

MUSIC FROM HOME: SYMONDS SHEET MUSIC COLLECTION AND THE SCOTS IN AUSTRALIA

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INTRODUCTION

In 2008, Almut Boehme argued that despite a flourishing Scottish music scene in Australia, little research had been carried out into how or when Scottish music reached its shores.¹ Boehme intended to fill this gap by giving insight into some of the manuscripts and printed musical sources found in libraries and archives. While her article provided useful advice on where evidence of musical activity could be found, she concluded that ‘genealogical research has been hampered by the lack of or ease of access to records particularly of the early period.’² Boehme remarked on the difficulty in tracing the provenance of Australian musical sources, in part because of the time and cost needed to do the genealogical research required to identify the owner of a collection and their connection to Scotland.

Since Boehme’s article was published, there has been a surge of activity investigating music collections found in homes owned by Australian colonists and the musical activities they engaged in throughout the nineteenth century. Rosemary Richard’s 2017 PhD thesis on Scottish descendant, Georgiana McCrae (1804-1890) provides a detailed examination of an immigrant British woman and her contribution to colonial Australia’s musical scene.³ Graeme Skinner’s exhaustive work to trace ‘the early history of music in colonial Australia’ including providing detailed biographies for each musician he identifies has made it infinitely easier to trace who was involved in these early musical activities and has given new attention to composite music collections, leather-bound volumes of printed music, brought to Australia by early British immigrants.⁴ Collaborations between Sydney Living Museums’ Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection (CSL&RC), the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the University of Southampton and the University of Glasgow have enabled new research and performances of the music collections found in Australian colonial

¹ Almut Boehme, ‘An Initial Investigation into the Early Dissemination of Scottish music in Australia’, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 55, no. 2 (2008): p. 275.

² Boehme, ‘An Initial Investigation into the Early Dissemination of Scottish music in Australia’, p. 296.

³ Rosemary Richards, ‘Georgiana McCrae’s Manuscript Music Collections: A Life in Music’ (PhD Thesis, Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne, 2017).

⁴ Graeme Skinner, ‘Australharmony’, *Australharmony*, The University of Sydney, accessed 25 April 2022. At <https://www.sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/>.

homes.⁵ In 2016, students from the Sydney Conservatorium of Music participated in The Dowling Songbook project, where they performed music found in composite music collections once owned by British-born Australian immigrants. The project intended to ‘facilitate [a] new understanding of music-making within an Australian historic house.’⁶ Also, since 2016, Sydney Living Museums (SLM) has been part of the Sound Heritage Network, an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded initiative that brings together historians, musicologists, historically informed performers, curators, conservators and heritage professionals to collaborate on finding new ways to gain and deeper and richer understanding of how music functioned in historic homes.⁷ The partnership inspired more investigations into music collections owned by CSL&RC, including my 2017 research project on the Stewart Symonds sheet music collection donated to CSL&RC in 2016.⁸ A further project was born out of my 2017 investigations. In 2019, SLM, the University of Sydney, the University of Glasgow, and the Melbourne-based early music and folk group, the Evergreen Ensemble, recorded an album of early nineteenth-century Scottish-Australian music from the Stewart Symonds sheet music collection and music from The Murray Collection held by The State Library of New South Wales.⁹ This latter project contributes to the wider interest in Scottish customs and traditions as discussed in this very journal by Carole M. Cusack,¹⁰ Frank Davidson¹¹ and John Coombs.¹²

The collaborative projects highlight the significance of the music collections owned by SLM to musicians, heritage professionals, historians, and musicologists in the twenty-first century, but they also provide insight into the value of music in maintaining a connection with one’s ancestral home, particularly for women who often identified themselves as the owners of these collections. Jennifer Gall’s investigation

⁵ Matthew Stephens, ‘New Research Partnerships’, *Sydney Living Museums*, accessed 19 May 2022. At <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/new-research-partnership>.

⁶ Matthew Stephens, Neal Peres da Costa and Helen Mitchell, ‘Case Study – The Dowling Songbook Collection’, in *Sound Heritage: Making Music Matter in Historic Houses*, eds Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen, (New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 171-180.

⁷ See ‘Sound Heritage: Research and interpretation of music in historic homes’, University of Southampton, accessed 25 April 2022. At <https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/about-us>.

⁸ See ‘Colonial Caledonian: In Search of the Early Scottish Musical Experience’, *Sydney Living Museums*, accessed 19 May 2022. At <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/colonial-caledonian-search-early-scottish-musical-experience>.

⁹ See ‘Evergreen Ensemble’, *Curious Caledonians*, accessed 25 April 2022. At <https://concal.org/albums?view=article&id=1309:curious-caledonians&catid=9:albums>.

¹⁰ Carole M. Cusack, ‘Bundanoon is Brigadoon: Imagination and Invention in a Modern Scottish Festival’, *Sydney Society for Scottish History Journal* 18, no. 1 (2019).

¹¹ Frank Davidson, ‘The Scottish Ballads and The Origin of Early Popular Australian Poetry’, *Sydney Society for Scottish History Journal* 15, no. 1 (2015).

¹² John Coombs, ‘Marjory Kennedy-Fraser- A Life of Song’, *Sydney Society for Scottish History Journal* 11, no. 1 (2007).

into the role of women in the transmission of a Scottish folk tradition in Australia argues that ‘Australian women’s folk music reflects the tension between honouring the traditions of their ancestral birthplace and making music part of their cultural life in a new country.’¹³ While the present article is largely in response to Boehme’s desire for more case studies on musical collections owned by Scots who travelled to Australia in the nineteenth century, it also gives more substantive evidence to support Gall’s claim that women were ‘the invisible tradition bearers’ preserving and passing the musical repertoire of their place of origin to the next generations of their family.¹⁴

I have identified two composite music collections: one owned by a Scottish woman, the other owned by a Scottish descendant, who both emigrated to Australia as free settlers in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first collection was owned by Lucy Havens (1804-1867), a woman born in Fife, who travelled to New South Wales on 8 December 1839.¹⁵ The second collection was owned by Haidee B.[eatrice] Harris (1848-1934), whose family travelled from England to New South Wales arriving on 15 November 1852.¹⁶ Though she was born in Surrey, the family were proud to have Flora Macdonald (1722-1790), a woman famous for having assisted in Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s escape after the Battle of Culloden in April 1746 as their ancestor.¹⁷ Indeed, Joseph Sheridan Moore (1828-1891), made sure to recount the story of Flora Macdonald’s heroism and her link to the Harris family in the *Memorials of the late Robert Harris*, a short, published account of his father-in-law’s life.¹⁸ Haidee B. Harris’s paternal uncle Joseph Macdonald Harris (1789-1860) and her sister Flora

¹³ Jennifer Gall, ‘Redefining the Tradition: The Role of Women in the Evolution and Transmission of Australian Folk Music’ (PhD Thesis, The Australian National University, 2008), p. 56.

¹⁴ Gall, ‘Redefining the Tradition’, p. 7.

¹⁵ ‘New South Wales, Australia, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826-1922’, *State Records Authority of New South Wales*, accessed 19 May 2022. At <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/unassisted-immigrants-index>.

¹⁶ ‘Haidee B. Harris volume of songs and music, circa 1790-1800 [music]’, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, *Sydney Living Museums*, accessed 15 April 2022. At <http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/fullRecord.jsp?recno=52257>. Sheridan Moore notes the family sailed from London on 28 July 1852 on the Benjamin Elkin. See Joseph Sheridan Moore, *Memorials of the Late Robert Harris*, (Paramatta: John Ferguson, 1882), p. 14.

¹⁷ Graeme Skinner, ‘HARRIS, Haidee (Haidee Beatrice HARRIS; Mrs. W. H. HARPER)’, *Australharmony*, The University of Sydney, accessed 25 April 2022. At <https://www.sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/register-H-1.php>.

¹⁸ Moore, *Memorials of the Late Robert Harris*, p. 8. Sheridan Moore was Flora Macdonald Harris’s husband.

(1830-1910) had ‘Macdonald’ as part of their name.¹⁹ Flora’s first name was also in honour of her paternal grandmother, grandniece of the famous Flora Macdonald.²⁰

Both Lucy Havens and Haidee B. Harris’s collections contain several Scots songs and tunes. While the musical content, both in terms of style and setting, is not unusual when compared to other composite music collections found in British historic homes, the owners of these collections chose to bring these heavy, leather-bound volumes with them on the long journey to their new home in New South Wales. A unique aspect of Haidee B. Harris’s collection is that despite it containing music purchased in Britain, it was gifted to her by her mother after the family had lived in Australia for over a decade. As such, the collection is illustrative of just how significant music was to the Harris family in maintaining a sense of connection with Scotland.

A WOMAN’S PLACE: MAKING MUSIC IN THE HOME

Before discussing the two volumes of music in more detail, it is important to point out that Lucy Havens and Haidee B. Harris typify the young, middling-rank British woman, expected to have some ability in reading and playing music. Since the eighteenth century, women of a certain social standing were expected to develop some amount of musical skill, in part because it affirmed their family’s social status.²¹ After all, obtaining a musical education was a costly business, requiring dedicated training in learning how to fluently read, write, play, and/or sing music. Acquiring skills in reading and playing music was a desirable ornamental accomplishment that could help a young woman secure a good marriage since such abilities were an outward display of the family’s wealth. In the eighteenth century, dilettante musicians were never expected to perform in public; rather showcasing their skills was strictly a private affair shared amongst family and friends in the safety of the domestic home.²² However, by the nineteenth century, more women were afforded respectable opportunities to sing or play in public concerts, so long as they restricted their activities to performing on an appropriately feminine instrument, such as piano, harp, or guitar.²³ Music education also provided young women opportunities to work as a music teacher or governess, positions considered respectable for those without a husband.²⁴ Flora Macdonald Harris

¹⁹ Leslie Stephen, ‘Harris, Joseph MacDonald’, in *Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XXV*, eds Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1891), p. 20. Flora’s baptismal record clearly records her name as ‘Flora Macdonald’, with Macdonald’ serving as a middle name. See Parish Record 1846 of St George, Camberwell, Southwark, England, P73/GEO/019, London Metropolitan Archives, London.

²⁰ Moore, *Memorials of the Late Robert Harris*, p. 8.

²¹ Karin Pendle, *Women and Music A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 148.

²² Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing: Scandalous Lessons* (New York: Routledge, 2022), p. 5.

²³ Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 162.

was already working as a music teacher in England prior to the family's emigration to Australia.²⁵

Publishers in Britain specifically produced sheet music for the domestic music market, ensuring that fashionable songs or pieces were rendered suitable for performance in the home. Arias and songs performed in the theatre were particularly popular, especially at the turn of the nineteenth century. Music masters, such as Edinburgh-based, Italian musician Domenico Corri (1746-1825) even penned a music treatise designed to instruct young female amateurs on how to appropriately sing their favourite opera aria.²⁶ Thomas Busby (1755-1838) released *The Songs Sung by Mrs Billington in Artaxerxes* (1801) and *The Songs Sung by Mrs Billington in The Duenna* (1801), which rendered in print all the elaborate embellishments performed by star songstress, Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818), thus allowing enthusiastic amateurs to recreate her performances (including her elaborate vocal ornamentation) at home.²⁷ Throughout the nineteenth century, the market for sheet music and musical instruments designed for domestic music-making significantly increased, with Richards explaining that such growth went hand in hand with the growth of the middle class, and as such, an increase in the number of people with enough disposable income to spend on leisure activities.²⁸

LUCY HAVENS AND HER MUSICAL EDUCATION

The daughter of a middling rank family, Lucy Havens was just one of many women who were part of a society that expected her to obtain some level of musical education and participate in domestic music-making activities. The Havens family were descended from successful baymakers, merchants specialising in producing fine, woollen, felt-like fabric, who lived and worked at East Donyland, a parish of Colchester, England.²⁹ By 1848, *White's Directory for Essex* claimed that Philip Havens (1768-1856), Lucy Havens' paternal uncle was 'lord of the manor, and owner of most of the soil' at East Donyland.³⁰ He also obtained his LLB from Corpus Christi College in

²⁴ Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections', p. 33.

²⁵ She is recorded as a 'Vocalist and teacher of music' in the 1851 English census. Census Returns of England and Wales 1851, HO107, Piece 1582, GSU roll 174818, The National Archives of the UK, Public Record Office, Kew, Surrey, England.

²⁶ Domenico Corri, *Domenico Corri: A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, Etc.* (Edinburgh: John Corri, 1782).

²⁷ Thomas Busby, *The Songs Sung by Mrs Billington in Artaxerxes* (London: W. Rolfe, 1801); Thomas Busby, *The Songs Sung by Mrs Billington in The Duenna* (London: W. Rolfe, 1801).

²⁸ Richards, 'Georgiana McCrae's Manuscript Music Collections', p. 33.

²⁹ Pat Marsden, 'The Havens Family of East Donyland and Wivenhoe (1692-1924)', *Wivenhoe's History*, accessed 20 May 2022. At <https://www.wivenhoehistory.org.uk/content/new-contributions/the-havens-family-of-east-donyland-and-wivenhoe-1692-1924>.

1794.³¹ As for Lucy Havens' father, Robert Havens (1771-1818), it has been difficult to ascertain his exact profession. His daughter, Jane (1811-1864) identified him as a surgeon on her tombstone³² and yet, there are no records of him being educated or working as a surgeon in Britain.³³ His son, also Robert Havens (1809-1885), was a surgeon who became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London in 1831 and later worked as a surgeon in Sydney.³⁴ Perhaps the person installing the tombstone had confused her brother for her father. As for Robert Havens the elder, in 1802, when he married Janet Crabb (1783-1855) in Edinburgh, his profession was listed as 'underiter', the same profession as his father-in-law Alexander Crabb (1749-1793).³⁵ However, working as an 'underiter' or underwriter was not exactly in keeping with the Havens family's line of work, nor is there any evidence he worked as an underwriter prior to his marriage. He was listed as a 'weaver' in the 1790 *Poll Books and Electoral Registers, 1538-1893* for Colchester.³⁶ In 1809, a Robert Havens appears in the *Edinburgh Post Office Directory*, where he is listed as a lace manufacturer.³⁷ Working as a weaver and lace manufacturing are not too far removed from the Havens' family work as baymakers. If this is the correct Robert Havens, it is unclear what he was doing professionally between 1802-1809. Whatever his profession, the family presumably had enough disposable income to allow Janet Crabb the opportunity to subscribe to a *Collection of Waltzes* (published between 1813 and 1820?)³⁸ composed by William Frederick Browne (1786-1842), a musician in the Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons.

³⁰ William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County of Essex* (Sheffield: R. Leader, 1848). Philip Havens had purchased East Donyland Hall, a seventeenth-century manor house, reconstructed in the early eighteenth century, in 1794. See 'East Donyland: Introduction,' in *A History of the County of Essex*, ed. Janet Cooper (London: Victoria County History, 2001), pp. 186-191.

³¹ 'Philip Havens', *A Cambridge Alumni Database*, University of Cambridge, accessed 20 May 2022. At <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=Havens&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>.

³² The epitaph on the Havens family tombstone reads: 'In memory of Jane beloved wife of Thomas Whiteside, fourth daughter of Robert Havens of Colchester England, Surgeon'. See 'Robert Havens', *Billion Graves*, accessed 20 May 2022. At <https://billiongraves.com/grave/Robert-Havens/22782414>.

³³ I am grateful to Lauren McKay at the Lothian Health Services Archives, Ruth Ilott from the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and Emma Maxwell at Scottish Indexes for taking time to search for Robert Havens in their archives.

³⁴ *Sydney Herald*, 8 June 1840, p. 1.

³⁵ "Marriage record - Robert Havens and Janet Crab, married 7 May 1802, Parish, Edinburgh", *ScotlandsPeople*, accessed 20 May 2022. At <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/>.

³⁶ *The Poll for Members to Serve in Parliament for the Borough of Colchester* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1790), p. 13.

³⁷ *Post-Office Annual Directory 1809-10* (Edinburgh: Abernethy & Walker, 1809), p. 111.

³⁸ Sydney Living Museums has established this date; however, there are a few factors that suggest it was more likely published closer to 1813 than 1820. Firstly, the collection was published by Hutton

Her mother's interest in music and the fact that her paternal family were well-positioned was a likely factor in ensuring Lucy Havens, and perhaps also her two sisters: Jane and Eliza (1813-1840) were given a musical education. Indeed, her collection perfectly exemplifies the kind of music a middling-rank woman would play. I include a list of the pieces contained within the collection below as well as listing the instrumentation for each piece:

Composer	Title of piece	Approximate dating for each piece	Instrumentation
Pleyel, Ignaz (1757-1831)	Six Sonatas for the Piano forte or harpsichord. With an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin and Violoncello, London: Preston	[WM 1808]	Pianoforte or harpsichord and flute or violin and violoncello
Ross, John (1764-1837)	Two Admired Airs Composed with Variations for the Piano Forte, London: Preston	[c.1800]	Pianoforte
Ross, John (1764-1837)	An Admired Scottish Air, Arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte, London: Preston	[c.1810-1822] ³⁹	Pianoforte
Browne, William	Collection of Waltzes for the Piano Forte, Edinburgh: Hutton and Balbirnie	[between1813-1820?]	Pianoforte
Hargreaves, George (Amateur)	Five Waltzes for the Piano Forte. With an Accompaniment (ad libitum) for the Flute, London: Goulding, D'Almaine and Potter	[1811-c.1830] ⁴⁰	Pianoforte and flute

and Balbirnie in Edinburgh, which suggests they were living in relative proximity to be able to collect the music from the publishers in Edinburgh. Secondly, by 1818, the family had moved to Whitehaven, Cumberland, England, which suggests the music was published at some point before the family moved away from Scotland. Lucy Havens' music collection has been digitised and is available to see here: <https://archive.org/details/Waltz54035>. Accessed 20 May 2022.

³⁹ Thomas Preston took over his father's business c. 1798. He changed how the address was printed from '97 Strand, and Exeter Change' to '97 Strand' (only) c.1810 and continued to print that address on publications until 1822. See Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles* (London: Cassell and Co., 1954), p. 264.

⁴⁰ In 1811, Goulding, D'Almaine and Potter moved to 20, Soho Square, the address printed on *Five Waltzes for the Piano Forte*. Around 1830, the company name changed to D'Almaine & Co. See Chris Partington and John Adams, 'GOULDING (& D'ALMAINE) (Publisher),' *The Village-Music Project*, accessed 19 May 2022. At https://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=827.

	Three Favorite Waltzes as Performed at the Theatre Royal Edinburgh by Mozart, Edinburgh: Penson and Robertson	[1811?]	Pianoforte
Par Julien [Jullien, Louis Antoine (1812-1860)?]	The Celebrated Waltz as Danced with the Greatest Applause by Mademoiselle Ferzi; with two other Favourite Waltzes, for the Piano Forte, Glasgow: J[ohn] A[lexander] May	[1822?]	Pianoforte
Weigl, Joseph (1766-1846)	The Imperial Waltz with two other Grand Waltzes; for the Piano Forte, Glasgow: J[ohn] A[lexander] May	[1809?]	Pianoforte
Letzn, Gieuspo	Leipsig, Or the Allies Grand March, and a Favorite Waltz, London: Phipps & Co.	[1811?]	Pianoforte
Clarkson, John (ND)	Five Favorite Tunes Arranged for the Piano Forte or Violin & Violoncello	[1815?]	Pianoforte or Violin and Cello
Gow, Nathaniel (1763-1831)	Mr Frank Walker's Strathspey, Edinburgh: Gow and Shepherd Music Sellers	[1800?]	Pianoforte
Gow, Nathaniel (1763-1831)	The Countess of Dalhousie's Strathe. Edinburgh: Gow and Shepherd	[1800?]	Pianoforte
Gow, Nathaniel	Waterloo Medley, Edinburgh: Penson, Robertson & Co.	1816	Pianoforte
	Davie & Morris' Collection of Reels, Dances &cc, for the Piano Forte, Aberdeen: Davie & Morris Musical Repository	[1815?]	Pianoforte
	Robin Adair, A Favorite Song Sung at all the Glee Clubs, London: G. Walker	[c.1795-1821] ⁴¹	Voice, and thorough-bass and harpsichord [realised accompaniment]
Hook, James (1746-1827)	Within a Mile of Edinburgh[.] A Celebrated Scotch Song, London: G. Walker	[WM 1811]	Voice and keyboard accompaniment

⁴¹ George Walker operated out of 106 Great Portland Street (the address given on the music) from c.1795-1821. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 319.

Stevenson, Sir John (1761-1833); words by Moore, Thomas (1779-1852)	The Wood-Pecker[.] Here in this lone little wood, A Ballad, London: J. Power	[1809?]	Voice and pianoforte
Parry, John (1776-1851)	The Voice of Her I Love, A Ballad, Sung with Universal Applause by Mr Braham. at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, In The Opera of The Castle of Andalusia, London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.	[1812] ⁴²	Voice, harp and pianoforte
	Ca' the Ewes to the Knows, A Favorite old Scots Song As Sung at the Edinburgh Concert, Edinburgh: Muir Wood & Co.	[1803-10?] ⁴³	Voice, Pianoforte, Violin or German Flute
Smith, Robert Archibald (1780-1829), words by Tannahill, Robert 1774-1810)	Gloomy Winter's Now Awa', A Scotch Song, Glasgow: J. McFadyen	[c.1810?]	Voice and keyboard accompaniment
Hamilton, John (1761-1814)	Up in the Morning Early. A Favourite Scots Song, Edinburgh: Printed and Sold by the Author	[1799-1810?] ⁴⁴	Voice and Pianoforte or Harpsichord
Moore, Thomas (1779-1852)	Farewell Bessy, London: J. Power	[c.1810?]	Voice and Pianoforte
Arnold, Samuel (1740-1802)	When the Hollow Drum Sung by Mrs Bland in the	[1805-1840?] ⁴⁵	Voice and keyboard

⁴² The song was registered with Stationer's Hall in 1812. See Michael Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710-1818* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 674.

⁴³ Muir Wood & Co. operated from 7 Leith Street (printed on the music) from c.1803-10. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 240.

⁴⁴ John Hamilton operated from 24 North Bridge Street (printed on the music) from c.1799-10. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 168.

⁴⁵ Hime and Son operated from Castle Street & Church Street (printed on the music) from c.1805-40. Humphries and Smith note that early prints do not include the premises number, which suggest that this piece was published closer to 1805. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 181.

	Mountaineers, Liverpool: Hime & Son		accompaniment [with an arrangement of the melody for German Flute]
	Begone dull Care. A favorite Duett As Sung with great applause at Harrison and Knyvett's Vocal Concerts, London: Longman and Broderip	[1793?] ⁴⁶	Two voices, and keyboard accompaniment [with an arrangement of the melody for two guitars and two German flutes]

Table 1: List of publications in Lucy Havens' composite music collection. Initial dating was determined by CSL&RC. Where possible I have given further clarification for dates in the footnotes.

Undoubtedly, Lucy Havens was a pianoforte player, as every piece in the collection includes a keyboard part or is designed to be played as a solo on the pianoforte or harpsichord. Music publications stating that the piece could be played on a harpsichord or pianoforte was not unusual at the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite the fact the harpsichord had been falling out of fashion since at least the 1770s.⁴⁷ Notably, Lucy Havens has written her name on the top right-hand corner of *Six Sonatas for the Piano forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin and Violoncello* (hence *Six Sonatas*) by Ignace [Ignaz] Pleyel (1757-1831), which happens to be one of the more challenging works in the collection. Throughout the *Six Sonatas*, the keyboard part is no mere accompaniment but rather is the soloist with the accompaniment played on a melody instrument, namely the flute or violoncello. As such, Pleyel's *Six Sonatas* typifies the accompanied sonata genre, which, as discussed by Marian Wilson Kimber, were designed to reflect 'expected gender roles in British amateur music making of the period, with women serving as the performers for the more difficult keyboard parts and less accomplished men accompanying them with minimal or unchallenging melodies for violin or flute.'⁴⁸ Moreover, sheet music designed for domestic music-making tended to list a few different instrument combinations to allow

⁴⁶ The piece was registered with Stationer's Hall in 1793. Longman and Broderip operated out of 26 Cheapside and No. 13 Haymarket from 1782-1798 when the company went bankrupt. See Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710-1818*, p.198. Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 216.

⁴⁷ Walter Ponce, *The Tyranny of Tradition in Piano Teaching: A Critical History from Clementi to the Present* (North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 2019), p. 13; Jeremy Siepmann, *The Piano* (New York: Hal Leonard Co., 1998), p. 9.

⁴⁸ Marian Wilson Kimber, 'Miss Austen Plays Pleyel: An Additional Source for the Jane Austen Family Music Collection?', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 67, no. 1 (2020): p. 6.

for a variety of performance options so that family members or friends could play together when desired.

The *Six Sonatas* are found in other domestic music-making collections, including a collection owned by Miss Austen, though that edition was printed by Longman and Broderip [c.1800].⁴⁹ The British Library hold a copy of the *Six Sonatas* published by Preston and has dated the publication 1808 based on the watermark. In 1808, Lucy Havens was just four years old, and it is unlikely she was performing such a challenging piece of music, though it is possible it was part of the family collection for some years until the girl was of an age to perform it. Throughout the *Six Sonatas* some fingering marks, which are designed to help younger players identify the correct finger to use to ensure good piano-playing technique, are handwritten into the score and it is not the only piece to include such markings. Fingerings are marked into the pianoforte accompaniment part in the song *The Voice of Her Love*, and almost every note of the accompaniment part in *Ca' the Ewes to the Knows* is marked. Such markings indicate the music was used when Lucy Havens was learning how to play the pianoforte, perhaps starting with simple accompaniment parts present in *Ca' the Ewes* until she developed enough skill to perform the *Six Sonatas*. There are also more whimsical markings added to some of the music. The pianoforte solo piece, *The March of the Allied Armies into Leipsic*, includes the printed marks R.H. on the bass part to indicate that the player should play these chords with their right hand. However, on two occasions (bars 10 and 12) 'avens' has been handwritten to make the H of 'hand' read 'Havens'.⁵⁰ Though a tiny detail, such a marking reads more like the work of a bored child scribbling on their music.

Unfortunately, no dating information can be gleaned from the binding, as it was replaced in recent years, though the inscription stating 'Miss L Havens / Whitehaven / Cumberland' remains on the front pasteboard. The Havens family moved to Whitehaven, Cumberland, England at some point before 1818, the year Robert Havens died in Whitehaven. The final Havens child, Eliza Havens, was born in Falkirk in 1813, and the final listing for a 'Robert Havens' in the *Edinburgh Post Office Directory* is 1814-15, which perhaps suggests the family were only living in Cumberland for a few years before his death.⁵¹ It is unclear why the family moved to England after spending more than a decade in Scotland, but it is likely the death of the family patriarch impacted their finances, which is perhaps why there are very few new publications included in the music collection past 1818.

In 1839, when Lucy Havens emigrated to New South Wales with her mother, brother, and two sisters, she was not just taking a collection of music but was keeping an important artefact from her youth. It was also perhaps a reminder of Scotland, the place she once lived, and one that she would never visit again. Much of the music was purchased in Edinburgh many years before the family moved to Whitehaven. Edinburgh

⁴⁹ Marian Wilson Kimber argues that the 'Miss Austen' written on a copy of the *Six Sonatas* held at The Rita Benton Music Library was a member of the famous Austen family.

⁵⁰ 'The March of the Allied Armies into Leipsic', in Lucy Havens, volume of songs and music, circa 1798-1825, archived online at <https://archive.org/details/Havens55414>. Accessed 20 May 2022.

⁵¹ *Post-Office Annual Directory 1814-15* (Edinburgh: Abernethy & Walker, 1814), p. 117.

bookseller stamps from William Whyte (1771-1858) and John Sutherland (fl.1820-1839) appear on five musical items, while several other pieces in the collection were published in Edinburgh (see Table 1).⁵² There are also several Scots songs and pieces composed by Scots included in the collection. As such, the collection may have already earned significance for Lucy Havens as an heirloom from a past homeland before she even emigrated.

MUSIC AND THE HARRIS FAMILY

Haidee B. Harris was the daughter of Robert Harris (c.1796-1882), a legal officer for the City and London, and Mary Ann Thew (b. c.1807), though the family were also directly connected to the music profession in London.⁵³ Robert Harris's elder brother was composer, music teacher and singer, Joseph Macdonald Harris, who published several songs and duets, throughout his life.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, none of his compositions appears in Haidee B. Harris's collection, though her sister, Flora, did perform at least one of his songs, namely 'The Mariner's Child to his Mother' at the Grand Evening Concert for Herr Strebinger on 5 January 1854.⁵⁵

Flora Macdonald Harris was a professional musician in her own right, who trained under Domenico Crivelli (1793/1796-1856), principal professor of singing at the Royal Academy of Music, London before establishing herself as a concert singer and music teacher.⁵⁶ Some insight into the teaching Flora received is gleaned from Crivelli's vocal treatise *L'Arte del Canto or The Art of Singing* (1841), which outlined his vocal teaching method.⁵⁷ While the treatise focused heavily on describing the vocal anatomy, it largely promoted the Italian training methods. She adopted his teachings, specifically his system of theory and vocal training, to train other aspiring musicians both in England and in Sydney.⁵⁸

Haidee B. Harris was four years old at the time the Harris family emigrated to New South Wales, and as such did not have the opportunity to engage in training with so prominent a music master as Crivelli in England, though she was instructed by her sister, Flora.⁵⁹ In 1865, Haidee B. Harris performed in one public concert, however, she

⁵² Of the remaining pieces published in London, it is possible that these were also purchased in Edinburgh, though without a bookseller stamp it is difficult to provide evidence for such a claim. It is also possible the music was sent to the Havens family as a gift, or the items were purchased in London by the family during a visit.

⁵³ Skinner, 'HARRIS, Haidee (Haidee Beatrice HARRIS; Mrs. W. H. HARPER)'.

⁵⁴ Stephen, 'Harris, Joseph MacDonald', p. 20.

⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1854.

⁵⁶ Though not comprehensive, Skinner has compiled a list of her various concerts. See Skinner, 'HARRIS, Haidee (Haidee Beatrice HARRIS; Mrs. W. H. HARPER)'.

⁵⁷ Domenico Crivelli, *L'Arte del Canto* (London: published by the author, 1841).

⁵⁸ *Empire*, 4 February 1854, p. 1.

only sang a duet and was listed as an ‘amateur’.⁶⁰ The performance was perhaps more for Flora’s benefit than Haidee’s since a public display of musicians’ talents was also an endorsement of their teacher’s pedagogical skill. Indeed, a review from the *Empire* made sure to mention that Flora was the person responsible for Haidee’s training:

The duet, ‘To the fair,’ sung by Mrs. Cordner, and Miss Haidee Harris, (amateur), was so sweetly sung as to be encored, a compliment highly deserved by these ladies, the former of whom possesses a fine contralto voice, and sings with improved taste and style; and the latter is the young lady whose beautiful vocalisation is always so greatly admired - who owes much, however, to her sister, Madame Flora Harris, under whose excellent tuition she has become so good a musician.⁶¹

The previous year, Haidee B. Harris’s collection of music was gifted to her as evidenced by the inscription handwritten on the front pastedown board, which stated, ‘Haidee B. Harris / from her affectionate / Mama / April 8th 1864.’⁶² It is possible the collection was a legacy item passed down from Haidee’s grandmother, to mother, before finally being gifted to her. It is also possible the collection was brought to Australia by another family, who later sold it to the Harris family. Unfortunately, the label has been removed from the front cover, which makes it difficult to ascertain the provenance of the collection prior to it being given to Haidee B. Harris. That said, the binding is contemporary with the music with the CSL&RC noting in their catalogue ‘back pastedown has come away from the cover board and it shows us that the binder has used the title page of “The Christian’s new and compleat family Bible, or, Universal library of divine knowledge ... illustrated with annotations and commentaries ... the whole forming a compleat body of Christian divinity” / by the Rev. Thomas Bankes. 178? for the paste down.’⁶³ Below is a table of all the music in the collection, including the approximate date each piece was first published.

Composer	Title	Approximate dating for each piece	Instrumentation
	A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes, with Variations for the Violin, and a Bass for the	[1793?]	Violin, Violincello or Harpsichord

⁵⁹ ‘MUSIC AND THE DRAMA,’ *Empire*, 21 April 1865, p. 2.

⁶⁰ ‘MUSIC AND THE DRAMA,’ p. 2.

⁶¹ ‘MUSIC AND THE DRAMA,’ p. 2.

⁶² ‘Haidee B. Harris volume of songs and music, circa 1790-1800’, archived online at <https://archive.org/details/Haidee52257/page/n1/mode/2up>. Accessed 20 May 2022.

⁶³ ‘Haidee B. Harris volume of songs and music, circa 1790-1800. [music]’, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, accessed 20 May 2022. At <http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/fullRecord.jsp?recno=52257>.

	Violincello or Harpsichord, Edinburgh: L. Ding		
A Young Lady	Braes of Auchtertyre With Variations Adapted to the Piano- Forte &c. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Brysson	[1789- 1818?] ⁶⁴	Pianoforte
Gow, Nathaniel	Delven House: Composed (in Imitation of Irish) and dedicated to Mrs Muir McKenzie, Edinburgh: Gow and Shepherd	[1796- 1801?] ⁶⁵	
Hamilton, John of Lanark (author) Watlen, John (composer)	The Banks of Clyde. A Scots Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No 5, Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice, Pianoforte, Guitar, Flute or Violin
	Roy's Wife of Alldivaloch. A Favourite Old Scots Song. A Scots Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No 3, Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Pianoforte, Voice, Violin and Guitar
	Johny Faa, or the Gypsie Laddie An Old Scots Song, From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No 1, Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice, Pianoforte, Guitar, Flute or Clarinet
	Morag. A Favourite old Gaelic Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[179?]	Voice, Pianoforte, Violin, Flute, Guitar &c.
[Hook, James]	The Favourite Scotch Rondo, Sung by Mrs Sutherland [from an unidentified collection]	Unknown date	Two voices and pianoforte
	Black Mary. A Favourite old Gaelic Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient &</i>	[1793]	Voice, Pianoforte, Guitar, Flute or Violin

⁶⁴ No address is given on the publication, but John Brysson operated in Edinburgh from 1789 until his death in 1818. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 91.

⁶⁵ Gow & Shepherd operated from 41 North Bridge Street (printed on the music) from 1796-c.1801. See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 159.

	<i>Modern</i> , No. 6. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen		
	MacGregor Atuario. A Favourite Old Scots song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 2. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Pianoforte, Voice or Guitar
Approved alterations by Riddell, Robert of Glenriddell	Waly Waly. A Favourite Old Scots Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 6. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice and Pianoforte
J. Jones; words by A. McLaren	Fair Maid of Perth's sweet-Town [no publishing information given]	[179?]	Voice and Pianoforte
	If a Body meet a Body. A Favourite old Scots Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[179?]	Voice, Pianoforte, German flute or Guitar
	Auld Rob the Laird. A Favourite Scots Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 1. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice, Pianoforte, Guitar, Flute or Clarinet
	Ca' the Ewes to the Knows, A Favourite old Scots song As sung at the Edinburgh Concert. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 5. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice, Pianoforte, Violin, or German-Flute
Watlen, John (music) Macdonald (lyrics)	Yarrow Vale. A Favourite Scotch Song. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 1. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[1793]	Voice and Pianoforte
Hook, James	Well away cruel Barbara Allen. A Favorite Song, sung by Master Welsh at Vauxhall Gardens, etc. London: A Bland & Wellers.	[1797]	Flute, Violin, Corni, Tenor, Voice, Bass

	The Bonny Bold Soldier. A Favourite Song Sung by Mrs Hamilton [no publishing information given]	Date unknown	Voice and Pianoforte
Gunn, John	Forty Favorite Scotch Airs, London: Printed and Sold for the Editor and R. Birchell	[1789]	Violin, German Flute, or Violoncello
	Moll in the Wad. A Favourite Dialogue Sung at the Theatres in Dublin, London: Cabusac and Sons	[1796?]	Voice and Pianoforte
	Corporal Casey [no publishing information given]	Date unknown	Voice and Pianoforte
	On the Lake of Killarney. A Favorite Song Sung by Mrs Hamilton, [no publishing information given]	[1800?]	Voice, Two Violins and Bass or Pianoforte
Wilson, Mr	Murtoch Dalaney. A Favourite Song, [no publishing information given]	Date unknown	Voice and Pianoforte
Hook, James	In a Vale Far Remov'd. A Favorite Song, Sung by Mr. Dignum at Vauxhall Gardens, London: A. Bland & Wellers	[1797]	Flute, Voice and Pianoforte
Hook, James	You're Welcome, Dear Youth, as the Flowers in May. A Favorite Song, Sung by Mrs. Franklin, at Vauxhall Gardens, London: A. Bland & Wellers	[1797]	Voice and Pianoforte
Hook, James (music) Upton, William (lyrics)	Three Weeks After Marriage, a Favorite Song, sung by Mrs. Mountain, at Vauxhall Gardens, London: A. Bland and Wellers	[1797]	Voice and Pianoforte, Flute or Guitar
Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814)	A Salt Eel for Mynheer, London: Sold by the Author	[1797?]	Voice and Pianoforte, Two Flutes
	Corrydon. A Favourite Song, Edinburgh: J. Brysson	[1789-1818?] ⁶⁶	Voice and Pianoforte
Dibdin, Charles	The Sailor's Journal, London: Sold by the Author	[1796?]	Voice and Pianoforte, Two Flutes

⁶⁶ No address is given on the publication, but as noted above, Brysson operated in Edinburgh from 1789 until his death in 1818.

	All in the Downs, or Sweet William's Farewell to Black Ey'd Susan. Harmoniz'd by F. Ireland, Edinburgh: J. Brysson	[1789-1818?] ⁶⁷	Two voices, Guitar or German Flute
Linley, F.	The Storm. A Favorite Song, as Sung by Mr Incledon at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London. From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	[179?]	Voice and Pianoforte
Watlen, John	The Adieu of Louis XVI King of France, From <i>Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern</i> , No. 1. Edinburgh: J[ohn] Watlen	1793	Voice and Pianoforte, Guitar
	The Queen of France's Lamentation, Edinburgh: J. Brysson	[1789-1818?] ⁶⁸	Voice and Pianoforte, Flute

Table 2: List of publications in Haidee B. Harris's composite music collection. Initial dating was determined by CSL&RC. Where necessary I have given further clarification for dates in the footnotes.

Much of the music was published throughout the 1790s, and as such is about a decade older than the music found in Lucy Havens's collection. Similar material is found in both collections, including music composed by Scottish musician Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831), who was a celebrated performer, composer, and arranger, who was also the son of Niel Gow (1727-1807), a famous Scottish fiddler. The famous Scots song, 'Ca' the ewes to the knows', also appears in both collections as well as some songs from as well by James Hook (1746-1827), a popular English composer, well known for composing pseudo-Scots songs such as 'Within a Mile of Edinburgh a Celebrated Scotch Song' found in Lucy Havens collection and 'The Favourite Scotch Rondo' found in the Haidee B. Harris collection.

By 1864, much of the music would have appeared rather old-fashioned, particularly the references to playing on a harpsichord, rather than piano. However, that is exactly why the volume is significant. In 1864, Haidee B. Harris was sixteen years old and just one year away from her coming of age as a young woman ready to enter the marriage market.⁶⁹ Just two years later, she married Henry William Harper on 27

⁶⁷ See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 159.

⁶⁸ See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 159.

⁶⁹ In England, though a woman could not marry without the consent of her father or guardian until she was twenty-one, most were on the market from the age of seventeen. Seventeen marked the age where young women from upper-class families 'came out' at Court, and from that point on were in search of

December 1866.⁷⁰ Gifting her a collection of music with a significant number of Scots songs was perhaps a way of reminding Haidee B. Harris of her Scottish heritage and sharing the importance of music, Scots music specifically, with future generations of the family.

SCOTTISH CONNECTIONS

Music composed by a Scot, published in Scotland, or referring to being a Scots song or tune, prominently feature in both collections, with fourteen out of the twenty-four musical works with direct Scottish connections appearing in Lucy Havens' collection. Twenty-two out of the thirty-two items in Haidee B. Harris's collection also have a direct Scottish connection, though twelve of those items are from *Watlen's Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs, both Ancient & Modern*. Large, published song collections containing many songs were both common and popular, with other publishers including William Thomson (fl.1695–1753), Robert Bremner (c.1713–1789), and George Thomson (1757-1851) producing similar collections throughout the eighteenth century that were suitable for domestic music-making activities.⁷¹ John Watlen (c.1764-1833), a publisher initially based in Edinburgh from 1791 until declaring bankruptcy in 1798⁷² published several collections of Scots songs and tunes, including *The Celebrated Circus Tunes as performed at Edinburgh this Season* first published in 1791, with a second collection published in 1798.⁷³ His *Collection of the Most Admired Scots Songs* was first published in 1793 in several parts, allowing the consumer to purchase either a small volume of songs (typically consisting of seven songs) for £2 or individual songs for 6 shillings. Such a marketing approach was one way of ensuring sales, though a lasting consequence is that there are few examples where the whole series of songs released in 1793 has been preserved.⁷⁴ All the songs were reissued and released as a collection in 1796.⁷⁵

an appropriate husband throughout the season. See Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 12; Heather Lea Nelson, 'The Law and the Lady: Consent and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century British Literature' (PhD Thesis, Purdue University, 2015), p. 5.

⁷⁰ Skinner, 'HARRIS, Haidee (Haidee Beatrice HARRIS; Mrs. W. H. HARPER)'.

⁷¹ William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius* (London: printed for the author, 1725); Robert Bremner, *Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord. The music taken from the most genuine sets extant; the words from Allan Ramsa*, (Edinburgh: printed for R. Bremner, 1757); George Thomson, *A Select Collection of original Scottish Airs for the Voice* (London: Preston and Sons, 1793-1818).

⁷² Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, p. 324.

⁷³ Kim Baston, 'The Celebrated Circus Tunes: Music and Musicians in an Eighteenth-Century Circus', *Popular Entertainment Studies* 9, no. 1-2,(2018): pp. 6-24.

⁷⁴ The Jimmy Shand Collection, held by the Wighton Collection and Dundee Central Library, has a run of the first six volumes of the series published in 1793.

⁷⁵ Mus.f.383, University of Edinburgh Special Collections.

Haidee B. Harris's collection includes songs from volumes No 1, No 5, No 6 and others, including two Gaelic songs, 'Morag' and 'Black Mary'. Watlen provides a translation for 'Black Mary', but not for 'Morag', perhaps because he assumed that his consumers already knew the meaning of the text.⁷⁶ The statement, 'This Song is now Sung in all Parts of Scotland', printed just under the title of the song 'Morag' explicitly attests to its popularity, despite the fact it does not appear in other printed Scottish collections and was only produced as a single song sheet by one other publisher, Muir Wood and Co. in Edinburgh around 1800.⁷⁷

The text is perfectly suitable for female performance in a domestic setting and thematic in keeping with love songs popular throughout the eighteenth century.

Si Morag bheag nan dluth ciabh Gu'm Maith da'n tig nan guntaibh s'ribeanan o bh O Mur d'rinn mi mearch'd cuntais Gur robh mhaith ceile Duic thu.	Morag of the dense set hair [a good head of hair] Who wears gowns and ribbons well, Unless I am mistaken you would Make a good spouse for a Duke.
Se runn mo chagair Morag Smo cheile cadal Morag Gu'm b'aile leum agam Morag	Morag is my beloved darling And my spouse for sleeping I would love to have Morag with me
Gur taitneach leum do chomhra.	Your conversation is so pleasing for me ⁷⁸

Textually, 'Morag' and 'Black Mary' are thematically similar, and the musical settings are consistent with other songs in Watlen's collection, comprising of a simple melody with textual underlay and bass line. 'Morag' also includes the melody line on its own so it can be performed on a guitar.

Watlen's *Collections* align with other Scottish songs collections published throughout the eighteenth century, which claimed to produce or rather reproduce 'ancient' songs from a distant past. Many of the songs were not exactly 'ancient' but they are found printed in collections from much earlier in the eighteenth century. 'Roy's wife of Alldivaloch, A Favourite old Scots song', appears in Robert Burns's *Scots Musical Museum* IV, where it is attributed to Mrs Elizabeth Grant of Carron (c.1745–c.1814), while the tune is found in John Walsh's *Twenty-four Country Dances* (1724) as 'Lady Frances Wemyss's Reel'.⁷⁹ Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* II (1726) coded the song 'O Waly, waly, up the Bank' old, though the earliest evidence of it is in

⁷⁶ The translation for 'Black Mary' is printed on the music, available here: <https://archive.org/details/Haidee52257/page/n59/mode/2up>. Accessed 20 May 2022.

⁷⁷ G.426.pp.(22.), Music Collections DRT Digital Store, British Library.

⁷⁸ I am grateful to Gillebride MacMillan for this translation.

⁷⁹ Murray G. H. Pittock (ed.), *The Oxford Edition of The Works of Robert Burns II: The Scots Musical Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 419.

William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725).⁸⁰ The *Scots Musical Museum* V also claimed 'Comin Thro' the Rye' (titled 'If a body meet a body' by Watlen) was old.⁸¹ Other than the Gaelic material, which do not appear in collections produced by Ramsay, Thomson, or Burns, Watlen was not printing anything original. Rather, he was printing songs already found in other collections but producing them in such a way the consumer did not have to purchase a large collection consisting of upwards of thirty songs.

The reference to it not being 'Italianised in the least' was another way of distinguishing his collection. Italian opera was popular in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, which, in turn, stirred interest in amateur musicians learning Italian musical practices. By the turn of the nineteenth century, certain music collections, notably George Thomson's *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (1793-1818) capitalised on the popularity of domestic music-making activities and interest in foreign music practices by creating a Scottish song collection with songs set by European composers. Thomson even admitted that the venture was directly inspired by performances of Scots songs given by Italian singers, including Domenico Corri, Francesca Corri (c.1750-1802) and Giusto Tonducci (c.1735-1790).⁸² While certain publishers were profiting from the popularity of Italian practices, there was also a lot of anti-Italian sentiment, with musicians and music critics such as John Potter (1734?-1804), Joseph Kemp (1778-1824), and Richard Mackenzie Bacon (1776-1844) claiming that foreigners (mainly Italians) were invading the British musical scene.⁸³ Watlen was playing into such anti-Italian sentiments by implying that his song collection had not been spoiled by overly florid, foreign practices. That said, his printed music collection was hardly an authentic representation of Scotland's musical heritage since it was deliberately packaged for use in contemporary domestic music-making. Like many Scots songs collections, it Romanticised Scotland's musical culture, leaning into the illusion that these songs were the last vestiges of an ancient past preserved in print for future generations to enjoy.

Did Haidee B. Harris sing these songs and Romanticise her Scottish heritage? Unfortunately, that is a question that cannot be answered in relation to Harris herself, but the songs exemplify a desire to feel connected to Scotland. While neither Haidee B. Harris, nor her parents had lived in Scotland, their Scottish origins were clearly an aspect of family history that they wished to maintain and share with future generations. Hence why a volume of music with a significant number of Scots songs and tunes was gifted to a member of the family who had spent most of her life in Australia.

⁸⁰ Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius*, no. 34; Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1727), p. 118.

⁸¹ Pittock, *The Oxford Edition of The Works of Robert Burns*, pp. 503-4.

⁸² M. J. Grant, *Auld Lang Syne: A Song and its Culture* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2021), chapter 2.2.

⁸³ Robertson-Kirkland, *Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing*, p. 90.

CONCLUSION

The existence of these two music collections provides unique insight into two young, middling-ranked women who travelled thousands of miles from their places of birth to settle in Australia in the nineteenth century. Both women came from families who invested in music and in their daughters, by ensuring they were provided with a musical education. While there were rather pragmatic reasons to musically train these women, it is through their music they maintained a connection to Scotland. Composite domestic music-making collections not only provide a wealth of information with regards to musical practices and the consumption of music in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also give significant insight into how Scottish songs and tunes were collected and performed, shared, and travelled with young, female Scots-Australian emigrants. Such collections are valuable artefacts that invite detailed investigations into figures whose personal histories might have been otherwise boiled down to nothing more than a numerical statistic. As such, they reveal a more nuanced understanding of the Scottish diaspora.