

**MUSICAL TRADITIONS OF THE SCOTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND**

**Margaret Bennett, School of Scottish Studies  
Edinburgh University, U.K.**

Newfoundland had been populated by Irish and English settlers for at least two centuries before the Scots arrived. *Talamh an éisg* the Irish called it: "Land of the fish", for they had migrated there from the sixteenth century onwards to take part in the great cod fishery which provided Newfoundland's currency for generations. The Scots, however, came later and had quite a different motive for emigrating. During the years that followed the infamous Battle of Culloden in 1746, hardship and oppression which resulted in the protracted Highland Clearances forced many to leave their homeland and emigrate to the New World. While much has been written about this period in Scottish history and about the pattern of migration between the Old and the New Worlds, there are, nevertheless, aspects of Canada's story that were ignored by historians of earlier days. Accounts from oral tradition give a personal viewpoint that is generally lacking in the "official records"- emotions (such as hope, fear, joy, sorrow, anger, disappointment, elation) reflecting the response to emigration were passed down from generation to generation in traditional song and story rather than in published books. Aside from their function as entertainment, many of these songs and stories have kept alive the individual experiences and impressions of settlers in the New World.

The largest influx of Scots settlers to Newfoundland arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century, having first emigrated to Cape Breton, where they found themselves landless tenants. Bitterly disappointed at their lack of success in North America, they were advised by a local priest that the Codroy Valley in the south-west of Newfoundland had rich, fertile land, comparable to the best land in Prince Edward Island, and readily available to new settlers. Assured of land-ownership at last I and possessed of a great deal of faith), several Scots Gaelic-speaking families arrived in the Codroy Valley in the 1840s and 50s where they took up large tracts of land<sup>1</sup>. Years of hard work cutting down tress and clearing land along the alluvial plains of the two major rivers turned the Codroy Valley into what became known as the "Garden of Newfoundland".

The way of life of the emigrants to the Codroy Valley appears to have been very similar to that of their Scottish forebears, with a few adaptations suited to their new surroundings. Characteristic of the Gaels, the Scottish Newfoundlanders kept alive the traditions and folk memories of their own

people; not only the traditions of their century and a half in the New World, but also those that had been established for hundreds of years in the Old World. Each generation yielded outstanding tradition-bearers who, like the bards of old, earned the respect of the entire community with their skill and knowledge.

While conducting research there in the early 1970s, I found the pattern to have remained constant, when dozens of people of whom I enquired pointed me in the direction of one man, the late Allan MacArthur, born in the Codroy Valley in 1884. This paper draws largely from tape-recorded interviews with MacArthur and from his song repertoire, although he was by no means the only person with Gaelic songs. His extended family, MacNeills, MacIsaacs, MacDonalds and MacArthurs were all Gaelic-speaking Roman Catholics originally from the region of Moidart and from the nearby Isle of Canna. In his book *Moidart; or Among the Clanranalds* published in 1889, the Ref. Charles MacDonald, priest of Moidart, makes frequent mention of these surnames and affirms the fact that they were Jacobites who, after the Forty-Five, had been victims of the Clearances:

Most of those who followed the chief belonged to Moidart, Arisaig and South Morar, with a few from Eigg and Canna. Their total number did not exceed 300...thus summoned to draw the sword for Prince Charlie...From various causes most of the families directly connected with this list have disappeared, some having emigrated to the colonies.<sup>2</sup>

Allan MacArthur estimated that the migration from Scotland was around the 1820s for his father's family, the MacIsaacs from Moidart. The account of their departure had been retold in Gaelic many times and kept alive for generations. Here MacArthur attempts to re-tell it in English.

You can leava an *t-Eilean Sgitheanach* today and be back home again tomorrow, but when my people came out, the MacIsaacs, it took them seven weeks on the boat from the time...*bho'n deach iad air bàta anna an Tobar Mhoire, agus..* landed on the Guto'Canso. *Nuair a 'chunnaic mo Sheanair's mo Sheannhair an t-àdol a dh'Alba air ais cha tigeadh iad air tìr...*<sup>3</sup>

[You can leave *the Isle of Skye* today and be back home again tomorrow, but when my people came out, the MacIsaacs, it took them seven weeks on the boat from the time...*when they embarked on the boat at Tobermory* {Isle of Mull}, and...*landed on the Gut o'Canso* {Cape Breton}. *When my Grandfather and Grandmother saw the place, if the boat had been going back to Scotland they wouldn't have landed...*]

Testifying to the strength of Gaelic oral tradition, MacArthur's account is totally confirmed by a parallel report from tradition-bearer Angus MacDonald, born on the Isle of Canna in 1863 and collected there in 1949 by the late Dr. Alum MacLean, then folklorist with the Irish Folklore Commission:

*Chuir Clann'ic Nill uabhas dhaoine as an eilean. Cha chreid mi nach d'fhalbh tri fichead teaghlachean as a' seo ri linn m'athair a bhith 'na dhuine og. 'S e a'rud bu mhiosa dheth, cha n-fhaigheadh iad fuirich as a'rioghachd seo fhéin. Bha iad air son iad a dhol fairis co dhiù. 'S ann a Chanada a chuireadh iad. Chuala mi gun deach iad air bòrd an Tobar Mhoire.*

[The MacNeills { who owned Canna at that time } put a terrible number of people out of the island. I believe that sixty families left when my father was a young man. The worst of it was that they couldn't remain in this country. anyway, they wanted them to go overseas. They were sent to Canada. I heard that they embarked at Tobermory.]<sup>4</sup>

The bardic tradition of Gaelic Scotland was closely paralleled among the Scottish Newfoundlanders, being partly literary, and strongly oral: the bards were required to have phenomenal memories. There are instances cited in Scotland where songs have survived through three hundred years of oral transmission with no assistance from print.<sup>5</sup> The remarkable qualities of such tradition-bearers are referred to by Celtic Scholar and former professor at Edinburgh University, the late Kenneth H. Jackson:

In general, they were men of high intelligence and keen minds, passionately interested in tales, widely educated in the oral learning of the Gaelic race...Their minds were not cluttered with all the miscellaneous rubbish with which we burden ours, and they were not in the habit of pigeon-holing knowledge in the form of written notes and forgetting it till it is wanted again, as we are.<sup>6</sup>

Allan MacArthur undoubtedly fitted the pattern and he simply attributed his own remarkable qualities to "the schooling he got from God." He was well versed in the history and traditions of his people that had come down through several generations at the *taigh céilidh*, [visiting house], where each evening of the long winters they would gather by a fireside to tell the stories or sing the songs which were almost their sole means of entertainment in the days before electricity. A wide range of topics was discussed: natural and supernatural phenomena; cures and tonics for common ailments; animal husbandry; hunting and fishing; the list is enormous and details are

documented elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> The focus of this paper is upon the musical traditions of the Scottish Newfoundlanders, which were passed on at the ceilidhs, and were typified in the repertoire of Alland MacArthur who, at the time of recording (1970), was virtually the last stronghold of Gaelic traditions and songs. As a singer, piper, dancer and accordion player who had brought up his family surrounded by these traditions, he greatly encouraged the younger generations to carry on these traditions which were so much a part of the way of life among his people. Happily they have continued to flourish during the years since his death in 1971.<sup>8</sup>

At almost all *céilidhs* it was customary for guests to be offered a dram (traditionally a small glass of whisky and more recently a glass of beer) and begin the evening's proceedings with a toast such as Allan's favourite: *Deoch-slàinte a'chuirtear a ghluais bho Albainn!* [Here's a health to the traveller who left Scotland!] Then the stories, songs and instrumental music would begin:

Well the old people here, especially the Scots, you know, they would gather together, well it would always be stories about Scotland, the place they left and how hard it was for them when they left Scotland...

They would talk of the meagre household effects their people brought with them, and take pride in items such as the old Scotch spinning wheel that was a feature of most homes in the old days. While the ceilidh was in progress the women generally worked, quietly carding, spinning, or knitting, thus carrying on the way of life that was typical of their forebears.<sup>9</sup> The production of wool in the Codroy Valley was very important to their economy, for they made every article of clothing they could. "We never wore anything only {except} woollen clothes inside and out," and also made footwear from the sheepskins. As was the custom in the Highlands of Scotland, the songs were tightly connected to the domestic woollen industry in the Codroy Valley, with the large group of songs relating the final stage of the process - fulling the cloth, called "waulking" by English-speakers in Scotland and "milling" in Canada.

The aim of fulling was to shrink and thicken the newly-woven tweed to make it warmer and more wind-proof, a communal activity performed by a team of workers sitting on either side of the "milling boards", a long table, set of planks or an old door placed on trestles for the occasion. They achieved the finished product by taking a length of about thirty yards of newly finished cloth from the loom, tacking together the two ends (or tying together the two

sets of loose ends of the warp) to form a continuous loop, dipping it into soapy water, squeezing out the excess, and then rhythmically beating it on the wooden boards till it was the required width and thickness. The entire operation was carried out to the accompaniment of work songs - waulking songs or milling songs.

Allan MacArthur had a large repertoire of songs which came mostly from his mother and grandmother. He left no doubt, however, that although he knew a "fair number" they were not, in his opinion, of the same calibre as the "real old time ones" the old people had.

Them songs came from Scotland. They were composed in Scotland, because my grandmother was full of songs and my mother learned her songs. And my mother knowed sixty songs, and some of them they'd be double verses. She couldn't sing English songs, only all Gaelic songs - war songs and everything else. Oh they're hard to sing, some of them, the war songs - well by gosh I don't think I could sing any of they now...Now every song my mother knew, she knew why it was composed, and everything. There was a history behind the songs. Well, that was better than the song in a way because she would tell you first why the song was composed, and then she would sing the song, you know, to compare with the history.

While most of his mother's very long Gaelic songs had, through lack of use, taken their place in the passive repertoire of the eighty-four year old tradition bearer, he nevertheless had an active repertoire of dozens of songs in both Gaelic and English. As already stated, the most common Gaelic songs were those sung at the millings, such as this example recorded from Allan with four of his sons and a few visitors who happened to be in the company singing the chorus.

**A Mhàiri Dhubh na hù a ho**

Chorus:

A Mhàiri Dhubh na hù a ho  
 A Mhàiri Dhubh o ri o ro  
 A Mhàiri Dhubh na hù a ho  
 Tha m'inntinn trom bho'n dhealach mi  
 Ri Mhàiri dhubh o hù o ho

**Black-Haired Mary**

My black-[haired] Mary na hù a ho  
 My black-[haired] Mary o ri o ro  
 My black-[haired] Mary na hù a ho  
 My mind is heavy since I parted  
 With black [haired] Mary, o hù a ho.

1.

Latha dhomh 's mi faibh air sràidh  
 Co thachair orm ach mo ghràdh

One day when I was going down the street  
 Who should meet me but my love

BENNETT: MUSICAL TRADITIONS

O gu dearbh cha tug thu làmh!  
Cha bhi mi slàn mur faigh mi thu.

Oh surely you have not given [your] hand!  
I shall not thrive if I can't have you.

2.  
'S ann ort fhéin a dh'fhàs a'ghruag  
Fidheachanan sios mud'chluais,  
Ribeinnean 'ga chumail suas  
Is prine cinn 'ga theannachadh.

You have a mop of curly hair  
Plaits down round your ears,  
Ribbons tying it up  
And a hairpin tightening it.

3.  
Fhad's a chi mo shùil a ghrian  
Tighinn bho'n ear's a'dol an iar,

As long as my eye can see the sun  
Rising from the east and setting in  
the west

Air fear liath cha bhi mo mhiann  
'S na ciabhagan a'tanachadh.

A grey haired one will not attract me  
With locks getting thinner.

4.  
Mhàiri lurach anns a'ghleann  
Aig a bheil a'mhala chaol  
'S ann a-mach Airigh nan Caol  
A thug mi'n gaol nach b'aithreach leam

Lovely Mary in the glen  
Who has the slender [eye]brows  
It was out on Airigh nan Caol  
I gave the love I haven't regretted.

5.  
'S truagh nach mis' is tu fhéin  
Bha 'sa' ghleann far 'm biodh na féidh  
'S binn thu na'n fhidheal air ghleus  
  
'S am beus an déidh a theannachadh.

It's a pity that you and I were not  
In the glen where the deer are  
You are sweeter voiced than a  
well-tuned fiddle  
With the bass [string] tightened

6.  
'S truagh nach mise bha fo'n fhòid  
Ann an ciste chaol nam bòrd  
Man tug mi mo ghaol cho mór  
A sheòladair na mharaiche.

It's a pity it wasn't me under the sod  
In a narrow wooden coffin  
Before I gave my love so great  
To a sailor or a mariner.<sup>10</sup>

To the reader it will be obvious that the printed page can scarcely do justice to any song tradition - in the oft-quoted words of James Hogg's mother when she scolded Sir Walter Scott, songs "were made for singin, an no' for readin." And since this paper is a written adaptation of an orally delivered one,

I must explain that the original presentation was illustrated throughout by tape-recorded examples of the MacArthur family singing these songs.<sup>11</sup> To anyone familiar with the Hebridean waulking songs sung entirely by women, the predominantly male voices from the Codroy Valley (and also Cape Breton) present a striking contrast to the female voices of the Scottish singers of such work songs - compare, for example, songs recorded on the disc *Waulking Songs from Barra* to those on *A Ceilidh with the MacArthurs*.<sup>12</sup> In both areas the purpose of these songs is to obtain exactly the same end, regardless of the major differences in the social situation and, as a result, in the subjects and emotions expressed in the songs.<sup>13</sup>

The last milling in the Codroy Valley was in the late 1950s and was held in the home of Allan MacArthur. Milling songs do not die out with the activity, however, as they have a second function, simply that of entertainment. That has been their main function in Gaelic Scotland for more than half a century, as the last waulking were held in the 1930s. Nowadays people heartily sing them as good chorus songs, and they are always popular at any Scottish ceilidh, whether an informal kitchen gathering or a village hall event. It was fascinating to me when I first sat in the company of Newfoundlanders singing milling songs solely for entertainment, to observe a major difference in performance between them and their Scottish counterparts. The singers in Scotland simply sing, while those in the Codroy Valley spontaneously and firmly reach hold of the nearest tablecloth, towel, sweater, or whatever piece of material happens to be a hand (nothing seems safe, I deduced after several sessions) and automatically start to "mill" it as they sing the song. Best of all seems to be the blanket from a daybed, for everyone who wants to take part can take hold of it and poind the table (or even the air if there is no hard surface nearby) with great enthusiasm while joining in the choruses. From my own childhood and adolescence spent on the Gaelic-speaking Isles of Skye and Lewis I had never seen such accompanying actions, and neither had my mother who was born and raised in Skye. Her comment, after she had observed and participated in the singing at Allan MacArthur's home, "We just used to sing them and everybody would join in", sums up the overall experience of Gaelic-speakers throughout the highlands and Islands of Scotland. There is, however, clear evidence from the 18th century description of life in the Highlands contained in John Ramsay of Ochtertyre's book *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* that this accompanying action was once the custom in Scotland. He observed that "when the same airs are sung in their hours of relaxation the time is marked by the motion of a napkin which all performers lay hold of."<sup>14</sup> There is a strong likelihood that the

parallel actions between what he describes and those of the Scottish Newfoundlanders indicate a tradition that has survived intact in the New World long after it died out in Scotland.

As might be expected, there are songs among the Gaelic-speaking Newfoundlanders which can be easily recognized as "old favourites" from Scotland. Two songs in particular, "*Fear a Bhàta*" ["The Boatman"] and "*Ho-rò mo Nighean Donn Bhòidheach*" [known in English as "Ho-ro My Nut-Brown Maiden"] have enjoyed generations of popularity in both countries, but there are major differences. In Scotland they are regarded as lyric love songs which have a moderately slow tempo and can be heard throughout Gaeldom in a fairly fixed form, while in Newfoundland they are sung to a rhythm and speed which suits the work of the milling. It might at first appear as if the Scottish version has been more or less pressed into service to suit the occasion of the milling - after all, surely the Old Country might have the version of greater antiquity? Considering the facts, however, it seems much more likely that the versions of this song found in Canada (and there are several in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia<sup>15</sup>) are more like "the original", if such a thing can be said to exist. Consider Allan MacArthur's version of the second of these two songs:

**Ho-rò Mo Nighean Donn Bhòidheach**

Chorus:

Ho-rò mo nighean donn bhòidheach  
 Hi-ri mo nighean donn bhòidheach  
 Mo chaileag laghach bhòidheach  
 Cha phòs mi ach thù.

1.

'S a Pheigi dhonn nam blàth-shùil  
 Gur h-òg a thug mi gràdh dhuit  
 Gur h-iomadh gaol is ailleas  
 tha ghnàth tighinn bho d'ghnùis.

2.

Di-Dòmhaich dol dhan t-searmon  
 Chan fhaic fear eile cearb ort  
  
 Bidh ribean geal is dearg ort  
 'Na chàradh gu dlùth.

**Ho-rò My Brown-Haired Maiden**

Ho-rò my brown-haired maiden  
 Hi-ri my brown-haired maiden  
 My sweet and lovely maiden  
 I'll marry none but you.

Brown-haired Peggy with the warm eyes  
 I was young when I fell in love with you  
 Much love and beauty  
 Shines always in your face

On Sunday going to the sermon  
 Nobody ever sees imperfections in  
 your dress,  
 You will have white and red ribbons  
 Tied firmly in place

3.

'Se 'n stòp a rinn mo bhristeadh

'Se 'n t-òl a dh'fhag gun mheas mi

Mo thruaig an té gheibh mise

Bidh uisg air a sùil.

It's the bottle that has broken me

[was my downfall]

The drinking left me without respect

Pity the one who gets me

She'll have tears in her eyes.

4.

'S a riamh bho'n dh'nfhàg mi d'fhianais

Gu bheil mi dubhach cianail

Mo chrifhe trom gam phianadh

Le iargain do rùin.

Ever since I lost sight of you

I am sad and lonely

My heart is heavy and painful

Longing for your love.

The same song has been standardized in print in Scotland since the end of the last century and, while the chorus has exactly the same set of Gaelic works, the standard verses that are taught in school all over Gaeldom are quite different to those collected from oral tradition in Canada.<sup>16</sup> The version which has caught on throughout Scotland is known as "Ho-ro My Nut-Brown Maiden" and is a nineteenth century English "translation" by Prof. John Stuart Blackie of Edinburgh. It appears in innumerable song books and, no doubt helped by the international distribution of school songbooks, it has gained world recognition as a "Gaelic folksong". Blackie's text is a very loose (indeed inaccurate) translation from the Gaelic, better suited to the Victorian Edinburgh drawing-room than to the milling boards. He reproduces the chorus (translated above) as:

Ho-ro my nut-brown maiden

Hi-ri, my nut-brown maiden

Ho-ro, ro-o maiden

For she's the maid for me!

And while this is entirely singable, the phrase "nut-brown" suggests ale rather than a beautiful young woman. Among the Gaelic-speakers of Newfoundland, however, the Blackie version is unknown, and a much more accurate English translation has emerged over the years which is very popular at ceilidhs. Occasionally it is sung by a non-Gaelic-speaker, but usually it is incorporated into the Gaelic version, thus making the song more accessible to the entire audience. The following was recorded (as verse 3 of his Gaelic song)

from Frank MacArthur, Allan's son, in 1990:

Ho-ro my dark-eyed maiden  
Hi-ri my dark-eyed maiden,  
My bonnie, dark-eyed maiden  
I would only marry you.

Despite the fact that there has never been any formal schooling in Gaelic and native speakers are, therefore, unable to read or write their mother tongue, the Codroy Valley Scots have perpetuated a much more accurate version of the song than the one that resulted from the work of the learned Edinburgh professor.

**Ho-ro my Nut-Brown Maiden**

- Chorus:                    Ho-ro my nut-brown maiden,  
                                  Hi-ri my nut-brown maiden  
                                  Ho-ro, ro-o maiden,  
                                  For she's the maid for me!
1.                            Her eyes so mildly beaming  
                                  Her look so frank and free,  
                                  In waking and in dreaming  
                                  Is ever-more with me.
2.                            O Mary, mild-eyed Mary,  
                                  By land or in the sea,  
                                  Tho' time and tide may vary,  
                                  My heart beats true to thee.
3.                            In Glasgow or Dunedin  
                                  Were maidens fair to see,  
                                  But ne'er a Lowland maiden  
                                  Could lure mine eyes from thee.
4.                            And when with blossoms laden  
                                  Bright summer comes again,  
                                  I'll fetch my nut brown maiden  
                                  Doun frae the bonnie glen.

Allan MacArthur emphasized the fact that many of the songs had interesting histories behind them: "well that was better than the song in a way". The fact that he talked about Napoleon and the Napoleonic Wars might seem strange to those unfamiliar with Scottish history, and especially remarkable was the fact that all his information was from oral tradition. He did not have any history book to refer to for his information as it had all been handed down with the songs. There is, of course, good reason for the Scots retaining such traditions, as so many Highland regiments had fought in the Napoleonic Wars. When he brought up the subject, MacArthur paused for a moment to ask "When was the Battle of Waterloo?" Thinking he did not know, I hesitatingly offered "eighteen-fif-" Simultaneously he answered his own question "yes, eighteen-fifteen, but it was June the eighteenth". Such was the accuracy he sought to preserve. Then, apologizing for not being able to "put together any of the real long songs, "he sang this song which was composed at the time of the Egyptian campaign of 1798.

This unique song, so far as I can ascertain, is not found in Scotland<sup>17</sup> although I am informed by folksong collector John Shaw that he recorded a version in Nova Scotia where "there was an old MacArthur whose people came from Canna."<sup>18</sup> considering that the Napoleonic Wars were relatively recent news when MacArthur's people emigrated in the early 1820s, it is not surprising that the emigrants should have songs about the wars that are known to have involved more than 20,000 men from the Inner Hebrides. What is perhaps more surprising to the modern mind is that these songs survived in oral tradition and, without the aid of print, they are still known nearly two hundred years after the event.

**Hù a Hù Ailein Duinn**

**Hù a Hù Alan Donn** [Translation]

Chorus:

Hù a Hù Ailein Duinn  
Ailean Duinn Bhoidhich  
'S a hù a hù Ailein Duinn

Hu a Hu Alan Donn  
Handsome Alan Donn  
'S hu a hu Alan Donn

1.

Ailean Duinn a' chùil dualaich  
Bith 'gad chumha 's tu brònach.

Alan Donn with the lovely hair  
Lamenting for you in your sorrow.

2.

'S truagh nach robh mi 's an fhiabhras

It's a pity I wasn't sick with fever

Man d'fhuair mi riamh beò thu.

Before I ever found you alive.

In keeping with the Gaelic bardic tradition, there are also several songs composed by the immigrants in their new homeland. Some were inspired by the migration, some by the strange conditions or situations encountered in the New World, and some by sad, happy, amusing or everyday incidents of life. One of the songs which was in the earliest memories of every child in the MacArthur household was a lullaby, "*Dean Cadalan Samhach*", used to rock the babies to sleep, or to accompany spinning, "just to suit the rhythm, for they's be all the time singing and spinning."

**Dean Cadalan Sàmhach**

**Sleep Peacefully** [Translation]

Chorus:

Dean cadalan sàmhach  
 a chuilein 's a rùin  
 Fuirich mar tha thu  
 's thu 'n drasd' an àit ùr  
 Tha òganaich againn  
 lan bheartas is chliù  
 Bidh tusa 'na d'òighre  
 air fear eigin dhiùbh.

Sleep peacefully  
 my pet, my love  
 Stay as you are,  
 and you in a new place  
 We have young men  
 full of riches and renown  
 And you will be heir  
 to one or other of them.

1.

'Sann an Ameiriga  
 tha sinn an dràs'd'ò  
 Fo dhubhar na coille  
 nach teirig gu bràth  
 Dar dh'fhalbhas an Dùldach  
 's a thionndaich's am barr  
 Bith measan 's bidh ùbhlan  
 gu dlùtharr a'fàs.

It's in America  
 that you are now  
 Under the shade of the wood  
 that goes on forever  
 When winter goes away  
 and the crops change colour,  
 Berries and apples will be  
 growing in abundance.

2.

Is truagh nach robh mise  
 ann an duthaich Mhicleòid  
 Far an d'fhuair mi òg m'àrach  
 'n am phàisde glé òg...

Would that I were  
 in the land of Macleod  
 When I was reared  
 as a very young child...

This song can be traced to North Carolina where it was composed by the emigrant bard John MacRae who was returning to his home in Moidart. There it became established and was undoubtedly popular when the MacIsaacs (MacArthur's maternal grandparents) emigrated to Canada in the 1840s. It survived another hundred and fifty years of oral transmission among the Gaels of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, telling of the welcome abundance of the fruits of the new land, while longing for the land of their birth.

One of Allan MacArthur's brothers, Murdoch, was known to compose songs, and, as was the custom among the Gaels, he sometimes satirized situations that lent themselves to this.<sup>19</sup>

He made a pair of moccasins one time, well, the moccasins they're out of style since years. And they didn't fit too good so he made a song about them

### Oran Nam Mogaisean

### Song of the Moccasins [Translation]

Chorus:

Tha fonn, fonn, fonn air  
O tha fonn air na mogaisean  
Tha fonn gun bhith trom  
Hog i ò air na mogaisean.

Let's sing, sing, sing  
Let's sing about the moccasins  
A song that is not sad  
[Let's sing] about the moccasins.

1.

Thòisich Seumas Ryan  
'S rinn e croicean do mhoghaisean  
Gun d'chart e dhiùbh na h-aobrainn  
'S cha robh iad craobhaidh fhathast air.

James Ryan began  
And he made a kind of moccasin  
He cut them off at the ankles  
And they still did not fit him well.

2.

Theid me sìos do'n aifhrionn  
An coibhneas nan caileagan  
Cha ghabh iad facal uòrnuigh  
Ach sùil air mo mhoghaisean

I'll go down to Mass  
In the cheerful company of the girls  
They won't say a word of prayer  
For looking at my moccasins.

3.

Fhuair mi craiceann caorach  
'S dùil rium caol a ghearradh as

I got a sheep skin  
Thinking to cut a strip out of it

## BENNETT: MUSICAL TRADITIONS

Thilg mi an dara taobh e  
Ach fhuair mi laoicionn gamhnach

I threw it to one side  
But I got a piece of cowhide.

The song is not simply an example of good-nature fun-making but it also served two additional purposes - it added to the repertoire and entertainment of the milling as it was set to the ideal tempo, and it also left a valuable record of material culture, the art of moccasin making learned from their Micmac Indian neighbours.

During the years when the Scottish Newfoundlanders were making the transition from being entirely Gaelic-speaking to bi-lingual Gaelic-English and finally monoglot English-speaking people, several macaronic songs were composed.<sup>20</sup> By the 1930s, integration with their English and French-speaking neighbours became more commonplace than it was in the early years of settlement, and the three language groups increasingly worked together, socialized and intermarried. At all community events where singing took place, macaronic songs allowed all parties to participate. Nowhere was this in greater evidence than at the milling boards, when all singers could join in the chorus even if they didn't understand all the verses. The titles of many of these songs give no hint at the use of two languages, for example:

### **Will You Marry Me My Bonnie Fair Lassie**

Chorus:

Will you marry me my bonnie fair lassie?  
Will you marry me my damsel?  
Answer me my bonnie fair lassie,  
'S fhad a bha mi fhìn is mi'n geal ort

Will you...etc

It's a long time since we were pledged  
to each other.

1.

Car do Niall Mhac Guair thu.  
e fhéin 's an t-aghan ruadh  
Chabh iad suas 'sa'bhruach  
's e tighinn teann air,  
Fhuair e suas air ghuallainn,  
rug e 'n sin air chluais air,  
Maid' aige ga bhualadh  
man cheann ort

You are a relative of Neil MacQuarry,  
himself and the little red heifer  
They went up the brae  
and he was getting nearer it;  
He got him by the shoulder,  
then he grabbed him by the ear,  
Walloping him with a stick  
on the head.

2.

Mi fhein is Iain Dhòmhnail

Myself and Iain, son of Donald,

'sa' mhaduinn moch Di-Dòmhaich	late on Sunday morning
Léine bheag gheal	Wearing little white shirt(s) and with
Agus tie oirnn	and our ties on,
Ar dosain air a liobadh	Our hair sleeked
's ar smig air an sgriobadh	and our chins shaven
A' falbh chon na gruagaich	Going to see the maiden
's na Highlands.	in the Highlands.

3.

Coimhead thusa 'n dràsda	Look now
air Micheal Iain Bhàin	at fair John's (son) Michael
Buideal aige làn	He has a full cask
is dà cheann ann	quite unopened
Ma théid thu dhan àite	If you go to his place
's chuireas tu air fàilte	and greet him
Glainne bheag 'na làimh	He'll have a small glass in his hand
bheire e dram dhut.	and will give you a dram.

The singing of dance music to Gaelic works, or "mouth music", enjoys the same popularity in the Codroy Valley as it does in Scotland. Generally referred to as "*puirt-a-beul*" in the Highlands and Islands and "*puirt luath*" in the Codroy Valley, these songs have two main functions - to provide music for step-dancing (all but extinct in Scotland while remarkably preserved and very much alive in Newfoundland and Cape Breton<sup>21</sup>), and to facilitate the learning of tunes for the bagpipes or the fiddle. Popular tunes with recognisable music-book titles such as "Mrs Macleod of Raasay" turn up in both countries with sets of words that denote the local title, such as "Bodachan a' Mhìrean". Even among the young musicians of the codroy Valley whose mother tongue is English, a title such as this is common currency and an instant cue to start up the tune on the fiddle or button accordion. As Allan MacArthur put it:

A lot of them tunes that they played, the old people..that used to play [instruments] music anyhow, they used to know them in Gaelic, you see. They would sing it and play it for step-dancing. When you know the words and the air of that, that's just as good as the [printed] notes, pretty near. I couldn't play by [written] note, but by ear, you see. For fast tunes, and the old tunes, when you know the Gaelic words of it, well you had the run of it, you see, if you were to keep time for the step dance.

Most of the tunes have short, catchy, often tongue-twisting ditties which must be sung with a vocal agility that matches the accuracy of the instrumentalist and the feet of the dancer. The texts of the songs are of secondary importance to the singer's ability to fit the words accurately into the intricacies of the melodies. One of the many pipe tunes from MacArthur's repertoire was "*The Smith of Killiechassie*" which he also had as mouth-music:

Theid mi 'Cheann Loch Alainn is fàgaidh mi Taobh Loch Odha  
Theid mi 'Cheann Loch Alainn is fàgaidh mi Taobh Loch Odha  
Theid mi 'Cheann Loch Alainn is fàgaidh mi Taobh Loch Odha  
Sgadan is buntàta 'ga fhàgail an Ceann Loch Odha.

[Translation]

I will go to Kinlochaline and leave Loch Awe-side (3 times)  
Leaving behind herring and potatoes at the head of Loch Awe.

Looking at the text on its own (and especially in translation where the impact of verbal play is entirely lost), the words seem trivial, hardly worth preserving;<sup>22</sup> yet from the point of view of melody and the musical agility required to sing it accurately, the combination demonstrates an art that is not only ancient but is within the ability of relatively few singers in Gaelic tradition.

Throughout the history of the Highland bagpipes, both the tunes and the techniques of the instrument were handed down through the traditional methods of *canntaireachd*, a complex syllabic notation used in teaching. The learner not only picks up the tune but also acquires the fingering of it on the pipe chanter. Even today in Scotland, skilled pipers sing *canntaireachd* versions to their pupils while teaching them to read the printed musical notation that has become second nature to every twentieth century piper. In Newfoundland, the MacArthur pipers (for they were the only family left who still played the bagpipes) were schooled only in *canntaireachd*, a feature that seemed remarkable to me as I have never encountered one piper in Scotland who had learned his art using only the ancient method.<sup>23</sup> Allan MacARTHUR compared this skill to language acquisition and regarded the syllables as Gaelic:

A lot of them tunes that they played, the old people that used to play music anyway, they used to know them in Gaelic, you see... When you know the words and the air of that, that's just as good as the [printed] notes, pretty near. I couldn't play by note but by

ear, you see. For fast tunes, the old tunes, when you know the Gaelic works of it, well you had the run of it. [And here he demonstrated a tune with a remarkable version of *canntaireachd*, sung all in one breath - no mean feat for a young person far less and 84 year-old. And he finished his discussion as if it were part of the same sentence.] ...and there's a lot of tunes goes a lot easier on your fingers than that tune<sup>24</sup>.

Despite his advancing years and declining state of health, MacArthur completed his demonstration by taking up his instrument, an old set of MacDougall of Aberfeldy pipes, and playing as he had done on countless other occasions.

The pipes were (and are) highly valued throughout the community, not merely as in instrument of entertainment at a house or village ceilidh but also in an official capacity for important occasions. For example, at the completion of the Bélanger High School, the opening ceremony was introduced by the parish priest who then handed over to the piper to play a stirring march. Photographs of the event show a sprightly Allan MacArthur in his seventies who was reported to have played his favourite, "Fuadach nan Gaidheal". ["The Exile of the Gaels", know also as "Lord Lovat"], followed by a set of strathspeys and reels. The custom is identical to the practice in many parts of Scotland where bagpipe music is often an integral part of official ceremony - weddings, funerals, commemorations, graduations, royal visits, even book launches. Though taken for granted by all of us who have grown up with the custom (and indeed expect it), the importance of the piper may be regarded as a reflection of a much older tradition dating back to the time when the clan chief had his official piper appointed to play at every important occasion from birth to death.<sup>25</sup> Until his death in 1972 (when one of his sons took over the position), Allan MacArthur filled the much respected role of community piper. He did not, as some visitors might have expected, turn out in full tartan dress, or indeed with any so-called Highland dress - in his day his culture had not declined to the point where it was necessary to acquire all the visible traits of Scottishness that characterise the "clan events" of North Americans of Scottish ancestry.<sup>26</sup> His people had arrive din Canada with no such garb, though they loved the tartan and admired the Scottish regiments who wore the kilt.<sup>27</sup> For their part, the traditions of the Codroy Valley Scots were to be found more in the fabric of their language, songs and music than in modern adaptations of Highland dress.

Although there are very few pipers in the Codroy Valley today (though at least one MacArthur son and one grandson play) there are innumerable other musicians playing fiddle, accordion, mandolin, and guitar.

These instruments are, unlike the bagpipes, widely played throughout the province of Newfoundland.<sup>28</sup> No matter where it takes place, the kitchen "time" or house party is enlivened by the sounds of these instruments - or at least some combination of them, usually played by local musicians or (in their absence) via popular recordings.<sup>29</sup> What is strikingly different in the Codroy Valley is the strong Scottish influence on the repertoires of all musicians. Throughout the entire province (including the Codroy Valley) there is a general "Newfoundland repertoire" which is characterised by reels and jigs with the occasional waltz to slow down the tempo of the evening's music. Turn off the Trans-Canada Highway just 25 miles north of Port-aux-Basques and into the Codroy valley, however, and the music of the kitchen "time" has an entirely new component - the strathspey. Virtually unknown in the rest of the province (though entirely familiar in Cape Breton), it is the timing of the strathspey (4/4 or common time) which makes it instantly distinguishable from the ubiquitous reels and jigs.<sup>30</sup> This type of tune takes its name from a dance, the "Strathspey Reel" which is said to have originated along the valley of the River Spey in the Scottish Highlands. It was popularised (if not perfected) by several well-known Scottish fiddlers such as Neil Gow (1727-1807) and William Marshall (1748-1833). One of the greatest testimonies to the strength of the oral tradition is perhaps the fact that the strathspey survives in the Codroy Valley and in Cape Breton in a more authentic form than it does in Scotland where, in the twentieth century, it has undergone drastic changes that remove it from its original dance role into a rather stately affair more suited to the drawing-room than the *taigh ceilidh*.<sup>31</sup> As one astonished fiddler asked on hearing a modern recording of a Scottish strathspey, "How in the world can you dance to that?" And dancing is indeed what these tunes are all about.

In the Codroy Valley, as in Cape Breton, the fiddle is the preferred instrument for step-dancing as it allows the dancers and the audience to appreciate the percussive sound of feet on the floor. The subject of traditional dance is one which, to date, has been under-researched in Scotland and, while the paper can only touch upon it, perhaps it can appeal to serious researchers to take it up.<sup>32</sup>

The coming of electricity in 1962 and the Trans-Canada Highway in 1967 marked the beginning of enormous changes in the Codroy Valley. In Allan MacArthur's life-time he saw the most drastic alterations to the traditional lifestyle - farming practices, house types, food preparation, modes of transport, entertainment were all regularly discussed by MacArthur and his contemporaries, who thoroughly agreed with his comment: "When the television came in the front door the old stories went out the back." No other

single topic, however, elicited the level of regret they expressed at the decline of their mother tongue - in the words of MacArthur's proverbial expression "Bho'n chaill mi Ghàidhlig, na b'fheàrr cha d'fhfhuair mi". [Since I lost the Gaelic language, nothing better have I found.] Great was their fear that the loss of the language would result in the death of virtually all aspects of the oral tradition.

In 1993 (twenty-one years after Allan MacArthur's death), there are less than fifty Gaelic speakers left in the Codroy Valley: they include MacArthur's own children (now in their 50s to early 70s), some of his grandchildren and a very few elderly individuals whose numbers are rapidly declining. As far as the songs are concerned, it is almost certain that this century will see the last of the singers of these fine songs. The prospects for instrumental music are, however, much brighter. Not only is there a new generation of fine players of fiddle, accordion, guitar, mandolin and even the bagpipes joining in with the old, but the playing of the "old Scotch tunes" is as popular today as it ever was. On a Friday or Saturday night many a kitchen still rebounds to the same lively tunes that characterised the old. There is one encouraging difference which would no doubt gladden the hearts of the old-timers: it is not only the musicians of Scottish ancestry who play the familiar strathspeys such as "Calum Crubach" and the old-fashioned waltzes such as "Cailin Mo Rùnsa", but the entire repertoire has been embraced by Codroy Valley players whose ethnic origins are French, Irish and English. In the same way that there is, in terms of "world music", a well-established "Newfoundland Sound" that is heavily influenced by Irish music, I would suggest that there is also a "Codroy Valley Sound" which is characterised by the prevalence of Scottish music. The names of old Gaelic tunes have been retained, and are pronounced by today's young folk as if they had spoken fluent Gaelic all their lives; there is no hint of *blas na Beurla*, {literally "the taste of English"} which is an abhorrence to native Gaelic speakers (notoriously intolerant of mispronunciations of their language). Apart from keeping alive much of the repertoire of the old musicians, the young folk now include the tunes of some of the Gaelic songs that were once part of every ceilidh. True, they can only sing a few of the choruses, but unless there occurs a miraculous revival in language learning, the songs themselves will disappear with the oldest Gaelic speakers. They retain a certain vitality, however, in the lives of the younger generation whose fluency in the pronunciation of "Ho-Ro Mo Nighean Donn Bhoidheach", "Bodachan a'Mhìrean" and the like is quite clearly established in childhood, as are the melodies to which these titles belong.

More than a century and a half has passed since the Scots Gaels settled in the Codroy Valley. Although their entire culture has now been thoroughly adapted to suit major differences in landscape, climate, and social conditions, it is relatively easy to identify people of Scots ancestry. Naturally, many will tell of Gaelic-speaking grandparents and will indicate a pride in their Scottish heritage, but there is probably no aspect of everyday life that reflects that heritage quite as strongly as the musical tradition of the Codroy Valley.

### Bibliography

- Bennett, Margaret (1989). *The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions of Newfoundland*, Breakwater Books, St. John's, and Canongate Press, Edinburgh.
- Bennett, Margaret (1990) "A Céilidh with the MacArthurs, Codroy Valley, Newfoundland: Songs and Music from *The Last Stronghold*" an audio cassette produced by Fred Kent, School of Scottish Studies, the University of Edinburgh.
- Bennett, Margaret (1980) "A Codroy Valley Milling Frolic", *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert: A Festschrift*, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada, pp. 99-110.
- Bennett, Margaret (1991) "The Curiosity of Pipers", *The Piping Times*, May.
- Bennett, Margaret (1993) "Gaelic Song in Eastern Canada: Twentieth Century Reflections", *Canadian Folklore Canadien*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Special edition *Folksongs: Chansons*, Laval, Québec, Jan.
- Bennett, Margaret. (1972) "Scottish Gaelic, English and French: Some Aspects of the Macaronic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland", *Regional Languages Studies...Newfoundland*, St. John's, Newfoundland, May, pp. 25-30.
- Campbell, John L. (1990) *Songs Remembered in Exile*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen.
- Campbell, John L (1938) "A Visit to Cape Breton", *Scots Magazine*, Sept. and Oct.
- Campbell, John L (1953) "Highland Links with Nova Scotia", *Scots Magazine*, Oct.
- Campbell, John L. and Francis Collinson (1969) *Hebridean Folksongs*, Oxford.
- Creighton, Helen, and Calum I.N. MacLeod (1964) *Gaelic Songs in*

- Nova Scotia*, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.
- Dunn, Charles W. (1992) *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia*, Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1953, repr., Cape Breton.
- Fergusson, Donald, A (1977) *Fad air Falbh as Innse Gall: Beyond the Hebrides*, Vol. II. Halifax, N.S.
- Hardie, Alastair J (1981) *The Caledonian Companion*, London & Edinburgh.
- MacDonell, Sister Margaret (1982) *The Emigrant Experience: Songs of Highland Emigrants in North America*, Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- MacFadyen, Alastair and Florence H. Adams. (1983) *Dance with Your Soul: A Biography of Jean Callander Milligan, LLD., Co-founder of The Royal Scottish Country Dance Society*, Edinburgh.
- McKean, Thomas (1992) "A Gaelic Songmaker's Response to an English-speaking Nation", *Oral Tradition*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 3-27.
- MacKenzie, John (1863) *Sàr-Obairnam Bàrd Gaelach: The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards*, Halifax, N.S., 1863.
- MacKinnon, Jonathan G. (1902) "Na Gaidheil an Ceap Breatuinn" [The Gaels in Cape Breton], *Mac Talla*, Vol XI, pp. 52-54.
- Mac Talla* (1892-1904) Printed and published in Sydney, N.S. by Jonathan G. MacKinnon, (weekly 1892-1901; published fortnightly 1901-1904).
- Ramsay, John (1888) *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A Allardyce, 2 Vols, Edinburgh & London.
- Shaw, John (ed) and Joe Neil MacNeil (1987) *Sgeul gu Latha Tales Until Dawn: The World of a Cape Breton Storyteller*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press. and Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Tocher, No. 42, (1990) (Overseas edition), School of Scottish Studies, the University of Edinburgh Edinburgh.

#### End notes

1. See *The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland*, (St. John's & Edinburgh, 1989. hereafter cited *The Last Stronghold*) pp. 30 - 54 where I have discussed the circumstances surrounding the migration from Cape Breton to Newfoundland and have included the relevant quotations from letters and writings by the Parish priests of that time.
2. Rev. Charles MacDonald, *Moidart; or Among the Clanranalds* (Oban, 1889), pp. 171-174.
- 3 `All the quotations from Alan MacArthur were made in 1970 and are housed in the Folklore Archives at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Translations are in square brackets, with

## BENNETT: MUSICAL TRADITIONS

words within {} are mine, added for clarification.

4. Translation by John Lorne Campbell, present laird of Canna, who published the transcription and translation in his book, *CANNA The Story of a Hebridean Island* (Oxford University press, 1984), pp. 249-51. It seems remarkable to me that the detail about Tobermory is preserved by both informants considering the fact that this little town has none of the fame of the well-known ports of embarkation such as Greenock or Glasgow.

5. John L. Campbell's book *Songs Remembered in Exile*, includes examples of Gaelic songs from Cape Breton that had already been in oral tradition for two hundred years before the singers' ancestors emigrated to Canada.

6 Kenneth H. Jackson, "Folktale in Gaelic Scotland" in *Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (1952) pp. 123 and 137.

7 For a detailed description of a ceilidh see *The Last Stronghold* pp. 55 - 81. 8 A large section of Allan MacArthur's Gaelic song repertoire along with a much wider discussion of the entire culture of the Gaels in Newfoundland is contained in my book *The Last Stronghold*. Though he died the year after I made most of the recordings it was still possible to make new recordings of several of the songs and all of the instrumental music when I returned to record his children (then in their late 50s and early 70s) in 1990. A combination of my recordings from 1970-72 and 1990 are published on the audio cassette *A Céilidh with the MacArthurs, Codroy Valley, Newfoundland: Songs and Music from The Last Stronghold* produced by Fred Kent, School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, 1990.

9 For a brief discussion on spinning and the songs related to that process, see *The Last Stronghold* pp.150-152.

10 The last verse of the song seems to indicate a change in voice--no longer is the song expressing love for Black-haired Mary, but a new voice, presumably female, sings a verse that seems to belong to a different song. This is not unusual in Gaelic waulking songs which are often the product of many song-makers and singers adding extemporaneous verses. Many of them incorporate into their texts "floating verses", such as this one, with common motifs that occur in a vast number of songs. Sometimes they are added simply to lengthen the song during the course of the work.

11 The main focus of this paper is on the social and historical aspects of the musical traditions. The discussion emphasises text and context of the songs, with little emphasis on the ethnomusicological feature. For the reader who would like to pursue the actual recorded sounds I will refer to commercially available recordings which will do justice to the illustrations I would like to have included in this paper.

12 *Waulking Songs from the Isle of Barra* was produced on disc at the University of Edinburgh by the School of Scottish Studies and published by Tangent Records, London, 1972; re-issued on CD by Greentrax, Edinburgh. 1993. A Ceilidh with the MacArthurs, see above.

13 This subject is discussed in my paper "Women Only? A Newfoundland Adaptation of a Scottish Tradition" presented to the American Folklore Society at Boston, Oct. 1988 (unpublished).

14 John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Allardyce, (Edinburgh

& London: 1888), Vol. 2, p.410.

15 Comparative version of "Ho Rò Mo Nighean Donn Bhòidheach" can be found in Donald A. Fergusson's *Fad air Falbh as Innse Gall: Beyond the Hebrides*, Vol. II.

16 One of the frequently used printed texts is in *A'Choisir-Chiùil: The St. Columba Collection of Gaelic Songs* (Glasgow, n.d.) pp. 12-13.

17 The song is however, reminiscent of a Scottish Gaelic song "A Hu a Ho Ille Dhuinn" which has a similar theme. I am grateful to my colleague, Dr John Macinnes, folksong specialist at The School of Scottish Studies, for identifying the historical connection of the song.

18 From personal communication, John Shaw, 1989.

19 For an up-to-date discussion on a modern Gaelic bard in Skye who still (in the 1990s) is known to satirize in song, see Thomas McKean. "A Gaelic Songmaker's response to an English-speaking Nation", pp.11-13.

20 I have discussed this at greater length in "Scottish Gaelic, English, and French: Some aspects of the Macaronic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland", in *Regional Language Studies...Newfoundland*. St. John's, Newfoundland, May 1972, pp. 25-30.

21 In 1990 Frank MacArthur co-operated with me in the making of a video-recording of Codroy Valley step-dancing while his nephew played fiddle. For most of his life he has been regarded as "the best step-dancer you ever saw" and at the age of 71 he effortlessly demonstrated the steps which had been handed down through generations in the Codroy Valley. [School of Scottish Studies archive, unpublished.] These steps have long since died out in Scotland where folk dance has been taken over by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society co-founded in 1923 by Mrs Isabella Stewart and Miss Jean Milligan, who sought to standardize dance throughout the nation, and in so doing succeeded in wiping out many of Scotland's indigenous dance forms and regional variations.

22 So far as I can ascertain, there is no Scottish version of this ditty, although the tune is well known among pipers. Within piping circles (and in my own family where piping and singing have been a way of life for generations) the pipe tune is regarded as a challenge to any piper, not to be attempted by the incompetent.

23 The hereditary pipers to the MacDonalds of the Isles were MacArthurs, and though the line has long since vanished, the name MacArthur is highly regarded in piping circles in Scotland. One of the last known MacArthurs was buried in the north of Skye in the 1700s but little is known of these hereditary pipers thereafter. I have discussed this in greater details in "The Curiosity of Pipers".

24 Allan MacArthur's canntaireachd can be heard on track A10 of the cassette *A Ceilidh with the MacArthurs*. It is followed by a recording from 1990 of his son Frank demonstrating the same style for the accordion.

25 After the breakdown of the clan system in 1746, the hereditary piper no longer had any official position and was forbidden by law to play his "instrument of war" for any reason whatsoever, until the Act was repealed some forty years later. From this earlier period in Clan history, however, today's world of piping still pays tribute to famous pipers such as the MacCrimmons (hereditary

## BENNETT: MUSICAL TRADITIONS

pipers to the MacLeods of Dunvegan) and to the MacArthurs who, for generations held this honourable position for the MacDonalds of the Isles. The last MacArthur piper is buried near the clan seat in Duntulm, Skye. [See "The Curiosity of Pipers", *Piping Times*, 1991.

26 Nowhere is this more obvious than at Highland Games (from Balmoral in Royal Deeside to Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina) where the wearing of tartan appears to have increased in proportion to the drastic decline of the Gaelic language.

27 Their only photos of men in kilts were some of their own people who had joined the Black Watch, the Scots guards and other Scottish regiments during the First and Second World Wars.

28 I am specifically referring to families whose people have been settled in Newfoundland for several generations. In my own experience of living there for 8 years I often heard the bagpipes played by "incomers" such as my father who emigrated in the mid-sixties and was much in demand as a piper all over the province.

29 The most popular commercial recordings during my research in the 1970s were by Ray Walsh and Harry Hibbs. While their records still retain popularity, there are, of course, many more.

30. The reel is crisp and lively and played in 2/2 time, and the jig (often associated with Irish music though also common in Scotland is also lively and in compound time, 6/8 or 9/8.

31 In Scotland the famous fiddler James Scott (1843-1927) set a precedent by slowing down the old strathspeys, creating and teaching new compositions which became well-established and replaced many of the old ones. Examples of the old style of strathspeys can be heard on tracks A6 and B6 and 7 of the cassette *A Ceilidh with the MacArthurs*.

32 For most of this century, not only the nation but the world has been influenced by modern ideas of dance as presented by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. Because the R.S.C.D.S.'s more famous co-founder, Miss Jean Milligan, was principal dance teacher at Jordanhill College of Education in Glasgow, she was in a position of great influence in Scottish Education. All teachers who trained at Jordanhill and at Scotland's other Teacher Training Colleges were subsequently taught dance according to a new and strictly imposed Schools' Curriculum, where dance still holds a time-honoured place. It is relatively easy to see, therefore, how an entire nation was converted to "correct" dancing practices while the old styles were set aside and labelled "wrong". All the more reason, then, to study the dance styles of areas which were outwith the influence of the RSCDS.