The Waterston Manuscripts: The Accumulation of Traditional and Popular Melodies in an Edinburgh Mercantile Family from Enlightenment to Empire. A Preliminary Survey

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The music manuscripts of the Waterston family of Edinburgh comprise five volumes compiled from c.1715 to c.1850.[1] The present whereabouts of the original manuscripts is unknown. Fortunately the National Library of Scotland, to which the volumes were transferred in 1966 from the National Register of Archives for Scotland—now the National Records of Scotland— made a microfilm of the manuscripts in 1967 (returning them thereafter to the family) and this article outlines the contents of this source as they display the development of a particular Edinburgh family's musical taste over several generations. In this respect the volumes reflect in some detail changing fashions in popular, middle-class 'music for use' from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the first decades of the nineteenth, when antiquarian interest in Britain increased with the accumulation of foreign as well as native airs. While lack of the original manuscripts prevents scrutiny of paper type, watermarks and so on—a distinct handicap to modern methods of research—the contents are of such historical interest that they are worth sustained study. The picture these manuscripts offer is of a wide range of genres, from psalm tunes and folk airs to marches and dance melodies, British and foreign, all spanning a period of roughly a century and a half.

The last that was heard of the material volumes by the family was relatively recently (1980s) when Leonora Waterston, the owner, sold an item of furniture that held the books.[2] Since then, the Manuscripts Division of the National Library has received a deposit of papers relating to the family firm, George Waterston and Sons, Ltd, from Geoffrey S. Waterston (Leonora was a cousin of Geoffrey's father), and these include business records from 1752; this deposit, however,

1 The Waterston volumes' accession number is Acc.4292 [Mf MSS 111]; printed copies of the microfilm are on deposit in the Scottish Music Centre, Glasgow. A Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship generously made possible research for the present essay.

2 Despite efforts I have been unable to trace the precise date of the sale, or to whom the item was sold.

contains no mention of the music manuscripts.[3] Leonora's papers, likewise deposited recently at the Library, have no sign of the original manuscripts.[4] Nevertheless, the significance of these manuscripts, even in a microfilm copy, is undeniable. This essay sets forth a preliminary overview of the volumes in a context of growing awareness of music beyond Europe's borders as a result of imperial and mercantile expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inevitably, 'foreign' (non-British) melodies are represented in the form of standard Western notation, adjusted in this way so as to be comprehensible to European antiquarians and collectors. The accumulation of such data, while limited in terms of understanding, marks a consciousness of musical difference.

The Waterston family

The Waterston family was deeply involved in the commercial life of Edinburgh for over two and a half centuries. In 1752 William Waterston (1729-80), an East Lothian schoolmaster turned merchant took over the business of James Lorimer, a dealer in flambeaux (wax torches) to whom he had been apprenticed, and founded the family firm.[5] Waterston set up a small workshop in Edinburgh making sealing wax and flambeaux, and in the original sales ledger the first sale records flambeaux being sold to the Duke of Hamilton on 6 December 1752. In 1753 William expanded into the production of sealing wax and wafers, and later in the century the firm began the production of ink. Having established a reputation for quality and built a wide customer base all over Scotland, William was awarded a silver medal by the Edinburgh Society in 1756. He soon moved to premises in Dunbar's Close, but these were later demolished to build the Head Office of the Bank of Scotland; the Bank, indeed, remained one of Waterston's oldest customers.[6]

After William's sudden death in 1780 his widow, Catherine Sandeman (1755-1831), his second wife with whom he had three sons, took over the business, opening Waterston's first shop in Edinburgh's Lawnmarket in 1782 where she sold wax, flambeaux, Japan ink, and candles bought in from London.[7] In 1786 Catherine remarried and her husband, Robert Ferrier, joined the business which then traded as Ferrier and Waterston until 1831. In 1788 the family moved to a larger house

3 NLS Acc. 12330: Papers of Robert Waterston concerning the Waterston family and the firm of George Waterston & Sons Ltd. See also NLS Acc.12235: Business records of George Waterston and Sons, Ltd. (Edinburgh), 1768-2002. In addition, the National Register of Archives for Scotland holds papers relating to the Waterston family firm, NRAS2337 (GRH.9 [2337], published in 1981). *A Bi-Centenary History: George Waterston & Sons, Ltd. 1752-1952* was also published earlier, in 1953. Further, see *Two Hundred and Twenty Five Years: A History of George Waterston & Sons Ltd 1751-1979* (Edinburgh, 1977). For a wider British context, see Spicer 1907.

4 Leonora's papers were added to the Waterston Papers (Acc.12330) in 2004.

5 The history of the family business is recounted in Watson 2002.

6 The Bank of Scotland Head Office, now owned by Lloyds Banking Group, was built between 1802 and 1806, with wings added by the architect David Bryce after 1862.

7 The *Caledonian Mercury* for Monday, July 1, 1782, describes Catherine as 'wax chandler, in Galloway's Close.' She was from a prominent Perth family. Her father had broken with the Church of Scotland to found the idealistic Glasite community that refused to accept the supremacy of the state and believed that true faith showed itself in good works. George Simson (1791-1862) painted her portrait. Catherine's brother George was to found the famous wine shipping company (Waterson [sic] 2008).

near Holyrood, where they built a workshop for the making of sealing wax. Catherine's youngest son, George (1781-1850), who joined the business in 1796, is the central figure of the family in relation to the Waterston Music Manuscripts.[8]

As gas lighting emerged in the early nineteenth century the use of torches eventually declined, and the second George Waterston (1808-1893), more enthusiastic in business than his father, expanded the manufacture of sealing wax. In 1828 the family opened a retail stationery shop. Despite the advent of the gummed envelope in 1839 and Penny Post in 1840, sealing wax was still used extensively in Britain and the Empire by government, commerce, banks and the legal profession (Haldane 1971: 306). The volume of letters had risen from 75.9 million in 1839 to 196 million by 1842, soaring to 329 million by 1849. The Waterston business remained prominent in this field, winning a prize medal for their display at the Crystal Palace, London in the Great Exhibition of 1851. George Waterston I retired from the partnership on 31 March 1846 and died four years later (Watson 2002, chapter 3; Muir 1990).

Subsequently, business records document the expansion of the business under George Waterston II and his son George Waterston III, who joined the company in 1854 at the age of sixteen (see NLS Acc.12235). With growth in the late nineteenth century Waterstons opened a shop in fashionable George Street, built a new factory in 1902 and manufacturing premises in Warriston Road, Edinburgh, a site they occupied for a hundred years until moving to a new factory at Newbridge in December 2002. The twentieth century, however, had been less prosperous. The original premises on St John's Hill, bought by Catherine Sandeman, William Waterston's second wife, was relinquished in the 1960s and sealing wax production moved to premises at Craighall Road, Trinity in 1970. After the economic slump of the 1980s the firm experienced new difficulties, and following the de-merger of its centre for Security Print and Business Forms in 2003 Waterstons was bought over by Montgomery Litho of Haddington in 2004 (*The Scotsman*. 5 February 2004). On 15 January 2013, McAllister Litho Glasgow in turn bought Montgomery Litho after it went into receivership (BBC News, 15 January 2013).

Throughout the family's domicile in Edinburgh notable members included John James Waterston (b.1811), a physicist who first formulated the central features of the kinetic theory of gas (1843-45) and reformulated the temperature of the sun (1857). Born and educated in Edinburgh, he moved to London in 1833 but returned to Scotland where he died in 1883 (Haldane 1928; Johnston 2008). A prominent figure, too, was Dr Jane Waterston (1843-1932), the first female medical practitioner in South Africa (Bean and van Heyningen 1983). One more member of note, George Waterston OBE (1911-1980), ornithologist and conservationist, was the eldest of seven children of Robert Waterston (1878-

8 George is generally referred to as 'George I' and his son as 'George II.'

1969).[9] It was Robert who, on the advice of the music historian Francis Collinson, approved making microfilm of the five Waterston Music Manuscript volumes in 1966 (a task completed in 1967). He also copied, in part, the discursive preface to Volume 5 of the first George's tune collection, 'Universal Melody.'

George Waterston I

The first George Waterston (b.1781) originally trained in law, but only for one year. When his stepfather died in 1796 he joined his twice-widowed mother in the business. His heart was never wholly in it, however, and in 1798 he paid a visit to London, where he attended events at the Haymarket Theatre and Drury Lane. He was present at a service in St Paul's to celebrate the victory of the Battle of the Nile, and remarked on the 'fine singing' at the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. He also appears to have been at Covent Garden on the occasion of a visit from King George III and his family (Watson 2002, chapter 2).

Returning to Scotland, he married Jane Blair of Dunkeld in March 1803 and they had nine children, of whom all but one reached adulthood. On 27 June of that same year George enlisted in the 1st Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, serving with them until they were disbanded when Napoleon was sent to Elba in 1814. In 1811 he experienced the unrest in Edinburgh and the savage punishment meted out to the rioters, noting that on New Year's Day 1812 there had been 'a dreadful riot in the street this morning.' Several youths, all of them under eighteen, were arrested. Three were tried, convicted of robbery and murder, and on 22 April they were all hanged in public on a gibbet erected in the High Street. George was one of the volunteers on duty that day: 'I was three hours on guard in the Parliament Close, during the execution of the rioters, felt very cold and uncomfortable' (Watson 2002).

George compiled a diary, presently untraced. But among the family papers is a handwritten copy of the diary for the years 1809-1819, transcribed from the original by his granddaughter.[10] In it George recorded not only his family life and personal ailments (toothache, flatulence), but also notable events of the time such as Wellington's victories and the defeat of Napoleon, who crops up in the tunes, 'Bonaparte's finale' (vol. 4, p. 11) and 'Napoleon le grand' (p. 231). George also recorded such matters as the purchase of a pianoforte (18 August 1810); the securing of a quantity of music that a George Walker in London had sent to James Ogg 'who is now bankrupt' (18 April 1811); and piano lessons for his daughter Betsey, 29 August 1814; 15 February 1815; 26 January 1816). No other mention of the family's musical life appears, however, nor are his musical interests recorded. In 1815 he recalled seeing, as a child, the renowned aeronaut Vincenzo Lunardi (1759-1806), who visited Edinburgh and crossed the Firth of Forth in his fire-balloon; the tune entitled 'Lunardi'

9 George Waterston OBE was Scottish Director of the Royal Society for the Preservation of Birds. He bought the island of Fair Isle, Shetland and founded the Bird Observatory there in 1948. A memorial to him, as a museum displaying the island's history, is in the former Fair Isle School. The National Trust for Scotland took over as landlord in 1955.

10 Included in the family papers in NLS; see n.3 above.

appears in Volume 4, no 112: 260 (Lunardi 1786, ed. Law 1976; see also Fergusson 1972).

On 24 June 1815 George recorded: 'Got the news of the Battle of Waterloo at the Bank of Scotland, came by express.' The final years of the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath created a difficult business climate. Many businesses in Edinburgh and its port of Leith collapsed during 1814-15. In the autumn George noted, 'Business dull, perplexed how to employ our men.' A large and welcome order for flambeaux in January 1815 could not be fulfilled because it was impossible to get rosin. At the beginning of 1816 George had to put one man on half wages as demand dropped and discharged soldiers looking for jobs caused unemployment. There was no real relief until the late 1820s since the economic slump affected the whole of the United Kingdom. George himself had never been a born entrepreneur, and it was only when his son George Waterston II joined the firm in 1829 that business began to improve (Watson 2002: chapter 3).

In the meantime there had been more social unrest, and in 1819 economic depression revived the radical cause. In the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre in Manchester, Scottish radicals advocated violence to overthrow the government. On 1 April 1820 three weavers from Parkhead in Glasgow produced their *Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, and 60,000 workers in Glasgow downed tools. When a general insurrection did not materialize, small groups of radicals still were still determined to take action, and this culminated in the skirmish between a detachment of hussars with yeomanry and radical weavers from Glasgow on 5 April 1820. Following conflict at Bonnymuir, near Falkirk, two of the weavers, John Baird and Andrew Hardie, were captured, tried and executed in Stirling on 8 September, just two years before the visit of George IV (Berresford Ellis and Mac a' Gobhainn 2016 [1970]).

It would be useful to know, should George Waterston's original diary turn up, if he recorded events such as the Great Fire in Edinburgh's Parliament Close and High Street in the winter of 1824, when almost two hundred families were made homeless. But the surviving copy of the diary shows that he had many interests other than the family business. He had shares in the newly formed Commercial Bank and in the Edinburgh & Leith Shipping Company, selling these when he and some friends failed to depose the management at the annual general meeting in 1809. He also had shares in the London & Edinburgh Shipping Company. In 1810 he was one of a small group that founded a short-lived review, *The Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, others including the Rector of the High School and W. Ritchie, one of the co-founders of *The Scotsman* newspaper. Dissatisfied with coach travel to London, he traveled there by sailing ship, though this could take a week from Edinburgh (Watson 2002: chapter 2).

George seems to have inherited his musical talent from his father, a violinist in Edinburgh's Society of Musicians. It is unclear how and from whom he received musical instruction, but he played the flute and violin and began to cultivate an interest in research. As a musical antiquary he

corresponded with William Dauney, advocate and author of the first work on Scottish musical manuscripts, *Ancient Scotish Music* (Edinburgh, 1838) and George Farquhar Graham, editor of John Muir Wood's *Songs of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1848-49).[11]

His chief hobby has been described as 'the jotting down of airs which he picked up here and there, and everywhere, and several volumes of these, all his own manuscript musical scores, have been handed down, comprising a collection of over 3,000 separate airs…of every kind of melody in existence, ancient and modern, British and foreign, including church music, songs, tunes, marches and dances indexed, not only by name but indeed by opening bars in miniature, all in his own hand.'[12] Allowing for some exaggeration here, it is certainly George who compiled vols 3-5, the three books that form the bulk of the collection. The scribal hand (or hands) of vols 1-2, however, are as yet unknown. They may have been partly, at least, the work of George's father (or colleagues) while he was a member of the Musical Society.

The manuscript volumes: overview

The Waterston Manuscripts, then, consist of five volumes of music compiled over a century and a half, from around 1715 to the first half of the nineteenth century, when George Waterston, who died in 1850, wrote out the final three volumes. The National Library description states it to be 'The property of Robert Waterston Esq., 27 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh 3,' a reference to a later member of the family (1878-1969). Its further description reads: 'Four vols. of MS music that belonged to George Waterston (1778-1850), and one volume of letters to him.' The confusion between the above-mentioned five volumes and those 'four volumes' of music in the description results from the fact that vols. 1 and 2 are bound together. The first book consists of two manuscript volumes, the first dated 1715. On folio i of the first volume is the name, 'George Waterston 14 Hanover Street Edinburgh' and on folio iii, 'this volume is made up from two Old Manuscript Music Books.' On page 1 is written, 'Book I dated 1715 and consists of 108 and contains about 79 old tunes, some of them well known yet, but others altogether forgotten tho' not without some merit in their way. The Second is dated 1762 [and] consists of 80 pages and contains about 87 tunes of a rather more modern cast than the previous, the great part are not to be met with in any of the present printed collections.'

Volume 3 is a collection of 'Two Hundred & Forty Popular Airs for the Piano Forte' and dates from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Volume 4 is described as a 'Collection of upwards of Eleven Hundred Favourite Airs Ancient & Modern adapted for the Flute, including Church Music – Long Tunes – Marches, Dances &c: Comprising

11 A note by Robert Waterston (Acc. 12330) reads, 'The National Library of Scotland took micro-films of this book of flute MSS., together with the compilers other four books and of the letters received by him from two of the famous musical antiquaries of that period, namely [from] William Dauney (2/11/1838), and [from] George Farquhar Graham (3/8/1838, 7/2/1849, 28/8/1849 and 16/11/1849). The Library carried out this transfer to microfilm at the special request and advice of Mr. Francis Collinson, author of *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge & Paul 1966).'

12 Acc.12330.

Specimens of National Music, English, Welsh, Scottish Lowland & Highland, Irish, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Bohemian, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Turkish, Persian, Indian, Chinese, Kamchatkan American…' (on 'non-Western music' see Zon 2007).

Volume 5, which bears the name 'G. Waterston, 29 Hanover Street Edinburgh' with a later added note ['born 1778'], is entitled 'Universal Melody – Collection of about Seventeen Hundred & Fifty Favourite Airs, Comprising, Specimens of almost every kind of Melody in existence, Ancient, Modern British & Foreign, Including Church Music Song Tunes Marches, Dances &c adapted for the German Flute or Violin Methodically arranged according to Measure, Character & Stile.' A lengthy discourse, 'Notes on this Manuscript Collection,' prefaces this volume. The complete Waterston MSS contain around 3200 tunes, some recorded from the early eighteenth century but most written down in the early to mid-nineteenth, and thus represent a substantial source not only for Scottish and British music history but also, through more specialist assessment, for ethnomusicology and the sociology of music.

The 'Notes on this MSS. Collection of Music' by George Waterston I (1778-1850) bear examination as they reflect the long-standing interest of this member of the Waterston family in both traditional tunes and social music, that is, the airs and dances cherished and practiced by families rather than the concert or 'fine art' music, especially of the Enlightenment period. This striking era of recreational life applies to Vols.1 and 2, as records of music that belong to the period 1715-1762. Even the '1715' date is misleading since it was expressly described as containing 'old tunes.' many of which can be traced in other documents of the seventeenth century. In no sense can these two volumes be understood as documenting only tunes of those particular dates. Rather, they contain airs and dance tunes, traditional or newly composed by both known and unknown composers that appealed to the compiler or his family. But in another sense they reflect a widespread interest in traditional tunes since many of them appear in contemporary music manuscripts (Johnson 2003: 209-11).

Volumes 3-5 embody a partial shift away from old Scots airs towards tunes from other parts of the United Kingdom, and indeed display a growing interest in continental and non-European melodies, more often for their curiosity and charm than for any scientific study, although the germ of such study emerges in the discussion appended to Volume 5. This marks a more extrovert concern as the British Empire expanded, creating cultural contacts not just within Europe, but in the wider world beyond as tunes derived from, for instance, Chinese or Turkish sources appear. In the last three volumes, nevertheless, Scottish, Irish, English and Welsh tunes continue to dominate the melodies from Europe and abroad.

It is to George Waterston, clearly, that credit must go for compiling the later volumes. Identification of the original scribe appears in neither of the first two volumes, nor does George specify anyone in his commentary that prefaces

Volume 5. The bulky Volumes 3-5 would appear to be mostly in his hand, and must have taken some time to compile when one considers the family's business interests. George was less of a single-minded businessman than his relatives, however, and he may well have compiled the volumes in his later years when he had more free time. But the Waterston family was, after all, a prominent and successful one in the city of Edinburgh. Their social life must have been one that brought them into contact with others at a similar level of class and business interests. The precise extent to which they shared a musical taste with those friends and acquaintances, however, is moot. This aspect of Edinburgh social life at the time—popular musical taste between 1800 and 1850—has barely been studied (see Cranmer 1991).

Volume One

The tunes of Volume 1—numbered '72' but two tunes are missed in the numbering because of faulty pagination—are arranged for keyboard in the first section and include twenty or more identifiable Scots airs and 'Scots measures,' a dozen minuets, four gavottes, and a sarabande. A couple of marches (that from Handel's *Rinaldo*, later adapted in Gay's *Beggar's Opera*) sit alongside 'All Joy to Great Caesar' ('Farinell's Ground'), Purcell's 'To Arms' and 'Britons Strike Home.' From no. 55 ('Gay kind and airie,' actually no. 56), on page 87 of the manuscript the tunes are no longer for keyboard but are written out in a single line without accompaniment. From pages 98-99 (no. 65) to the end the music is explicitly headed 'The following are tunes for the violin.'

As is evident, Scots airs dominate this volume, with song tunes popular in Lowland Scotland such as 'Through the wood laddie,' 'I wish my love were in a mire,' 'Saw ye not my Maggie,' 'Steer her up and haud her gaun,': 'Bonny Kate' and 'John Anderson my jo.' These traditional and anonymous airs stem from the previous century (or earlier), like the dance tunes, 'Cockpen's Scots measure' and 'Bonny Dundee.' A number of the airs are found in contemporary, local music manuscripts such as the Margaret Sinkler MS (1710): these include 'All Joy to Great Caesar' (14-18), the Purcell numbers noted above (22-23), 'Steer her up' (41-42), 'Saw ye not my Maggie' (79) and 'Cockpens Scots Measure' (83). The three 'Sybells' that appear derive from the movement published in the third edition of Purcell's *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1699). The dance forms that dominate are the gavotte, the Scots measure, and especially the minuet. In terms of tonality the airs are confined to keys such as C, D, F or G (more rarely, A). The accompaniments for the left-hand in the first part of the volume are for the most part simple, even stark, and match the style of contemporary parallels that highlight the melody. A significant background element in this style is the public dance culture—among landowners and the educated middle class, at least—that emerged in Lowland Scotland a decade or so after the turn of the century following a long period of ecclesiastical suppression (see Johnson 2003: 120-5; Porter 2003-4; Porter 2012; Spring 2010).

Volume Two

The eighty-seven tunes in Volume 2 show a similar mixture of tune types despite the book's compilation falling about half a century later at the height of the Scottish Enlightenment (1762): some 40 Scots airs and 'Scots measures,' fourteen minuets, a few gavottes, hornpipes, jigs and cotillions, and the standby march from *Rinaldo*. Surprisingly, in a book of almost entirely instrumental tunes, we find the words as well as the melody of the ballad 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray' (no. 80). Less surprising, perhaps, is the absence in these first two volumes of the psalm tunes that appear with such regularity in Scottish manuscript books of the late seventeenth century such as those of Louis de France (c.1680) or John Squyer (1696-1701). But perhaps this absence is a further indicator of the emerging public dance culture in Edinburgh and the Lowlands after about 1710. Psalm tunes, however, do occur prominently at the outset of both Vols. 4 and 5 of the Waterston Manuscripts, and this appears to reflect a revival of interest in psalmody and newer hymn tunes (Farmer 1970 [1947]: 365-79; Anderson 1908).

An analysis of the contents reveals a similar pattern to that of Volume 1: Scots airs dominate (approaching half the total), with a slight increase in the number of minuets (15), plus a handful of hornpipes, jigs and marches, while the *cotillon* (spelled thus in the French manner) makes a single appearance, anticipating the fashionable number of items under this name in Volume 3, although it is styled 'old.' The tune itself, 'When the king enjoys his own again' (1) was of course Martin Parker's best-known ballad from the mid-seventeenth century, remaining popular as a dance tune into the eighteenth century as well as, after 1688-89, an air with Jacobite associations. The melody was first printed in John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651). Another dance tune of note is 'Jamaica – a country dance, pure Scots however' (p.46), a reflection of the booming sugar trade that was by then well developed in the Caribbean island. That trade, built on the backs of African slaves, made Jamaica one of Britain's most lucrative colonies.[13]

These examples stand out as of immediate interest. Some other items recur from Volume 1: 'Steer her up,' 'Through the wood laddie,' 'I wish my love were in a mire', and 'John Anderson my jo' (this time with variations). Others appear twice: 'Sailor laddie' (24, 64), 'Green sleeves' (32-33, 44-45 as 'Greensleeves and pudding pyes'), and 'My mother's aye glowering o'er me' (65, 72). Theatre tunes appear, such as 'The wedding day' from Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* (2), or 'The looking glass' from *The Beggars' Opera* (5), both tunes still popular by the time of the volume's compilation. Jeremiah's Clarke's air for 'Bonny Grey-Ey'd Morning' (33) is also present, a tune originally written (1696) for *The Fond Husband* but later appearing in all editions of Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*. Adapted by Ramsay for *The Gentle Shepherd*, it also featured in the ballad opera, *Patie and Peggie* (1731).

13 The sugar trade, however, declined in the last quarter of the eighteenth century because of wars and famine, and Jamaica became less competitive with other sugar producers such as Cuba.

Volume Three

Volume 3—some 240 tunes arranged for piano—shows a distinct change in the organization of the music. Now, the tunes are indexed in a table of contents according to time signature, as follows: in common time: slow songs (19), slow marches (13), 3/4 songs and minuets (14), slow minuets (5), 3/8-6/8 slow minuets (23); in common time, reels and similar dances (56), slow pipe marches (10), 6/8-9/8 jigs and jig tunes (32), 2/4 quadrilles, quicksteps (17), waltzes (37) and duets (5). This results in a different kind of organization, one that intermixes the tunes rather than grouping them together by generic type: the only types formed in a single group are the 'duetts' (150-56). The songs, minuets, marches, reels, quadrilles, quicksteps and waltzes are scattered individually throughout the volume, but identified by the index numbering on the first page. And while the tunes are arranged for keyboard, titles such as 'Bugle minuet' (100-01), 'Bugle hornpipe' (114), and 'Trumpet Waltz' (140) mirror the growing presence of military signals in the imperial environment (Dudgeon 2004; Farmer 1970: 411-12).[14]

The proportion of Scots tunes is lessened to about a quarter of the whole, still substantial, although what one may assume are newly composed tunes, with named patrons (e.g., 'Lady Shaftesbury's Strathspey,' 'Sir Sidney Smith's Strathspey,' 'Mr Sitwell's Strathspey') make a striking entrance as George Waterston and the family widened their circle of contacts during this period of growing business interests and imperial expansion. The issue of dating and chronology emerges in no. 105, the 'Lament for Mr Sharp of Hoddom' (i.e., Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the noted antiquarian and friend of Sir Walter Scott). If this refers to Sharpe's death, which took place in 1851, then it leaves open the question of who wrote out the tune since George Waterston I died in 1850 (see Miller 2008: 7-17).[15] Also striking in Volume 3 is the inclusion of the newer quadrille and waltz alongside reels, jigs and minuets. At this point, namely the first decades of the nineteenth century and the looming Napoleonic Wars, the fashion is often turning towards more military forms (marches, quadrilles).

Some items are repeated from the previous volumes as perennial favourites: 'Auld Lang Syne' (4), 'Dainty Davie' (10), 'Queensberrys Scots measure' (99), 'Cockpen's Scots measure' (115), the familiar 'March' from *Rinaldo.* The origin of some tunes is not just Scottish, English Irish or Welsh but by their names often indicate a continental connection or inspiration if not actual source: 'The Fall of Paris' (12-13), 'La Belle Catherine' (21), 'Malbrouck' (22), 'German waltz' (51), 'The Brunswick' (p. 55), "Rousseau's Dream' (p. 89), 'La pipe de tabac' (110), 'La petite brune' (138), 'The Hungarian waltz' (142), 'The Battle of Prague' (143), 'Augsburg waltz' (175-6). Indeed, some dance tunes, adapted from the original composition, are specifically by Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven, as well as others by lesser luminaries such as the French-born François-

14 An Irish bandmaster, Joseph Halliday, added keys to the military bugle in 1810. In London, George Macfarlane added two more keys to facilitate shakes. The invention of the valve meant that instruments such as the cornet eventually ousted the keyed bugle.

15 It is always possible that the 'lament' is a joke concerning some misadventure in Sharpe's life, not necessarily his death, and so may have been written earlier than 1851.

Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808) or the Italian composer of Austrian descent, Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839).

'The Fall of Paris,' derived from the French revolutionary song 'Ça ira,' evolved into a military march for the British Army, initially as a means of confusing the enemy on the battlefield, then became a widespread dance tune found in insular and American tune books. 'Malbrouck,' of course, refers to the campaign of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) against the French in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13), although the popular song was composed to French words. This item reappears in Volume 4 (no. 414) as 'Air of a French Doggerel on the Duke of Marlborough – 1710.' 'Rousseau's Dream' comes from the opera, *Le devin du village* (1752), and the title was given to it in print by J.B. Cramer, while William Ball wrote English words to the air ('Now while eve's soft shadows blending'). The march, 'The Battle of Prague,' refers to the attack by Frederick of Prussia on the Austrian-held city in 1757 as part of the Seven Years' War (rather than the battle of the same name in 1648 in the Thirty Years' War). The Duke of Wellington (as 'Lord Wellington': 5) makes a prominent appearance in an eponymous march and quickstep (146, 148), indicating the period of compilation as most likely that of the Peninsular Wars (1808-14). If this is true, the arrangements may have been made for George's daughter Betsey, who had piano lessons in Edinburgh from 1814 to 1816.

Volume Four

Volume 4 bears the inscription, 'Geo Waterston/14 Hanover Street Edinburgh.' Similar in structure to Volume 5, this collection is in two books and contains about 1140 tunes adapted for the flute. The 'about' refers to the fact that a very few tunes are crossed out, or merge into other tunes; pages 120-21 are missing. An index of titles is provided at the end of the volume (265-75) as well as an index of musical incipits (276-79). The collection is not classified in the fashion of Volumes 3 and 5. The first 21 items are psalm and hymn tunes, some with composers named (e.g. 'Invocation' by R.A. Smith, 'St Gregory,' by Richard Wainwright). A number of composers are identified throughout the volume, such as Arne, Bassani, Carolan, Cesti, Corelli, Gastoldi, Giordani, Hook, Jenkins, Kelly, Henry Lawes, Legrenzi, Stamitz, Vanhal, and several others.

Following the church tunes is a section of slow marches, some British, others from operas such as *Der Freischütz* (5-16), and a group of Scottish airs (17-21), which includes the tune from the 1715 volume, 'Away with my useless scrip' (Volume 1: 93). Several gavottes from the same are also present (149 ff.). This is followed by a short section of French airs that includes 'Vive Henri Quatre' (22-23). A succession of English songs is interspersed with songs from other areas that include Chinese, Cossack, Pyreneean, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, and Austrian examples. Scottish, English, Welsh and foreign airs, along with cotillions, minuets, jigs, quadrilles, waltzes and assorted dance tunes complete the two books of the volume.

Indeed, the preponderance of dance tunes

more than balances the number of song airs, an indication of the burgeoning importance of dance in the reign of George IV. In Part II (from 107), dances, whether English or Scottish, whether gavottes or reels, occupy the rest of the volume. In this regard, quadrilles and quicksteps (sometimes prefaced by 'cotillon' or dubbed 'French') take up a fair amount of space (155-85), at which point waltzes take over (186-208). 'The Downfall of Paris' (Volume 3: 12-13) reappears again, this time as a quickstep. The 'Waterloo Strathspey and Waterloo Reel' (117), and again, 'Lord Wellington' (237) suggest a date of compilation for many if not most items, at least, following Wellington's victory over Napoleon but before Queen Victoria's accession ('Princess Victoria Quadrille': 244).

One can also pick out, for example, 'Guy Mannering,' an air composed presumably after Scott's novel with that title published in 1815 or following the adapted semi-opera of 1817 staged at Edinburgh's Theatre Royal (256). This suggests a compilation date between 1817 and 1837, when Queen Victoria assumed the throne. Still, tunes connected with events or people a century earlier crop up, such as for instance 'Miss Cadie Scott's Minuet' (69, 71). Mary Lilias Scott, an acknowledged beauty of Edinburgh society and known as 'Cadie' because she had once gone to a fancy-dress ball in the costume of a street-porter (Fr. *cadet*) (Porter 2009: 55-80).[16]

Volume Five

Volume 5, 'Universal Melody,' also has 'G. Waterston, 29 Hanover Street, Edinburgh 1' inscribed on the title page, signifying a change of residence, probably in the early nineteenth century. The contents, consisting of 1752 tunes and brief notes on these, are prefaced by a dissertation of eleven pages on the nature of music, some of which is difficult to decipher because of the faded nature of the microfilm. The two parts of this volume are, like the previous one, arranged in a particular way, and not just according to the metrical system but also according to generic type: Part I contains 'slow and grave airs,' church tunes, slow marches, song tunes (subdivided into Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and 'English and Foreign' airs, in various metres); and minuets. Part II has Scots reels and strathspeys, Scottish songs and airs, gavottes and hornpipes (this section also includes quicksteps), waltzes, and a final section with 'country dances.' A further section, besides that designated 'foreign' in Part One, includes French, Italian and Spanish tunes.

The psalm and hymn tunes (1-20) are more numerous than those in Volume 4, and several of those are reproduced from that volume. Some have dates of composition appended, such as

16 Born around 1700 as the second daughter of John Scott of Harden, Mary Lilias was renowned as a singer of Scots songs of the drawing-room type published by Allan Ramsay in his enormously popular *Tea-Table Miscellany* (from 1723). Painted by Ramsay's eminent son Allan, the artist, she also had this minuet named after her. Although she died about 1770, memory of her beauty and her singing probably kept her eponymous minuet alive into the following century.

'Cheshire' and 'Glasgow,' with '1600 or before' added after the title. Marches follow from 21-42, and these are followed in turn by a few old Scots tunes. More remarkable is the antiquarian turn from 45-48, when George Waterston copied a number of items from the music manuscript of John Skene of Hallyards (*GB-En* Adv. 5.2.15), written for mandore in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Subsequently, Scots airs (49-75) are followed by Irish, Welsh, and other tunes that include James Hook's 'Collier's daughter,' compositions by Stephen Storace ('The poor black boy': 100), Ignaz Pleyel ('Roslin's Ruins': 111), Paradies, Paisiello, Johann A.P. Schulz (1747-1800), and others (to 121). From page 122 Scots tunes again predominate, some again from the Skene MS, along with a mixture of English, Irish and Welsh airs. Minuets form a group (from 144-56) and include 'Cadie Scott's Minuet' (from Volume 3: 146). Among the mixed contents of the following pages are mostly Scots airs (to 181), succeeded in turn by theatre tunes, airs by Paer, Pleyel, Rossini, Weber and others, and again by a section of Irish, Scots and Welsh tunes.

Halfway through this volume of 372 pages the impression one gets is of random sections of British and foreign material, both traditional and more recently composed, with segments of Scots tunes in particular recurring as George Waterston returned, time after time, to melodic material with which he was familiar: pages 201-37 are symptomatic of this recurring preference. Another return to the past occurs in the repeated appearance of items from Volume 1, such as the gavottes (261), or, in contrast, pieces taken from John Forbes's *[Cantus] Songs & Fancies* (second edition of 1666), the only secular music publication in Scotland in the entire seventeenth century (see McLucas 2007: 269-97). The group of waltzes (298-311) are again followed by Scots tunes (313-19), theatre tunes from John Gay's ballad operas, English, French, Irish airs and a mixture of hornpipes and jigs (to 372). As in Volume 4 an alphabetical index of tunes is provided, and this is occasionally helpful in identifying titles that are obscure or difficult to read in the main body of the volume. The deteriorating quality of the microfilm, however, sometimes makes titles difficult or impossible to decipher and a reader has to attempt other means of identification, such as tune concordances in contemporary collections or the context of positioning within a generic group.

Musical life in Edinburgh, 1728-1798

The Edinburgh Musical Society was central to musical life in the city. It was constituted in 1728 and by mid-century was in full swing. Its history has been detailed elsewhere, but its most brilliant period was between 1760 and 1780, when St. Cecilia's Hall was often 'crowded to excess by a splendid assemblage, including all the beauty and fashion of [the] city' (Johnson 2003; MacLeod 1991). The entrepreneur George Thomson (1757-1851), who later tempted Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, Hummel and Henry Bishop into harmonizing folk melodies for publication in lavish volumes, was a keen performer of chamber music towards the end of the century. Middle-class people with a musical hobby such as Thomson felt encouraged by the Society's

activities to take up music at home with like-minded friends even after the Society's demise. Similarly, the elite of the university held concerts in their homes. The young George Waterston, despite his move to London in 1798, must have come into contact with this phase of Edinburgh life after his return in 1803, just as his father had been part of the Musical Society's activities in the previous century.

The Musical Society's activities at that time presaged academic developments. General John Reid (1721-1807) occupies a special place as the founder of the Reid Chair of Music at the University of Edinburgh. Reid was an original member, in London, along with Oswald, Kellie, and Burney, of the close-knit Society of the Temple of Apollo, and Robert Bremner included Reid's 'Highland March' in his *Collection of Airs and Marches* (Edinburgh, c.1756), a composition now better known as 'The Garb of Old Gaul' after Sir Henry Erskine's words to the tune in *The Lark* (Edinburgh, 1765). Oswald had published Reid's *Six Solos for a German Flute* (c.1755) and another *Second Sett of Six Solos* with the composer designated as 'IR' (see Cranmer, passim).

Two other publications, *Set of [Military] Marches* (c.1770) and *Minuets and Marches* (c.1775) bring Reid into view as someone working in instrumental music slightly anterior to George Waterston, himself a keen flautist if we are to judge by Vols. 4 and 5 (on Reid, see Farmer 1970: 337-8). This takes us up to and somewhat beyond the period of the last two Waterston manuscript volumes, but the context in which George Waterston was compiling his manuscripts mirrored a growing interest, at a time of profound social change, in institutionalizing music within the academy and Reid's bequest made a huge impact nationally and internationally. It is against this background that the compilation of the two final volumes gains some added significance.

By the final decades of the eighteenth century the financial problems of the Musical Society had begun to increase, mainly as a result of salary payments to musicians, and its important source of aristocratic patronage was diminishing as musical proficiency and concert-going gradually lost their appeal. During the 1780s and 1790s the Society's income dropped, and having closed its doors in 1798 it was eventually wound up in 1801 (Johnson 2003: 41). Another critical factor in the decline of the Society was the advent of the New Town, to which the aristocracy was now moving. In 1767 the Edinburgh Town Council adopted the architect James Craig's plan for an elegant alternative to the crowded tenements of the Old Town, where gentry and servants had lived cheek-by-jowl for generations. The New Town thereafter expanded as fashionable society found in its graceful crescents and squares a desirable alternative to the grimy and malodorous Old Town, and the new Assembly Rooms in George Street were opened for concerts, balls and dance assemblies on 11 January 1787 with the Caledonian Hunt Ball.[17] George Waterston's house addresses on Volumes 1 and 4 ('14 Hanover Street'), and 5 ('29 Hanover Street'), show that

17 The Royal Caledonian Hunt began in 1777 as the Hunters' Club, becoming the Caledonian Hunt Club in 1778. Its social events included the Caledonian Hunt Ball, with the 'royal' prefix added following the visit of George IV in 1822.

the family had also found their way to the New Town.

At this time many Scots planned to emigrate, especially to North America or Jamaica (the popular dance tune 'Jamaica' appears in Volume 2). Robert Burns, notably, having been offered a position as bookkeeper on a sugar plantation had hoped to emigrate but managed to get the Kilmarnock edition of his poems published in 1786. The volume brought him fame and so he remained in Scotland to be feted in Edinburgh, where the young Walter Scott met him. The following year, in April 1787, Burns teamed up with James Johnson, publisher of the six-volume *The Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803), a milestone to which Burns made a substantial contribution. This seminal work was the culmination of similar attempts, such as William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725, 1733) or James Oswald's six-volume *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (1745-49), to capture and record Scots songs with their airs and, in Oswald's case, the tunes by themselves.

The Waterston volumes show a similar concern for old Scottish songs and dance tunes, not just as antiquarian objects (as the title of the *Museum* might suggest) but also as living tradition, valued for their inherent qualities of shapeliness and 'sentiment' (feeling) as much as for their longevity or family associations. The context in which these volumes were compiled was both intellectually brilliant and in social ferment. The reform movement that began with local unrest in the 1790s lasted until the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, an event stage-managed by Sir Walter Scott partly to soothe local sensibilities about the place of the monarchy in Scottish life given that no British monarch had visited since Charles II in the mid-seventeenth century. The event was also an attempt to counter the economic downturn of 1819 and the 'Radical War' skirmishes of 1820 by diverting attention to an altogether more 'heroic' (and Tory) scenario of a royal visit to the city and Scotland's picturesque past. The upheaval of these thirty years that mirror European conflict and subsequent imperial expansion forms the backdrop to Volumes 3-5.

Sources of the music

Volumes 1 and 2 probably represent, first, the repertoire of the Musical Society; second, the numerous prints of Scottish tunes by Robert Bremner, William McGibbon, James Oswald and others that appeared in Scotland before the date of 1762 that is appended to the second volume; and third, theatre pieces, operatic arias and the like that may have been secured individually, whether by print or oral transmission. Following Volumes 1 and 2 George Waterston's interest in British and continental music began to grow, just as prints of the late eighteenth century were moving into less familiar territory. Collections such as Alexander McGlashan's *Scots Measures, Hornpipes, Jigs, Allemands, Cotillons* (1781), W. Campbell's *Country Dances and Cotillions* (c.1790) caught the flavour of dance fashion. The Glasgow music publisher, James Aird (d.1795) initiated with two volumes (1782) a popular tune collection that eventually reached six volumes, the *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*, and these captured an expanding curiosity

about both native and non-native tunes. Despite the fashion of the *cotillon* (or cotillion) and its successor, the quadrille, Scots dances and their tunes were still wildly popular throughout Britain, as editions of the four parts of Niel and Nathaniel Gow's *Original Repository of Scots Reels and Dances* (1799-1822) make clear.

Volume 3 of the Waterston manuscripts has its contents arranged for pianoforte, the organization into groups by metre reflecting growth of the dance element: apart from some songs and military marches the great bulk of the volume consists of dance tunes. The dating of this volume can be provisionally set at the years immediately after the Battle of Waterloo, when George Waterston's daughter Betsey had piano lessons (1814-16). A few tunes are arranged for four hands, such as the 'Grand March in Lodoiska' (152-3).[18] The Regency period saw the rise of the quadrille as a popular dance form, and the waltz and polka began to enter the repertoire of polite society.

Instruction manuals had appeared, such as those by Thomas Wilson: *An Analysis of Country Dancing* (London 1808) provided diagrams of the common figures of the Country Dance. Wilson, employed as Dancing Master at the King's Theatre Opera House, brought out further publications such as *The Complete System of English Country Dancing* (London 1815) that includes a discussion of music and ten music examples, and *Treasures of Terpsichore* (London 1816), which usefully offered an alphabetical listing of Country Dances and their figures. The manual entitled *Thos. Wilson's Description of Regency Waltzing* (London 1816) was apparently the first to document the waltz as it was danced at the time it arrived from the continent. More directly relevant for the purposes of Edinburgh society was Alexander Strathy's *Elements of the Art of Dancing* (Edinburgh 1822), a manual especially important for the early nineteenth century quadrille in which four couples face one another in a square. Strathy provides combinations of steps for the most common figures of the quadrille, and concludes with directions in French and English for eleven quadrille figures.

Besides printed dance manuals and opera scores, George Waterston would have himself experienced the world of concerts, theatre and opera.

Edinburgh public life and its entertainments, clearly, was not the only opportunity for his musical pursuits: his visits to London would have given him the chance to visit the theatre or opera and to pick up prints of current tunes, individual sheets of popular arias and dance tunes in second-hand or specialist bookshops, and even to record on paper particular pieces he may have heard and liked.

Instrumentation

The instruments represented in these volumes reflect diversity of use within the family as

18 The march is from the opera *Lodoiska* by Stephen Storace (1762-96), which was first performed at Drury Lane in 1794. But Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) had already set the fashionable story, based on a French novel, about the rescue of a Polish princess as an 'opéra héroique' (Paris 1791); Storace's opera was an 'Englished' *pasticcio* that used most of Cherubini's music. The Bavarian-born Johann Simon Mayr (1763-1845) had his opera *La Lodoiska* (with an Italian libretto) performed in Venice in 1796.

amateur musicians in different generations. The two early volumes (1715, 1762) show some basic facility on the keyboard (whether spinet, virginals, clavichord, harpsichord, or fortepiano) and violin. The violin had been in the ascendant over the viol family in Scotland since at least about 1680, and with the advent of the new dance culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century the brilliance, expressiveness and versatility of the instrument increasingly made it the natural choice for both song airs and dance tunes. The fortepiano and its successor the pianoforte began to supersede the virginals and harpsichord from about 1780, and the 240 tunes of Volume 3 are set specifically for the developed pianoforte.[19]

At present we can only surmise which member of the family, friend or musician, might have made these arrangements. It is evident, however, that where the viol and keyboard instruments had formerly been cultivated by both sexes, for reasons of propriety only men now played the violin and flute (but see Ford 2020; McAulay 2020).[20] The latter instrument in particular (the 'German' or transverse flute) had been common since about 1725 and by mid-century had pushed the recorder into the background (McAulay 2005: 99-141). Volumes 4 and 5 are entirely for German flute or violin. According to Robert Chambers Sir Gilbert Elliot, who played the German flute, was first to introduce the instrument to a Scottish audience, although this cannot be easily confirmed (Farmer 1970: 287).

The military associations and ballroom capabilities of the flute appear to have contributed to its dominance in these volumes, and it seems entirely likely that George Waterston was himself a proficient player of the instrument as well as, no doubt, the violin. Other wind instruments, such as the oboe and bassoon, were cultivated in the Musical Society. Henry Mackenzie marked the arrival in town in 1771, for example, of 'the celebrated Mr Fischer, the greatest performer on the Hautboy in Europe,' and such famous touring visitors were brought in to display their talents to local musicians. Some of them, such as members of the Corri family, stayed and became a prominent part of Edinburgh's musical life (Farmer 1970: 288).[21]

Sir Walter Scott's Edinburgh

Scott (1771-1832) deserves more than a footnote here because of his large presence in the city during this period of George Waterston's musical activities. An advocate from 1792, a staunch Tory and defender of the established social order, Scott joined the Royal Corps of Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons in 1797 to help suppress public protests. With Scott's later eminence as a novelist, poet and antiquarian in mind it may seem odd that no member of the

19 An important figure in the evolution of the instrument in Britain was John Broadwood (1732-1812), an Edinburgh cabinet-maker who moved to London in 1761 and took over the business of Burkat Shudi (1702-73), the noted harpsichord maker of Swiss origin.

20 The article by McAulay describes how, in her diary (1797-1802), Janet Playfair (1778-1864), daughter of James Playfair (1736-1819), Principal of St Andrews University, recorded her practicing on the flute.

21 Farmer cites Johann C. Fischer (d.1800) and also, particularly, Thomas Fraser (c.1760-1825) as an outstanding Scots oboist whose playing of 'Hey, tuttie taitie' according to Robert Burns, 'often filled my eyes with tears.'

Waterston family, which like him had moved away from the Old Town (where he was born), is mentioned in any of Scott's letters, his journal, or John Gibson Lockhart's classic biography of Scott (Leneman 2000: 665-82).

Lockhart (1794-1854), Scott's son-in-law, married Scott's daughter Sophia (1799-1837), and Scott, himself an avid ballad collector and adapter but un-musical, took pleasure in listening to her singing traditional ballads to the accompaniment of the harp (Munro 1976). It was in Scott's lifetime, moreover, that important music collections were published in the city: Simon Fraser's *Airs and Melodies peculiar to the Highlands* (1815), Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology* (1816-18), James Hogg's *Jacobite Relics* (1819-21), and R.A. Smith's *The Scotish Minstrel* (1821-24).

We can understand Scott's lack of interest in music even though as a young man of 15 he had met and admired Robert Burns, then newly famous, in the house of the historian and philosopher Adam Fergusson (1723-1816). But the hardening class divisions that were already set in motion by the removal of the wealthier citizens from the Old Town to the New Town after 1800 meant gradual separation of commercial and mercantile interests as well as restricted social intercourse between professionals, traders in goods, and artisans. George Waterston's diary, which covers the decade 1810-19, contains no reference to the famous author even though Scott's house in Castle Street was parallel to and not far from the Waterston's Hanover Street addresses. George's own son was apprenticed to a bookseller and stationer, John Anderson, whose shop was at the corner of the old Exchange in the High Street, opposite the law courts. The younger George later recalled how he would deliver to Anderson's customers the latest books by Scott, then in his heyday as the most popular novelist of the age (Watson 2002: chapter 5).

Conclusion

Despite the removal of organized concert life from the Old Town, a musical amateur such as George Waterston I could still continue to give the older traditional and popular material a prominent place in Volumes 3-5 of his manuscript collection, and was at pains in these to record all sorts of music: popular song airs, psalm tunes, dance tunes, theatre pieces, fragments of cantatas and symphonies, and so on in an increasingly wider arc of cultural and geographic sources. The extent to which the final three volumes reflect his personal taste, and whether they might also mirror to some extent that of his family, is open to speculation for we know little as yet about the social activities of other family members. Did they regularly attend balls, concerts, operas and theatre, for example? Did their recreation include dancing or other activity for which music was an essential part? Were they in some sense willing collaborators in or enthusiasts for George's musical enterprise?

There is no question, however, that these manuscripts constitute documents of considerable importance because of the widening compass of musical styles available for study as a result of imperial and mercantile expansion. The Waterston volumes are a major resource for

the analysis and understanding of middle-class musical taste in Edinburgh as it evolved from the early eighteenth century—the period of the Scottish Enlightenment— to the first half of the nineteenth and the era of cultural contact that the European colonial powers, including Britain, made possible.

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