (A7), Falling bequeath my fame this pride (A9a, A12, A13), Her honour was my dearest pride (A16)
- 15 I for it liv’d, and with it Dy’d.] I with itt liv’d & for itt di’d (A1), I with her liv’d, and for her died (A12, A13), I for it liv’d, and for it di’d (A15)
- 16 Nor shall my Vengeance] Nor shall my glory (A6, A14), Nor shall vengeance (B1), Nor shall just vengeance (B4), Yet vengeance shall not (B8)

- 1
2
3 17 Or ... with] Nor ... with (A3, A4, A5, A8, A9a, A11, A12, A13, A16, B4, B5), Nor ... by (A6,
4 A7, A14, B1, B2, B3, B6, B7, B8)
5 18 and] or (B2, B6, B7)
6 19 himself] thyself (A12, A13)
7 20 His ... troubled] His ... wretched (A6, A14, A15), Thy ... troubled (A12, A13); line repeated
8 (B1, B2, B6, B7)
9 21 he shall] he must (A6, A14), thou shalt (A12, A13)
10 22–4 omitted (A1)
11 22 He ... severity] Thou ... severity (A12, A13), He ... a sentence all (B1, B8), He ... a justice all
12 (B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7)
13 23 be an offering at] swell the offerings at (A16), fall a victim to (B1, B2, B6, B7, B8), fall a
14 victim at (B3, B4, B5)
15 24 his, he must] he shall (A4), his he shall (A5, A7, A8, A9a, A11, A16, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6,
16 B7, B8), yours thou shalt (A12, A13),
17 25–33 omitted (B6, B7)
18 25 Thy stormie Life regret no more,] Your stormy life regret no more (A7), Thy stormy life
19 regret noo noo more (A9a), Regret thy woes, my Love, no more (A16), Thy troubled life
20 regret no more (B3)
21 26 For ... shall waft thee soon a shoar,] For ... shall waft thee soon on shore (A7, A15, B1, B8),
22 For ... shall waft the safe a shore (A8), Nor ... shall waft the soon ashore (A11); line
23 repeated (B1, B2)
24 28–30 omitted (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B8)
25 28 Where past the fears ... removes] Where past the fears ... remove (A4), Where past the fear
26 ... removes (A7), There the Fears ... removes (A8), Where free from feares ... removes
27 (A15)
28 29 spotless Loves,] spotless love (A11), deathless loves (A16)
29 30 beauteous] blissful (A6, A14)
30 31 There none a Guilty Crown] Thear there none a guilty Crowne (A9a), Where none a guilty
31 crowne (A15), There, none a tyrant's crown (A16), Where guilty heads no crowns (B1, B2,
32 B3), When guilty heads no crown (B4, B5), There guilty heads no crowns (B8)
33 32–3 lines inverted (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B8)
34 32 Nor ... Dictator] Nor ... Dictators (A5), No ... dictator (A7)
35 33 shall Cornelia shed a] shall Cornelia shed one (A7), shall Cornelia's shed a tear (A11), my
36 Cornelia shed one (B1), my Cornelia shed a (B2, B3, B4), my Cornelia drop a (B5) my
37 Cordelia shed one (B8)
38 31–3 lines repeated (A4, A5, A8, A9a, A11, A12, A13)
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