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Sounds Across the Moyle: Musical Resonances Between Argyll and Antrim

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Introduction

> It is important to remember that the traffic has always been in both directions; if the most important single event in early Scottish history can be said to have been the foundation of the kingdom of Dalriada by *Scoti* (Irish Gaels) who had crossed that same strip of water, it is also true that Ulster history has often been influenced by visitors from across the Moyle. It was not for mere literary effect that Camden (in his *Britannia*) described the peninsula of Kintyre as thrusting itself 'greedily towards Ireland'. Another historical fact which has to be borne in mind, when one scrutinises the cultural mix, is that both Ulster and Kintyre were successfully colonised, in the seventeenth century, by Lowlanders from Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, and that in both areas the Gaelic language has co-existed with Lowland Scots right up to the present century.[1]

With Antrim and Argyll closely separated, or rather joined, by the Straits of Moyle or North Channel, logic would suggest that there must have been, and might still be, musics that resonate across those waters. Indeed, it is generally accepted that music and song has been carried and passed between Scotland and Ireland for centuries and traditional musicians know that even the gentlest of scraping beneath the surface of many songs or tunes will reveal or suggest equivalents in each country. It is possible, therefore, to find material heard in Antrim that can be traced back to or from, or shared with Scotland, or music in Argyll that links to greater Ireland. It is more of a challenge, however, to identify concrete musical connections and resonances between the two areas and to understand the processes involved. In this we are not helped by the fact that, although acknowledged, the history of musical transmission between Scotland and Ireland remains under researched and poorly understood and that, to date, there have been no detailed and comprehensive musical studies of either area to allow comparison and exploration of linkages.

Both locations are peripheral to their parent countries in geographical and cultural terms and each has been passed over by those who have chosen to privilege the more 'authentic' and less compromised cultural survivals of other places thought to better represent national musical repertory and style. Furthermore, from the eighteenth century onwards, writers, collectors and promoters of the music have tended to work to agendas seeking to celebrate the uniqueness of their countries' music rather than any shared heritage, dismissing concurrence and raising boundaries where they may have been non-existent or minor.[2]

Fortunately, there are numerous references to musical connections in national musical histories, collections and genre-specific works as well as much material scattered across local histories, manuscripts, journals, archives and public records. Approaching the subject, therefore, requires the herding of a wide range of sources and fragments of evidence. Of crucial importance too, of course, are the lived experiences, output and testimony the musicians themselves, those of the past and those who are making music today.

This essay comprises a preliminary and selective survey of such sources that, hopefully, will suggest lines for further inquiry. However, it is offered with the recommendation that the interpretation and drawing of conclusions from the evidence should be tempered by a degree of caution on a number of counts.

While cultural links between Scotland and Ireland have been under-appreciated, the significance of proximity can be overestimated, the Moyle having acted as a barrier as well as a bridge.[3] Ideas of a Medieval Gaelic kingdom spanning the North Channel or of a homogenous Gaeldom with a 'seamless web' of shared culture can be helpful in drawing attention to the rich heritage, as in Delargy's view of oral culture that 'no distinction can be made by the student of Gaelic oral tradition between the folk-tales of Munster and Connacht and the tales of the Highland and Hebridean shanachies.'[4] However, such ideas been have challenged by more recent scholarship that recognises that while Scottish Gaels historically attached great significance to the Irish connection, Ireland was always culturally dominant and perceived Scotland as somewhat distant and peripheral.[5] It also acknowledges that there has been a 'substantial divergence' of folk culture between Scotland and Ireland and even within each country.[6]

Although interaction between the two areas has occurred over millennia, the music as heard today, or read from scores and manuscripts, is a modern phenomenon, largely the product of the last three centuries at most, a period that has seen considerable change and development in every way. Therefore, the idea of an ongoing musical Dál Riada, while a neat label, has little practical relevance in explaining current sounds and musical practices.

Given the colourful history of the Medieval period, it is tempting to privilege the musical implications of its ancient and elite dynasties,

aristocratic patronage and political relationships and events. In reality, however, most musical activity was actually quite routine, low-key and occurred at the local and interpersonal levels. Centuries of soldiering, from the days of the mercenary redshanks and galloglasses onwards, is one area that would certainly have facilitated musical interaction and transmission. There was also considerable business and commercial contact, through fishing, trade like the annual exchange of seed-potatoes,[7] migration for seasonal and domestic employment and the movement of skilled workers such as stone masons or thatchers.

Later, there was emigration from the Glens of Antrim to Scotland where work was found as quarrymen, farm servants, bleachers, linen weavers and labourers.[8] Recreation and leisure had their roles too, as in the regular visits of Argyll islanders to Ballycastle Lammas Fair.[9] The education of Irish professionals, in medicine and divinity was often undertaken in Scotland, and links between landed families would have seen the easy, early and influential adoption of modern music and dance fashions from across the water.[10]

Although peripheral, neither area was ever as isolated as might we might assume, there being long established links with the principal urban centres and influence from across the British Isles and Europe. Both areas experienced tensions and underwent realignments of political allegiance and faith and both were subject to outward migration and inward plantation with populations from elsewhere. Old settlement patterns, such as the close-knit *baile* township of the Highlands, were destroyed and new towns and villages created.[11] Neither escaped the modernising processes of commercialisation, commodification and regularisation of music and, as accessibility by land and sea routes were improved and regularised, the cities of Belfast and Glasgow exercised their pull on the rural populations, affecting language, traditional customs, practices and social relations in all but the most isolated and conservative communities.

Contact and interaction would, of course, have been strongest in those parts closest to each other. In 1654, it could be written:

> Today in the Irish language, which is in use over this whole area, it is called Kintyre, that is Head of Land. It is inhabited by the family of Mac-Conell, which has lordship here but at the pleasure of the Earl of Argyll; they regularly go off to Ireland for booty in their light ships, and have occupied the small provinces called Glens and An Rata/The Route.[12]

Of the island of Rathlin, Nils Holmer observed in 1942:

> … the population used to be fishermen and sailors, [and] a considerable intermarriage with (Mainland) Irish and Scots may be

> expected. Thus, of the nineteen persons listed as Irish speakers, three have mentioned Scottish parents or grandparents, three have supposed that their ancestors came from Scotland, while the rest know of no other than their Irish. As for those who believe their ancestors were Scots, it must be remembered that there is a common theory in the island that every single family of those living there now are descended from Scots settlers who came to the island after the complete massacres in the sixteenth or seventeenth century … Leaving the truth value of the historical evidence of a transplantation of the inhabitants aside, it still remains a fact that the connections with Scotland are important.[13]

And we read of the Scottish island that:

> Islay is very near Ireland, and there is a safe passage from Lochindall to Loch Foyle and poets travelling on their circuits from the home of one chief to that of another, doctors and other men of skills travelling on their professional affairs, using the Islay route, all helped keep the people of Islay in touch with the greater world beyond the sea.[14]

However, the geographical proximity of two locations does not in itself guarantee or explain a shared musical inheritance. Proximate places can also be points of transit, sites of embarkation or landing before moving on or passed through on the way to some other destination.

Then there is the music itself. Many factors are at play in music change and transmission and it is necessary to accept that the processes involved are rarely straightforward, complexity and contradiction being the norm. Music is not a single object or artefact to be passed around and there has been no one, linear mechanism of change, but rather layers, some concurrent some not, moving at different rates across groups, genres, classes and communities.

We can only speculate on how transmission of music actually occurred, but the concept of the tradition as a 'carrying stream,' while helpful in some situations, is far too simplistic for here. Similarly, talk of music surviving unadulterated from a distant past, introduced forcibly through colonialism, or carried in the blood, DNA or via other pseudo-genetic concepts have no serious use. Such seductive explanations can be detected in popular histories that promote the music of Ulster as the key building block of the North American white folk song and dance music traditions, but invariably without concrete historical evidence, musicological demonstration or rich explanation. The extrapolation of the Ulster traditions back to sixteenth-century Scotland stretches things even further. The development of fiddle music in both Scotland and Ireland, and the

relationship between the two are still not adequately understood,[15] never mind the centuries of change and influence that occurred on the other side of the Atlantic.[16]

Music, as organised sound, does not exist in isolation, but is always conditioned by the wider cultural context in which it is created, developed and maintained. It is continually in a state of flux, being moulded and shaped by historical, political, economic and social factors. A melody can at different times, and in different places and situations, be made to serve any one of a variety of functions, such as in a military march, as an anthem, as part of a dance set or orchestrated for close listening in a concert programme. It might be made to sound whimsical or tragic, sacred or martial, played to a large public gathering or be heard in the intimate experience of a house *ceilidh*. Music is highly portable and moves easily from person to person and from place to place and it is both pliable and resilient. Metre, rhythm and tempo can be varied and components (tunes, motifs, figures etc.) disaggregated, the fragments selectively recycled or rearticulated as new pieces and reused to suit different functions. Printed scores or manuscripts can be relied upon for only a small part of a story more concerned with aural and oral exchange.

Similarly, a new air can become attached to and sustain an older text just or an old tune can carry fresh words. Then there are the moulding factors of the fashion, collective taste and selection of a community as well as the musician's personal artistic judgement and creativity to consider. Fresh material is continually being added to the store of tradition and, over time, existing music can become more closely associated with new groups or classes or be set aside and left to fade until rediscovered or revived.

Our modern sensibilities do not equip us for easy understanding of the context of the old music without the guidance of scholarship. The current view of music as a discrete commodity of entertainment leads us to miss its previous close integration into everyday life and rituals and associations with myth and legend, poetry and literature. A piece of instrumental music heard today on CD or in the concert hall might once have carried words linked to specific places, landscapes, groups and individuals that are now long forgotten. Similarly, the words or theme of a song may include an archaic fragment of a very much earlier classical bardic verse long detached from its original context and floating freely in oral tradition and recycled, say, in the new context of a labour song. In the past there were closer links with language and music and song were often mutually supporting, although words and meanings can become separated from their original functions or changed in transmission and through translation. When we encounter a Gaelic chant or lullaby from Scotland that praises the men of Ulster, for example, we cannot assume that the song-maker or singer had first-hand knowledge or direct association or affinity with those people:

> Were strains or stress to trouble thee, A host from Ireland would rise with thee; Antrim's earl of pacing steeds would join thee; and MacFelim's noble race, should they hear it said thou wert in need, their mighty force would come to aid thee.
>
> Assuredly would rise with thee the host of Iain Mor and Iain Cathnach, And the race of Maclean, And the men of Kintyre and Lorne; And woe to the lowlanders that should aim at thee when these nobles are in pursuit of them![17]
>
> *Bidh clann Ulaidh luaidh 's a lurain, Bidh clann Ulaidh air do bhanais, Bidh clann Ulaidh luaidh 's a lurain, Dèanamh an danns air do bhanais*.
>
> My love, my darling child, The Clan of Ulster will be at your wedding, My love, my darling child, The Clan of Ulster will dance at your wedding.[18]

Music is constantly employed in the recording and telling of histories and in the support and promotion of ideology. Moreover, primitive musical survivals can be conveniently privileged as 'ancient' and dressed in cultural significance and endearing melodies used to support legend and shroud the historical landscape in mystifying mist and twilight. Antrim and Argyll were both affected by processes of cultural, linguistic and music revivals. The eighteenth-century obsession with Gaelic antiquity, the nineteenth-century concern for the folk, the Celtic revival with its linguistic and nationalistic focus and the folk song revival of late twentieth century, each brought their own interpretations of history and significance of the music. Music is currently implicated in initiatives such as the Iomairt Chaluim Chille, which fosters links between the Gaelic speaking communities of Scotland and Ireland, and in the Ulster-Scots movement as a means of reinforcing and reimagining identity.

Descriptive evidence is often ideologically coloured. Tune and song titles, both orally transmitted or written down, are also unreliable guides to the origin and history of a tune or song and can lead us to false assumptions. The same is true of places mentioned in song texts.

For convenience, the topic is addressed through the examination, in turn, of different genres (song, piping, fiddle etc.) although this can be misleading as there was considerable cross-fertilisation across their boundaries and change was always uneven across genres, time and place. Aspects of classical and sacred and popular music are unfortunately outwith the scope of this work and await similar surveys by others.

If the results lack balance in terms of quality and quantity, this is partly as a consequence of the evidence available. It is also a reflection of the

inadequacies of the author's knowledge and abilities as researcher and scholar. However, it is hoped, that this will be just the first step in a worthy exploration of two shining, if underappreciated, facets of a much larger musical gem that has endured because of its inherent beauty and the fact that it retains a capacity for continuing creative development and enjoyment.

Ancient airs and lays

> Central to the Gaelic culture of early and medieval Scotland and Ireland was the shared legacy of heroic narratives and the cycles of legends and ballad literature disseminated orally and in manuscripts by highly-literate, professional poets and bards. In time, their themes and texts entered popular currency and were passed down in vernacular tales and songs by local singers and story tellers.[19] These continued to be heard among the Gaelic speakers of the Glens of Antrim until the late nineteenth century[20] and even later in pockets of Argyll.[21]

Many of the events, places and characters of the very old Irish narratives became linked to specific sites through place-names and mentioned real locations in Antrim and Argyll in the texts. In this way, the relationship between place and lore, tangible and intangible heritage, became cemented. The Medieval verse '*Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach*' preserved in the *Glenmasan Manuscript*,[22] for instance, uses places in Scotland as the setting for its story including Glen Masain, Glen Orchy, Glen Etive and Glendaruel. The story also embraces Antrim, including Rathlin and Carraig Uisneach, where Deirdre sang her farewell to Scotland and to her happiness.

Loch Etive from William Beattie, *Scotland Illustrated* (1838), vol. 2

In both countries we find many other examples of Neolithic monuments and landscape features associated, at some time, with the lives and deeds of legendary heroes[23] such as Ossian's Grave at Lubitavish, County Antrim.

Texts often survived only as fragments of a verse or in song, re-articulated with other material or redeployed away from their original contexts, such as in a work song. But it was the fact that they were sung that kept them alive: 'The popularity of the ballads was due in no small measure to the fact that they were sung to ancient airs' and that 'the singing of the ballads has helped to preserve their actual words'.[24]

From the eighteenth century onwards, partly inspired by the interest in things 'Ossianic', this inheritance attracted the attention of collectors, editors and translators (often local scholar-clergymen) and Argyll was a particularly fertile ground.[25]

A number of local airs 'most common in that part of the country' were taken down by Rev. Patrick McDonald, minister of Kilmore, south of Oban, and perhaps also by his brother Joseph. These included tunes to ballads from the Finn Cycle[26] and other songs as well as instrumental music. The resulting collection is perhaps the earliest published source of music for Gaelic heroic ballads or *laoidh*,[27] although these scores 'are unfortunately without their texts, and are moreover forced into regular modern rhythms between bar-lines'.[28] The collection contains the 'ancient' '*Dan Fhraoich*'[29] among its 'Argyllshire airs'. '*Laoidh Fhraoich*' ('The Lay of Fraoch'), one of the great Irish heroic ballads that tells of handsome Fraoch and Meadhbh, survived in Ireland 'in Rathlin Island only',[30] but remained popular in Scotland associated with specific places. In one version it is linked to the site of Fraoch Eilean, a small island in Loch Awe, Argyll, with a fort linked to the MacNaughtan chieftains. A version was subsequently collected by Frances Tolmie[31] and field recordings of sung versions can be auditioned on the *Tobair and Dualchais* website[32] along with reinterpretations by Rev. William Matheson.[33] John Purser has transcribed and discussed Matheson's 'unmetered approach of singing' the ballad.[34]

Interest in the musical heritage of Antrim was encouraged by the physician James McDonnell (1763–1845), who had family roots in Cushendall. He had trained in Scotland where he may have encountered the early efforts of the Highland Society of London to record and present old Scottish music.[35] McDonnell and his brothers were taught the harp by the blind harper Art O'Neill and he was to become a key player in the revival of interest in the Irish harp tradition in the 1790s by engaging the young Edward Bunting (1773–1843) to note down the music heard at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 and to progress his collecting and publishing work.

Bunting subsequently issued 'Long is the day without the Sons of Uisneach',[36] (also recorded as 'The Lamentation of Deirdre for Sons of Usneach' and 'Song of Clan Uisneach in the Poem of Deirdre') which he

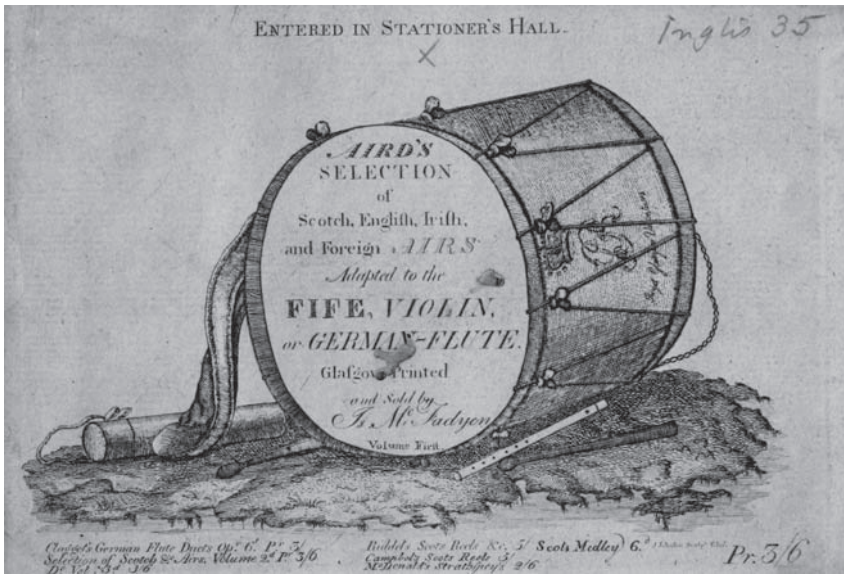
The gravestone of Art O'Neill (d. 1816), Eglish, County Tyrone, erected in 2016

said was 'still sung in various parts of the country to words corresponding with those of the old national romance of the "Death of the Sons of Usnach"'.[37] Bunting had taken down the notes 'from the singing, or rather recitation, of a native of Murloch, in the county of Antrim' and remarked that 'the same air and words are sung by natives of Scotland. A blind woman from Cantyre [Kintyre] gave the identical notes in singing the piece at Belfast about forty years ago'.[38] That version had come from the 'old Marchioness of Londonderry' who had learned it from the 'Blind Highland Woman'.[39]

He published 'The Battle of Argan Mór – In the time of Ossian', 'written down from a Cushendall man in 1809, tenant to Dr McDonnell'[40] and promoted the idea of a direct cultural link to Argyll:

> From the neighbouring ports of Cushendun and Cushendall was the principal line of communication with Scotland, and doubtless it was by this very route that the Ossianic poems themselves originally travelled into the country of Macpherson.[41]

In addition he issued an 'Ossianic Air, sung in the Highlands of Scotland' as supplied by Sir John Sinclair of Edinburgh in 1808 who had it from the Rev. Mr. Cameron, Minister of Halkirk in Caithness 'who learned it many years ago from a very old man, a farmer on my estate, who was accustomed to sing some of Ossian's poems to that air with infinite



Title page of *Aird's Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs …* (*c.* 1782) (National Library of Scotlandf, Ing.35)

delight and enthusiasm'.[42] This air was also supplied by Sinclair to others who published it in their collections.

In 1815, the Gaelic-speaking musician Alexander Campbell travelled through the Highlands, including parts of Argyll, for the Royal Highland Society of Scotland with the purpose of collecting material for a 'great National Repository of Original and Vocal Poetry'. He returned with almost 200 items, including Ossianic material, a selection of which appeared in *Albyn's Anthology* where he wrote of the many Irish tunes that bear a 'striking resemblance to our Highland and Hebridean Airs' and 'the well-known fact, that there exists characteristic shades of difference only in the Music peculiar to both sides of the water'.[43]

Scotland also saw the collecting and publishing activities of Simon Fraser (1773–1852) and his son Angus (*c.* 1800–70).[44] Simon's *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles* (1816) included 'Dan Ossian – Fingalian Air', the same as the 'Ossianic Air, sung in the Highlands of Scotland',[45] that had also been supplied by Sir John Sinclair to Bunting, '*Fonn lionarachd do bhriarabh Ossian* – Another air to which Ossian is recited'[46] and 'Dan Feinne – Fingalian Air'.[47] The last two had come via Simon's father from Alastar Mac H'uistan who was known in the eighteenth century as a 'sterling reciter of Ossian, and a bard'.[48] The first was 'a favourite Ossianic measure, to which the Editor has heard a great many fragments of the original recited.'[49] In his notes to the tune '*Caistal Inn 'rara*' ('Inveraray Castle') (perhaps his own composition) he stated that he was not particularly familiar with Argyll.[50]

Fraser was familiar with Ireland through military service and, like Campbell, stressed the similarities between Scottish and Irish music:

> … it may become matter of very interesting research, to trace the Analogy and Similitude betwixt the ancient Music of the Highlands of Scotland, now first brought forward, and that of Ireland, or if they bear the affinity which their languages do; when their Languages appear to have been the same at one period, it will not seem surprising that a few of the melodies sung in the language are common to both Countries, with little variation.[51]

There are other sources of apparently old music that might link Ireland and Scotland, Antrim and Argyll, although Francis Collinson has cautioned against trusting their authenticity[52] on account of the composition of new Ossianic verse, and the fashionable re-branding and modernisation of tunes under the influence of the eighteenth-century international cult stimulated by the works of James Macpherson (1736–96). Such sources include Bowie's 1789 collection which contains three 'Airs by Fingal'[53] and other music possibly from the harp tradition, the collections of Niel Gow and his sons have 'Fingall's Lamentation', 'a very Old Gaelic Air',[54] and yet another occurrence of 'An original tune to which the poems of Ossian were originally sung' as provided by Sir John Sinclair in an arrangement with an 'under bass by an eminent organist of London' to be played 'very slow and pathetick' as well as a setting in Strathspey time.[55] The little-known Alexander Mackay collection[56] of 1775 has a strong Islay connection and is interesting on account of the simplicity of its settings while, possibly from the same island, is the two-volume *A Collection of Celtic Melodies*[57] (*c.* 1830) issued anonymously by 'a Highlander', which contain many 'original' airs 'never before published'. Most items have Gaelic titles.

Ossianic tunes in the early bagpipe collections such as 'Ossian's Hall', 'Fingal's Weeping', 'Oscar's Jig' are likely to have come from popular late eighteenth-century stage productions from London.[58]

It is thought that some of the airs included in the *Maclean-Clephane Manuscript* (1808) may be of the ancient Fenian lay type[59] and *The Elizabeth Ross Manuscript* of 1812, compiled in Raasay rather than Argyll, has three three ballad airs linked to the early Gaelic tales '*Bàs Dhiarmaid*' ('The Death of Diarmaid'),[60] '*Duan Fhraoich*'[61] and '*Cath Mhànuis*' ('Mànus' Battle').[62] Its modern editors also refer to the use of the 'air of an Ossianic hymn' as the tune to the well-known love song '*Feasgar Luain is mi air chuairt*' ('On a Monday evening, out for a stroll') by the poet William Ross (1762–91).[63]

In the Irish collections there is 'Deirdre's Lamentation for the Sons of Usnoth' in *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion*[64] and in Petrie's collection we find

'The Dirge of Ossian – as sung in the glens of Derry' and 'The Lamentation of Deirdre for the Sons of Usnach – set in Mayo',[65] 'Ossian's Lament' in Capt. Francis O'Neill's *Music of Ireland* (1903) and 'The Fingalian's Dance' is printed in O'Neill's *Waifs and Strays of Gaelic Melody*[66] and said to be taken from Thomson's *Hibernian Muse* of *c.* 1790.[67] They are undoubtedly others.

Ossianic titles also appear in the late nineteenth century as the Celtic Revival takes hold as in several pieces in Jane Fraser Morison's collection[68] and in published compositions of the fiddler James Scott Skinner.

Francis Collinson mentions the 'interesting' chants in the volumes of Marjorie Kennedy–Fraser and Kenneth Macleod's *Songs of the Hebrides*,[69] some of which were collected from singers in the early years of the twentieth century. There is suspicion that MacLeod (1871–1955), a native of Eigg who spend a part of his life on the Island of Gigha, had reworked or even composed some of the material, but it is invariably attractive. He certainly 'restored' the song 'Deirdre's Farewell to Scotland' from an Ossianic fragment and an ancient air he claimed to have collected.

Despite issues of authenticity and interpretation, the very old tunes and texts should be regarded as a precious resource with great cultural and artistic potential and enjoyed as effective and pleasing music. Fortunately, 'such songs are fast becoming recognised as the jewels that they are'[70] and there has been some sensitive reconstruction of verse and music[71] and scholarly and practical work around the most appropriate means of their performance.[72]

Modern folk-song collecting and study has recorded other heroic ballads collected in the field in the Scottish Gáidhealtachd outwith Argyll, including its diaspora[73] some of which can be auditioned at the *Tobair an Dualchais* website (A search using 'Ossianic' or 'Fingalian' is a good starting point). Also in the mid-twentieth century, the Gaelic scholar and lecturer Rev. William Mathieson (1910–95) of Edinburgh University worked diligently to identify and reconnect written texts with viable airs such as those in the Patrick McDonald and Simon Fraser collections.[74]

The Scottish musicologist, composer, writer and broadcaster John Purser has, in recent years, combined the Deirdre text from the Scottish *Glenmasan Manuscript* with the Irish music from Bunting's 1840 collection for public performance.[75]

The 'ancient' airs are attracting contemporary instrumentalists as well as singers, particularly harp players, who recognise their usefulness in an appropriate, historically-informed repertory.[76] One player of the Highland bagpipes has successfully adopted the air 'The Lamentation of Deirdre for Sons of Usneach', suggesting that as one of the oldest known pieces of Irish music it could easily have served, or might still serve, as the ground to a *piobaireachd*.[77]

Image of a harpist performing at a Gaelic lord's feast
from John Derricke's *Image of Irlande* (1581)

Harp

The wire-strung harp or clarsach had a central role in both Scotland and Ireland from Medieval times when it was integral to classical Gaelic bardic culture. Verse was sung or declaimed to harp accompaniment and the harpers were composers of songs and airs.[78] There is material evidence of the harp in Argyll, including the carved detail of a fifteenth-century grave slab preserved at Keills in Knapdale, and archaeological finds.[79] Professional harpers were itinerant, staying for extended periods under the patronage of different big houses across wide geographical areas, and some, such as Duncan Dewar or Mac In Deor, harper to Campbell of Auchinbreck, were able to make a comfortable living.[80] Patronage extended across Gaelic Scotland and Ireland. Irish harpers, travelled frequently to Scotland, such as Ruairi Dall Ó Catháin who almost certainly passed through Argyll and the training of Scottish players, as with Ruaidhri Dall Morison (*c.* 1656–*c.* 1714), may have been undertaken in Ireland.[81] There were two principal families of harpers associated with Kintyre; the MacIlschenochs, (later MacShannons), who were patronised by the Lords of the Isles and held lands at the south of the peninsula, and the Mac an Bhreatnaigh (or Galbraith) family that had lands from the MacNeills on Gigha. In the sixteenth century the Campbells of Argyll were served by the MacVicar family.[82]

The harp tradition went into decline as the social and political infrastructure supporting the bardic schools waned.[83] While some Irish players adapted to new conditions, those in Scotland may have been slower to change with the result that harp playing in the Highlands faded rapidly in the eighteenth century.[84] The aftermath of the Jacobite Risings

accelerated the demise of the tradition as old patterns of aristocratic patronage disappeared. Nevertheless, the instrument survived in the hands of amateurs and more versatile professionals, such as Patrick McErnace of Campbeltown[85] and the Kintyre musician and bard William McMurdy (d. *c.* 1780).

Irish professional harpers continued to visit Scotland, perhaps seeking the patronage being lost to them at home. Among these was Echlin O'Cathain (1729–*c.* 1790), a pupil of Cornelius Lyons (*c.* 1670–1740), harper to the earl of Antrim.[86] O'Cathain was admitted as a Burgess of the Burgh of Inveraray in 1751 and at Inveraray Castle he would have had contact with local musicians. The Maclean-Clephane Manuscripts contain old Gaelic harp tunes or *ports* and arrangements that may have been taken down from him in Scotland.

There were subsequent attempts to revive the harp in both Scotland and Ireland including initiatives in Antrim and Argyll. Dr McDonnell of Antrim, who had encouraged the work of Edward Bunting, worked with others in 1808 to establish an Irish Harp Society in Belfast.[87] A school was established for a while, with some pupils from Ballymena and the Glens of Antrim, and after it was re-launched in 1819 one of the tutors was the harper Valentine Rennie (*c.* 1796–1837) a native of Cushendall, County Antrim, and the second cousin of Robert Burns. Another musician associated with the school was Patrick Byrne (*c.* 1794–1863) 'the last of the great Irish harpers' who visited Edinburgh on a number of occasions. There was renewed revival activity in the early twentieth century associated with the Celtic revival and a harp festival was held in Belfast in 1903.

In Scotland, the first Gaelic Mód festival was held at Oban, Argyll, in the 1890s, and included competitions for harp. A subsequent revival in harp playing in Scotland was driven, in part, by a number of individuals with Argyll associations, including Lady Elspeth Campbell of Inveraray, Hilda Campbell of Airds, and Heloise Russell-Fergusson. There was an active Argyllshire branch of the Clarsach Society and summer schools were held in Oban and elsewhere from the early 1930s. These revivals consciously set out to identify and promote the separate 'national' music of each country, although there was exchange such as an invitation to the Mód competition winner to perform in Belfast.

Bagpipes

The special place of the Highland bagpipe within the culture of Argyll has been explained, somewhat simplistically, by its culturally strategic position between Ireland and the Hebrides:

> The pipers in Kintyre, on the whole, belonged to the group of Irish/Hebridean extraction, and they included MacAlisters,

> MacCallums, MacMurchies, MacNeills, MacDonals, Macleans, Mackays, MacMichalls, McGeachies, MacKerrals, MacIntyres, MacQuilkans and Wilsons, all of whom probably moved from Antrim to Kintyre, sometimes by way of Islay or Gigha, over a considerable period of time.[88]

There is an early reference from around 1585, rare in classical Gaelic verse, to bagpipe music in the work of a poet associated with the McDonnells of Antrim.[89] The instrument was then an essential element of military activity, but came to assume by the seventeenth century an eminent role in elite Gaelic society, with its own musical forms and repertory.[90] A number of *piobaireachd*, or pibroch, the classical music of the Highland bagpipe, are associated in tradition with leading Irish personages. 'The Lament for the Earl of Antrim' may have been made following the death in 1636 of Randal McDonnell, the first earl of Antrim and son of Somhairle Buidhe. Somhairle, who died in 1590, is said to be the subject of 'The Lament for Samuel'. Furthermore, 'The Lament for Hugh' might have been made for either of the two Irish earls, Hugh O'Donnell or Hugh O'Neill, most likely the latter on account of his links with the Hebrides.[91] There are likely to be other examples[92] and old pipe music may survive in surviving examples of the Irish 'clan march'. There is also a traditional belief that the piper Donald Mor MacCrimmon (*c*. 1570–*c*. 1640) studied at a bardic school in Antrim in early 1590s, thus laying the foundation for the development of Scotland's most esteemed piping dynasty.[93]

Other examples of piping in the lore of Argyll and Antrim includes the tale of a raid cattle from Scotland. One of the pipers on the expedition was related to the people of the Antrim Glens, and to warn them he played the tune '*A mhnathan nan gline gur mithe dhuibh eirigh*' ('Ye wives of the glens, it's time you would rise') that enabled the women to protect their livestock.[94] A coded message also features in the story of Colla Chiotaich's piper, who, being held captive by Campbells in an Argyll castle (variously given as Duntroon, Dunyveg, or Dunaverty), was able to warn his master of the danger of capture as he approached by sea from Antrim by playing the pibroch '*A Cholla, a rùin, a seachain an dùn*' ('Coll, O, my dear, dinna come near').[95]

Aristocratic patronage of pipers was commonplace in the eighteenth century. MacDonald of Largie, at Killean, on the west of the Kintyre peninsula, for instance, had a piper named Maclellan and a multi-instrumentalist bard of Irish extraction, William McMurchy.[96] The MacAlisters of Loup, in north Kintyre, who claimed to able to trace their line back to the Clan Donald in Antrim,[97] are said to have maintained pipers drawn from their own clan[98] and there were also pipers in private

service of the duke of Argyll, Campbell of Kilberry and others. As a boy on Islay in the 1820s, the folklorist John Francis Campbell had, as his first nurse and instructor in all things Highland, the piper John Campbell.

In common with the Lowland burghs, there were professional town pipers in Campbeltown, and Inveraray. The last Campbeltown incumbent, John MacAlister, a son of the piper to the laird of Loup, served until 1777.[99] The Inveraray piper in the 1760s was John McIlchonnel, who also had the trade of boat carpenter.[100]

Piping existed at the folk level too and was central in social dance, weddings, funerals and private entertainment. McIntosh tells of one piper of the late eighteenth century, called John Graham, 'who was simple but inoffensive, could play some tunes on the bagpipes and sing and talk wittily at times'[101] and, writing in 1796 of the large herring fleet on Loch Fyne, Thomas Pennant noted how 'on the week-days, the cheerful noise of the bagpipe and dance echoes from on board'.[102]

Highland pipers fulfilled important roles in clan campaigns, in the activities of various European armies of the 1600s and ultimately in the British army, where they were generally provided and maintained by the officers. Military piping in Argyll would have been strengthened by the presence of Dugald Campbell of Kintarbert. Dugald, an original officers of the Black Watch, who took charge of the Argyll Militia after 1746. The 42nd regiment had extended periods of service in different parts of Ireland in the years 1749–56 and 1767–72 and were present at various times in Antrim. The regiment went once more to Ireland in 1817, remaining there until 1825, and returned yet again in 1839–40. Also, during the peninsular War many young Irishmen joined the Highland regiments.[103] Piping also had a central place in the routines of the local Militia, Fencible and Volunteer Corps that were raised for internal defence.[104] One such outfit raised at Campbeltown participated in the Battle of Ballinahinch in 1798, after they were sent to Ireland to counter rebellion and French invasion.[105]

There are traditional fiddle tunes with titles suggesting military service by Scottish regiments in Ireland. The bagpipe-influenced strathspey 'The Highland Watch' or 'The Highlander's Farewell to Ireland' was published in Edinburgh in 1761.[106] The tune remains popular in Ireland as the reel 'Farewell to Ireland' or 'Farewell to Erin' and a setting, with words, was collected in Cape Breton in the 1970s.[107] A version, 'The Highlander's Farewell,' was collected in 1941 from fiddler Emmett Lundy of Grayson County, Virginia (1864–1953), along with the suggestion that its two contrasting represent a narrative between two parting lovers.[108] Simon Fraser published a tune '*An t-aiseadh do dh'Eireann*' ('Crossing to Ireland').[109] This is clearly not a bagpipe tune and may have been originally devised for a military band of other instrumentation.[110] It is associated with the 78th Fraser Highlanders regiment that crossed to

northern Ireland in 1757, probably at Carrickfergus, on route to Cork and embarkation for service in North America[111] and that no doubt returned via Ireland also. Today, the tune is commonly played a slow waltz rather than a march and has attracted a popular and romantic 'history' that it was written by an Irish emigrant returning to his native home from North America.

Standardised military pipe bands were introduced around the time of the Crimean War in the mid-nineteenth century.[112] Civilian pipe bands were established throughout Scotland and beyond in the late nineteenth century and among the first in the Highlands was the Inveraray Pipe Band. Both types of ensemble helped change and develop the bagpipe repertory and styles of playing. They also stimulated interest in piping among the general population through learning and performance opportunities and competitions, and still do so today.

A number of Argyll personnel were highly influential in the development and promotion of modern bagpiping, both light music and *piobaireachd*. John Campbell of Kilberry was a founder of the Pibroch Society in 1902, as was Lady Elspeth Campbell, piper and niece of the duke of Argyll. Argyll has also produced many of the 'heroes' of modern bagpiping including Duncan MacLean, Archie Kenneth, and John MacColl and there have been several family 'dynasties' of outstanding players.

Argyll has long been the site of major piping events such as the Dunoon Highland Gathering, the Argyllshire Gathering at Oban and other local highland games and competitions. There is a considerable body of bagpipe music composed by Argyll-related pipers with much named after local people, places and events.[113] The large number of tunes associated with the Campbells of Argyll has also been itemised.[114]

While the history of the Highland bagpipe in Ireland is still to be written, references extracted from the Ordnance Survey Memoirs for various parishes of Antrim in the 1830s confirm that the instrument was popular there, along with the fiddle.[115] Just as there is evidence of Scottish Gaelic song on Rathlin it is not surprising to note piping on the island.[116] The Celtic Revival in Ireland saw the promotion of bagpiping, including the use of a two-drone 'war pipe' version of the Highland instrument, and in 1909 it was reported that the pipes were being put to 'more characteristically Irish use than the ordinary fife and drum, or brass band'.[117]

Despite efforts to establish a distinctly Irish form of bagpipe playing, the influence of the Highland bagpipe and its repertory, reinforced by military, police and civilian bands, came to exercise a dominating influence in Ireland. This would have happened relatively easily in Antrim where there were already survivals of Scottish music, ongoing culture contact and

an identification with Scotland. It is not surprising, therefore, to find pipers from Antrim achieving outstanding status within the world-wide network and infrastructure of Highland piping.

Music from Scotland and Ireland, Argyll and Antrim continue to cross over, as part of a larger complex interchange of bagpipe repertory within the modern piping world. Away from the band and competition circuit, it is difficult to determine the extent of more informal interaction and exchange.

Gaelic song

Argyll supported a lively culture of song in Gaelic well into the modern period. The history of the heritage is diverse and complex with different traditions and interacting over centuries. Some songs had origins in the classical bardic verse of the thirteenth century onwards associated with the clans and their chiefs that became diluted and spread into the vernacular practice. New styles emerged after the sixteenth century involving a variety of types of song maker, with different levels of literacy, including highly-accomplished women.[118] Donald Meek talks of the 'almost inexhaustible' number of poets and songsters 'particularly of the local 'township bard' type, commemorating events and personalities within their own districts'[119] while John Shaw has written that:

> Throughout the twentieth century many hundreds of songs were recorded from singers in Argyll, embracing the well-known Gaelic genres: love songs, panegyrics, songs of exile, waulking songs for shrinking the tweed, humorous and satirical songs, sea songs, and religious songs. Many are attributed to specific bards such as Duncan Ban MacIntyre and the earlier Maclean bards of Mull, but a good number, as is universally characteristic of Gaelic song, are anonymous. Modern fieldwork bears witness to the survival of a lively and vigorous community song tradition. The wealth of older songs recorded in Tiree since the 1950s is complemented by a dynamic tradition of song-making from local bards; locally-composed songs have played a central part in the social life of the community at all levels and have survived in great numbers. Of these, the older compositions go back to the middle of the eighteenth century … Often they are associated with the numerous families of song composers, some of whom have been active for two centuries … Like other songs, these have been passed down primarily by oral transmission, often set to well-known airs, and dealing with favourite topics such as love, religion, politics, and satirical commentary.[120]

Furthermore, Anne Lorne Gillies has noted that 'In the glut of nostalgic Gaelic songs which appeared from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, a

large number originated in Argyll.'[121] Argyll was, of course, just one part of Gaelic Scotland and its singers would rarely restrict their repertories to only local material.

Vernacular Gaelic song was sustained, along with the language, within the more remote pockets of both communities where old ways of communal entertainment survived:

> In the rural districts of Kintyre, which were numerously inhabited – a number of families residing in each town – the people were in the habit of going 'a ceilidhing' of visiting during the long winter nights, amusing themselves with pastimes – chiefly with singing Gaelic songs and the poems of Ossian, and occasionally a tune on the fiddle or bagpipes.[122]

The singer Joy Dunlop has recently explored Argyll-related songs held in the sound archive of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh and has made a commercial recording featuring her own singing of a selection of these.[123] Although only a small sample, this illustrates the breadth of the heritage outlined above and demonstrates its artistic potential.

Listeners can audition the archival versions of the items she used via the *Tobair an Dualchais* website. Among other relevant recordings that can be auditioned at the site is Angus MacFadyen's singing of '*Birlinn Cholla Chiotaich*',[124] the words of which were composed by Duncan Johnston of Islay (1881–1947). This describes the galley of Colla Chiotaich (Colkitto), praises his bravery and tells of his descent from the noble MacDonalds of Islay and Antrim. An arrangement of the song can also be heard on *Sruth air a' Charraig*, a compact disc of local songs sung by Islay Gaelic Choir.[125] Choral singing became an important part of Gaelic culture in Scotland from the late nineteenth century, introduced through the efforts of a number of Argyll-based aristocrats and enthusiasts anxious to preserve, promote and 'improve' the song tradition.

The Argyll song '*A Dhòmhnaill nan Dòmhnall*' ('Donald of the Donalds') is said to celebrate the historic connections between the two localities[126] and there is an intriguing record from Rathlin in 1837, that describes communal occupational singing similar to that employed in the Highlands of Scotland in waulking cloth:

> … being musically inclined a song was commenced. The peculiarity of the tune attracted my notice, and one of the men having kindly requested my presence, if I wished to hear a Raghery song, I gladly joined the party. A new song was now begun – it was a duet, to which a chorus was attached, sung by the whole party.

> The two principal performers took hold of each other by the right hand, and kept time with the tune by striking their hands, thus entwined, on the table. The song lasted at least fifteen minutes and was sung in their native language, with greater spirit and warmth of feeling than is usually displayed by more fashionable vocalists.[127]

McIntosh mentions waulkings, to both female and male singing, in Kintyre.[128]

While it might be expected that the corpus of Gaelic songs sung in Argyll included material with Antrim origins, connections or counterparts, there remains a need for extensive and expert research to identify more than these few examples, bearing in mind the proviso that:

> There is very little overlap between the folk-song traditions of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland – very few shared songs, or even lines of songs – and several important styles and subjects are found in one country's tradition that are entirely unattested in the other.[129]

Although there are references to Gaelic songs from Antrim,[130] Nils Homer observed in 1942 that 'It is a pity that there are very few songs in Irish from the Glens.'[131] One such song that still lives is '*Áird a' Chumhaing*'. According to tradition this is the lament of a Glensman living in exile in Scotland (Kintyre or Ayrshire are variously given) from where he can see the mountains of home. Some attribute the words to one Cormac Ó Néill, a native of Glendun, but living in Glenariffe, while others suggest it was taken down in the early nineteenth century from John McCambridge, a native of Mullarts born about 1793, whose descent can be traced back to settlers from Kintyre in the early 1600s. The song and its air became a favourite in the twentieth century folk song revival when it was recorded by some of its leading performers.[132] More recently, in 2012, it was featured in a BBC Northern Ireland documentary *Amhráin Aduaidh*[133] where it was sung by Ciaira McCrickard and is included in the repertory of Scottish Gaelic singer and piper Griogair Labhruidh, who is from a well-known musical family from north Argyll.[134]

Given the flourishing of song in Argyll at a time when Irish was still spoken in pockets of Antrim, we would expect to find that a few of the more fashionable Scots Gaelic folksongs were taken up by Irish singers. One such example might be the popular Scottish song '*Fear a'Bhata*'[135] that was known on Rathlin where it was associated with Katie Glass (1859–1954) who had family links back to Tarbert in Kintyre. There was an informative TG4 television documentary *Ceol nan Oileán: Oileán Reachrainne*[136] concerning the song in Ireland that also featured '*Each ceanann dubh*', a naturalised version of a Scots Gaelic song of the seventeenth century sung by Michaél Mac Uigín in 1972. Other songs,

since popular in Donegal, ('*Donal agus Morag*' and '*Mo Choill*') are said to have been brought there via Rathlin by singer and piper Niall McCurdy who had worked as a stonemason in Scotland and on lighthouses.[137]

Song in English and Scots

> There is not any ancient music in the parish. Their airs and ballads are merely those commonly known in the county, and are strictly Scottish. There is much taste for music, but their voices are not generally good, nor is their taste by any means correct.[138]

> Their ears are generally much better than their voices, which are by no means soft or sweet. There is much taste for music, but they have not any other than the common airs of the county.[139]

The fruits of the collecting of Sam Henry, and others before and after him, confirm Antrim as a repository of vernacular song in both English and, to a limited degree, in Scots.[140] Despite the strong Scottish poetic strain in the song of Antrim, 'even with the most strongly Scottish-influenced areas, less than 10 per cent of the present repertory was originally Scottish. Nevertheless, Scottish words pervade Irish song and Scottish accents dominate the singing style of some areas.'[141] The music of Joe Holmes (1906–78), County Antrim singer, fiddle player and bearer of verse and stories, exhibited clear links to Scottish tradition[142] as did that of the singer and musician John Kennedy whose songs 'immediately confirm a musical affinity with the Lowland Scots song tradition in both repertory and delivery'.[143]

Cooper[144] has discussed ballad survivals in Northern Ireland and he, Moulden,[145] Hewitt[146] and others[147] have drawn particular attention to the wealth of song and verse making among Antrim's rural and weaver community in the nineteenth century. In terms of the Scottishness of the output of these songsmiths, Moulden has suggested that:

> It would be easy to suppose that the poets of Down and Antrim wrote in imitation of Burns and other Scottish poets but the reality is much more complex. In fact there was an independent Ulster-Scots poetic tradition the roots of which travelled with Scottish immigrants to Ulster in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hugh McWilliams' poetry was a branch of the same trunk as supported Burn's works. The dual centres of this Ulster-Scots tradition were North Down and Mid Antrim, in both of which McWilliams lived. They were the most thoroughly colonised parts of Ulster where the language was Scots modified by Irish at the peripheries. A variety of Scots was the natural language of much of North Ulster and when it took poetic form it did not copy Scots: it

> was Scots. It did not copy Burns: it was influenced and encouraged by Burns and in some ways it was his superior.
>
> This poetic tradition in Ulster had its greatest flowering during the early to mid- nineteenth century when about 40 poets achieved publication.[148]

As in Scotland, the audience for their songs included, not just the families of farmers and handloom weavers, but also those engaged in the secure specialist trades such as farriers and smiths, joiners, saddlers, millwrights, masons, slaters and thatchers, tailors and shoemakers. These were 'the people who crowded the fireside in "Tam o' Shanter"' who "came to form a distinct subculture, neither entirely urban nor rural.'[149] The cultural environment that nurtured this song culture was highly literate, musical, participatory and oral. There was close integration of traditional music into many aspects of everyday life and rituals, favoured dance and march tunes invariably carried words and instrumental music drew heavily on the song repertory.

There was a Scottish Lowland strand in song in Argyll also and attention was drawn to a rich seam of Scots song there by Hamish Henderson in the middle decades of the twentieth century. A speculative song-hunting foray into southern Kintyre in the summer of 1940 brought him into contact with the singing shepherd Jimmy McShannon of Kylepole near Machrihanish who was a bearer of agricultural 'bothy songs'. His informant was proud of his Irish and bardic forebears:

> I asked Jimmy to tell me about his surname, which I had never come across before, and he explained that the original form of the name had been MacShennack; he believed his family was descended from the *seanchaidh* (historian/storyteller) who had come over from Ireland with General Alexander MacDonald – this being the famous Alasdair Mac Colla Chiotaich, alias Young Colkitto, who played such a dramatic part in Montrose's campaign of 1644.[150]

On a return visit in 1956, he located Willie Mitchell, a butcher in Campbeltown who collected and wrote songs and poetry. Mitchell had painstakingly documented material from local oral tradition, copied songs from newspapers and other printed sources and gathered items from local writers. Subsequently, valuable contributions came from Jimmy McShannon and other members of his family including Alec McShannon who gave a localised version of the Irish song 'The Blazing Star o' Drum' in which:

> … a man from Londonderry working in Kintyre falls in love with a young maid, but is unable to court her because of her parents'

> anger. The song closes with the singer wishing her a good life, mentioning that she is aboard a ship.[151]

Accordion to Hugh Shields, Drum may refer to a number of locations in Ulster and that:

> The song is at any rate a local one, commonplace in its description of courtship, love and parting, broad enough in its appeal to have taken root on the margin of Scotland.[152]

Adoption into Argyll was, no doubt, aided by the fact that '*Druim*' (Sc. Gaelic: 'ridge'), anglicised as 'Drum', is commonly found in place names in Scotland and the presence, west of Kilchenzie near Machrihanish, of a farm named 'Drum' from at least the 1860s.[153] Alec also gave 'Machrihanish Bay' a local version of the Irish ballad 'The Wreck of the Enterprise' which related to the loss of a ship called the 'Enterprise of Lynn' on the reef at Ringfad, one mile north of Carnlough, County Antrim, in 1827.

Another local song collector, Archibald McEachran, a farmer at Kilblaan, provided Mitchell with the Irish version of 'The Blazing Star o' Drum' that he had got from Sam Henry. McEachran also supplied the song 'The Thatchers of Glenrea' that he had also given to the Irish collector. This had come originally from a Hugh McMillan of Kilbride who had it from the singing of its author, Hector McIlfatrick (d. *c*. 1900) a thatcher of Ballycastle. Henderson identifies this as a clear illustration of music and song crossing the Moyle drawing attention to the mixture of Scots and Irish dialects in one of the verses as further evidence of interaction:

> 'I can theek wi' ould rashes, wi' heather or ling,
> Bent, bracken, or dockens or any wan thing.'
> 'Oh, you're just the man 'il get plenty tae dae,
> And I'll get you a ladder,' says McNeill o' Glenrea.[154]

Willie had a number of other popular Irish songs and used Irish song airs for his own, some no doubt gathered some while on his cycling holidays in Ireland. This material he propagated in the community through the weekly ceilidhs that always ended with 'The Parting Glass', an Irish equivalent of the old Scots song of departure 'Good Night and Joy be wi ye a'. His repertory was maintained by his family and other local singers, but during the Troubles much of the more overtly Irish material was set aside. It is also interesting to note that in his later years Willie Mitchell took a great interest in Irish poetry, including the work of contemporary writers from Antrim. Only later was it realised that his great-grandparents had come from Ireland.[155]

Transmission, adoption and localisation of songs in English and Scots was therefore relatively straightforward and 'The songs of Scotland came easily across the seas of Moyle to the northern part of this island. In the Glens of Antrim, for instance, there were songs like the Glenshesk version of "The Mountain Streams".'[156] This song was associated with the singer Denis Cassley:

> … a traditional singer with a beautiful voice … [who] lived here and had a fine store of Glen songs. His version of 'The Mountain Streams' is different … but the melody is one that haunts for many moons and deserves to be better known:
>
> Then I'll bid adieu to Scotch and valleys
> To yon mountain stream and the plains below
> And in your arms, love, I will embrace you
> Near yon mountain streams where the moorcocks crow.[157]

Another example of the easy relationship between Argyll and Ulster through song is found in an Irish text that mentions the Scottish location as if it were just another familiar part of the singer's home area:

> Farewell to Londonderry town likewise Lough Swilly shore
> It was there I spent some happy days I never might see them more
> Farewell a while to sweet Argyll where oftimes I have been
> And twice farewell to my own dear girl she dwells near Ardmore Green.[158]

There is also the transfer and adaptation of the well-known Scottish song 'The road and the miles tae Dundee', sung in Antrim as 'Sweet Carnlough Bay'.[159]

The Scots and English material sung in both Antrim and Argyll was subject to Gaelic influence. On this, Moulden has singled out the output of Hugh McWilliams (fl. 1816–31) for its '… features which throw doubt on the existence of any clear separation of cultural concerns in the mid Antrim valleys and glens during a part of the nineteenth century'[160] while others suggest it is possible to identify Gaelic influence in the language, meter and structure.[161] Angus MacVicar wrote on the Kintyre song 'Flory Loynachan':

> … sung at the concerts in the old days was 'Flory Loynachan', a kind of ballad. It was composed by John Brollachan or Brodie, a native of Campbeltown. … a valuable specimen of the dialect of the people of Campbeltown and Southend 100 years ago [i.e. *c.* 1865], the words and phrases deriving from Gaelic, Irish and broad Scots.

The subject was said to have been born at Shenachie, Glenhervie, but latterly lived at Eden Farm before leaving for Canada where she married.

> Dear Flory Loynachan, if thou
> Thro Sanna's soun wert tossed,
> And rouchled like a shougie-shoo
> In a veshal with ane mast;
> Though the nicht was makin for a roil,
> Though rallaich were the sea,
> Though scorlins warpled my thowl pins,
> My shallop wad reach thee.

Anne Lorne Gilles mentions the interplay between Highland Gaelic and Scots texts and airs:

> … the Gaelic musical tradition has had a considerable effect on so-called 'Lowland' Scots music and vice versa: despite their apparent divergence over the centuries, Scots and Gaelic song have much in common … In fact the two cultures have lived side by side to a much larger extent than is often realised by people who think of Gaelic as being confined to the far north-west hinterland …. And it is clear that Burns and his contemporaries were quite familiar with Gaelic music.[162]

Similarly, Irish influence on traditional song texts and tunes in Scotland, including the song-rich North East, is widely accepted. Post-famine immigration, seasonal labour are obvious routes for this while Gavin Grieg attributed much to contact between Scots and Irish soldiers serving together in British armed forces in the nineteenth century.[163]

No discussion of links in traditional song can ignore the role of the traveller community that has been passing between Scotland and Ireland for centuries, as marked in Jimmy MacBeath's signature song 'Come a' ye Tramps and Hawkers':

> I think I'll go to Paddy's land, I'm making up my mind
> For Scotland's getting' gammy noo,
> I can hardly raise the wind.
> But I will trust in Providence, if Providence will prove true,
> And I will sing of Erin's Isle when I come back to you.

The travelling people have a long association with Argyll, many being regarded as tradition bearers[164] and surely it is members of this community that nineteenth-century historian of Kintyre, Peter McIntosh, describes here:

> A number of vagrants went round regularly among the people, who were cheerfully welcomed, and in no instance were any of them refused admittance. Some of these beggars amused the people with stories and songs, and could repeat many of Ossian's poems, many of them having extraordinary memories. The people were very glad when any of them came that way, and made every effort at being successful in getting them to their houses, and the neighbours would assemble at night to hear their stories. Some of them could play the bagpipes and fiddle.[165]

The singer and story-teller Duncan Williamson (1928–2007), who was born by Loch Fyne, has been recognised as a modern bard. Williamson was:

> … arguably the finest storyteller from Argyll [he described] storytelling scenes from his childhood. On winter nights in a tent with a paraffin lamp and a fire in the middle of the floor, he would listen to tales told by his grandmother and grandfather.[166]

He also learned songs while working the turf in the mountains of Argyll as a youth with 'an old Irishman', Patrick O'Donnell, and while engaged in dry-stone dyke building at Auchindrain. He recalled travelling to Ireland and how, in Ulster and elsewhere, he would surprise the company he was in by singing the old Irish songs he learned as a boy.[167] From him was recorded a fragment of the classical ballad 'Hind Horn' (Child 17) and a set of verses of 'Lady Margaret', a ballad which was later developed into a version of 'Tam Lin'. The latter underlines the importance of both Argyll and Antrim as a repository of the old ballads as Sam Henry also collected a substantial version of the song from Alexander Crawford of Leck, Ballymoney.[168]

Some of the Kintyre repertory found new life during the modern folk song revival in Scotland and in Ireland. The Borders shepherd and singer Willie Scott (1897–1989) adopted the emigrant song 'Callieburn' ('Machrihanish Bright and Bonnie')[169] and Dick Gaughan recorded 'The Thatchers of Glenrae' in 1972.[170] Greenock-born folksinger Tony Cuffe (1954–2001) took a version of the song 'The Road to Drumlemble' around the world with his band Ossian and the song was also taken up by others. Another revival favourite, found in Scotland on broadsides in the nineteenth century and recorded in Kintyre and elsewhere,[171] is '*Erin-Go-Bragh*'. This details the treatment of a man from Argyll who, on a visit to Edinburgh, is persecuted when he is mistaken for an Irish immigrant.

> My name's Duncan Campbell, from the shire of Argyle,
> I've travelled this country for many a mile—

> I've travelled through England. And Ireland and a';
> And the name I go under 's bold Erin-go-Bragh.[172]

Many other songs live on and interaction and exchange clearly continues, as observed recently by the traditional singer Len Graham:

> The North Channel being just 12 miles from Fair Head to Argyll and Kintyre, I used to be able to look over to Kintyre, to Campbeltown, to Islay, from where I grew up … We have some migrant versions of Scottish songs in Ulster, usually they have been matched up with a different melody and words altered, but that is the tradition. It's a living tradition and that is what makes it so fascinating that you have all these variations of songs. It's been a lifelong fascination of mine and I can't imagine life without having that interest.[173]

Fife, flute and drum

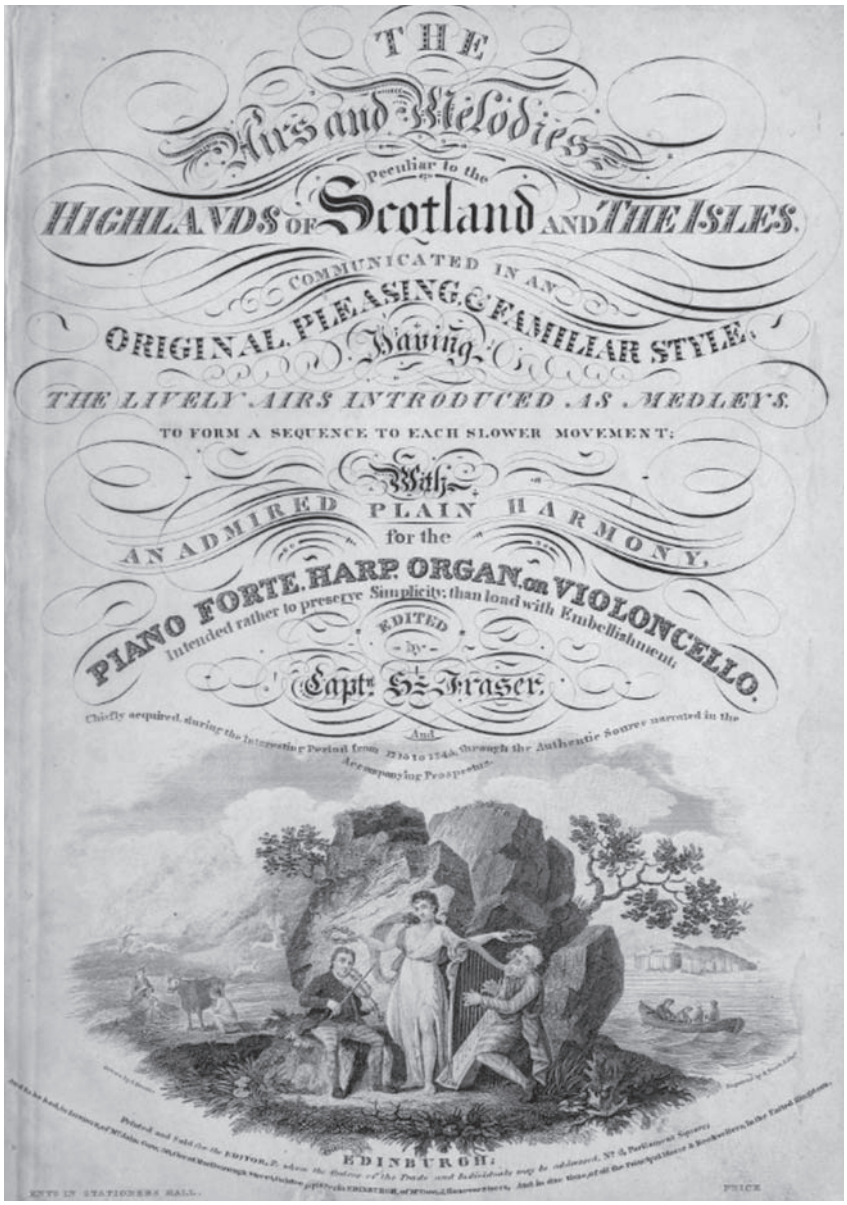
Antrim is noted for its tradition of fife and drum playing and for marching flute bands, both of which are principally associated with the Protestant community. The lambeg drum and fife combination is a unique Ulster phenomenon without direct links to Scottish musical practice although flute bands have been known elsewhere in the British Isles.

Fife and drum playing in British military service had been inspired by the musicians of the *Landsknechten*, the Swiss and German mercenaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[174] but was abandoned by the 1690s.[175] However, it was reintroduced after the Battle of Culloden:

> It is said that a contingent of Hessians hired to augment the government forces during the suppression of the '45 Rebellion brought with them a band of fifers and drummers, and that their music so impressed the Duke of Cumberland that he ordered the fife to be reintroduced into the British Army.[176]

After its founding in 1795, the Orange Order adopted the established military marching format of fife and drum to accompany its rituals. A wider band tradition developed that, by the 1870s, was 'more broadly based, borrowing material, some from the British Army, but including classical and popular material, a basic corpus of 'Party tunes' and some traditional material as well.'[177] The army repertory already included Irish and Scottish song and dance music:

> … think of the good old tunes, 'Larry O'Gaff', 'Old Rosin the Beau', 'Hills of Glenorchy', 'Molly MacIntyre', 'Kinegad Slashers', 'Timour the Tartar', 'Paddy Whack', 'Devil among the Tailors', 'Roaring Jerry', 'Johnnie Cope', and the rest.[178]



Title page of Fraser's *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and the Isles* (1816)

Military tunes also passed into popular usage as in the Aberdeenshire folk song 'Where Gaudie Rins' which is sung to the tune formerly known as 'The Hessian's March'.[179]

Of potential interest here, is the small collection of music manuscripts used by the 42nd Regiment (The Black Watch) that survives in the

National Library of Scotland.[180] These date from 1813 although it is known that the outfit had fifes from the 1760s. Inscriptions in the books indicate that their players were from or based in the Oban area and that some were Gaelic speakers. They contain mainly Scottish tunes, but also English marches, Continental waltzes and Irish jigs. Their content might be taken as the official tunes of the regiment although there are personal selections too that may be taken from published collections for the fife[181] and the fiddle.[182] While there is no obvious influence from piping nor any musical or title links to Argyll there are tunes with Irish origins or connections ('Money in Both Pockets', 'The Monaghan Jig', 'Crop the Croppies' and 'St Patrick's Day in the Morning'). This could simply reflect popular taste or the fact that the 42nd had seen extensive service in Ireland. Fife manuscripts also survive in Ireland (including material collected by Bunting[183] and those considered by Cooper[184] and Hastings[185]) that offer opportunities for comparative study.

Of the Militia, Fencible and Volunteer regiments active in Argyll, it is noted that a regiment based at Inveraray that had seen service in Limerick area in 1798 marched to fife and drums.[186] Those volunteer outfits that continued after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1815 continued to employ fife or flute and drums. Such bands also arose among the civilian population as an accessible and inexpensive means of communal 'rational recreation' when other instruments were not affordable or appropriate. These were associated with towns and burghs, trade guilds and craft associations, educational institutions and temperance groups that participated in annual processions, demonstrations and civic rituals. Over time, they gave way to more high-status brass, reed and bagpipe ensembles, although there are survivals in the temperance bands of north-east Scotland,[187] the flute and drum heard at the annual burgh celebrations in Linlithgow, West Lothian, and at the Common Riding at Langholm in the Scottish Borders. There is a record of fife or flute accompaniment of the annual Masons' Walk at Rosehearty in Aberdeenshire,[188] including the repertory involved, and it is noted that such rituals were a feature of life in parts of Antrim also.[189]

Marching bands also continue in Scotland in association with the Grand Orange Order and other groups. While there is a County Grand Lodge of Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Argyll with several lodges in Argyll, it is not known if there is any associated musical activity.

The concert flute enjoyed popularity in both Scotland and Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but this declined with changes in musical fashion and the rise of the more 'national' instruments such as the fiddle and bagpipes. One interesting source is the 1835 flute manuscript of Andrew Small of Carrickfergus.[190] Comprising mainly Scottish dance tunes from the fiddle repertory, song airs and military pieces

there are also tunes of Irish interest including 'Paddy O'Carroll' (pasted in), 'Paddy Whack', 'Sprig of Shillela', 'Humours of Glen', 'Irish Jig', 'Paddy Carey', 'Kitty Tyrrel' and 'Boys of Killkenny'. Preliminary research indicates that Small was a Scottish draper (born in Angus) who married at Carrickfergus where he worked. By 1851, he and his wife Margaret and a child were living at Blairgowrie, Scotland, close to Andrew's place of birth. He may have subsequently relocated to the Carolinas, perhaps after experiencing business difficulties. There may also be an Argyll connection on account of a faint pencil note in the manuscript: 'Richard … Campbeltown 1835'.[191] Irish music occurs in other Scottish flute collections and manuscripts including a duet setting of the air 'Carrickfergus'[192] with variations put down in the period between 1790 and 1820.

Scotland and Ulster both have a number of flute choirs that specialise in arranged music of all types, but there is no known activity of this type in Argyll.

Fiddle and accordion

> The violin is the favourite instrument with the men and several perform on it.[193]

Evidence such as this, found in the Ordnance Survey Memoirs, suggests that fiddle playing, and social dance, was closely integrated into social life in parts of Antrim during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[194] Analysis of the styles and repertories of Antrim fiddlers Joe Holmes, James Perry (1906–85) and other players indicates that, in the first part of the twentieth century, mid and north Antrim still supported a fiddle culture, with distinct regional stylistic characteristics that included strong Scottish elements.[195]

There are references too to fiddle playing in Argyll from the eighteenth century onwards. In the 1790s it was recorded that the parish of Gigha and Cara included, in its population of 614 persons, 100 farmers, crofters and cottagers and, by handcraft, 5 weavers, 4 tailors, 2 boat carpenters, 2 inn keepers, 1 mason, 1 distiller, 1 blacksmith, 1 fiddler and 2 pipers. Gaelic was spoken, but was 'not reckoned the purest' due to the 'vicinity to Ireland' and 'intercourse with the low country.'[196] Passing through north Argyll on his music collecting foray in 1815, Alexander Campbell encountered and described a number of fiddlers, most notably Angus MacDonald of Clachy near Aros in Mull, a cabinet maker and jack-of-all-trades who, 'draws a bold, rough fiddle stick, and is no mean dab at a dancing measure of any sort'.[197] The Swiss traveller Necker de Saussure's 1822 record of a tour of Highland Scotland describes a dance in Iona with

fiddlers[198] and there are references[199] to the Ayrshire fiddler Matthew Hall and Highland fiddler James MacLachlan (or McLauchlan) as resident musicians at Inveraray under the patronage of the duke of Argyll around 1790. Hall is recorded as a cellist and dance band-leader to the aristocracy[200] while MacLachlan, who had previously been footman to Lord John Campbell at Inveraray, was known to Robert Burns.[201] On Islay, the folklorist John Francis Campbell (1822–85) had 'made early acquaintance with a blind fiddler who could recite stories'[202] and in 1859 he engaged Hector MacLean schoolmaster at Ballygrant, to gather ancient Gaelic folk tales from him that were subsequently published in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. The blind fiddler/storyteller was James Wilson who had had got his tales directly from one Angus MacQueen of Ballochroy, near Portaskaig, 'who could recite Ossian's poems.'[203]

The fiddle was used to accompany dancing at all levels of society at popular 'winter balls' and at wedding dances, or dancing weddings, which were open affairs attracting people from a wide distance.[204] In a letter from G. Brandon, governess to Mary Campbell, wife of Alexander Campbell, advocate, in November 1805 we read of a Halloween event at Barcaldine:

> … we drank Tea and had a splendid Ball, we had not the coarse Music of a Bagpipe but a very capital Fiddler … we stayed to Supper and returned about 2 o'clock, your Maids were still more fashionable for they did not return till near 5 o'clock for they had the tricks of Halloweven to perform after we left them.[205]

A description of the annual estate ball at Kilberry in the period 1887–1914 indicates a local preference for the music of the pipes over that of the fiddle:

> There was no M. C., the principle being that the piper was in control of the proceedings, and whatever he chose to play the company had to dance. Sometimes there was a tune by a fiddler, but reels, polkas, and schottisches were always played on the pipes, for in those days pipers were tolerably numerous in the locality.[206]

Other Argyll fiddlers active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included 'one of the MacKerrals at Gar, who gave his occupation as 'musician' in the parish register.[207] Garvachy was a weaving community close to Campbeltown that was originally populated with people from Antrim and noted for its poets and musicians. Peter McIntosh, historian of Kintyre, stated that musicians were much celebrated and appreciated in that peninsula:

> The chief instruments in use half a century ago [i.e. *c.* 1810] were the bagpipes and fiddle, or violin, which were used at marriages, and other occasions. McPhee in Carradale was an extraordinary performer on the violin. Donald Macandoire, or Dewar, a blind man, father of the celebrated Dr. Dewar, Principal of Aberdeen [Marischal] College, was a sweet player on the fiddle, was much respected, frequently employed and well remunerated.[208]

The fiddler McPhee of Carradale may have been the same 'Town fiddler called MacPhee' at Inveraray in the 1760s.[209] This and the other Scottish references point towards a pattern of a relatively small number of local professional or semi-professional fiddlers, perhaps enjoying a degree of patronage, scattered across Argyll[210] rather than any wider participation which did not occur throughout Scotland as a whole until after the middle of the nineteenth century. There were also professional dancing masters were working in Kintyre from at least the 1750s[211] and the people 'were well trained, having dancing schools in the neighbourhood, generally for a month in the year'.[212] Such teachers were also active in Ulster from the end of the century, including Antrim,[213] offering instruction in the fashionable 'Scotch Dances'.[214] It is most likely that the circuits of at least some of these individuals took in both Antrim and Argyll and that, as fiddlers, they would have supplemented their income by giving music tuition, thus helping to spread the music further.

It was not unusual for pipers to play fiddle also. Mackenzie notes that 'MacDonald of Largie, at Killean, on the west side of Kintyre, opposite the island of Gigha, was a patron of music and had his own pipers. In 1745 these included a piper called Maclellan, and another, William MacMurchy, whose family was probably of Irish origin. William was also his bard, a most talented man who played the pipes, the fiddle and the harp, as well as being an accomplished Gaelic poet'.[215] Others included Sandy MacBeill, coachman and chauffeur at Kilberry, 'a good orthodox player of MSR [march, strathspey and reel] and a competent fiddler'[216] and champion piper John MacColl (1860–1943) who was 'a more than competent violinist'[217] having followed in the footsteps of his father Dugald, who was a tailor at Kentallen and an enthusiastic piper and fiddler.[218]

We know nothing about how or what these early Argyll fiddlers played, but we might assume that the repertory and style was closely related to that of the Highland bagpipe. Clues to a possible local style might be found in the playing of twentieth-century West Highland fiddlers. Aonghas Grant of Lochaber[219] and Farquar MacRae of Roshven (neither in Argyll) are perhaps the most notable players in this context. Given the strong affinity for bagpipe music, Argyll may have heard playing of slow airs with

extended variations in the bagpipe manner known as the 'fiddle pibroch'. Rev. Patrick McDonald, who was a competent violinist, published a setting of '*Cumha Mhic a h-Arasaig*' (McIntosh's Lament) as 'communicated by Mr Campbell of Ardchattan'[220] while the McFarlane Manuscript contains '*Cumha Easbuig Earraghàidheal*' (Lament for the Bishop of Argyll) which may be dedicated to Donald Carswell, the sixteenth-century bishop of Argyll.[221] Further evidence linking to piping is Angus Martin's reference to fiddler Rob Campbell's 'cantering' by which 'his richly timbered voice would charm to dancing many a guest'.[222]

There is little to suggest a strong Argyll fiddle tradition in the names of tunes in published collections of fiddle music, other than pieces dedicated to the pre-eminent Campbell family found in high-status publications (e.g. 'Islay House', 'Iveraray Castle', 'Duchess of Argyle', 'Duke of Argyle's Strathspey', 'Lady Charlotte Campbell', 'Lady Elinor Campbell', etc.). This contrasts greatly with the piping repertory that contains many tunes named after local places, events and individuals of every status in Argyll, including the aristocracy.[223] An examination of the subscriber lists attached to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections of Scottish fiddle and bagpipe music might offer additional local references.

Given the traffic between the two communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the existence of musical families of Antrim origin in Kintyre, we should expect to find some Irish elements in Argyll. One promising source is the collection of tunes copied by Anna-Jane Maclean-Clephane in December 1816 from a manuscript of a Mr MacDonald, (possibly Patrick McDonald) with 'a section of fiddle music, apparently collected by Mr MacDonald from fiddlers including one called O'Docharty, and one called Murphy, at Campbeltown.'[224] As with the Clephane family, the amateur musicians of the landed gentry were important in undertaking and supporting the gathering, performance and passing on of such material and their social networks, which often extended across the British Isles, may offer an explanation for the transmission of music during the boom in fiddle playing and composition of late eighteenth-century Scotland. Given its proximity and strong family links, it is possible that upper-class domestic Antrim may have been early factor in the absorption of Scottish instrumental music into that part of Ireland. The extent to which this might account for the wider dissemination of Scottish fiddle playing across Ireland as a whole remains unclear.[225]

A preliminary examination of the names of the fiddle tunes included in Scottish eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections[226] indicates few with titles suggesting an Antrim origin or connection, although there are many names of other places in Ireland. Exceptions are 'Carrick Gergues' in the *Gillespie Manuscript* of 1768 and 'Ballemonny Races' in Islay fiddler/composer Alexander MacKay's collection of *c.* 1802.[227]

Cooper's studies of Antrim fiddlers found their repertories were largely Irish, but included a number of common Scottish tunes. Such a mix has also been found in manuscript sources and through fieldwork in east and central Down,[228] Louth[229] and Donegal.[230] Clearly absent in the Antrim cases are tunes and styles that are obviously Gaelic or 'Highland' in character or origin. This suggests little direct influence from Argyll in the relatively recent past, although Cooper does discuss possible bagpipe elements in the playing of Antrim fiddler Paddy McClusky.[231]

Fiddle players are adept at building networks and opportunities for interaction through festivals, clubs and societies and modern media encourages the sharing of repertory. There are records of fruitful musical exchanges from in the 1950s through the Derry and Antrim Fiddle Society and others[232] and despite interruption by the Troubles and a degree of polarisation of music along national lines, informal contact continues, assisted by fiddle and accordion clubs, fiddlers' rallies, public house sessions and a myriad other informal arrangements. As fiddle playing currently flourishes in both Scotland and Ireland it is not surprising to find a renewed healthy interest in each other's music among the leading players of Antrim and Argyll.

Maurice Duncan, described as 'one of Scotland's finest exponents of Scots fiddle music and a talented piper',[233] is from a musical family that includes links to the McShannon pipers and singers of Kintyre. He has been associated with the Oban and Lorne Strathspey and Reel Society[234] and is known as a prolific composer[235] and a competition adjudicator. Images and music relating to a visit he made to Antrim have been posted on the internet.[236] Archie McAllister, also of Campbeltown, featured in an edition of the 2011 BBC television programme *Mark Wilson's Scottish Musical Journey* that considered links between his part of Scotland and Ulster.[237] The idea of a distinct Argyll style and repertory is reinforced by the fact that this fiddler was engaged to give a recital and to such material at the Scots Fiddle Festival in Edinburgh in November 2015. Dominic McNabb, an Antrim fiddler with Scottish ancestors, has maintained relationships with musicians throughout Ireland and Scotland (including Islay) through his solo playing, his band The Cuckoo's Nest Trio, Maine Valley Fiddle and Accordion Club and Ballycastle Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann.[238]

The instruments of the accordion family were adopted into Scottish traditional music as early as the second half of the nineteenth century. This was facilitated by a strong retail trade that offered mail order to outlying areas and was subsequently supported by a healthy output from recording companies from the earliest decades of the twentieth century onwards.[239] In this way the melodeon, button and piano accordions found a special place in the rural Highlands, including Argyll.

In the twentieth century, local players of the button accordion adopted the distinct, Gaelic song and piping influenced, 'West Coast Style'[240] commonly associated with the Mull accordionist and bandleader Bobby MacLeod. A current accordionist in this manner is Graham Irvine of Dunoon, whose playing can be viewed online.[241] This style and repertory is also found in Scottish mouth organ playing as epitomised in the music of Donald Black, from Benderloch in Argyll.[242] While the accordion clearly has a following in Antrim, it is not known whether the West Highland style has permeated playing there to any degree. Antrim does have a tradition of accordion bands which has parallels in Scotland, but is not found in Argyll.

Conclusion

The foregoing evidence supports the presumption that there are concrete musical connections between Argyll and Antrim. Along with landscape, archaeology, built heritage and language, this music and song is highly important in defining the identities of the two areas and has great potential in the promotion of image the places for both residents and visitors. Shared elements and contrasts await further exploration by scholars and musicians alike and, subject to an appropriate degree of understanding and sensitivity, a precious store of material awaits future creative exploitation and enjoyment. We listen out for more resonances across the Moyle.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

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2 For example, Ireland is given little attention in Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London, 1966). Similarly, Scotland is mentioned only in passing in Tomás Ó Cannainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland* (London, 1978).

3 Hugh Cheape, *Bagpipes. A National Collection of a National Instrument* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 44.

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5 Wilson McLeod, *Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland* c. *1200*–c. *1650* (Oxford, 2004), p. 221.

6 Ibid., p. 6.

7 Marion Campbell, 'A farm manager's cashbook, 1843–1854', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 5 (1989), pp 41–50 at p. 47.
8 J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798–1845* (Cork, 1945), p. 81.
9 Maureen Donnelly, *The Nine Glens. A Personal Look at the History, Folklore and Poetry of the Nine Glens of Antrim* (Antrim, 1987), p. 110. It has been suggested by Donald Meek that the Islay poet William Livingston (1808–70), who wrote so sensitively about Ireland in his poem *Eirinn a' Gul*, may have had first-hand knowledge of Antrim through visits to the Ballycastle fair: D. E. Meek, *Caran an t-Saoghail* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 460.
10 T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire. The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London, 2004), p. 147. See also T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London, 2000), pp 486–512.
11 Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 124.
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16 Kerry Bletch, 'In the Field – An interview with Mark Wilson' *The Old-Time Herald,* 7:6 (Winter 2000/01), published online at: www.oldtimeherald.org/archive/back_issues/volume-7/7-6/mark_wilson.html. See the recent measured and tactful review by Michael Newton of Fiona Ritchie and Doug Orr, *Wayfaring Strangers: The Musical Voyage from Scotland and Ulster to Appalachia* (Chapel Hill, 2014) in *E-Keltoi Book Reviews*, vol. 1, pp 67–74 (10 June 2015), published online at: www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/bookreviews/vol01/newton13.html. See also Peter Gilmore, 'Rebels and Revivals: Ulster Immigrants, Western Pennsylvania Presbyterianism and the Formation of Scotch-Irish Identity, 1780–1830', PhD thesis, Carnegie Mellon University (2009), and Peter Gilmore, 'Irish Tunes and Scotch-Irish Myths in Early Western Pennsylvania' in *Celebrating Northern Appalachia in Word and Song* (California University of Pennsylvania, 2011), published online at: www.academia.edu/779702/Irish_Tunes_and_Scotch-Irish_Myths_in_Early_Western_Pennsylvania.
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25 Shaw, 'Oral Traditions', p. 213.
26 Patrick McDonald, *Highland Vocal Airs* (Edinburgh, 1784), published as *The Patrick McDonald Collection* (Skye, 2000), pp 36–7.
27 John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 72.
28 Collinson, *Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, p. 49.
29 McDonald, *Highland Vocal Airs*, pp 37, 72 n.
30 Ross, *Heroic Poetry*, p. 251.
31 Ibid.; Ethel Basin, *The Old Songs of Skye. Frances Tolmie and Her Circle* (London, 1977), pp 47–52.
32 See: http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk (search: '*Laoidh Fhraoich*').
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47 Ibid., p. 61.
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49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., pp 21, 108. The Fraser's settings must be approached with caution on account of their modernisation of the music.
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73 J. L. Campbell, *Songs Remembered in Exile* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp 182–4.
74 See Virginia Blankenhorn, 'The Rev. William Matheson and the Performance of Scottish Gaelic "Strophic" Verse', *Scottish Studies*, 36 (2013), pp 15–44. Matheson can be heard on the CD *Gaelic Bards and Minstrels* (Scottish Tradition Series, vol. 16) (Greentrax, CDTRAX9016D) and at the *Tobair and Dualchais* website (search: 'William Matheson').
75 John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 73, example 4. This can be heard, sung by Mary Macmaster to her wire-strung harp accompaniment on the CD *Scotland's Music* (Linn Records, CKD008), track 7.
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81 William Matheson, *The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall)* (Edinburgh, 1970).
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www.ralstongenealogy.com/number28kintmag.htm.
83 Sanger, *Final Chords.*
84 Kinnaird and Sanger, 'Harps in Scotland', p. 282.
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87 John Magee, *The Heritage of the Harp* (Belfast, 1992), p. 20.
88 Bridget Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre* (Glasgow, 2004), p. 3.
89 Michael Newton and Hugh Cheape, 'The keening of women and the roar of the pipe: From Clàrsach to Bagpipe, *ca*. 1600–1782', *Ars Lyrica Celtica*, 17 (2008), p. 85 fn.47.
90 Newton and Cheape, The keening of women', pp 75–95.
91 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre,* p. 5.
92 As suggested in an article online at Wikipedia
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pibroch#Irish_Ce.C3.B2l_M.C3.B3r).
93 From Angus MacKay, *A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd* (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 8, quoted in William Donaldson *The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1750–1950* (East Linton, 2000), p. 157.
94 Peter McIntosh, *History of Kintyre* (Campbeltown, 1929), p. 32.

95 William Donaldson, '"Entirely at the pleasure of the performer": a further exploration of piobaireachd', *Piper & Drummer* (2001–02), published online at www.pipesdrums.com/wp-content/docengines/A51191C54453471192974BB509421138.pdf.
96 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre,* pp 7–8. She suggests that the McMurchy family were from the Irish weaver community at Garvachy, Campbeltown. See also Keith Sanger, *William McMurchy*, published online at www.ralstongenealogy.com/number13kintmag.htm.
97 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre,* p. 29.
98 Ibid., p. 7.
99 Ibid., p. 9.
100 Keith Sanger, 'Patronage – or the price of the piper's bag', *Common Stock*, 24:1 (June 2009), pp 14–19. Published online at www.academia.edu/11166278/Patronage_or_the_price_of_the_pipers_bag.
101 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 41.
102 Thomas Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland* (London, 1796), p. 239.
103 Handley, *Irish in Scotland,* p. 81 n.2.
104 Arnold Morrison, *Some Scottish Sources on Militias, Fencibles and Volunteer Corps, 1793–1830*, p. 1 (published online at www.scribd.com/doc/68100606/The-Defence-of-Scotland-Militias-Fencibles-and-Volunteer-Corps1793-1820). See also www.knapdalepeople.com/am04.html on the Argyll Militia.
105 Morrison, *Some Scottish Sources on Militias*, p. 5. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 304, notes that '… Scots were among the most ruthless and feared of the crown forces which routed the Irish rebellion of 1798. Thirteen of the twenty regiments stationed in Ireland on the eve of the rebellion were Scots and later reinforcements drew heavily on Scottish reserves.'
106 Neil Stewart, *Collection of the Newest & Best Reels or Country Dances for Violin* (Edinburgh, 1761). The Scots song and tune 'Highland Harry' would appear to be of the same family and may be further evidence that the air had an older pedigree and wider currency. Interestingly, the Donegal fiddler Tommy Peoples plays as a prelude to the Irish reel a slow strathspey version of the tune on the gramophone record *The High Part of the Road* (Shanachie, 29003) (1977), track 11.
107 Collected from Mary MacDonald, 1976. Released on long play record *Cape Breton Scottish Fiddle* (Topic, 12TS354).
108 AFS 04939 A05, Traditional Music and Spoken Word Catalog, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Released on long play record *Emmet W. Lundy – Fiddle Tunes from Grayson County, Virginia* (String Records, STR802).
109 Fraser, *Airs and Melodies*, p. 46.
110 Ibid., p. 111 n.95.
111 See: www.78thfrasers.org/history/genealogy.
112 J. G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Piping, 1745–1945* (Montreal, 1998), p. 92.
113 MacKenzie, *Piping Traditions*.
114 Alastair Campbell, *A History of Clan Campbell, from the Restoration to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp 280–81.
115 Cooper, *Musical Traditions,* p. 66.
116 Ríonach ui Ógáin and Tom Sherlock, *The Otherworld,* (Dublin, 2012), p. 119; Padraic Cléireacháin, 'Feiseanna Remembered' in Eamon Phoenix, Padraic Ó Cléireacháin, Eileen McCauley and Nuala McSparran (eds), *Feis Na nGleann: A Century of Gaelic Culture in the Antrim Glens* (Belfast, 2005) pp 141–3.
117 'Irish Pipe Music', *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society,* 7 (Jan.–June 1909, p. 32.
118 See also Derick Thomson, 'Gaelic learned orders and literati in medieval Scotland', *Scottish Studies*, 12 (1968), pp 57–78; Derick Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp 57–98; Derick Thomson, 'Scottish Gaelic traditional songs from the 16th to the 18th century', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 105 (London, 2000), pp 93–114.
119 Donald Meek, 'Gaelic language and literature in Argyll' in Donald Omand (ed.), *The Argyll Book* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp 232–42 at p. 239.
120 Shaw, 'Oral traditions', p. 214.

121 Gillies, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland*, p. 289.
122 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 22.
123 *Faileasan* (*Reflections)* (SRM004) (2013).
124 This can be auditioned online at: www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/fullrecord/27107/1.
125 There is also an arrangement of this song by Islay Gaelic Choir on the CD *Sruth air a' Charraig* (SKU, 10000). The CD comprises a collection of songs associated with the island and its songsmiths.
126 Gillies, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland*, p. 341. This song can be heard sung by William Matheson on the CD *Bards and Minstrels.*
127 J. D. Marshall, 'Notes on the statistics and natural history of the island of Rathlin', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,* 17, (1837), p. 54, quoted in *Ceol Tíre*, 20 (1981), p. 13.
128 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 37.
129 McLeod, *Gaelic Cultural Identities*, p. 6.
130 See, for example, www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~oduibhin/daoine/aoidhmin2.htm.
131 Holmer, *Irish Language in Rathlin*, p. 127.
132 Alan Stivel Cochevelou, *Telenn Geltiek: Harpe Celtique* (Mouez Breiz, 4597), 1964; Skara Brae, *Skara Brae* (Gael-Linn Records, CEF 031), 1971; Kevin Burke and Michael O'Domhnaill, *Portland* (Green Linnet, SIF-1041), 1982.
133 Viewable online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=NssuVkvwq8A&feature=youtu.be.
134 See: www.irishharpschool.com/griogair.htm. The singer recorded the song on the CD *Dail-rìata* (DUN0701) in 2007.
135 Gillies, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland*, pp 65–7.
136 Viewable online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=TA_d8WkUGv0.
137 Cléireacháin, 'Feiseanna Remembered', p. 143.
138 'Parish of Carnmoney' in Angélique Day and Patrick McWilliams (eds), *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland. Vol. 2, Parishes of County Antrim I, 1838–9* (Belfast, 1990), p. 63.
139 'Parish of Mallusk' in Day and McWilliams, *Ordnance Survey Memoirs*, p. 113.
140 John Moulden, *Songs of the People: Songs from the Sam Henry Collection, part one* (Belfast, 1979); Gale Huntington and Lani Hermann with John Moulden (eds), *Sam Henry's 'Songs of the People'* (Athens, GA, 1990).
141 Fintan Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (2nd edition, Cork, 2011), p. 716.
142 Len Graham, *Joe Holmes. Here I am Amongst You* (Dublin, 2010), p. 234.
143 Lawrence Holden, *John Kennedy*: *By the Banks of the Maine* (Belfast, 2012) (CD with booklet).
144 David Cooper, *The Musical Traditions of Northern Ireland and its Diaspora. Community and Conflict* (Farnham, 2009).
145 John Moulden, *Songs of Hugh McWilliams, Schoolmaster, 1831* (Portrush, 1992), and other works.
146 John Hewitt, *Rhyming Weavers & Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* (Belfast, 1974).
147 Carol Baraniuk, 'Ulster's Burns? James Orr, the Bard of Ballycarry', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 19 (2007), pp 54–62.
148 John Moulden, 'One singer, two voices: Scots and Irish style song in the work of the mid-Antrim poet and song maker Hugh McWilliams (fl. 1816–1831)' in Thérèse Smith and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin (eds), *Blas. The Local Accent in Irish Traditional Music* (Limerick, 1997), p. 75. Scotland too had weaver poets such as Robert Tannahill of Paisley (1774–1810) and James Thomson (1763–1832) of Currie. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 147, suggests that prior to Burns the works of Scottish poet and song publisher Allan Ramsay were highly popular in Ulster.
149 Gavin Sprott, *Robert Burns. Farmer* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp 52–3.
150 Henderson, 'Willie Mitchell', pp 181–2. See Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the 17th Century*, (Edinburgh, 1948) for a discussion of the variants of the name Shannon and the history of that line. The pedigree and changed status of the McShannons of Lephenstrath are explored in Sanger, 'The McShannons of Kintyre'. Extensive field recordings of Willie Mitchell, the McShannon family and others are held in the School of Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh.

151 Published online at: www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/fullrecord/83067/1.
152 Hugh Shields, *Shamrock, Rose and Thistle: Folk Singing in North Derry* (Belfast, 1981), p. 51. See: www.itma.ie/digitallibrary/book/shamrock-rose-and-thistle-songs.
153 Argyll and Bute Council, *Gaelic in Kintyre* (n.d.) (leaflet published online at www.argyll-bute.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Gaelic%20in%20Kintyre%20leaflet.pdf). The Ordnance Survey Name Book entry for the site can be viewed at: www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/argyll-os-name-books-1868-1878/argyll-volume-13/96.
154 Henderson, 'Willie Mitchell', p. 184. For an example of a Scottish building worker carrying traditional song into Ulster, see the case of 'Down by the Mellon Green' in Robin Morton *Folk Songs Sung in Ulster* (Cork, 1970), pp 26–7.
155 Agnes Stewart, 'A Sang at Least: The Life of Willie Mitchell', *The Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society Magazine*, 51 (Spring 2002). Republished online at: www.ralstongenealogy.com/number51kintmag.htm.
156 Paddy Tunney, *The Stone Fiddle. My Way to Traditional Song* (Dublin, 1979), p. 161.
157 Paddy Tunney, *Where Songs do Thunder* (Belfast, 1991), pp 180–81.
158 'Ardmore Green' sung by Paddy Hegarty, *Irish Traditional Music Archive* (475-ITMA-MP3), online at www.itma.ie/digitallibrary/sound/ardmore_green_paddy_hegarty.
159 Nigel Gatherer, *Songs and Ballads of Dundee* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp 125–6 n.63, 132–3.
160 John Moulden, 'One singer, two voices', p. 73.
161 Cooper, *Musical Traditions*, pp 52–6; Gillies, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland*, p. 295.
162 Gillies, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland*, p. 413.
163 Gavin Grieg, 'Folk-Song in Buchan', *Transactions of the Buchan Field Club*, 9 (1906–07), reproduced in Gavin Grieg, *Folk Song in Buchan and Folk-Song of the North East* (Hatboro, 1963), p. 58. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. xxvi, stresses the often unacknowledged large number of Irish recruits who served in the British army.
164 Marion Campbell, *Argyll. The Enduring Heartland* (Edinburgh, 1977, 2001 edition), pp 157–8, 169–70.
165 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 39.
166 Shaw, 'Oral traditions', p. 221.
167 Timothy Neat, *The Voice of the Bard. Living Poets and Ancient Tradition in the Highlands of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp 237–68. See also Hamish Henderson's introduction to Duncan and Linda Williamson, *A Thorn in the King's Foot: Stories of the Scottish Travelling People* (Harmondsworth, 1987), reproduced in Henderson, *Alias MacAlias*, pp 217–28.
168 John Moulden, '"Clodhopper". Alexander Crawford, Leck, Ballymoney, County Antrim, His Songs, Life and Philosophy', *Béaloideas*, 77 (2009), pp 37–57, and ui Ógáin and Sherlock, *The Otherworld,* p. 114.
169 Henderson, *Alias MacAlias*, pp 95–6, 179–80.
170 Dick Gaughan, *No More Forever* (Trailer LER, 2072), 1972.
171 For example, Willie Williamson, *School of Scottish Studies Archive* (SA1967.152.A8b) and Duncan and Jock Williamson, *School of Scottish Studies Archive* (SA1976.34.A3).
172 From Robert Ford, *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland* (Paisley, 1904), pp 49–51.
173 Vic Smith, 'Len Graham', *Musical Traditions*, Article MT294 (interview of 31 October 2013) published online at: http://mustrad.org.uk/articles/l_graham.htm (published 27 March 2014).
174 David Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 9.
175 Ibid., p. 9.
176 Ibid., p. 7.
177 Gary Hastings, 'Ag Ciceáil Leis an Dá Chos (Kickin' with both feet)' in Smith and Ó Súilleabháin, *Blas,* p. 103.
178 George Miller, *The Military Band* (London, 1912), p. 9. The tune 'Hills of Glenorchy' is named after a place in Argyll and in Ireland it is associated with the song 'The Boys of Tanderagee'.
179 Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments,* p. 15 n.8.
180 NLS, MSS 21739–21744.

181 For example, *Aird's Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs for Fife, Violin or Flute* (Glasgow, *c*. 1782). For a note on tunes known in Ulster that are found in the Aird collections see in David Cooper, '"With Fife and Fiddle": Protestants and Traditional Music in Northern Ireland' in John Morgan O'Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (eds), *Music and Conflict* (Illinois, 2010), pp 89–106.
182 For example, the published collections of Niel Gow & Sons.
183 Colette Moloney (ed.), *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773–1843): An Introduction and Catalogue* (Dublin, 2000), p. 193.
184 Cooper, *Musical Traditions*, p. 79.
185 Gary Hastings, *With Fife and Drum* (Belfast, 2003).
186 Peter MacIntyre, *Odd Incidents of Olden Times, or, Ancient Records of Inveraray* (Glasgow, 1904), pp 44, 53, 55, 57–8.
187 Ian Russell, 'Flute bands and their annual walks in north-east Scotland: music, tradition, and community', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 15 (2002–03), pp 99–111.
188 Katherine Campbell, 'George Riddell of Rosehearty: Fiddler and Collector' in Ian Russell and Mary Anne Alburger (eds), *Driving the Bow: Fiddle and Dance Studies from Around the North Atlantic 2* (Aberdeen, 2008), pp 35–56; Katherine Campbell, 'Masonic song in Scotland: folk tunes and community', *Oral Tradition*, 27:1 (2012), pp 85–108.
189 'Parish of Mallusk' in Day and McWilliams, *Ordnance Survey Memoirs*, p. 113.
190 NLS, MS 21738.
191 Unpublished research by the author.
192 NLS, MS 3346/Inglis.153. Jack Campin's website (www.campin.me.uk/Flute/Webrelease/Flute/09Duet/09Duet.htm) states: 'Carrick Fergus is a duet setting of the tune included in the variation section as Rural Felicity. This arrangement is from a big set of commonplace books compiled by the Edinburgh music publisher John Brysson between the 1790s and about 1820; this volume, the earliest and best-known, is often known as the *Sharpe of Hoddom* manuscript, after one of its owners.'
193 'Parish of Mallusk' in Day and McWilliams, *Ordnance Survey Memoirs*, p. 113.
194 Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society,* pp 104–08. The writer speculated whether or not this was part of the wave of enthusiasm for fiddle in Scotland. It should be noted that, at the time, Scottish dance music was highly popular in the north of England also as demonstrated by manuscripts and published collections from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland and Cumbria.
195 Cooper, *Musical Traditions*, pp 76–100.
196 *Statistical Account of Scotland. Gigha and Cara, County of Argyle* (1791–9), published online at:
http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Argyle/Gigha%20and%20Cara.
197 Shaw, *Oral Traditions,* p. 215, quoting Campbell, *Albyn's Anthology,* pp 17–18, 21–2, 27–9.
198 Shaw, *Oral Traditions,* p. 215.
199 Sanger, *Echlin O'Cathain*.
200 Mary Anne Alburger *Scottish Fiddlers and Their Music* (London, 1983), p. 147.
201 From Robert Burns' poem 'The Brigs of Ayr'.
202 MacKenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre*, p. 117.
203 From Wilson, MacLean collected the tales 'The Young King of Easaidh Ruadh', 'Connall Cra-bhuidhe' and 'The Slim Swarthy Champion'.
204 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 37.
205 National Records of Scotland, GD170/2103. This must have been a musical household. The National Records of Scotland holds an account for a Broadwood piano sent to Barcaldine by the Union Canal and Oban, in 1825, and an account for a new patent double action harp, light tinted sounding board from Erard, Paris, 1834.
206 Letters from Archibald Campbell of Kilberry, quoted in J. P. Flett and T. M. Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (London, 1964), pp 40–41.
207 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre*, p. 7.

208 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre,* p. 32.
209 Alexander Fraser, *The Royal Burgh of Inveraray* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 31.
210 Such as the Kintyre musician who used to 'fiddle at all the dancing weddings round about' but who "immediately gave up when his eyes were opened" during a religious revival of the early nineteenth century. Alexander Haldane, *Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and James Alexander Haldane* (London, 1852), p. 290.
211 Dancing masters made burgesses of Inveraray included Daniel McGibbon (3 Sept. 1726), Duncan McGibbon (20 May 1729), William Paterson (10 Oct. 1743) and John Tarbet (19 May 1752). Elizabeth Beaton and Sheila MacIntyre, *Burgesses of Inverary 1665–1963* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp 29, 45, 63, 176; MacIntyre, *Odd Incidents*, p. 54; letter of John Campbell, Inveraray, to his uncle Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine noting, 'We have got a dancing master' (19 Feb. 1790), National Records of Scotland, GD1/1050/3; Lachlan McEachen (*c*. 1799–1871), Teacher of dancing at Killearn and Kilchenzie, 1861 Census, Campbeltown, 507/00/4/00/17.
212 McIntosh, *History of Kintyre*, p. 37.
213 'Parish of Mallusk' in Day and McWilliams, *Ordnance Survey Memoirs*, p. 113; 'Parish of Culfeightrin', *Ordnance Survey Memoirs,* published online at: http://antrimhistory.net/ordnance-survey-memoir-for-the-parish-of-culfeightrin.
214 Nigel Boullier, *Handed Down Country Fiddling and Dancing in East and Central Down* (Belfast, 2012), pp 23–32.
215 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre*, pp 7–8. See also Sanger, *MacMurchy.*
216 Mackenzie, *Piping Traditions of Kintyre*, p. 37.
217 Ibid., p. 208.
218 Ibid., pp 202–03.
219 See: www.scottishfiddle.org/angusgrant and www.fiddle.com/Articles.page?ArticleID=17983&Index=12.
220 McDonald, *Highland Vocal Airs*, pp 64–5. Ardchattan is near Oban in Argyll. The tune is edited and discussed in David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp 125, 134–5, 142.
221 Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp 123, 131, 141.
222 i.e. *Canntaireachd*, the traditional chanting of traditional bagpipe music using a system of vocables. Angus Martin, *Kintyre. The Hidden Past* (Edinburgh, 1984), p. 76.
223 MacKenzie, *Piping Traditions*, lists these by area.
224 NLS, MS 14949 b.; Trinity College Dublin, MS 10615. See: www.earlygaelicharp.info/sources/maclean-clephane.htm; Sanger, *Echlin O'Cathain* and Sanger, *A Harper*.
225 Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society*, p. 143.
226 As listed in Charles Gore, *The Scottish Fiddle Music Index* (Musselburgh, 1994).
227 MacKay, *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys and Slow Tunes*, p. 14. Mackay was from the island of Islay.
228 Nigel Boullier, *Handed Down.*
229 Gerard Michael O'Connor, 'Luke Donnellan's Dance Music of Oriel: A graphic and aural interpretation, realisation and critical representation of the work of an early-twentieth century music collector', MA dissertation, Dundalk Institute of Technology (2008); Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin, *A Hidden Ulster* (Dublin, 2003).
230 Allen Feldman and Eamonn O'Docherty, *The Northern Fiddler* (Belfast, 1979).
231 Cooper, *Musical Traditions*, pp 70–72.
232 Fintan Vallely, *Tuned Out. Traditional music and identity in Northern Ireland* (Cork, 2008), p. 61; Kevin McCann, 'Scottish fiddle playing and its Scottish connections', *Treoir*, 25:1 (1993), pp 27–9 at p. 29; Stuart Eydmann, 'On first hearing. The John Junner collection of Scottish and Irish fiddle music', paper presented at the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, Derry/Donegal (June 2012), awaiting publication. There are references to Antrim fiddlers at: www.seanreidsociety.org/SRSJ3/3.16/William%20Hope.pdf.
233 J. Murray Neil, *The Scots Fiddle. Volume 3. Tunes, Tales and Traditions of the Western Highlands* (Castle Douglas, 2005), p. 47.

234 There was an ensemble named The Argyll Reel and Strathspey Band that recorded for Parlophone in the 1920s, but little is known of them.
235 Murray Neil, *Scots Fiddle*, p. 46.
236 See: www.youtube.com/watch?v=__ce6d0YLxM.
237 *Mark Wilson's Scottish Musical Journey. Stage 6 – Campbeltown* (broadcast on 2 November 2011), online at:
www.bbc.co.uk/ulsterscots/library/mark-wilsons-scottish-musical-journey-stage-6-campbeltown.
238 Liner notes from CD: Dominic McNabb, *Traditional Fiddle Music from the Glens of Antrim* (Glens Music). See:
http://homepage.ntlworld.com/sean_quinn/glensmusic/dominic.htm.
239 Stuart Eydmann, 'As common as blackberries. The first hundred years of the accordion in Scotland, 1830–1930', *Folk Music Journal*, 7:5 (1999), pp 595–608.
240 Stuart Eydmann, 'From the wee melodeon to the big box. The accordion in Scotland since 1945', *Musical Performance*, 3:2–4, (2001), pp 107–25.
241 For example, the traditional Argyll pipe tunes 'Hills O' Glenorchy' and 'The Campbell's are Comin' played at www.youtube.com/watch?v=VX1SSNT5oO4 and the pipe marches 'Colonel McLean of Ardgour' and 'The Cowal Gathering' played for a Dunoon Barn Dance at www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSFFlMVkrEE. See also the CD by piano accordionists Colin Campbell and Colin Forgrieve, *Men of Argyll* (Feorlin CCCDR06) (www.feorlin-oban.co.uk/cd/).
242 See: www.tremoloharmonica.com/donald-black.shtml.