THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE: THE IMPACT OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND SCOTLAND, 1781-1844

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the work of two influential bodies, the Highland Society of London (est. 1778) and its sister society the Highland Society of Scotland (est. 1784) in relation to the Highland Bagpipe. The parameters have been determined by the dates of the major piping competition run by the Highland Society of London in Edinburgh from 1781 to 1844. This was the first event of its kind, and came at a time when the fortunes of the Highland bagpipe, like many other facets of Gaelic culture, were at a low ebb. Ch. II delineates the precise nature of this competition. It explores the objectives, military and cultural, of the Highland Societies in patronising the bagpipe, and draws attention to the many aspects of modern competitive piping which had root in this event. Ch. III explores the fortunes of the piper in the early nineteenth century, on the estate, and in the army. Ch. IV tackles the critical issue of the Highland Societies' encouragement of pipe music notation, with its effects, beneficial and otherwise. Particular attention is paid to their involvement in the works of Joseph MacDonald (1760), Donald MacDonald (1820), Angus MacArthur (1820) and Angus Mackay (1838). By the mid-1840s the direct involvement of the Highland Societies in piping was on the wane, but their example and efforts had done much to secure a healthy future for the Highland bagpipe, in the Highlands, and in Scotland at large.

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SOURCES

Four major primary sources are consulted in the course of this work: the records of the Highland Society of London (HSL); the records of the Highland Society of Scotland (HSS); the notebooks of J.G. Dalyell; and contemporary newspaper reports.

Highland Society of London Records [HSL, 268].

(1) Lodged in the National Library of Scotland, MS. Deposit 268. The following units are relevant:

1. Boxes 1-6. Correspondence (1820-1890).
2. Boxes 15-19 Misc. records.
3. Minutes Books 21-27 (1783-1829).
4. Accounts Book 34 (1783-1816).

(2) Several of the records were destroyed by fire in the late nineteenth century. [HSL 268, 38:387; Manson 1901: 388]. This means that crucial portions of the records are incomplete:

1. Prior to 1783 no minutes are extant.
2. Between 1816 and 1834 only incomplete draft minutes are extant. These are usefully supplemented by correspondence (Boxes 1-3), and by looseleaf accounts (Box 17).
3. Between 1834 and 1855 no minutes are extant. However correspondence (Boxes 4-6) and looseleaf accounts (Boxes 18/20) are available.
4. Between 1855 and 1870 no records are extant.

(3) Several HSL records were consulted by the members of the Piobaireachd Society, which are no longer with the material in the NLS. Evidence of this is to be found in

1. Bartholomew J. [NLS MS 2260].
2. The Seton Gordon Papers [NLS Acc.7451, Box 19, File 3]. Contains original documents such as testimonial notes for the 1838 and 1841 competitions.
3. Flett J. & T. [1956: 345]. Contains original HSL material communicated by J.P. Grant of Rothiemurchus and A. Campbell of Kilberry.
4. A. Campbell of Kilberry's extensive writings on Piping (see Bibliography), and his contributions to the "Notices of Pipers" [Q.V.]

The most valuable material on any specific competition was contained in the annual "Accounts of Receipts and

Payments" prepared by the HSS, and forwarded to the HSL. Full accounts are extant in the HSL records for the years 1815, 1818 and 1821-44 (with the exception of 1825, 1832, 1841). James Campbell of Kilberrry has been kind enough to allow me to consult his father's typescript notebooks, which contain additional full information from the Accounts of 1806-1814, 1816/17, 1819/20. As the original accounts for these years are now lost, Kilberry's notebooks constitute, and will be cited as, the major primary sources for these years. The notebooks are in two volumes, and will be designated "Kilberry I and II" to avoid confusion with Archibald Campbell's published writings (designated "Campbell A.").

Highland Society of Scotland Records.

Contained in the Society Library at the Royal Highland Showground, Ingliston.

(1) Sederunt Books [HSS Sd. Bk.] (1-20).
(2) Piping Minutes Book [HSS PMB] (1824-1844). Contains material specifically relating to the piping competitions, from 1824. Prior material is contained in the sederunt books.
(3) Transactions [THSS]. Commenced 1799; concluded 1968.
(4) Correspondence [Ingl: --] As Catalogued by Black [1986].

The Notebooks of John Graham Dalyell

John Graham Dalyell (1775-1851, knighted 1836), was an Edinburgh advocate, and a pre-eminent antiquary and naturalist. In 1797 he became vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and his publications include Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century (1801), The Darker Superstitions of Scotland (1834), and the Musical Memoirs of Scotland (1849). [D.N.B.].

In 1807 he became a member of the HSS, and was soon heavily involved as a judge and committee member at the annual piping competitions. (In 1822 he recorded that he had been on the committee of judges for "about seven years". [Gen. 350D: 35]). In the 1830's he had overall responsibility for running the competition [Gen. 369D: 35], and was also the member responsible for examining pipe music MSS. submitted to the competition. (In 1841, for instance, he examined Angus MacKay's 4-volume collection - see Fig. 1. [Gen 374D: 19].).

These activities gave him a deep inside knowledge of the workings of the competition, and we are fortunate that he kept detailed notebooks on this and his many other interests. These are on deposit in the Edinburgh University Library [Laing Gen 350-516D]. They are broadly categorised by type: the notebooks containing valuable piping matter are Gen 350D-

385D, covering the period 1822-1850. Many of his piping observations, in condensed form, appear in the Musical Memoirs of 1849.

Newspaper Reports

From the outset the Edinburgh competition enjoyed good press coverage in local newspapers such as the Edinburgh Evening Courant [E.E.C.] and the Caledonian Mercury [Cal Merc.], and also in the Scots Magazine. (See Appendix II for annual sources). Advertisements were also taken out about a fortnight before the event in many papers to acquaint competitors and spectators with the arrangements: in 1838 for instance advertisements were placed in 23 regional newspapers. [HSS PMB: 139]. Newspaper reports were generally written by a member of the competition committee: in 1822, 1829, 1835 and 1838 by J.G. Dalyell; in 1832 by MacDonald of Dalness; in 1841 by W.F. Skene. [Dalyell Notebooks].

The "Notices of Pipers"

Occasional reference will be made to Lt. John McLennan's "Notices of Pipers", compiled c.1900, and later updated by Major I.F. Scobie and A. Campbell of Kilberry. This was published in the Piping Times between April 1967 and September 1975, and constitutes a series of short biographies of well-known pipers. Factual data should, on the whole, be double-checked, but the work is of particular value in terms of Lt. McLennan's personal recollections of nineteenth century pipers, and his documentation of piping lore relating to that period.

Abbreviations

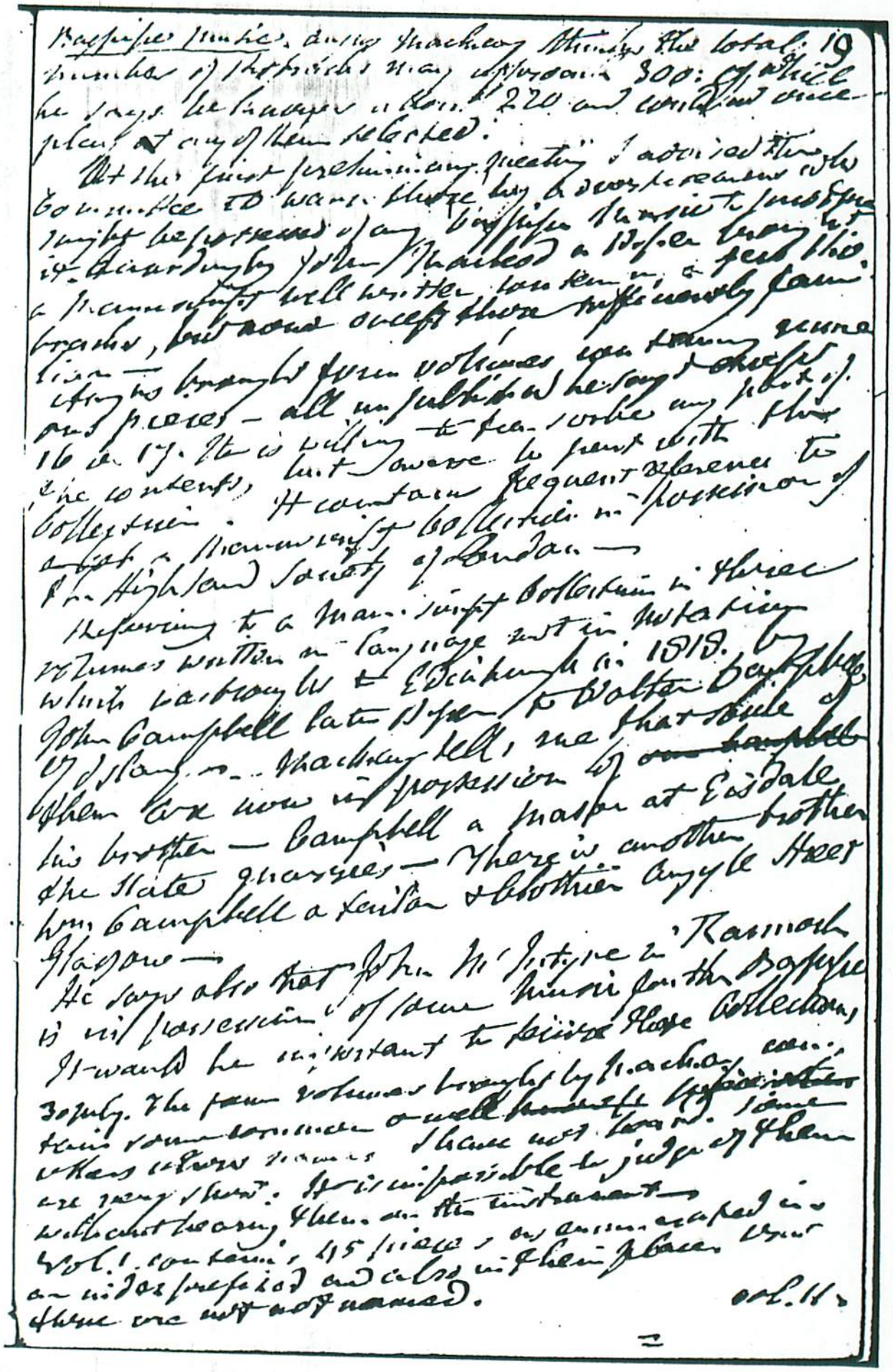
NLS - National Library of Scotland
EUL - Edinburgh University Library
ECL - Edinburgh Central Library
SRO - Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh
PRO - Public Records Office, London

Source Data By Year

For this information see Appendix II. pp 316-320

Fig. I A Page From One of JG Dalyell's Notebooks.

Recording a Conversation with Angus Mackay, 1841. [Gen 374D:19]



Baggage Smiths during Thackeray Attempts the total number of Highlanders may afford 300: of which he says he has upwards of 220 and could procure any of them selected.

At the first preliminary meeting I advised the Committee to wave charge by a committee who might be supposed of any bias to favour the Society & recommended Mr Skene to undertake the duty which he has undertaken & will be with them in a few days.

Mr Skene will bring with him a Manuscript collection of Gaelic Poetry, but would suggest that no publication of it should be undertaken at present.

Mr Skene has brought down volumes upon volumes of MS poetry — all unpublished & many of great merit — all in the Gaelic language & character. He is willing to lend the whole of the contents, but I would be glad with the Committee's sanction to request Mr Skene to allow me frequent reference to the Manuscript collected in possession of the Highland Society of London.

Referring to a Manuscript collection of Gaelic Poetry written in the language & character which existed in Edinburgh in 1512. by John Campbell late Dean of Walter Bishop of Argyle — Mackay tells me that one of these are now in possession of Campbell of Islay — Campbell a Master at Eaisdale & the State Prisoners — There is another by Campbell a Tenant & brother Argyle Street Glasgow —

He says also that John M'Intyre a Ranmoch is in possession of some Manuscript on the Highland Society's Collection, I would be important to procure Rape Collection, 30 July. The four volumes brought by Mackay contain upwards of one hundred & fifty pieces, some of them of great merit. Some others of them are very short. It is impossible to judge of them without hearing them sung. Some of them are known to me. Vol. 1. contains 45 pieces, as annexed in an index prefixed and also in their places. Vol. II. & three are not yet named.

CHAPTER I AN HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

(1) The Bagpipe In Clan Society

The Pìob Mhòr, a distinctively Gaelic instrument, undoubtedly had origin in a common root stock of Medieval European bagpipes. Although a relative late-comer to the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, where it was to supersede the long-established instrument of court, the harp, it was nevertheless swiftly absorbed into a pre-established cultural milieu. Both the musical repertoire of the Highland bagpipe, and its usage in the context of hereditary musical orders, strongly bear the imprint of Gaelic culture.

It is accepted that the harp was for long the music of the Gaelic court, used in association with the free-flowing syllabic verse of the filidh, the poet-historians of the clan. [Watson W.J. 1959: xvii]. Nothing, in fact, is known of the nature of this early harp music, and it was superseded in or before the seventeenth century by the strictly metrical discipline of the amhran, of which an Clàrsair Dall (Roderick Morrison, c.1656-1714), blind harper in the court of MacLeod of Dunvegan, was a noted exponent. [Matheson 1970: 153].

The bagpipe came to prominence in Gaelic society from the early to mid sixteenth century, and indeed there are no literary references to the instrument prior to that time. This was a period of social and cultural change within the

Gaidhealtachd : links with Ireland were gradually severed, and the downfall of the Lordship of the Isles in 1494 brought with it a protracted period of internal strife, (known as Linn nan Creach), as Gaeldom was brought slowly within the orbit of Central government. Early references attest to the instrument's utility in battle, and strongly suggest that this was an important factor in its displacement of the harp in popular esteem. Beague in 1547 remarked on its use at the Battle of Pinkie [Beague 1549: Fol.54]; Buchanan in 1582 noted the Highlander's preference for the bagpipe over the trumpet [Buchanan 1582: I]; and Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, commemorated the passing of the Spanish Armada in 1598 in most un-Godly verse:

> "Caus michtelie the weirlie nottis breike,
> On hieland pipes, Scottes and Hybernicke". [Hume A. 1801: 125].

In Ireland well documented sources attest to the parallel evolution of the so-called "warpipe" (essentially the same instrument), used by the Irish Kerne in service with Henry VIII in the 1540s, and against the forces of Elizabethan England in the 1590s. [Donnelly 1981/84; Timoney 1987].

With the Montrose Wars of the 1640s the scale of Gaelic warfare escalated: firearms and tactical changes were introduced from Ireland by Alasdair MacColla, and much larger bodies of men were now under arms than had formerly been the case. [Hill J.M. 1986: 48]. Where battle had traditionally been prefaced by the brosnacha catha, a set-

piece heroic recitation by harpist and bard, it was now found that the resonant bagpipe was best suited to sound the battle-stimulus. Certainly there is much evidence of the inspiring effect of the bagpipe in the charge:

> "Mi eadar an talamh 's an t-athar a'seòladh,
> Air iteig le h-aighear, misg-chath', agus sholais,
> Us caismeachd phìob-móra bras-shròiceadh am puirt."
>
> (Between earth and heaven in the air I am sailing,
> On the wings of exultance, battle-drunken, enraptured,
> While the notes of the great pipes shrilly sound out their tunes.)
> Alexander MacDonald Tearlach MacSheumais [Campbell J.L. 1984: 52].

The last professional harpist of Scottish birth was Murdoch MacDonald ("Murchadh Clarsair"), who retired from service with MacLean of Coll in 1734 [Gunn J. 1807: 101], and certainly most early historians viewed the demise of the harp in terms of it being ill suited to the demands of a strictly martial society. Ramsay of Ochtertyre expressed it thus in 1784:

> "Though the harpers were retained for hundreds of years after the introduction of the bagpipe, yet the favour of the chief, and his warriors, was at length transferred to the pipers, whose strains seconded so well their ruling passion." [Ramsay in P. MacDonald 1784: 14].

The bagpipe was now absorbed into a pre-established system of learned and musical orders, in which duties were often hereditary to particular families over several generations. Bards, harpers, poets, historians and

medical men were all professionals, trained to exacting standards in schools of their discipline, and receiving considerable emoluments in terms of land and other perquisites. Powerful chiefs, such as the MacDonalds of Sleat and Clanranald, and the MacLeods of Dunvegan, maintained large retinues of specialised office-bearers [vide Logan J. 1876 Edn. I: 180], amongst whom the literati and musicians enjoyed high standing.

Hereditary families of pipers were now established, amongst whom the MacCrimmons, pipers to the MacLeods in Skye and Harris, were undeniably pre-eminent. The most reputable of these families(1) conducted seminaries for instruction, in some cases attracting pupils from a great distance. Lachlan Shaw, minister of Calder described it thus in the 1750s:

> "The office of piper was often hereditary, and had a small salary annexed to it. And the pipers of several clans had a chief piper who governed them; and schools in which they were instructed". [Shaw L. 1882 Edn. III: 136].

It is clear from reliable early sources that the nature of instruction in such "schools" involved a few months of live-in tuition in the instructor's dwelling, subsidised by the piper's employer or chief. The course might be repeated on one or more occasions, but romantic notions of a seven-year-long apprenticeship under conditions of monastic severity [e.g. Gordon S. 1929: 115; Ross N. 1910], should be treated with caution.

Although the pipe might have been of particular

martial utility, this should not obscure the fact that it contributed to many aspects of the Highland lifestyle - from the dance, to the wedding, to the funeral, to the accompaniment of labour in the fields.(2) It was a folk instrument with a repertoire ranging from the elevated Ceòl Mòr to the earthier Ceòl Beag. It would have been surprising, indeed, had the pipe not been put to a variety of uses in a society in which instrumental music was not common, and in which the trump and the human voice were the major accompaniments to the song and dance.(3)

The piper's duties lay in the constant attendance of the clan in warfare and peacetime. His remuneration lay in the form of land rights, and also duties levied on the tenantry, particularly in the form of meat, feeds and grain. Martin and Johnson recorded that the piper on the MacLeod estate had rights to a portion of any cow slaughtered for the household (the udder!) [Martin 1934 Edn: 171; Johnson 1924 Edn. 167], whilst the following reference to piping on the Glenmoriston lands in the seventeenth century clearly highlights the perceived value of the piper to the tenantry at large:

> "There has always been a piper in Urquhart belonging to the family of Grant, whose salary has constantly been paid by a small portion of oats from each tenant. The tenants want to get free of this tax, but it is submitted whether or not it is not better to continue it, as the tax is small, and, being in use to be paid, it is not very sensibly felt. If you let it drop, the Highland Musick is lost, which would be a great loss in case of a civil or foreign war; and such music is part of the Appendages of the

dignity of the family." [MacKay W. 1893: 462, citing Lorimer].

This reference highlights a feature often overlooked by piping historians: that piping was not the preserve of a select group of families concentrated in the Western Isles - notably the MacCrimmons, the MacArthurs (pipers to the MacDonalds of Sleat)(4), and the Rankins (pipers to the MacLeans of Duart)(5). Throughout the Gàidhealtachd, from the Uists to Sutherland, to Kintyre and Perthshire, the piper was a major constituent of clan society. The records of any Highland clan from the sixteenth century will bear testimony to the presence of a piper in the ranks, (see for instance McKechnie's history of the Argyllshire Clan Lamont for an example of a little-known piping family [1938]), and it is significant that towards the end of the eighteenth century piping remained healthiest in a heartland of the Central Highlands and Perthshire, not in the Western Isles.

The MacCrimmons, of whom much has been written, but of whose early history little is known, well exemplify the hereditary order which through time came to occupy a position of status within the clan akin to that of the tacksman. The MacCrimmons first emerge in the Dunvegan land rentals in 1664, when Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon was occupying the tack of Galtrigill at a rental of £120 Scots p.a. [MacLeod R.C. 1927: 161]. We do, however, know of earlier representatives of this family through oral testimony, collected and set down by Angus MacKay in 1838

[MacKay 1838: 7-10], and also through the effusions of contemporary poets. The piper during the period of Sir Rory Mòr MacLeod, 15th Chief (c.1562-1626), for instance, was Donald Mòr, a prolific composer of pibroch [vide MacLeod R.H. 1973], who is known to have sojourned for some time in Sutherland,(6) and is believed to have attended a school of piping in Dundealgan, in County Louth, Ireland. [Scott J.E. 1966(a)].

Best-documented of the early MacCrimmons was Patrick Òg (Patrick Mòr's son), who between 1706 and his death in about 1730 occupied the land of Galtrigill on the Dunvegan estate.(7) MacLeod's patronage of Patrick Òg extended to items of clothing ("a bonnett" in 1685 and "livery cloathes" bought from Edinburgh in 1714); instruments ("two pypes bought to MacCrummen" in 1711); and even a marriage tocher of £152 Scots on the occasion of his second marriage in 1706. [Grant I.F. 1959: 376, 7; MacLeod J. 1966: 319-335]. His primary emolument, however, lay in the holding of the land of Galtrigill rent-free.(8) This, in many ways, was the high age of patronage of the piper in clan society. Iain Breac (1637-1693), chief during Patrick Òg's younger days, was one of the last Highland chiefs to maintain a full retinue of bard, harper, piper and fool. [Matheson 1970: 6]. Iain Breac patronised a musical coterie which included Patrick Òg the piper, James Glas the fiddler, Roderick Morrison the harper, O'Muirgheasáin the hereditary bard, and Mary MacLeod (Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh), a distant kinswoman who was

amongst the finest poets of her age. [MacLeod J. 1966: 310-348; Matheson 1970: 6, 150]. In this milieu, we can well imagine, there was a fertile interchange of musical ideas and creative energy: it was Iain Breac's household which Mary MacLeod extolled as

> "... àros nach crìon, am bi gàirich nam pìob, is nan clàrsach a rìs"; (the dwelling that is not niggardly, wherein is the roar of pipes, and anon the sound of harps). [An Crònan, Watson J.C. 1934: 62].

The relationship between pipe music and pre-existing musical idiom is one which deserves scrutiny, but which has as yet attracted little attention. In what way, if at all, was the "classical" music of the bagpipe, the Ceòl Mòr, related to the old music of the harp? Was there any parallel between the evolution of Ceòl Mòr, and the exactly coeval development of a vigorous vernacular poetry which reached its heights in the Orain Mhóra of Mary MacLeod (c.1615-1705) and Alexander Macdonald ("Mac Mhaighisteir Alasdair" c.1696-1770)? And to what extent was the subject matter of the pipe repertory determined by the long-established bardic themes of eulogy, elegy, incitement to battle, and satire?

These are difficult issues which demand the attention of seasoned scholars, but it is clear that the Ceòl Mòr repertoire did encompass both Panegyric matter (the laments and salutes), and also martial pieces with distinct clan associations, such as the Marches, Gatherings and battle tunes, (pieces, in the words of Joseph MacDonald, designed

to "animate a sett of men approaching the enemy". [MacDonald J. 1760:19]). The fostering of ardent and partisan clan loyalty was doubtless a function and requirement of this music, although some pieces (such as certain of the Gatherings in which a simple motif was regularly repeated) perhaps also had a specific function in conveying battle signals. The further notion that in the music of Ceòl Mòr there was also history, was expressed in the following way by Angus MacKay:

> "... although the duty of the pipers was not altogether to preserve the traditional history of the clan, yet their care was to hand down to posterity the music which was composed in commemoration of deeds, honourable and important to the appropriate families." [MacKay 1838: 22].

Several early commentators remarked on the historical import of the music, one of the most perceptive, perhaps, being the French geologist Faujas St. Fond, who found the pibroch "not essentially belonging to music, but to history ..." [St. Fond 1784 (1907 Edn II: 250)].

A very interesting corpus of satirical poetry in "praise" (moladh) and "dispraise" (dimoladh) of the pipe,(9) attests to the resentment felt in some quarters to the rise of the instrument to prominence, (whilst providing a forum for some of the most damning and uncomplimentary verse known to Gaelic). There is ample evidence, however, to suggest that the relationship between bard and piper was often closer than assumed. Many pipers, indeed, were themselves of bardic stock, or were renowned poets in their

own right. One such was Uilleam MacBeathaig, piper and bard to MacDonald of Sleat in the mid-seventeenth century [Matheson 1938: 256]; another was the famous Iain Dall MacKay, composer of Cumha Choire an Easan, whose family acted as hereditary pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch;(10) a third was William MacMurchy (c.1700-1778), a Kintyre poet and musician, who was piper to MacDonald of Largie during the '45, and later possibly served in Montgomerie's 77th Highlanders. [Sanger 1981: 28]. Other noted piping families were believed to have maintained a dual function as bards and pipers. One theory relating to the MacIntyres, pipers to Menzies of Menzies, for instance, was that they were of a family of bards to clan Chattan, who had migrated south from Badenoch to the Rannoch area. [Whyte 1904: 145].(11) Another piping family whose very name bespeaks bardic origins was the Clann an Sgeulaiche, an extended family of MacGregor pipers from the Glenlyon region of Perthshire.(12)

James Logan remarked of the MacGregors:

> "This tribe, from their extensive knowledge of history, were termed Clan an Sgeulaich, or tellers of tales, which proves that pipers were anciently qualified in that part of the bardic duties". [Logan J. (1831). 1876 Edn. II:289].

The MacGregors feature strongly in the history of the Highland Societies in the following pages.

Another interesting possibility is that certain of the piping orders evolved from pre-existing musical families who had turned their hand to the pipe in order to maintain

a livelihood. One of the most interesting theories relating to the MacCrimmons, for instance, is that they in fact originated from a family of harpers in the service of MacLeod. [Campbell Rev. D. 1967: 6]. Perhaps the most versatile of musical families were the Cummings, "pipers and violers" to the Lairds of Grant at Castle Freuchie. The earliest member of this family as yet identified was Alexander Cumming, musician to Grant in 1653. [Fraser W. 1883 III: 462]. A direct descendant of his was William Cumming, who features in Waitt's magnificent portrait of 1714. [Fig. II]. This well illustrates the quality of the piper's finery, and is testimony to his status within clan society. A descendent of his was John Cumming, who attended the 1784 and 1785 piping competitions as Piper to Sir James Grant of Grant. [E.E.C. 20/10/1784; Cal Merc 3/9/1785].

The Cummings, however, were if anything better known as fiddle players. Thomas Newte recorded in 1791 that:

> "The Cummings of Freuchie ... were in the highest estimation for their knowledge and execution of Strathspey music, and most of the tunes handed down to us are certainly of their composing. A successive race of musicians ... succeeded each other for many generations." [Newte T., 1791: 164].

Proof of their musical attainments is to be found in two fiddle collections produced by members of the family - one a manuscript written by "Patrick Cuming" in 1724 [NLS MS 1667]; the other a collection of 60 tunes published in 1780 by Angus Cumming, Grantown, whose forebears were "for

many generations musicians in Strathspey". [Cumming 1780]. Here is proof that musical dynasties were by no means the monopoly of the Hebridean families.

Another musical polymath was the redoubtable Raghnall Mac Ailein Oig of Cross, third son of Allan MacDonald of Morar. He is remembered for his excellent and unusual tunes,(13) and also as a first-class pipe, fiddle and clarsach player. [MacDonald A & A III: 254; "Abrach" 1874; MacLean C. 1959: 86-91]. He was not, however, of the conventional mould of hereditary pipers, for he himself was of the landed classes - and this perhaps explains the unusual subject matter of his compositions, which are certainly not in the traditional vein of eulogy and elegy.

Fig. II WILLIAM CUMMING, piper to the Laird of Grant. Painted by Richard Waitt (1714), Castle Freuchie in the background. [National Museums of Scotland]

(2) The Late Eighteenth Century

Such was piping in its hey-day in the context of the Clan Society. This work takes up the story of the bagpipe in 1781, when there was a distinct fear that the art of piping was in decline.

This has often and erroneously been attributed to the belief that the bagpipe was actually banned as an instrument of War in the 1746 Disarming Act which followed Culloden [e.g. "Caberfeidh" PT Aug 1950: 6]. The bagpipe in fact was not mentioned in the Disarming Act [19 Geo. II c.39] which concentrated on weaponry and the Highland garb, although it is true that a young unfortunate in the Ogilvie Regiment was hanged in York in November 1746, for acting as a piper in the Jacobite cause. His name was James Reid, and his court case was reported as follows:

> "The court observed ... that any person who joined any set of people engaged in open rebellion, though they did not bear arms, were yet guilty of High Treason; that no regiments ever marched without musical instruments, such as drums, trumpets or the like; and that a Highland regiment never marched without a piper, and therefore his bagpipe in the eyes of the law, was an instrument of war". [Scots Mag 9 (Nov. 1746): 543].

This, clearly, set a precedent, although there is no indication that the pipe was in practice branded an illegal instrument north of the Border. It should be born in mind also that during the winter of the '45 several Hanoverian units marched with the pipes, notably the Highland

Independent companies, and the Argyllshire Militia. [MacLeod R.H. 1984].(14) It would certainly be wrong to assume that the playing of the pipes in the Highlands suddenly ceased with Proscription from 1746 to 1782, and, indeed, there are indications to the contrary. (For instance, we know of several tunes composed during this period(15); we know of many pipers who were active at the time, such as George MacLeod, Lord Reay's piper, "brother in music" to the Reay poet Rob Donn [Grimble 1979: 75]; we might cite several court cases involving pipers (for offences unrelated to piping!)(16); we know that Joseph MacDonald was collecting his music in Ross and Sutherland during the 1750's [QV IV.3(a)]; that Hugh Robertson was making pipes on the Castle Hill - a mere stone's throw from Parliament Square - in the 1760s [SRO GD 221]; that in the Edinburgh Oyster cellars of the 1770s Hugo Arnot and fellow socialites were dancing to "the music of fiddle, harp and bagpipe". [Arnot 1778: 354]).

Yet, as shall become clear in the following chapters, there was a distinct belief towards the end of the century that there had been a severance of the piping tradition in the post-Culloden period. This was undoubtedly to some extent true, but the cause lay not in legislation against the pipe <u>per se</u>, but rather in the generality of restrictive legislation directed against the Highland lifestyle and mores, and in the particular legislation against the Hereditary Jurisdictions introduced in 1747 [<u>Scots Mag</u> 10 (Feb.1747): 61]. This effectively ruined

many of the old clan chiefs, and contributed to the breakdown of the old social order, to be replaced by new ideas of land management and social obligation. In this context the traditional learned and musical orders were anachronistic, and many of the chief practitioners (such as Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon in the 1770's), sought refuge in emigration.

Social history, however, never stands still, and the events of the '45 did not for long leave a political and cultural vacuum. New leadership was thrown up in the Highlands, and new economic forces came into play. [Smout 1969: 321]. This work will examine several ways in which the Highland bagpipe and its music adapted to the changing economic circumstances of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to emerge as a potent and healthy musical force, not just in the Highlands, but in Scotland at large. The survival of Highland piping at this time was a direct reflection of the degree of patronage it enjoyed from the military, and from the new landed classes - and was in direct contrast to its sister instrument the Lowland pipe, pronounced dead by John Leyden in 1801, a victim of the reshaping of the Lowland urban environment. [Leyden 1801: 150; MacInnes 1986].

The Highland Societies of London and Scotland directly represented the interests of the landed classes, and led the way in the encouragement of the instrument. Their influence was three-fold: they established piping competitions; they employed Highland pipers to work on

their estates; and they patronised the publication of pipe music. These three subjects constitute the matter of this thesis. As shall become clear, the influence of the Highland Societies is felt to this day, from the very nature of competitive piping, to the music we play.

Table I/1

a. OBJECTIVES OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON

1. The restoration of the Highland Dress.

2. The preservation of the Ancient Music of the Highlands.

3. The cultivation of Gaelic, and the rescuing of the valuable remains of Celtic Literature.

4. The establishment of useful public institutions.

5. The Incorporation of a Society for the Extension of British Fisheries.

6. The relief of Distressed Highlanders, particularly when at a distance from home.

7. The keeping of the Martial Spirit; and rewarding the Gallant achievements of the Highland Corps.

8. The promotion of Agricultural improvement and general welfare in the Northern part of the Kingdom.

[Sinclair J. 1813:6]

b. OBJECTIVES OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (Est. 1784)

1. An inquiry into the present state of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland, and the condition of their inhabitants.

2. An inquiry into means of improvement via. new settlement, extending communications, trade, manufacturing, the fisheries, agriculture etc.
"The Society shall also pay a proper attention to the preservation of the Language, Poetry and Music of the Highlands."

[T.H.S.S. I(1799):iii]

(3) The Highland Societies

The Highland Society of London was founded by a group of 25 expatriate Scots gentlemen in May 1778. Lord Lovat was appointed president, and John MacKenzie, a London lawyer of Highland background, Secretary. By June membership had considerably increased, and before long the Society was established as a rather exclusive club attracting Highland Chiefs, Parliamentarians, and others with landed interests north of the border. The initial enthusiasm and undoubted political clout of the members led swiftly to the successful repeal of the 1746 Disarming Act, a cherished initial objective, and thereafter the Society relaxed into an easy existence with ample emphasis on its social remit.

The active interest of Royalty considerably enhanced the Society's prestige. HRH the Duke of Sussex was appointed president in 1806 (also 1813 and 1825), while his brothers the Duke of Kent (president 1814) and the Duke of York (president 1815,'19,'21), also took enthusiastically to the Highland trappings which were a hallmark of Society meetings. Four meetings were held annually, with a resplendent annual dinner fixed (after 1801) on or near the anniversary of the Battle of Alexandria (March 21st). [Campbell A. 1983:3]

In June 1782 a list of 9 objectives was drawn up, which attest to a more philanthropic side to the Society's activities. [Table I(1)]. A large ledger book entitled

Military Pensioners 1799-1816 [268, 45] charts early charitable work in funding homeward passages for war casualties; in 1786 the Society helped establish the "British Society for extending the Fisheries", an interesting blend of philanthropy and capitalism; in 1813 it established a Gaelic chapel in London; in 1815 it founded the Royal Caledonian Asylum for Orphaned Children of Servicemen; and in 1798 it raised the London-based Royal Highland Volunteers (transformed in 1803 into the Loyal North Britons). [Campbell, A. 1983: 12-21, 31, 34].

On the musical front the Society demonstrated an early interest in both harp and bagpipe. Interest in the former, however, ended in disappointment when a young Highlander, brought to London for tuition in 1784, proved thoroughly inept, and soon found himself on a boat for Jamaica with the Society's blessing. [HSL 268, 21: 21, 31; 34: 1784-6]. Enthusiasm for the bagpipe took two main forms: the employment of individuals to play at Society meetings; and the inauguration, in 1781, of the first piping competition of its type, which the Society continued to subsidise until 1844. Both issues are discussed fully below.

The Society's literary enthusiasms were mainly addressed towards the debate over MacPherson's Ossianic verse, which raged most fiercely towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1784 the Society raised a large sum of money (much of it coming from Sir John MacGregor Murray in India) to publish MacPherson's purported original

Gaelic texts. Much of this found its way into MacPherson's pockets, but unfortunately no publication was forthcoming, and on his death in 1796 his papers passed to his executor, John MacKenzie (the Society Secretary). [Campbell A. 1983: 9]. On MacKenzie's death in 1803 the papers passed in turn to the HSS, which was engaged in an enquiry into the authenticity of MacPherson's works. [QV Ch II.8].

The Highland Society of Scotland, by contrast, was an altogether more complex organisation in terms of both membership and objectives. Remarkably, it was born of a dispute in 1783 over the results at the piping competition in Falkirk, when, in order to redress the competitors' grievances, a group of local gentlemen (led by John Clerk of Elden) arranged an alternative competition in Edinburgh a week after the main event (on October 22nd). [E.E.C. 27/10/1783]. This went off rather well, and the organisers convened to

> "talk over the good that might result to the country at large by the institution of a Society for the improvement of the Highlands". [Ramsay A. 1879: 45].

A follow-up meeting was swiftly arranged for November 3rd 1783, when the company adjourned to Fortune's Tavern where "... the claret went round freely and ... the Professor [John MacArthur] played some delightful old Highland tunes perfectly new to us". [Trigge 1783: 5; E.E.C. 27/10/1783].

Here, indeed, was Highland culture in the Nation's

capital, and by early 1784 the Society was cemented into a formal body with the Duke of Argyll at its head. [Ramsay 1870: 46]. From the outset, however, there was a dichotomy of interests. Undoubtedly one spur to the Society's formation had been the massive crop failure of 1782 which ruthlessly exposed the dangerously over-specialised Highland economy. [Ramsay 1879: 45]. Agricultural "improvement" was a topical issue in Edinburgh at the time, where the Enlightenment encompassed more than the mere cultural and academic: landowners with an eye to the future were anxious to promote agrarian reforms, and they saw in the Highland Society a potential vehicle for their interests. The Society's objectives, formulated in January 1785 [Table I(1)] demonstrate that from the very outset the economic remit was a major constituent of the Society's activities: this was to be a practical agency for economic reform in the Highlands.

The cultural remit, as can be seen, was relegated to a sub-clause in the original objectives, but in practice, as long as the founding fathers remained active, this side of the Society's activities received due attention. A bard, piper and "professor" of Gaelic were appointed [Black 1986: 7-10], and various literary projects were commissioned, such as John Gunn's excellent report on the Scottish harp. [Gunn 1807]. The Society also promoted some very substantial Gaelic scholarship, discussed below in Ch.II.8. Three members in particular sustained this cultural interest: Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (1754-

1835), Sir John MacGregor Murray (1745-1822), and Henry MacKenzie (1745-1831), lawyer and man of letters,(17) who was the real guiding hand behind the early years of the Society's activities. The former two were a particular influence on the piping activities of the Society. Sir John Sinclair, first chairman of the Board of Agriculture, and compiler of the Statistical Account (1790), was also the man who first promoted the writing of pipe music on the stave, and was in constant attendance at the Edinburgh piping competitions. [D.N.B., Black 1986:6]. Sir John MacGregor Murray was for much of his life an Officer in the East India Company,and it was in India that he discovered Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory written in 1760. He too frequently presided over the Edinburgh competition. [D.N.B.; Black 1986: 6].

This competition was run by a hard-core of enthusiasts from the Society, such as John Clerk of Elden, James Grant of Corrymony, and John Graham Dalyell. These men worked in committee, and their task was to organise the minutiae of the competition, which was funded, in its entirety, by the HSL. This was an important division of responsibilities which has often been confused: the HSL provided the money; the HSS provided the organisation.

The Impetus for Competition

The HSL's motivation for inaugurating the competition

was two-fold. On the one hand it was concerned with the preservation of a distinctively Highland music which it feared was "fast hastening to oblivion". [Sinclair J. 1813: 13]. On the other hand it was anxious to promote an instrument which had been found to have distinct military utility.

The Cultural Objective

Although the relevant minutes of the HSL are lost, an account written retrospectively in 1811 recorded that "it was determined to institute a competition of Highland pipers annually, as the only means within the reach of the Society of preserving and cultivating antient pipe music". [HSL 268, 25: 99,100].

Pipe music was, by virtue of its charter, an object of interest to the Society, but there was also a wider fear that pipe music had suffered much in the inimicable climate of the post-Culloden Highlands. This was expressed most forcibly by the contemporary writer John Ramsay of Ochtertyre:

> "Though the pipers have survived their brethren, the harpers, almost a century, they themselves will, ere long, share the same fate. The present ones are already inferior to their predecessors in knowledge and execution. Nor are they to expect encouragement from their chieftains and gentry, whose manners are formed on a new model ..." [Ramsay J. in P. MacDonald 1784: 15].

That this fear did contribute to the Society's patronage of piping was confirmed by J.G. Dalyell. [1849: 15]. Another influence at the time might well have been the precedent set by the advent of harp competitions in Ireland, the first of which took place in Longford in 1781, and which culminated in the foundation of the Belfast Harp Society in 1807. [Bunting 1796: 65; Dalyell 1849: 247].

The Military Objective

In 1781 the HSL had more than a fair-share of high ranking military officers in its ranks. Several members, indeed, had raised their own regiments (The Duke of Gordon, The Earl of Seaforth, Lord MacLeod, the Earl of Eglinton, and others), and all were undoubtedly aware not only of the utility of the bagpipe in battle, but also that there was a finite supply of pipers for the apparently insatiable demands of the War effort.

The history of the bagpipe in the British army has yet to be chronicled, but would appear to have roots in the Scots mercenary regiments which fought in the service of European powers from the sixteenth century. [vide Fischer 1902: 281]. After the Treaty of Nordlingen in 1633 three such units, including Lord Reay's "MacKay's Invincibles", were united to form the Green Brigade under Lord Hepburn in the service of France. In 1660 this unit was recalled to Britain to form the 1st Regiment of Foot (The Royal Scots), and it was in this unit in 1679 that the first official

appointment of a Pipe Major has been documented. [Boag 1975: 27; Royal Scots 1981: vii].

The first Highland Regiment, the 42nd (Black Watch) was raised in 1739, and certainly had pipers in its ranks [Barnes 1956: 67], but it was with the 7 Years War in 1756 that the Government discovered the utility of the Highlander in the service of the British Army, and commissioned two further Highland regiments, the 78th Fraser Highlanders (under Lord Lovat), and the 77th Montgomerie's Highlanders (under Archibald Montgomerie of Eglinton). This latter was of particular interest in that it was raised almost exclusively in the North-West Highlands, and included no fewer than 30 pipers and drummers in its ranks. [Stewart of Garth 1822 II: 14].

At the storming of Quebec in 1759 the Fraser Highlanders, with their pipers, did sterling work: Pennant [1774: 303], and after him the Encyclopedia Britannica [1778 Edn.], recounted how the pipers had helped turn the tide at Quebec, and from that time onwards anecdotes concerning the piper in battle began to circulate widely, and often assumed heroic proportions.(18) Individuals such as George Clarke at Vimiera (1808), Kenneth MacKay at Waterloo (1815), and, much later, piper Findlater at Dargai (1897), returned home from battle as national heroes, and undoubtedly this bolstered the army's enthusiasm for the instrument.

The American War of Independence (1776-1781), Britain's campaigns in the East and West Indies, and the

outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1793, combined to make the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a period of almost incessant warfare. Highlanders took to soldiering with enthusiasm, both in the regular regiments of the line, and in the innumerable auxiliary regiments raised for home defence.(19) The value of the bagpipe for recruiting purposes had long been acknowledged [vide Burt c.1730 (1818 Edn I: 70)], and from Skye to Perth in the 1770s the recruiting sergeant's summons was accompanied by the pibroch. [vide Grant 1959: 512; Scots Mag 40: 218]. During a recruiting drive for the Fraser Highlanders in Inverness in 1776, for instance ...

> "For three days nothing was heard but the hoarse-sounding pipe ... Saturday evening the Laird of MacIntosh, followed by several friends, the family piper and sixty recruits, marched round the town". [Scots Mag 38 (March 1776): 162].

Significantly, after the 1783 piping competition, John MacArthur was urged to establish a school for teaching pipe music,

> "the utility of which in recruiting His Majesty's army, and the military ardour with which it inspires the Highland regiments, are too well known to say anything further." [E.E.C. Oct. 27, 1783].

Although the utility of the pipe was thus acknowledged, pipers often continued to serve in an unofficial capacity (for instance as "drummers", or at the Regiment's expense), until in 1854 the War Office finally sanctioned an establishment of six pipers for certain of

the Highland regiments.(20) With the implementation of the Cardwell proposals in 1881 pipers became a permanent fixture in all Highland regiments. [Boag 1975: 30].

In the 1780's, however, the problem was simply one of finding enough pipers to meet the army's needs. It is recorded that when Campbell of Lochnell raised the 91st Highlanders in 1794, he was obliged to pay a bounty of 30 guineas for each piper, such was the shortage [Dunn-Pattison cited in PT June 1968], and it seems a strong likelihood that the supplying of this need, through the financial encouragement of piping, was a major incentive in the HSL's inauguration of the piping competition. Significantly, the competition was proposed by the Society member who possibly had the greatest first-hand experience of the value of the bagpipe in battle - Colonel Archibald Montgomerie of Eglinton (1726-1796), former Commander of the 77th Highlanders. [Sinclair J. 1813: 13].

Notes for Ch. I

(1) The MacCrimmons were the most famous of piping instructors. Valuable early references in this context are

1. A document dated 1698, in which Campbell of Glenorchy arranges for his piper MacIntyre to be sent on his "prentiseship with McCrooman ... to the Isles". [Barcaldine Papers cited R.H. MacLeod 1975].
2. An indenture, dated 9/3/1743, binding David Fraser to service as piper to Lord Lovat, and arranging tuition under "the famous Malcolm Mcgrimen". [Quoted verbatim Scotsman 9/10/81].
3. Other early literary references to the "college" : Pennant, [1774: 301]; Johnson, 1773 [1924 Edn: 152]; Boswell 1773, [1936 Edn. 264]; Encyclopedia Britannica [1778 Edn]; Ramsay of Ochtertyre [in P. MacDonald 1784: 14]; Newte [1791: 164].
4. The last of the hereditary MacCrimmons, Donald Ruadh, is discussed in depth, ch. III.

(2) Each of these subjects is well-documented. Early sources which attest to the range of the utility of the bagpipe are: MacPherson J. [1768: 328]; Dalrymple [1771 I: 50]; Pennant [1774: 301]; MacDonald P. [1784: 12]. Donald MacDonald's views [1820: 4], are representative of early 19th century writings on the issue.

(3) A much-cherished modern piping myth is that the old pipers only played Ceòl Mòr [e.g. Gordon S. 1929:III; Ross N. 1925: 163]. This, however, is abundantly disproved by poetic, literary and graphic evidence, and by the evidence of the music repertory.

(4) The MacArthurs are discussed in some detail in Ch IV.3(c).

(5) Valuable sources on the Rankins are: MacKay [1838: 13]; Matheson [1938: 251]; Gordon [1923: 105-111]; Morrison N.R. [1934]; Whyte [Celtic Monthly 19 (1911): 195-7].

(6) vide MacKay J.G. [T.G.S.I 30 (1921): 142]; Matheson W. [1953: 166].

(7) This information derives from:

1. The Contullich Papers (compiled 1706-1722). [T.G.S.I XLIV (1966): 310-348].
2. A Data sheet of Dunvegan estate rentals, compiled by Alick Morrison [Morrison n.d.], subsequently used by Dr. I.F. Grant in her history of the Clan MacLeod. [Grant I.F. 1959: 361-377, 490-91,

560-61].
3. MacLeod R.H. [1977: (a-c)].

(8) Patrick og's successor, his son Malcolm (piper c.1730-1767), initially occupied the farm of Borreraig, and later (from 1751), Borrodale. Malcolm's successors, his sons Iain Dubh and Donald Ruadh, occupied Borreraig. Other members of the family lived in Scarista, Harris, and Lowerkill, Skye. [Sources as (7) above, and Poulter and Fisher 1936/1938/1939].

(9) See, for instance:
1. Niall MacMhurich Seanachas Sloinnidh No Pìoba Bho Thùs [MacKenzie J. 1841: 67].
2. Archibald MacDonald of Keppoch [A.M. Sinclair 1896 I: 94].
3. John MacLean Moladh Na Pìoba [O'Baoill 1979: 30]
4. Lachlan MacLean Ascaoin Molaidh Na Pìoba [O'Baoill (ibid): 54].
5. John MacCodrum Diomaladh Pìoba Dhomhnaill Bhain [Matheson 1938: 63].
6. Alexander MacDonald Moladh air Pìob-Mhòir Mhic Cruimein [Watson W.J. 1959: 104].
7. Duncan Ban MacIntyre. A series of Praise poems [vide ch.II.8(b)].

(10) vide MacLean J. [1951].

(11) Latter-day members of this family appear in the Edinburgh competition records, viz:
1. Donald Ban MacIntyre, competed 1783/1785 (aged 75). [Trigge 1783; Cal Merc 3/9/1785; MacKay 1838: 14].
2. Donald Jnr, competed 1785-1793. Piper to Menzies.
3. Robert, competed 1785-1793. Son of Donald Ban, and piper to Clanranald. [Cal Merc 15/7/1790, MacAulay 1963].

(12) For early sources on the MacGregors see Murray J. [1908 III: xxxix]; Tullibardine [1908: 41]; Logan (1876 II: 268]; Whyte [1912: 207].

(13) Tunes ascribed to Ronald MacDonald of Morar are A Ghlas Mheur [PS: 8], An Tarbh Breac Dearg [PS: 105], and A Bhoilich [PS: 193]. There is also a tradition current in Morar that he wrote Maol Donn [PS 205], not to a cow, as is normally supposed, but rather to a sea shell. [MacLean C. 1958: 86]. This ascription might be supported by the sub-title for the tune in Peter Reid's 1826 Collection namely Morar's March [Reid 1826: 42].

(14) For piping during the '45 see: Woodhouselee MS [1907]; MacLeod W. [1890]; MacKay Scobie [1941]; MacLeod R.H. [1980] (a-c)].

(15) eg My King Has Landed in Moidart, Lament for Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, The Duke of Perth's March, Lord Lovat's Lament, Prince Charles' Lament, Abercairney's Salute.

(16) Court Cases involving Pipers -
Scots Magazine 1746-1782

	NAME	OCCUPATION	CRIME	SOURCE IN SCOTS MAGAZINE
Sept 1754	Angus Kennedy	Piper/ Invernessshire	Theft	(16):449
June 1759	James Wilson	Vagrant Piper/ Perthshire	House-breaking	(21):329
Aug 1759	Donald MacLean	Piper/Mull	Abduc-tion	(21):441
Jul 1769	Thomson	Piper/ Edinburgh	Murder	(31):390

(17) He is best remembered for the sentimental novel The Man of Feeling.

(18) Examples of military anecdotes are to be found in Manson (1901); MacKay Scobie (1908); Seton and Grant (1920); Malcolm (1927).

(19) e.g. 1. Militias Raised by conscription. 3 year term in U.K. 1797-1815.
2. Fencibles Volunteer Regiments. Full time U.K. Service. 1793-1802.
3. Volunteers Part-time volunteer service. Transformed into Local Militias from 1808-1816.
4. Yeomanry Mounted auxiliary. [Thorburn 1975: 249-53].

(20) Exceptions were the Scots Fusilier Guards; the 73rd, 75th and 91st Highlanders. [Boag 1975: 30].

CHAPTER II THE COMPETITION 1781-1844

(1) 1781-1785 : The Formative Years

The inaugural competition was held in the Masonic Lodge, Falkirk, during the time of the Tryst, on October 12th 1781. It was a modest affair in comparison with later events. Duncan Bàn MacIntyre opened the proceedings with a suitable oration in praise of the piòb mhòr, and thirteen pipers attended in homely attire to play to the judges, but to no audience.

> "The competitors were conducted to a room apart, where, from one of their bonnets, they drew lots for order of performance. This done, the person who drew Lot No. 1 was conducted by a private door, to a small court below the windows of the lodge, in such a manner, that the judges could neither see nor know the particular performer. Each person was to play four different tunes, while the judges continued taking accurate notes of the performance." [MacKay A. 1838: 9].

It is scarcely surprising (given that some 52 tunes were played) that the competition is said to have extended over three days. [Dalyell Gen 351D: 50]. The top prize, awarded on this occasion to Peter MacGregor of the "Clann an Sgeulaiche", consisted of 40 merks in cash, plus a specially-made prize bagpipe (a feature retained in subsequent years). Two secondary prizes of 30 merks went to Charles MacArthur, piper to the Earl of Eglinton, and John MacGregor, Peter's father; and all other competitors were provided with travel expenses in "testimony of

approbation of their merit". [E.E.C. 15/10/1781; Scots Mag 43: 553].

The competition was organised on this occasion (and also in 1782 and 1783) by a committee from the Glasgow Gaelic Club, founded in 1780, and recruited by the HSL as "the only public meeting, connected with the Highlands, at that time in existence". [Sinclair J. 1813: 13]. The judges included members of the Glasgow Society, and others, presided over by "a very fine player ... one of the first judges of the instrument in Scotland" (unfortunately unnamed). [MacKay 1838: 9].

The 1782 competition followed very similar lines, one major difference being that the competition was now held indoors in the presence of a "numerous and respectable company". [HSL 268, 15: minutes]. Another innovation was the introduction of a procession around the Falkirk Kirkyard, on the following morning, the prizewinners playing in unison. [E.E.C. 19/9/1782]. This experiment was repeated the following year in Falkirk, and in succeeding years in Edinburgh, where one observer was to bear an enduring memory of "... thirty of these musicians with colours flying, puffing, strutting and swelling through the High Street". [MacCulloch J. 1824 II: 375](2).

1783 proved a most fascinating year in the history of the competition. The Glasgow Committee demonstrated an alarming bias in awarding the prize pipe to a young favourite of their own; the competitors were outraged; and a group of local gentlemen repaired to Edinburgh where

they organised an alternative competition, out of which was born the Highland Society of Edinburgh (later Scotland).

Fortunately the whole proceedings were graphically recorded by a local businessman, Mr. David Trigge, who had been appointed by the HSL to act as their agent in Falkirk. [Trigge 1783]. He recorded how on the morning of the competition (14th October), he proceeded to Falkirk with

> "... Mr Menzies of the Customhouse, an excellent judge of our favourite ancient musick,(3) and upon horseback Professor McArthur, and afoott old McIntyre from Rannach, Gun late of the 77th, and McGrigor of the City Guard getting his lesson upon the road from McIntyre" [Trigge 1783: 1].

At Falkirk the competition was postponed for a day due to the late arrival of the Glasgow Committee, who on Trigge's evidence "were not an hour in bed, and during the competition the mug went round freely with drink to quench the druth occasioned by the overnight cups". [Trigge 1783: 2]. Matters worsened when the prize pipe was awarded to young Neil MacLean (piper to Campbell of Airds), with second prize going to Archibald MacGregor ("fourth son of old McGrigor"), and third to John MacGregor of the City Guard, whom Trigge described as "so very bad a performer that I thought the poor fellow would not have been permitted to performe." [Trigge 1783: 1].

All were astonished by the result, not least the prizewinners who were "dashed that the prizes were bestowed upon them when so many able performers were there ..." [Trigge 1783: 3]. The competitors threatened to boycott

any future event, and an alternative competition was promptly arranged in Edinburgh for the following week in order to pour oil on troubled water. [E.E.C. 20/10/1783]. This was advertised as a gathering of "a number of the oldest and the best Highland pipers, eager to give a specimen of their performance upon the bagpipe " [E.E.C. ibid], and in the event proved most successful, the prize pipe on this occasion going to the old Rannoch veteran Donald MacIntyre. Another specially-made bagpipe was awarded to "professor" John MacArthur, an eminent performer of Skye origins. [E.E.C. 27/10/1783].

Not surprisingly the HSL thereafter informed the Glasgow Gaelic club that their services would no longer be required, an arrangement to which the Club felt "no wise indisposed, but rather the contrary" [HSL 268, 1: Letter 7/10/1784], and the responsibility for running the competition devolved on the new-formed Edinburgh Society. In 1784 they appointed John Clerk of Elden to deal with the arrangements. The competition, on the HSL's request, was again advertised for the Falkirk Tryst [E.E.C. 29/9/1784], but on arriving there Clerk found that the event had been postponed for two days, and promptly returned to Edinburgh where he arranged an alternative venue, in the Assembly Hall on the High Street. [E.E.C. 16/10/1784]. Clerk felt this a superior venue for more than one reason: a much larger audience was to be had in Edinburgh than in Falkirk; judges were easier to procure in Edinburgh than in Falkirk, where suitable candidates were "engaged in the disposal of

their cattle and managing their affairs during the market"; and most of the pipers, in actual fact, lived in Edinburgh or the vicinity - factors which suggested the capital as "the most convenient, centrical and expedient place of competition". [HSS Sd. Bk. I: 50].

Sixteen pipers attended in 1784, and one remarkable feature of this competition was the appearance of several pipers representing the old hereditary orders - the very last of their type. Beyond John MacArthur, these included David Ross, piper to the Duke of Atholl; John Cumming, piper to Sir James Grant of Grant; Alexander Lamont, piper to the Laird of Lamont; Colin MacNab, piper to the Laird of MacNab; and Dugald MacDugald, piper to MacDougall of Hayfield. [E.E.C. 20/10/1784]. 1784 was also interesting in that for the first time a test piece (A Ghlas Mheur) was prescribed for all the competitors, in addition to a tune of their own choice. This experiment was repeated in 1785, but thereafter abandoned, being too time-consuming for the new highly public competitions. [Scots Mag 46: 552].

In 1785 the HSL finally agreed that "the time of the Leith Races and the centrical situation of Edinburgh" were most suitable for the competition [HSL 268, 21: 31], and the format discussed in the following pages was established, if only in fledgling form. 27 performers appeared, of whom no fewer than 6 were Fortingall MacGregors! Donald MacIntyre again won the prize pipe; Clanranald declared his "approbation of the whole performers"; and the scene was set for 47 years of

exhilarating competition. [Cal Merc: 3/9/1785]. Duncan Bàn, in contemplative mood, solemnly intoned from the stage of the Assembly Rooms:

> Tha coi-thionail rìoghail Ghaidheil,
> An tràths 'am baile Dhun-Eidin,
> A' cumail 'am pris na Gaelic,
> A thaobh nàduir o's coinn Beurla;
> 'S a' gleidheadh Pìob mhòr nar b'àbhaist,
> O's cionn clàrsaich, na ceol theudan;
> 'S an dà thiol-inntin sin fhàgail
> Aig' an àlach thig 'nar déigh-ne.
>
> (The Royal Highland Gathering
> is now in Edinburgh town,
> rating Gaelic as being
> inherently superior to English;
> holding the great pipe, as of yore,
> above the harp or music of strings;
> and handing on those two delights
> to the generation that succeeds us.)
>
> D. MacIntyre "Rann Do'n Ghaelic, 's Do'n Phiob Mhoir", 1785
> [In A. MacLeod 1952]

Table II/1

"Places of Public Amusement During the Race Week in Edinburgh."

	Plays	Races	Assemblies	Concerts	Highland Pipers	Circus	Weir's Museum	Public Breakfasts	Royal Archers	Balls & Suppers	SOURCE
1790	6	6	3		1	9	6				Cal Merc July 15 1790
1797	6	6	2	1	1						Scots Mag 59 (July 1797):50
1799	6	6	3	1	1						Scots Mag 61 (Aug 1799):574
1802	6	6	3		1			6	1	2	Scots Mag 63 (Aug 1802):705
1803	6	6	3	3	1				1		Scots Mag 65 (Aug 1803):581

Table II/2

J. G. Dalyell's Advice to Competitors, 1841.

"1. All must be perfectly sober at public competition.

2. Bagpipes to be in perfect order. Every piper should play on his own pipe, he was best acquainted with it. A minister preached best in his own pulpit.

3. All previous tuning to be as far as possible beyond hearing of the audience. Pipe never to be touched for tuning in the course of performance.

4. While performing to front the audience and not the judges.

5. His piece must close with a note on the key or in unison with his drones."

[Dalyell Gen.374D:14]

(2) The Competition and Race Week: A Theatrical Dimension

With the possible exception of the annual Grants Whisky competition, held in the antlered splendour of Blair Castle, no modern piping competition could hope to rival the spectacle of the Edinburgh competitions in their heyday - precision-run events playing to packed houses in the best theatre in town.

Where the modern competitor tends to be greeted by a hushed and intense smattering of kilt-clad cognoscenti, his counterpart in 1820 would observe from the stage of the Theatre Royal the ranks of the most fashionable society in town, occasionally exuberant to the point of disorder [Dalyell Gen 360D:41, 379D:11], scarcely well-versed in the intricacies of Ceòl Mòr. In 1787 there were six hundred people in the audience; in 1835, over fifteen hundred. Why did they come?

At the broadest level we can point to the prevailing literary romanticism of the period, which undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of a 'National Exhibition' of this kind, bringing as it did the Romantic Gael, with his music and dance, onto the Edinburgh stage. At a more immediate level, the competition was a success because it was well-run and interesting, and because it coincided with the Leith Races, a week-long carnival attracting both high and low society to town, intent on entertainment.

The idea of holding the competition during the Races, usually in late July, was first mooted by John Clerk of

Elden in 1784. He considered this a suitable time, being "after the hay season and before the general harvest when the pipers as servant farmers or others cannot so conveniently be absent from their homes." [HSS Sd. Bk. I: 47-9]. The Races themselves had a chequered history. In 1665 the King and the Edinburgh Town Council each donated a silver cup for competition on Leith Sands. By the mid eighteenth century a two-day meeting had been prolonged to a week, with a daily race generally run over twelve miles. By the end of the century the event had developed a rather unsavoury reputation, with the final day often degenerating into "a chaos of fighting, destruction and debauchery." [Marshall 1976: 54] It is this ruder aspect of the meeting, with its colourful panoply of hawkers, hucksters, brew-wives and buskers, which Robert Fergusson commemorates in his poem Leith Races (1773):

> The tinkler billies i' the Bow
> Are now less eidant clinking,
> As lang's their pith or siller dow,
> They're daffin, and they're drinking.
> Bedown LEITH-WALK what burrochs reel
> Of ilka trade and station,
> That gar their wives an' childer feel
> Toom weyms for their libation
> O' drink their days.
> [Fergusson Leith Races 1925: 35]

Not all was intemperance, however. A child who visited the 1797 meeting remembered "the usual sprinkling of 'rolly-polly' men, ballad singers, recruiting parties, bagpipers and organ grinders" [Philo Scotus 1861: 77], and for genteel society, Race Week provided a daily diet of

plays, assemblies and concerts to supplement the equestrian amusements. The organisers of the piping competition cannily pitched their event in this vein: an English visitor in 1807 recorded that "the pipers are intended as a sort of dessert to the Leith Races ... as soon as the Races are concluded it is the fashion to attend the theatre." [Carr 1809: 178] That the competition came to be seen as a Society event, is confirmed by the fact that for several years it was advertised amongst other "places of Amusement during the Race Week." (Table II/(1)).

The securing of a good audience was a constant preoccupation of the competition committee. Newspaper reports flattered the "numerous, genteel and fashionable" audiences, and thanked them profusely for their countenance and support. [eg Cal. Merc. August 6, 1807, July 19 1817]; and when in 1824 the Races were re-scheduled for mid-June, it was deemed necessary to hold the competition "at some convenient time towards the end of July, when preparatory to the shooting season a good many strangers are usually in town, and when there may be some actor of eminence at the theatre." [HSSPMB:2]

Ever-mindful of the precept that a large and happy audience helps to balance the books, great pains were taken to diversify the entertainment to make it palatable even to those who disliked the bagpipe. Highland dances were regularly interspersed between tunes; former winners played special exhibition pieces; youthful performers, such as 12 year old John MacDonald from Fortingall (1824),

and four boys including Angus Mackay in 1825, were encouraged as particularly endearing to the audience; war veterans were paraded and commended; and all appeared spectacularly clad in the Highland Dress. To top it all, the Preses concluded with a suitably stirring oration: "There is not sound", declared Sir John Sinclair in 1813, "which the immortal Wellington hears with more delight, or the Marshalls of France with more dismay, than the notes of the Highland pibroch." [Cal. Merc. July 31 1813]

The organisers were also sensitive to the need for a professional and slick display. Rehearsals were held to brief the competitors and weed out the poorer performers. Table II/(2) contains a summary of advice given by organiser J.G.Dalyell to the competitors before the 1841 competition (using his own words, as recorded in his notebook). Much of this advice holds good for today, and many a modern audience would be delighted if tuning were now kept to a minimum as Dalyell then insisted. The purpose of these strictures was to ensure that the competition ran smoothly, and ran to time. [Dalyell Gen 350D: 36].

Finally, we might consider some of the purely theatrical aspects of the performance. "Highland scenery" was first used when the competition was held for four years (1790-94) at The Circus, a venue which concentrated on circus and equestrian displays. [Cal Merc 12/7/1790]. Gas lighting was introduced in the Theatre Royal in the mid-1820s, and was much praised. (It produced "a softness

and delicacy of shade which harmonised very well with the display of beauty and fashion in the boxes". [Cal. Merc. July 11 1825]) And the idea of lining up competitors on stage before the opening curtain, for them to be "beheld as descending from their native mountains while the curtain rises", was first implemented on the suggestion of J.G.Dalyell in 1821. [Cal. Merc. Aug 4 1821, Dalyell 350D:36] This had been refined by 1844 to the point where competitors traversed the stage "entering behind the screens and coming from behind them so that their numbers were apparently doubled". [Dalyell Gen 379D:10]

The payoff, for the organisers and competitors alike, came in the form of packed houses, good theatre takings, lavish prizes, and the potential for the competitor to be spotted, and employed. For the audience this was more than just a piping competition, it was a "National Exhibition", and it was worth attending. In 1822, for instance,

> ..."the house was crowded in every part; in the boxes particularly, there was a most brilliant assembly of our fair countrywomen, some of whom were in the full highland costume of tartan robes and bonnets. When the curtain was raised the whole competitors, pipers and dancers, were seen arranged round the stage, and the various chequers of the lively tartans worn by above sixty five Highlanders in their full native dress, had a very grand effect." [Cal. Merc. Aug 3 1822]

Theatrical Offshoots

One indicator of the success of the Edinburgh competition as a stage spectacle, is seen in the fact that

it soon spawned theatrical imitations. The prime example of this was a show mounted by entrepreneur William McGlashan in Edinburgh and London in 1817/1818, but as early as 1792 pipers and dancers were to be found performing amongst the wire dancers and slack rope walkers at The Circus. [Cal Merc. July 26 1792].

McGlashan's show was staged at Corri's Pantheon in August 1817, featuring several performers from the piping competition of that year. In format it was identical to the competition, with profits destined "for the support of those decayed Highlanders who have competed before the public for a number of years." [Scrapbook of Musical Activities, Edinburgh Central Library, III:41]. This seems to have been reasonably successful, and the show moved to London, under the patronage of the Duke of Sussex, in February 1818. There a "competition of Highlanders on the Great Bagpipes, the Broadswords, the Dirk and Target" was mounted at the Royal English Opera House. [Letter Arnold/MacGillivray, 4 February 1818, HSL 268 Box 1]. One person who saw this show was the historian James Logan [1876 II: 312], but on the whole the Londoners showed little interest, and by July McGlashan and his performers were forced to seek financial help from the HSL. McGlashan put his misfortune down to "the novelty of the entertainment which is purely Scottish", and pleaded that he had "ruined himself entirely for the support of his countrymen." [Letter McGlashan/MacQueen July 21 1818, HLS 268 Box 1].

A more dignified petition from the performers showed that they had been duped by a worthless £190 Bill, and by the promise that prizes were to be bestowed for their performance, as in Edinburgh. Amongst the signatories were William MacKay, later piper to the Celtic Society, and Donald MacDonald, pipe maker in Edinburgh. [Petition July 1818, 268, 1]. The HSL's reaction is not on record.

Table II/3

YEAR	DATE	VENUE	Pipers	In Public	Eliminated at Rehearsa	Others	COMPETITION DATA REGULATIONS	Cash from HSL	£-s-d Cash at Door	Balance after Outlay
1781	Oct 20	Mason Lodge, Falkirk		13	-	-	4 tunes each. Lots drawn. 3 prizes. Held in courtyard.	na	-	-
1782	Oct 15	Mason Lodge, Falkirk		na	-	-	4 tunes each. Performance in separate room from judges.	na	-	-
1783	Oct 15	Falkirk		17	-	-	Audience in attendance.	17-7-2	-	-
1783	Oct 22	Dunn's Assembly Rooms		12	-	-	Tunes prescribed by John MacArthur.	na	-	-
1784	Oct 19	Assembly Hall, High St.		16	-	-	Glasmheur + tune of choice.	20-0-0	-	-
1785	Aug 30	Dunn's Assembly Rooms		24	-	3	Failte a Phrionnsa + tune of choice.	22-15-0	-	-
1786	July 31	Dunn's Assembly Rooms		26	-	2	Highland Dress obligatory. One tune entered and played.	20-0-0	-	-
1787	July 23	Assembly Rooms, George St.		na	-	-		20-0-0	-	-
1788	July 28	Assembly Rooms		na	-	-		20-0-0	-	-
1789	Aug 3	Assembly Rooms		na	-	-		20-0-0	-	-
1790	July 13	The Circus		9	-	4		20-0-0	-	-
1791 to 1805	July 9/ Aug 6	The Circus (1791-3) Theatre Royal (1794-1805)		na	-	-	No information.	20-0-0	na	na
1806	Aug 5	Theatre Royal		22	-	2	6 tunes entered. Judges' choice. Disqualification for dissent.	20-0-0	127-12-0	na
1807	Aug 4	Theatre Royal		22	-	3		20-0-0	88-2-0	zero
1808	July 26	Theatre Royal		19	-	-		20-0-0	130-3-0	na
1809	Aug 1	Theatre Royal		20	-	3	Prizes increased to 5.	20-0-0	134-5-0	9-19-6
1810	July 31	Old Theatre Shakespeare Square		13	-	4		20-0-0	130-1-0	8-7-2
1811	July 23	New Theatre Royal		14	-	5		20-0-0	140-15-6	16-9-5
1812	July 28	ditto		13	-	4		20-0-0	136-3-0	17-0-10
1813	July 28	ditto		12	-	2		20-0-0	118-15-0	na
1814	Aug 3	ditto		14	-	5		20-0-0	120-15-0	na
1815	July 26	ditto		23	-	5		20-0-0	163-17-0	8-4-3
1816	July 31	ditto		23	-	3		20-7-4	125-0-0	na
1817	July 17	ditto		24	-	3		20-0-0	na	na
1818	July 23	ditto		22	-	3	Dress prizes introduced.	26-6-0	137-10-0	na
1819	July 28	New Theatre Royal		16	10	3	Eliminations at Rehearsal. "Extra Prize" introduced.	26-6-0	114-9-0	na
1820	July 19	ditto		16	11	4		26-6-0	121-2-6	na
1821	July 31	ditto		17	6	4		26-6-0	138-0-0	- 1-3-3
1822	July 30	ditto		17	17	6		26-6-0	140-0-0	- 1-10-3
1823	July 29	ditto		16	12	2	12 tunes entered. Disqualification for drunkenness.	26-6-0	154-0-0	5-19-2
1824	July 28	ditto		16	12	1		26-6-0	136-0-0	na
1825	July 9	ditto		14	13	-		26-6-0	114-6-0	zero
1826	June 19	ditto		15	11	-		26-6-0	83-5-0	- 2-12-7
1829	July 29	ditto		15	10	1	Triennial competition. Testimonials required. Dancing prizes.	73-10-0	129-4-0	na
1832	July 25	ditto		15	9	1		73-10-0	150-18-0	5-8-0
1835	July 22	ditto		13	17	-	Gold Medal competition (5 entered).	78-15-0	190-11-0	11-7-0
1838	July 21	ditto		15	6	-		73-10-0	162-12-0	12-1-5
1841	July 17	ditto		17	4	-	Source: Competition Data.	73-10-0	167-18-0	- 4-17-9
1844	July 10	ditto		14	14	-		73-10-0	150-0-0	- 9-3-6

From the Dean
Professor Sidney F.A. Kettle

(3) JUDGING AND MANAGEMENT

a. Entrance Requirements

Table II(3) contains a synopsis of data concerning the competition, including dates, venues, and regulations for competitors.

Tunes. Probably the major issue from the competitor's standpoint concerned the number of tunes required. As already stated, in 1781 and 1782 each competitor played four pieces, and in 1784 and 1785 a test piece was played in addition to a tune of the competitor's choice. This process proved time-consuming, and between 1786 and 1806 only one tune, of the competitor's choice, was entered and played [Cal. Merc. July 29 1786]. Between 1806 and 1823 six tunes were required, the judges selecting the tune to be played both at the rehearsal and at the public contest. [HSS Sd. Bk. 4/1: 234]. From 1823 until the conclusion of the competition in 1844 twelve tunes were required from each competitor. The judges selected the tune to be played at the rehearsal; the competitor selected the tune for the competition. [HSSPMB: 9, 10].

Drawing Lots. The precedent of drawing lots to determine order of play, set between 1781 and 1784, was entirely abandoned until 1826, when it was reintroduced on the grounds that those playing towards the end were believed to stand the better chance of winning. [HSL 268, 2: 27/10/1826].

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Testimonials. Up until 1829 the only other requirements made of competitors were that they wear the Highland dress (from 1786), and that they abide by the disciplinary code of the contest. In 1829 it was further decided that in order to be allowed to play, each piper should produce either a certificate showing that he had won a prize at a local meeting, or a testimonial from his Commanding Officer (if a Regimental piper), or from three local Gentlemen. The object was to deter entries from pipers "not properly qualified", and also to encourage competitions "at the provincial and district Highland Societies". [HSL 268, 27, 3 May 1828].

b. Rehearsals

Rehearsals were a regular feature of the competition and fulfilled three main functions. In the early years they afforded an opportunity for pipers and dancers to practice their material; from 1819 they acted as an elimination round to keep numbers performing in public down to approximately fifteen; and from 1829, a special "rehearsal" was held at which the dancing prizes were adjudicated.

From the start the rehearsals provided an opportunity for judges to familiarise themselves with the competitors, a system of pre-adjudication which was formalised in 1819 when it was decided to eliminate poorer candidates at the rehearsal. This was essential, as

entries had been boosted by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the return of Army pipers to civilian life. Some committee members considered twelve competitors sufficient for the public performance ("so as not to tire the audience"), but in practice fourteen to seventeen performers proved the norm. [HSSPMB : 34]. The process of elimination was eased by the attendance of several competitors "of such inferior attainments as to preclude all chances of success". [Dalyell 1849 : 98].

c. Appointment of Judges

There can be little doubt that by modern standards the quality of judging at the Edinburgh competitions was low. Judges were drawn from the class of Society which patronised piping, whether it be in the army or on the estate, and were often members of the London and Scottish Highland Societies. The main qualities sought were enthusiasm and support for the Highland lifestyle; knowledge of pibroch was a secondary, though valued, accomplishment.

Judges were appointed by the HSS committee responsible for the competition. A minimum quorum was five [HSS Sd.Bk.2:210], but in years such as 1800 as many as 26 were appointed, plus "any other members...from the Highlands, of known skill in the ancient military music who may come to town." [HSS Sd.Bk.1:60]. A proven interest in piping secured a place on the judges panel, as is

Table II/4

INDIVIDUALS WHO JUDGED ON THREE OR MORE OCCASIONS

Lord Viscount Arbuthnot (1821-3)*	Lamont of Lamont (1798-1811)
Arch'd Butter of Faskally (1829-41)	Major Menzies 42nd Regt. (1818-41)
Charles Campbell of Combie (1820-2)	Lord MacDonald (1795-1824)
Duncan Cameron of Fassiefern (1817-22)	MacDonald of Clanranald (1783-1807)
John Clerk of Elden (1784-93)	MacNab of MacNab (1785-1812)
John Clerk of Pennycuick (1784-93)	MacDonald of Staffa (1798-1835)
J.G. Dalyell (1816-44)	MacDonald of Sanda (1787-98)
General A. Duff (1821-9)	MacDonald of Dalness (1798-1832)
Admiral Fraser (1815-18)	Sir George Mackenzie of Coul (1816-18)
Mr. Fraser of Gortuleg (1787-98)	Sir John MacGregor Murray (1798-1818)
Earl of Fife (1817-25)	Colonel A. MacGregor Murray (1804-13)
Dr. Gregory Grant (1785-98)	Allan MacDougall of Hayfield (1786-93)
Mr. Isaac Grant (1786-93)	Colonel MacQuarrie (1810-23)
Mr. Grant of Corrymoney (1787-1813)	Lt. Colonel MacDonald, 92nd (1819-23)
James Grant (1816-25)	Lt. Colonel MacBean (1822-32)
Colonel F.W. Grant (1804-8)	George Robertson (1819-41)
Charles Gordon (1825-32)	Sir John Sinclair (1800-32)
Major John Gordon (1823-5)	General Stirling (1813-24)
Joseph Gordon of Carroll (1820-23)	Alex. Young of Harbourn (1823-32)
Gilbert Innes of Stow (1800-29)	

(* Brackets denote approximate years of involvement. Individuals did not appear in every year bracketed.)

Sources: Annual competition data.

Table II/5

RECOMMENDED JUDGES FOR THE 1826 COMPETITION

Mr. Stewart of Ardvorlich
Mr. James Gillespie Davidson
The Hon. John Stuart
Colonel Gordon late 93rd Regiment
Major Menzies
Colonel Farquarson 26th Regiment

[HSSPMB:43]

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demonstrated in the following correspondence between the Society's secretary, and Sir J.H. Mackenzie of Delvin in 1838:

> "At a meeting of the Committee for conducting the competition of pipers, I mentioned to them, as I saw from the entries of intending competitors, that you encouraged the ancient music and kept a piper - they accordingly added your name as one of the committee of judges for awarding the premiums". [Letter Gordon/Mackenzie 19 July 1838, HSSPMB:131]

Data concerning judges is available for 35 of the 52 competitions. At least 166 judges were involved, and Table II/4 lists 39 individuals who judged on more than three occasions. The normal pattern was for a hard-core of committee members to be joined, as available, by high-ranking chiefs and military officers. Typical of the active local membership were John Clerk of Elden (involved between 1784 and 1793), Dr Gregory Grant (1785-98), Gilbert Innes of Stow (1800-1818), George Robertson (1819-41), and John Graham Dalyell (1816-44).

Of the more aristocratic members the outstanding figures were Sir John Sinclair (involved 1800-1832) and Sir John MacGregor Murray (1798-1818). Both acted as Preses on several occasions, delivering the prizes, and concluding the proceedings with a suitably stirring speech. The Preses was most frequently a Highland chief "selected on account of his rank, talents, acknowledged patriotism". [Dalyell 1849: 100]. Amongst the most enthusiastic supporters of the competition were the Laird of Lamont

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(1798-1811), the Laird of MacNab (1785-1812), Lord MacDonald (1795-1824), and military men such as Colonel MacQuarrie (1810-1823) and Lt. Colonel MacBean of the 78th (1822-32). Also appearing on the judges panel from time to time were several Highland chiefs with long-standing piping ties: Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm (1832); James Grant of Glenmoriston (1824); Alexander MacLean of Coll (1782-1805); Murdoch MacLean of Lochbuy (1819, 20); MacDonald of Clanranald (1783-1807); MacDougall of MacDougall (1791); General Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (1798); MacLeod of Raasay (1805); the MacDonalds of Staffa, Sanda, Dalness and Glenaladale; and many more.

The Society were not altogether blind to the fact that impressive Highland pedigree did not necessarily make for astute judging. Prior to the 1826 competition a list of six "good judges of pipe music" was drawn up (Table II/5), and on several occasions it was suggested that judges might "take opinion of those who have formerly gained prizes". [Kilberry II: 39 (1823)]. This was most forcibly put in 1824, when it was suggested that two former winners should "take notes of the merits of the performers, and accompany the judges when they retire to state their opinions ..." [HSSPMB: 32]. The proposal was quashed on the grounds that pipers could not be trusted to give an impartial judgement. As a concession on this occasion, Donald MacDonald the pipe maker, and Donald MacLean, piper to the HSS, were instructed to attend on the stage, and make themselves available for consultation if required

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[HSSPMB: 33]. Further proposals along similar lines in 1832 and 1838 fared equally badly, in 1838 on the grounds that "this course had been tried at some local competitions and had given great dissatisfaction to the competitors". [HSSPMB: 81, 141].

d. A Ladder of Preference

In practice, judges' decisions were made easier by the implementation of a system whereby competitors tended to move slowly up the prize list over the years. After 1785, when Donald MacIntyre from Rannoch won the prize pipe for a second time, a rule was introduced whereby a piper could only win a higher prize than he had previously gained, or nothing at all. This system was reinforced in 1829 when it was decreed that where pipers were of equal merit, the longest-serving competitor should be given the preference. [HSSPMB: 68].

Table II/6 outlines the competitive careers of six pipers to illustrate this point. Some, such as John Ban Mackenzie, progressed swiftly through the prize list; others, like Donald Scrymgeour from Strathtay, attended for over a decade before winning the top prize. Many never made the prize list at all. Angus Cameron from Rannoch, for instance, appeared faithfully at every contest between 1823 and 1844, and rarely made it beyond the rehearsal. Pipers who had won the prize pipe were allowed to continue attending the competition, but not to compete. They instead played "exhibition tunes", and were well paid for

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Table II/6

COMPETITIVE CAREERS OF SIX PIPERS

John Campbell, Nether Lorn (Owner of the Campbell Canntaireachd)

1808 - unplaced
1815 - 4th
1816 - 3rd
1817 - unplaced
1818 - 2nd
1819 - 1st

Peter Forbes, Foss, Perthshire

1805 - 3rd
1806 - unplaced
1807 - unplaced
1808 - 2nd
1809 - 1st

Adam Graham, Pipe-Major, Roxburgh Militia

1810 - unplaced
1811 - 3rd
1812 - 2nd
1818 - unplaced
1819 - unplaced
1820 - Extra Prize
1821 - 1st

Malcolm MacGregor, Glasgow (later piper to HSL)

1802 - 3rd
1803 - 2nd
1804 - 1st

John Ban Mackenzie

1820 - 4th (piper to G.L. Mackenzie of Applecross
1821 - 3rd (piper to Duncan Davidson of Tulloch)
1822 - 2nd ditto
1823 - 1st ditto

Donald Scrymgeour, Strathtay

1812 - 5th
1814 - 3rd
1815-1821 - unplaced
1822 - Extra Prize
1823 - unplaced
1824 - 1st

SOURCES: Annual Competition Data,

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their efforts. (Six former winners appeared in 1815, for instance, and received payments ranging from 3 guineas to 1 guinea. [HSL 268, 26: 119]).

The system had its flaws. Good pipers might be frustrated in having to serve time to win the prize pipe; poorer pipers might progress by virtue of long attendance, possibly assisted by some lobbying on their behalf by their patrons. This last issue is hard to judge. When J.H. MacKenzie lobbied for some special favour for his piper, John MacAllister, in 1844, Charles Gordon, the HSS Secretary, responded indignantly:

> "He must stand on his own merits. You allude to my <u>influence</u>; but merit alone is the test at these competitions". [HSSPMB: 6 July 1844].

This, however, did not prevent proprietors from <u>trying</u>: in 1819, for instance, Moray of Abercairney pleaded the case for his piper (William Fraser) who fared poorly at the rehearsal by virtue of "his reeds being new and having gone wrong" [Kilberry I: 9]; and in 1820 Farquarson of Invercauld remarked pointedly that his piper (William Fisher) had been to Donald MacDonald for tuition, and that he trusted "his exertions will be duly considered by the judges". [Kilberry I: 12, 13].

<u>Dissent and Discipline</u>. It is little wonder that pipers occasionally disputed the results, much to the embarrassment of the organisers. In 1806 Archibald

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MacArthur from Ulva refused 2nd prize, and was disqualified. [Cal. Merc. Aug 7 1806]. In 1824 Kenneth MacRae, piper to the Earl of Caithness, refused the Extra Prize "in a very unbecoming manner on the stage", and declared himself "shamefully used". He too was banned. [HSSPMB: 11, 16, 17, 19]. And in 1841 the judges erred in failing to award the prize pipe to Donald Cameron, in favour of Donald MacInnes from Lochaber (4). (Cameron was second in 1838, and first in 1844.) Dalyell recorded in his notebook:

> "... Great dissatisfaction prevails at the first prize having been voted to Donald MacInnes, as the general opinion is in favour of Donald Cameron as considerably superior ... This dissatisfaction has increased so much that it is now generally admitted that the committee has been mistaken" [Dalyell Gen. 374D: 18].

It was in order to avoid such embarrassing incidents, as well as to deal with problems such as drunkenness, that the Society implemented a severe disciplinary code:

TABLE II/7

Offences Leading to Disqualification	Year	Source
1. Refusal of a prize.	1806	HSS Sd.Bk.4/1:234
2. Disagreement on "any point connected with the competition".	1823	HSSPMB: 9,10.
3. Drunkenness.	1823	ibid.
4. Improper conduct on stage.	1826	HSSPMB: 46.
5. Intentional performance of wrong tune.	1826	ibid.

Several performers felt the weight of this code. In 1815 John Ross, piper in the 78th Highlanders, was returned to barracks in Aberdeen for some unspecified "irregularity" [HSL 268, 26: 120]; in 1825, 1829 and 1832 dancers were disqualified for drunkennes; in 1838 five dancers were caught wrongly claiming travelling expenses when they actually lived in Edinburgh [HSSPMB: 148]; and in 1823 an unfortunate piper from Golspie named Trentham Mackay was disqualified for disputing the quality of his instrument with a judge. [1823 Accounts, HSL 268, 19]. He was eventually reinstated in 1826 after an abject apology, and an assurance that he was not competing for the money, but to "make a periodic display of his improvement in the ancient music". [Petition May 1826, HSL 268, 2; HSSPMB: 30, 48].

One unsavoury feature of the competition was that jealousies and tensions between competitors occasionally surfaced. In 1821, for instance, "D. McK." (who might be

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identified as Donald Mackay who was then present), informed the Society that John Cameron, piper in the Lanarkshire Militia, was

> "always cursing and damning the members of the Society and he said there is no justice amongst you and he is going this only once for to hell with the whole of the body for their misconduct and not dealing with justice to him he says that he should have got the Pipes long ago". [Kilberry II: 3].

The informant signed himself "a well wisher to the whole Society". Donald Mackay was 2nd on this occasion, and John Cameron 4th. [Cal Merc. Aug 4 1821].

Despite such obvious flaws, it is likely that the best pipers did make it to the prize lists. Judges might not be au fait with the intricacies of pibroch, but they were assuredly aware of who the best pipers were in popular esteem, and acted accordingly. This was an era which produced pipers talked-of to the present day - Angus Mackay, John Ban Mackenzie, Donald Cameron - and all won the prize pipe in Edinburgh.

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(4) Triennial Competitions: 1829-1844

The 1820s proved lean years for the Edinburgh competition. Competitors attended as enthusiastically as ever, but audiences fell off drastically.

In many ways the event was simply the victim of what Dalyell termed "the extraordinary depression of the times" - the fierce economic depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars. [Dalyell Gen 356D: 7]. Victory at Waterloo had ensured four or five good years as, basking in reflected glory, audiences had come to see the heroes of the continental campaigns. Door takings in 1815 were £163, a figure surpassed only in 1830s. By 1821, however, takings had fallen to £138, and the competition went into the red for the first time. In 1826 takings were a mere £83; expenses paid out to competitors (another useful indicator) were at an all-time low; and the competition was in debt to the tune of £2.12.7 [Financial Data, summarised in Table II(3)].

The HSS found a number of contributory causes for their misfortune: the popularity of the Edinburgh Races was much diminished, and audiences had declined correspondingly; provincial Highland Gatherings were beginning to prove a powerful counter-attraction; and Dalyell believed that the 1826 competition had been poorly advertised, and had suffered from being moved to June to accommodate the Races. [Letter Gordon/Wedderburn 27 Oct 1826, HSL 268: 2; Dalyell 356D: 7].

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It was decided that the best way to revive the competition's flagging fortunes was to put it on a three-yearly footing. The HSL had previously considered, and rejected this expedient (in 1803/4), but was now happy to accept the HSS's request to "hold it only once in every two or three years, and let the prizes be increased or extended by the reservation of the usual annual vote entirely for this purpose". [Letter 27 October 1826 (op. cit.); HSL 268, 24: 35, 59] (6).

The first "Great Triennial Competition" was set for July 1829, and the prize money was increased to 70 guineas [HSSPMB: 67, 9]. The press were informed that the move had been made "... in order that the progressive improvement of the performers might be more sensibly manifested" [Cal Merc 1 Aug 1829]; Dalyell harboured the opinion that the change "to say the truth, resulted from avoiding the great trouble of the preliminary arrangements". [1849: 97]. By this stage the HSS was primarily a society of agriculturalists, with scant enthusiasm for such 'cultural' matters.

Dalyell himself was critical of the change, which he felt gave the pipers insufficient incentive to practice, and led to a decline in playing standards. Pipers were not to be encouraged by "hopes of recompense deferred, and distant prospects of victory". [Dalyell 1849: 97, 358D: 82, 369D; 49, 50]. This fear was to some extent confirmed by a letter from William Smith of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders in April 1828. Smith was of a well-known Inverness piping

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family (his brother was piper to the Earl of Seafield), and served 21 years in the 92nd, retiring with the rank of Pipe Major in 1839. [PT Feb 1975: 31]. He wrote on behalf of "The North Country Pipers":

> "The disapointment they met with this year has done them a great dale of harm, with regard to the studding of the Bagpipes music. In the event of no competition - the pipers will turn carless of learning - especially the young ones ... Strengthen the hands that hange down - and do not forget your ancistorale music."
> [Letter Smith/MacDonald 2 April 1828. HSL 268, 3].

In some ways such fears were justified, for the latter part of the nineteenth century did witness an alarming decline in the playing of pibroch, which occasioned the formation of the Piobaireachd Society in 1902. On the other hand, the provincial games, and the new competition music of the March, Strathspey and Reel, flourished, and there is no indication that either numbers or playing standards dropped as the century progressed. In the short term, the expedient of introducing a three-yearly competition was highly successful. The competition's financial fortunes were revived (door takings of £129 in 1829, £190 in 1835), and there is every indication that it remained a major and popular event until its demise in 1844.

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(5) The Gold Medal, 1835

In 1835 a special Gold Medal competition was held to determine the title "Champion of Pipers". It was open to former winners of the prize pipe, and was intended to "serve as a stimulus for good pipers to continue their attention and improve their play". [HSSPMB: 67]. Despite fears that an excessive number of competitors would appear, only five came forward on the day. These were John Ban Mackenzie, then piper to Breadalbane (winner in 1823); John MacGregor (V), former piper to Atholl (winner in 1811); John Gordon, piper to McInroy of Lude (winner in 1826); William Mackay, piper to the Celtic Society (winner in 1820); and Donald MacRae from Applecross, who was then aged 80, and blind, and had won the prize pipe in 1791! MacRae (1755-1854) did not perform in public, but was presented with a special silver medal in recognition of his long piping career. He had been Pipe Major to the 72nd Seaforth Highlanders (1784-89), and the 78th Rosshire Buffs (1793-1802), and on this occasion, two of his piping sons, Alexander and John, also competed in the competition for the prize pipe. [HSL 268, 19: 1835 Accounts; PT Sept 1972: 32; Int. Piper August 1981: 14].

The Gold Medal was won by John Ban Mackenzie playing The Gordon's Salute. Dalyell privately considered that

> ..."John MacGregor showed higher proficiency, in taking into account the perfect tune of his performance and of his instrument. The drones were scarcely heard from the perfection of the unison." [Dalyell Gen 369D: 49].

John MacGregor and John Gordon were awarded 3 guineas each. William Mackay, who was eliminated at the rehearsal, was given £2. [1835 Accounts (op. cit.)]. The experiment was not repeated while the Edinburgh competition lasted, but the title "Champion of Pipers" was bestowed on three further occasions at the Northern Meeting in Inverness - in 1867 (Donald Cameron), 1873 (Ronald Mackenzie), and 1876 (Duncan MacDougall). All were pupils of John Ban Mackenzie. In 1896 a formal clasp competition for former winners was introduced at the Northern Meeting. [Campbell A 1955(a) (b) (c)].

(6) Dancing

J.F. and T.M. Flett in their useful review of Highland dancing at the Edinburgh competitions [Flett 1956] successfully disprove the prevalent notion that competitive Highland dancing was a product of the Victorian era. In actual fact, as early as 1783 in Edinburgh "several of the pipers afforded no small entertainment by giving a specimen of their agility and spirit in Highland dancing" [E.E.C. 27/10/1783], and with the introduction of cash prizes in 1829, the first generation of competitive Highland dancers took to the boards.

In the earliest years of the competition it was the pipers themselves who provided both the music and the dancing. In 1784 Faujas St. Fond witnessed "a lively and animated dance formed by one half of the pipers, while the others played suitable airs" [St. Fond 1784: 252], and throughout the entire course of the competition the pipes continued to play for the Gille Calum, or Sword Dance. From 1801, however, all other dances were accompanied by an instrumental band, which by 1835 had grown to an 16-piece orchestra comprising violins, horns, cellos, basses and flute, but not, as Collinson has maintained, bellows-blown pipes. [Collinson 1975: 182; HSSPMB: 125].

Specialist Highland dancers started to appear at the competition as early as 1810, but it was with the introduction of dancing prizes in 1829 that numbers soared to the extent that the organisers were forced to curb stage

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appearances. (The Fletts estimate that some 170 dancers performed between 1816 and 1844 [Flett J. & T.: 349]). Prizes came about as a direct result of public lobbying. A letter to the organisers in 1817 complained that

> "... two thirds of the audience ... comes merely to see the dancers, and they have always been disappointed in never seeing any prize bestowed upon the best dancers". [Flett J. & T: 347].

The organisers took heed, and spurred also by a perceived decline in dancing standards, introduced four prizes valued at 10 guineas in 1829 (increased to eight prizes in 1841). [HSSPMB: 62; HSL 268, 17: 1829; 19: 1844]. Adjudication, however, did not take place at the public contest, but rather at a private sitting two days before the main event. Selected exhibition dances continued to be performed in public.

The "Highland Reel" was the staple of early performances, and it was not until the appearance of "Madame Frederick" of the Theatre Royal in 1799 to exhibit "strathspeys, jigs and other dances with her accustomed dexterity" [Cal Merc 8/8/1799], that the dancing repertoire became more varied. Thereafter a variety of dances were exhibited, ranging from the Twasome (a form of Strathspey-minuet), to the Fling and Reel of Tulloch, to the spectacular Gille Calum, to the even more unusual "Broadsword Exercise", an archaic exercise in swordsmanship specially revived for the event. [Flett J. & T.: 354, 5; Logan 1876 II: 315].

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The dancing on the whole provided a welcome and necessary respite from the onslaught of martial music. As Sir John Sinclair delicately put it: "the peculiar music of the piobrach ... perhaps may have something monotonous to the ear unaccustomed to it. The dancing, however, is at once relished by strangers, as well as by natives." [Cal Merc 2.8.1822]. Not all spectators, however, relished these performances as thoroughly as most. Sir John Carr wryly declared in 1809 that "in the course of their springs and caperings" the dancers "would doubtless have alarmed the sensitive feelings of a member of the Society for the suppression of vice ... for the wounded delicacy of the ladies of the pit." [Carr 1809: 178]. Another surprised spectator discovered in 1817 that "the exposed limbs of the dancers are sometimes exhibited to the view in a manner altogether superfluous ..." [Flett J. & T.: 350].

At the expense of the occasional flushed cheek in the pit, however, these Edinburgh exhibitions, combined with the boom in Highland Games from the 1820s, undoubtedly helped promote competitive Highland Dancing. A particularly influential figure at the time was John Grant, dancing master in Elgin, described by Logan as a good fiddler and excellent dancer. [Logan 1876 II: 314]. He won the inaugural contest in 1829, amid allegations by his fellow competitors that his style was "ridiculous" and "inconsistent". [Dalyell Gen 358D: 84]. The controversy possibly lay in Grant's introduction of steps inconsistent with traditional style, and from which might derive some of

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the more balletic features now evident in Highland dancing. Dalyell described his 1829 performance as "more in the style of one of the high dances common 30 years ago, a kind of pas seul of considerable execution"; and his 1832 performance was designed to "exhibit every different species of Highland dancing." [Dalyell Gen 356D: 84, 360D: 40].

However justified Grant's innovative approach, it underlines the fact that the early nineteenth century was a time of experimentation and change, with new steps, and new dances. This legacy endures.

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(7) Dress

The first-listed objective of the HSL on its foundation was the restoration of the Highland Dress, proscribed by Act of Parliament in August 1746. In 1782 the Marquis of Graham successfully moved for the repeal of this Act [Adam 1960: 370,4], and from then onwards the HSL showed an enduring concern for the tartan, and the kilt.

Hugh-Trevor Roper in his meticulous, if acerbic, appraisal of the early nineteenth century "tartan industry" [1983: 15-41], condemns the HSL and like bodies for their deliberate creation of a bogus Highland identity with little bearing on historical reality. The kilt or philibeg was in fact a creation of the early eighteenth century, and prior to that the breacan, or kilted plaid, was the dress of the commonality. There is indeed no evidence that particular tartans, setts or patterns were appropriated to any particular clan until after the Forty-five, and we might view with some scepticism the Highland Society's instruction to Highland chiefs in 1783 to "revive the ancient practice of dressing their pipers in the particular ensigns of their respective families." [E.E.C. Oct. 27, 1783].

The valiant achievements of the kilted Highland Regiments during the Napoleonic Wars, and the publication of General Stewart of Garth's Sketches of the Highlanders (1822), did much to promote the image of the kilt as the

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authentic Highland garb. Chiefs and commoners alike discovered an interest in the Highland Dress, and from the early nineteenth century, tartan manufacturers were kept busy with orders for new designs. In 1819 the largest manufacturer, Wilsons of Bannockburn, sent a "key pattern book" to the HSL, and the Society duly went about "authenticating" the patterns therein contained. [Trevor-Roper 1983; 30, 2; HSL 268: Box 15].

The Society itself led by example. By 1785 it had kitted-out its piper, Neil MacLean, in a uniform comprising kilt, coat, waistcoat, plaid, sporran and Highland pistol, with further outlay on "covering the piper's red coat". (Fig. X). [HSL 268, 24: 1785, 6, 7]. At the competitions the kilt was keenly promoted. Where competitors had arrived in Falkirk in the early days, thinking that "nothing more would be attended to than the simple merits of the competition", and clad in homely Lowland attire, by 1786 the wearing of the kilt was compulsory. [EEC Oct 27 1783, Cal Merc July 29 1786]. Dress prizes valued at 6 guineas were introduced in 1818, and by 1826 it was felt that these had produced a "very remarkable" improvement in sartorial standards. [Letter Gordon/ Wedderburn, 27 Oct 1826, 268: 2]. In 1835 the experiment was extended to cover seven prizes in three categories of "Best dressed at Master's expense", "Best dressed at own expense", and "Best dressed in home-made tartan" [Dalyell Gen 369D: 41]. A certain degree of confusion prevailed as to what, exactly, was "best dressed", and it was necessary to warn

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competitors in 1838 that:

> "the display of the mere ornamental parts deserved less praise and reward than the style of wearing and correctness of the useful parts." [Cal Merc July 26 1838].

The situation was unfortunately confounded by the HSL's insistence on awarding dirks, broadswords and powder horns, scarcely "useful parts", as prizes, and by heated debate on vexed questions such as whether the cross-belt should be worn above or below the plaid. (Colonel MacBean of the 78th carried the day on this issue, with the telling point that the plaid must lie over the belt, to be swiftly discarded in the rush to battle!) [Dalyell Gen 369 D: 41]. It is small wonder that certain judges looked on the matter with scant enthusiasm. In 1823, in particular, tempers were frayed when judges themselves were directed to wear the kilt. Two (J.G Dalyell, and Gilbert Innes of Stow) refused, and Dalyell wrote archly to the secretary:

> "Mr Graham Dalyell will not affirm that the Society is wrong, but after having studied the musical art thoroughly and practically during 30 years ... he does not conceive that any additional capacity to determine qualifications can be imparted by adopting a particular costume". [Kilberry II; 39].

Society members with a penchant for the Highland Dress joined the Celtic Society, founded in 1820 under the watchful eye of Stewart of Garth. The objective of this body was to promote "the general use of the ancient Highland Dress in the Highlands," to which end they hit on

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tartan design, and were copied by James Logan (Clans of the Scottish Highlands, illus. R.R. MacIan, 1843), James Browne (History of the Highlands, 1850), and others. [Trevor-Roper 1983:33-39.]

Such was the rather inglorious history of tartan. Commercial interests and romantic ideals loomed large, and the HSL played its part. The annual competition, with its kilt-clad competitors, was the most public manifestation of the Society's interest, and it too, therefore, was a part of the story.

(8) Piping, Poetry and Song: 1781-1832

a. 1781-1789. Duncan Ban MacIntyre and the Praise of the Great Pipe.

Gaelic scholars will be well acquainted with Duncan Ban MacIntyre's impressive series of six poems on the subject Moladh Do'n Ghaidhlig, 's Do'n Phiob Mhoir (Praise to Gaelic and the Great Pipe), recited by him at the piping competitions of 1781, '82, '83, '84, '85 and '89. [MacIntyre D 1834: 170-184]. Each was a fresh composition (his imagination must have been sorely taxed), produced at a time when he was a soldier in the Edinburgh City Guard. His performances were skilful and opportunistic. In 1782 - the year in which legislation against the kilt was rescinded - MacIntyre appeared kilt-clad to recite his new poem on the restoration of the Highland Dress, (Oran Do'n Eideadh Ghaidhealach). He circulated printed copies, and received "a contribution for his encouragement". [HSL 268, 15: 1782]. In 1784 the HSS advertised premia for a poem on the restoration of the Forfeited Estates, and there was MacIntyre with printed copies of his Oran Nam Fineachan a Fhuair am Fearann Air Ais o'n Righ, soon to be 50 merks the richer for his efforts. [EEC Sept 29 1784; HSS Sd. Bk. 1: 86; Black 1986: 7].

In 1789, surprisingly, he failed in a bid to become the Society's official bard, the post going to the inexperienced Donald Shaw, after a trial recitation of a

poem on the Warlike Exploits of the 42nd Regiment. The Society, however, rewarded him with 100 merks as "some mark of approbation" of his "poetic genius", and hailed his final eulogy on the great pipe "a performance of singular merit". [HSS Sd. Bk. 2: 16; Black 1986: 8]. They did not forget him, either, in his old age, providing him with a small pension until his death in 1812. [Kilberry I: 28-36].

b. 1805-1820. Poetry and Song

In February 1805 the HSS formed a committee concerned with the preservation and collection of "valuable ancient poetry and music hitherto unpublished". Between 1806 and 1810 prizes were advertised for any competitor who would come forward and "Sing or Recite Ancient Gaelic Airs": the aim was to vary the competition format, and promote the collection of poetry. Between 1807 and 1810, 5 guineas were set aside annually from the competition funds for this purpose, the 1810 money being earmarked for the publication of an anthology of Rob Donn's poems. (No publisher could be found.) [Cal Merc July 17 1806; HSSPMB; 6, 7].

While this was a decided departure from the standard fare of the piping competitions, it was in line with the then-current interest in the collection of Gaelic, and particularly Ossianic, verse. In 1797, the year after James MacPherson's death, the HSS established an "Ossian

Committee", headed by Henry Mackenzie, to enquire into the authenticity of MacPherson's alleged translations of the works of Ossian. In 1803 MacPherson's original documents were procured from John Mackenzie, his literary trustee in London. These included the Book of the Dean of Lismore and 18 other valuable manuscripts, which now form the basis of the National Library's Gaelic collection. The Report of the Ossian Committee was published in 1805: its conclusion - that Ossianic poetry existed, but that MacPherson's translations were not genuine. The Report was, in the opinion of Ronald Black "a well- assembled, well-balanced presentation of priceless information". [Black 1986: 13].

The Society countenanced other projects of similar ilk: in 1801 it published Alexander Stewart's Gaelic Grammar; in 1803 it gave 50 guineas to the SSPCK to publish the Old Testament; and between 1806 and 1828 it produced its own monumental, if problem-strewn, Gaelic Dictionary. [Black 1986: 13-32]. Attempts to gather fragments of old and new songs at the piping competition were simply a manifestation of this same interest. Sadly, the competitors were not eager informants. The only payments eventually recorded were in 1819, to Donald MacLennan, piper to Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, who "recited a piece of ancient Gaelic poetry in the best style"; and in 1820, to John Stewart from Eigg, who performed, in slightly poorer style, a series of "wild and discordant screams far from agreeable to hear". [Cal Merc

July 31 1819; July 22 1820; Dalyell 1849: 115]. By this stage the Society's enthusiasm had waned, and the venture lapsed.

c. 1816. Alexander Campbell and Captain Simon Fraser of Knockie

Also included in the Highland Societies' transient interest in Gaelic Song were Alexander Campbell's Albyns Anthology (2 volumes, 1816 and 1818), and Captain Simon Fraser of Knockie's Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland (1816), both of which received financial backing from the Societies.

Campbell's collection, which marginally predated Fraser's, was the first Gaelic anthology to incorporate both words and music, although Campbell sought to broaden its appeal by including new English Lyrics (by Walter Scott, James Hogg, John Wilson et. al.) alongside the Gaelic. Campbell (1764-1824) was a Perthshire Highlander of diverse talents, evident in several poetry publications (5), and also in his private writings, which are of great interest to pipers. His Notes of My Third Journey to the Borders, [1816(b)] contain valuable information of the Border piping tradition, whilst his Journey Made Through Parts of the Highlands, [1815(a)] contains, amongst other information, a remarkable description of Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon.

Campbell first had the idea of "arranging in systematic view the vocal poetry and melodies of Scotland

and the Isles" in 1790, but was side-tracked by a short-lived medical career and other concerns. It was not until December 1814, aged 50, that he approached the HSS for help with his music collection. With the backing of Henry MacKenzie he was granted 30 guineas "to traverse the principal parts of Argyll and Invernesshire ... where it is thought musical pieces of merit may be most readily obtained". [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 101-4 127].

His report on this collecting tour (the Sketch of a Journey Made Through parts of the Highlands and Hebrides) was examined in December 1815 by John Forbes and J.G. Dalyell, and declared satisfactory. [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 156-8, 199]. The journey, which lasted from July 23rd to October 17th, took him from Loch Awe to Mull and Staffa, the Uists, Harris, Skye, Glenelg and Glengarry. On Staffa he heard the piping of Archibald MacArthur ("awfully sublime"), and at Boisdale the Laird's piper entertained over dinner, "and we had the double gratification of good cheer and excellent piping". He ruminated on the surprising fact that "many blacks have acquired great skill in piping" (a reference to West Indians taught by army pipers); and he collected prodigiously - 191 items of music and song in three months. [Campbell 1815(a): 57, 1816 (a): 54].

Ninety one items were published in the two volumes on Albyns Anthology, fifty-two of them Gaelic Airs. A third volume was proposed for 1819, but remained unpublished. [Campbell 1818: 1]. Three pibrochs were

included - Pibroch of Donald Dubh, MacGregor's Gathering, and MacKrimmon's Lament [I: 82, 90; II: 57] - each furnished with new lyrics by Scott, but based on actual pibrochs communicated to Campbell by Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto, with whom he stayed from 23rd to 30th September. The first two, which he transliterated from Gesto's Canntaireachd, (a process "tedious and exceedingly troublesome" [Campbell 1816 I: 90]), faithfully follow the contemporary pibroch formula wherein the urlar was repeated following the doubling of each variation.

In April 1816 the HSL, on the recommendation of Stewart of Garth, subscribed to 50 copies of the work. The HSS provided no further funding (and were anxious to affirm that "Mr C. should understand distinctly that the work is entirely his own"), but Campbell was nevertheless delighted with their assistance, and thanked both societies eloquently in his advertisement for the publication, and in the work itself. [Campbell 1816(a): IX; Letter Forbes/Gordon, Ingl. A.i.18(15); HSL 268, 26: 199].

Campbell's work was viewed with a more jaundiced eye by his rival in the field, Capt. Simon Fraser of Knockie (1773-1852). Fraser, a noted violin player, was fortunate enough to inherit an impressive collection of Jacobite songs, compiled by his grandfather, Angus Fraser of Errogie, who was a cattle trader in the Highlands between 1715 and 1745. Although born at Ardachy, Fraser moved to Errogie on this grandfather's death in 1777, and thereafter farmed the nearby tack of Knockie, by Loch Ness. He held

a Captain's Commission in the Fraser Fencibles. [Matheson 1955: 70].

In January 1814 he approached the HSS seeking permission to dedicate his collection of "National Airs" to the Society. [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 101]. Nothing was forthcoming, however, until December 1815, when Fraser appeared in person with his manuscript, and a letter vilifying Alexander Campbell's efforts. His thesis was that "the peasantry are very loth to make any communications of value to a man going mercenarily to collect" (in reference to Campbell); he, by contrast, was privy to material from an old and "authentic" source, collected by "a man of considerable knowledge and taste" (his grandfather). In his anxiety to denigrate, Fraser even managed to brand Rev. Patrick MacDonald "a disgrace to the country", responsible for a collection of "unintelligible doggerel". [Letter Fraser/Forbes Ingl. A.i. 18(13)].

His collection was voted 10 guineas by the HSS. [HSS Sd. Bk.5: 156]. The HSL examined both Albyns Anthology and Airs and Melodies, and found the latter a superior production. Fraser, true to form, ran-off and circulated 100 copies of the HSL's criticism in his favour, evoking the extreme ire of Alex. Campbell, Sir John MacGregor Murray, James Hamilton (Secretary of the HSL), and others. He remained, however, unrepentant. [Alburger 1983: 157, 8, citing correspondence, Feb/March 1817, in the Atholl Muniments Room]. In the end both works fared well,

and ran to several editions.

d. 1832. The MacDonald of Dalness Report

A final stirring of interest in musical matters beyond piping came at the 1832 meeting of the competition committee, when Major Menzies and Captain Mackenzie proposed the provision of prizes for fiddle playing, and the encouragement of "the old Scottish harp". Mr MacDonald of Dalness was commissioned to prepare a report on the matter, which was duly accomplished, and sent to the HSL. [HSSPMB: 85, 95].

The report had four principal recommendations:

1. That prizes for the playing of Strathspeys and Reels on the violin should be introduced at the triennial competitions. It was hoped thereby to halt the perceived decline in playing standards, and induce professional players to "devote a portion of their time to this art, from the ambition of acquiring an honourable distinction".
2. That prizes for playing Strathspeys and Reels on the bagpipe should be introduced - a point discussed in Chapter IV.
3. That prizes should be awarded to persons bringing forward "original Highland airs of merit, which have never yet been given to the world".
4. That, if possible, harp playing should be

encouraged.

[Dalness Report. HSSPMB: 95-101].

The HSL, which found in the report "many valuable suggestions", consigned it to a sub-committee, and no further action was taken. [HSL 268, 14: 2 Feb 1833]. Prior to every competition from 1835 to 1844 the HSS duly raised the matter, but their expectations were low. "I presume nothing has been determined about Reel playing on the violin ..." wrote Charles Gordon to the London Secretary in 1841; and he anxiously informed Gordon of Carnbuly in 1844 that "we must have competition for Reel and Strathspey playing on the violin, according to the old Neil Gow style, or it will be lost". [Letter HSL268, 26: 5 May 1841; HSSPMB: 1844]. Even a suggestion that the orchestra should be scrapped, and the money saved put towards violin prizes, came to nothing. [HSSPMB: 1844.] Thus, an interesting proposal foundered.

Fig. III A set of pipes belonging to the MACGREGORS of FORTINGALL, bearing inscribed silver plates from prize instruments won at various competitions. [National Museums of Scotland]

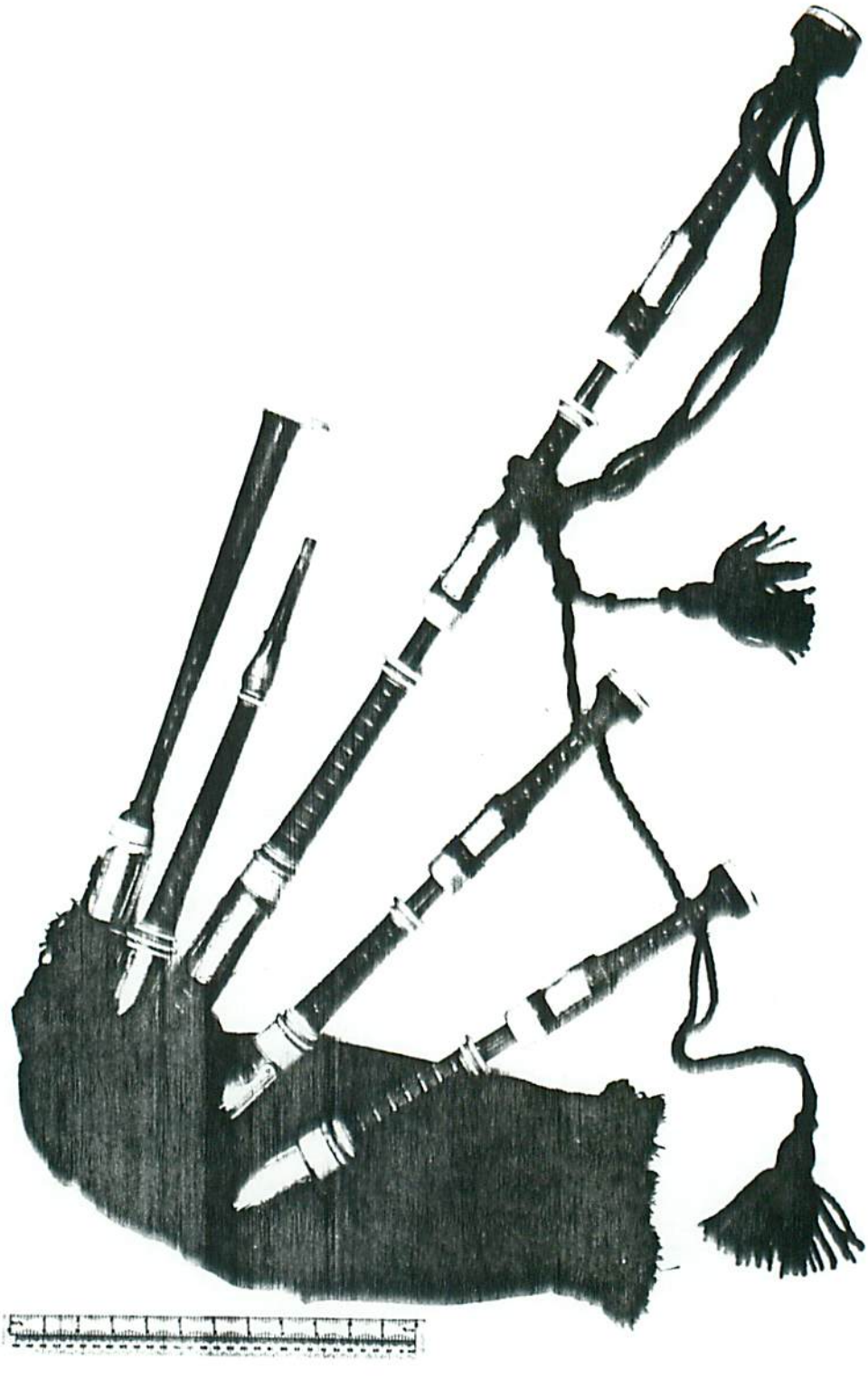


Table II/8

PIPING COMPETITION PRIZES					
PRIZE	1781-1808	1809-1826	1829	1832	1835-1844
1st	Prize Pipe + 40 Merks	Prize Pipe + 40 Merks	Prize Pipe + £5	Prize Pipe + £3	Prize Pipe + Cash
2nd	30 Merks	60 Merks	Dirk + £2	Broadsword + Cash	Broadsword + Cash
3rd	30 Merks	50 Merks	Sporran + £2	Dirk + Cash	Dirk
4th	-	45 Merks	£4	Pistol + Cash	Pistol
5th		40 Merks	£3	Sporran + Cash	Powder Horn
Source: Annual Competition Data.					

(9) PRIZES AND EXPENSE PAYMENTS

The Prize Pipe

Table II/8 provides information on awards made over the course of the Edinburgh competition. The premier award was a specially-made bagpipe with (as in 1784) "an inscription, engraved on a plate of silver, and adorned with ribbons, properly emblazoned". [Scots Mag 46 (Oct 1784): 552]. The 1784 instrument was made by Hugh Robertson, Edinburgh, and the attached plate bore the inscription:

> "Presented by the Highland Society of London to John MacGregor, oldest son of John MacGregor senior in Fortingall, determining in his favours, by the Highland Society at Edinburgh, in 1784."
> [Scotsman Oct 10 1981].

(This plate is one of nine attached to a prize bagpipe belonging to the MacGregors of Glenlyon, documenting their competitive fortunes. Fig. III).

From 1821 the pipe was adorned with a specially-made banner, initially bearing a 'Scotch Thistle', and later the Coat-of-Arms of the HSL. The winner was usually expected to play on the instrument when presented with it, a difficult task given the notorious unpredictability of the bagpipe. [Dalyell Gen 350D: 26; 369D: 55; 378D: 56].

Secondary Prizes

Prior to 1829 other awards were in cash, presented in "handsome silk purses". In certain years, particularly 1800-1810, theatre takings were so good that the advertised prize money was substantially increased. In 1801, for instance, 2nd and 3rd prizes were trebled, and the remaining competitors enjoyed "a very handsome division". [Cal Merc July 16 1801].

With the placing of the competition on a triennial footing in 1829 the prize money provided by the HSL was again increased (from £26.6.0 to £73.10.0). This allowed for the provision of exceptionally lavish prizes - broadswords, dirks, pistols and powder horns - although the nature of the awards did raise a few eyebrows. "What can be more preposterous", wondered J.G. Dalyell "than to award a broadsword, a dirk, a pistol ... to a ploughman because he plays well on the bagpipes?" [Gen 379D: 14].

Extra Prizes

The judging system whereby a piper could only gain a higher prize than he had previously won, or nothing at all, gradually led to a log-jam of good players who had won the 2nd prize, and were therefore only eligible for the prize pipe. There were six pipers in this position in 1818, five in 1819. [Cal Merc July 25 1818, July 21 1819]. One solution was to single out individuals for special awards. This was the case with Donald Robertson, piper in

the Perthshire Militia, in 1802; Donald MacKenzie, piper in the 93rd Regiment, in 1803; and Kenneth Logan, Pipe Major of the 71st Regiment, who was presented with a gold coin valued at 4 guineas in 1815. [HSL 208, 26: 109-120].

This approach was rationalised between 1819 and 1824 when Mrs. Siddons, manageress of the Theatre Royal, decided to award a valuable Extra Prize for pipers in this category.

Awards made were as follows:

TABLE II/9 EXTRA AWARDS 1819-1824

	AWARD	PIPER	SOURCE
1819	Sporran	Kenneth Logan, 71st Regt.	Cal Merc 31/7/1819
1820	Sporran	Adam Graham, Rossshire Militia	Cal Merc 22/7/1820
1821	Dirk	Duncan MacTavish, 42nd Regt.	HSL, 268: 19
1822	Pistols	Donald Scrimgeour, Strathtay	Cal Merc 3/8/1822
1823	Broadsword	John Gordon, Atholl Club	Kilberry, II: 24
1824	Powderhorn	Alexander Dewar, Menzies Estate	HSSPMB: 16

Expense Payments

In addition to lavish prizes, all competitors were guaranteed a share of the theatre takings to offset their travel expenses. In 1783 the admittance fee was "applied towards the travelling charges of the pipers": the aim was "to encourage them to future exertions and improvement in this Ancient, Warlike and National music". [eg. EEC Oct 20

1783; HSS Sd. Bk. 2:210; Cal Merc July 14 1794, July 18 1818].

Payments varied according to theatre income, and from 1806 these were divided into three or four ability-graded classes (as shown in Table II/10). In the top class were former prize winners; in the bottom class were those eliminated at the rehearsal, and other marginal cases such as Duncan MacGregor ("a fool"), who appeared regularly from 1806 to 1825, but was not allowed compete. From 1829 additional distance-linked payments (of 2 pence per mile) were introduced to encourage the attendance of those living in more remote parts such as Sutherland and Skye. [HSL 268, Box 17: 1829 Accounts; Box 19: 1838/44 Accounts].

Table II/10

EXPENSE PAYMENTS TO COMPETITORS

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class
1806	2-2-0	1-15-0	1-0-0	
1807	2-12-6	2-2-0	1-10-0	1-1-0
1808	2-5-0	1-11-6	1-1-0	
1809	2-2-0	1-11-6	1-1-0	
1810	3-0-0	→	0-15-0	(graded)
1811	3-0-0	→	0-10-6	(graded)
1812	3-3-0	→	1-1-0	(graded)
1813	na	na	na	
1814	2-0-0	1-5-0	1-0-0	
1815	2-10-0	1-10-0	1-5-0	
1816	3-3-0	2-2-0	1-15-0	1-10-0
1817	na	na	na	
1818	3-3-0	2-2-0	1-10-0	
1819	na	na	na	
1820	2-2-0	1-15-0	1-10-0	
1821	3-3-0	2-0-0	1-15-0	1-5-0
1822	2-15-0	2-0-0	1-11-6	
1823	3-0-0	2-0-0	1-15-0	1-10-0
1824	2-15-0	2-0-0	1-15-0	
1825	na	na	na	
1826	1-5-0	1-0-0	0-11-0	
1829	2-5-0	1-15-0	1-5-0	
1832	na	na	na	
1835	na	na	na	
1838	2-10-0	2-0-0	-	
1841	na	na	na	
1844	1-10-0	na	na	

Source: Annual Competition Data.

Fig. IV Watercolour of piper with three-droned instrument. Painted by Joseph MacDonald in his Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe. (c.1760). [EUL MS La. 3.804]

(10) THE INSTRUMENT

This is not the place to review the history of pipemaking and the nature of the instrument in Scotland(7); one interesting feature to emerge from the competition records, however, is that it was at this event in the early 1820's that the two-droned Highland bagpipe (lacking the bass drone) finally went out of use.

J.G. Dalyell recorded in a notebook entry dated July 1822:

> "Competitors have sometimes performed on a bagpipe with only two short drones! and without a long drone, the instrument being so constructed. But it is now understood that all must have three drones, and certainly some advantage must be attained by those who require less exertion, unless the bag of the other pipe with three drones can be filled without difficulty". [Dalyell Gen. 351D: 54].

Dalyell later confirmed that the last two-droned instrument was used in 1821, and that the reason for banning it was that it was believed to require "considerably less exertion for inflation". [Dalyell Gen 353D: 2; 355D: 13; 1849: 7].

The question of when the third or bass drone was added to the Highland pipe has been something of a contentious issue in the present century.(8) That it was also an issue in the early nineteenth century is suggested in the 1803 publication of Joseph MacDonald's 1760 treatise on the bagpipe. In the original MS of this work Joseph merely mentioned that the drones were tuned "a 5th below

the E of the chanter"; and he produced an attractive watercolour of a piper playing a three-droned, bell-top instrument (Fig. IV). [EUL MS La 3, 804: 22]. In the published version of 1803, however, the editor (as yet unidentified), went to great pains to expand on the nature of the bass drone in a four-paragraph addition to the original text. [MacDonald J. 1803: 27].

As has been stated, it is clear that prior to the 1820's many pipers continued to use a simple two-droned set. It is equally clear that in some quarters the use of a bass drone was a long-established feature. The etching of an Irish Warpiper continued in Derricke's Image of Ireland of 1581, for instance, depicts an instrument with two drones of unequal length [Derricke J. 1581], while the three droned great Highland pipe was clearly in use by the time Niall MacMhuirich, the Clanranald bard, wrote his Seanachas Slionnaidh Na Pìoba Bho Thùs in the late seventeenth century. MacMhuirich delineated an imaginary genealogy of the pipe "from the beginning of time", and described an instrument of three drones, "Fear dhiu fada, leobhar, garbh, Ri durdan reamhar ro shearbh". (One of them long, trailing and unwieldy, with a harsh, deep buzzing sound). [MacKenzie J. 1841: 67. Trans. J.L. Campbell in Collinson 1975: 186]. A most interesting three-droned instrument featured in Waitt's portrait of the piper to the Laird of Grant in 1714 (Fig. II), yet as late as 1778 the second edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica stated quite explicitly that the Highland bagpipe "consists

of a chanter and two short drones", in contrast to the lowland bellows pipe which "hath a bass like the Irish pipe". [Encyclopedia Britannica 1778: Bagpipe].

The import of such information (and there are a good many more sources in similar vein), is simply that some pipers did use the bass drone, and some didn't; but that the feature itself was of some antiquity. James Logan made the interesting remark in 1831 that "the absurd term 'pair of pipes' perhaps arose from many of the poorer sort having formerly but two drones" [Logan 1876 Edn. II: 305], and perhaps this does suggest that one determinant of instrument form was simply cost.

At the inaugural contest in 1781 the HSL made the far-sighted decision to provide a newly-made, high-quality bagpipe as the principal award. This naturally was of lasting value to the winner, and also perhaps served as an encouragement to the instrument maker. The man who in fact had the commission for the prize pipe for well-nigh 35 years (from 1781 to 1820, with the exception of the years 1812-1815), was Hugh Robertson, pipe maker on the Castle Hill in Edinburgh. [Comp'n Records].

Robertson is the earliest Scottish pipemaker of whom we have any detailed knowledge, although there is an interesting reference to a maker named Adam Barclay in the MacDonald papers in 1748. [SRO GD 221/3908; Sanger 1988: 28]. Robertson features in the same records in August 1767, when "Hugh Robertson, turner" was paid £3 for a set of "Highland pipes mounted with ivory". [SRO GD 21/3923;

Sanger (ibid)]. The pipes, we might assume, were for the use of Sir Alexander MacDonald's piper, Charles MacArthur, and the description of Robertson as a "turner" confirm's Cheape's contention [1983(b): 6] that many of the early pipe makers served their apprenticeship as general woodturners, before specialising in wind instruments. A probable earlier reference to Robertson is to be found in the Dunvegan estate accounts for 1765, in which year a "pair of Highland pipes" was bought from "R. Robertson, turner, Edinburgh". [Grant I.F. 1959: 49; we might assume the initial to have been incorrectly transcribed]. The Edinburgh Directory confirms Robertson to have been established as a pipe maker on the Castle Hill by 1775 [Cheape 1983(b): 7], and we need not doubt that he had plenty of business from the Highland Regiments raised during the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence.

Robertson's association with the Highland Societies was long and fruitful. In addition to making the competition prize pipe for many years, he was commissioned to make a special instrument for the HSL piper in 1803 (at a cost of 7 guineas), and a presentation set for George Clarke, "Hero of Vimiera", in 1809. [HSL 268, 34: 1803; HSS Sd. Bk. 4/2: 549]. By 1812 he was in advanced years and infirm, and a 4 guinea donation was made to him from the competition funds of that year; a further 5 guineas was advanced to him in 1821 when he was described as "above 90 years of age and confined to bed". [Cal Merc 30/7/1812;

HSS Sd. Bk. 6: 341].

In 1812 Malcolm MacGregor [QV. Ch. III(4)] succeeded him as maker of the prize pipe by virtue of Robertson's age, which rendered him "able to do almost nothing at his profession". [HSL 268, 26: 117]. Between 1816 and 1820, however, Robertson regained the prize pipe commission, which strongly suggests that he had a partner in business. The most likely candidate in this respect was Donald MacDonald, who succeeded Robertson as maker of the prize pipe between 1821 and 1838 [QV Ch IV 3.d.]. It was to MacDonald in 1829 that J.G. Dalyell suggested that all the competitors should submit their instruments for maintenance. (He was indignant to learn that "the pipers would not consent to such an arrangement!" [Gen. 358D: 83]).

Hugh Robertson was amongst the first of professional pipemakers to make a good living from producing high-quality instruments, and it is to his period that we can date the advent of a modern pipe-making industry with reliable standards of craftsmanship, and durable imported woods. In his footsteps followed reputable makers such as Donald MacDonald and the Glens in Edinburgh, and Peter Henderson, R.G. Laurie, and others in Glasgow, the twin centres of the pipe making industry to the present day. [Cheape 1983(b); Cannon 1980: 31-39, 65].

Notes for Chapter II

1. In 1798 the club widened its horizons by amalgamating with the Glasgow Highland Society (est. 1727), a trade organisation concerned with the plight of Highlanders in the city. [H.S.G. 1803; Celtic Monthly 13 (1904-5): 146; Scott J.E. 1962].

2. For further references to competitors playing in concert following the competition see E.E.C. 19/10/1782; E.E.C. 20/10/1783, 27/10/1783; St. Fond 1784 (1907 Edn: 252).

3. Colin Menzies, later Clerk to the HSS. [Ramsay 1879: 532].

4. Donald MacInnes was at the centre of another row in June 1824, when he gained the prize pipe at the Inverlochy Games. Donald MacKay, John Ban MacKenzie, Archibald Munro and John Smith (players of the "MacKay School") wrote to the Inverness Journal complaining about the decision. [Inr. Journal 18/6/1824].

5. Alex. Campbell's publications:
Odes and Miscellaneous poems (1796)
An Introduction To The History of Poetry in Scotland (1798).
A Journey from Edinburgh Through Parts of North Britain (1802)
The Grampians Desolate (1804).

6. Further sources on the "Triennial Competition", 1829.
HSS Sd. Bk 9: 394; 10: 120, 175.
HSS PMB: 55, 59, 60-71.
HSL 268: Correspondence Box 2 7/6/1827; Box 3 16/4/1828, 28/4/1829.

7. See Cheape "The Making of Bagpipes in Scotland" [1983(b)] for a useful review of this question.

8. See for instance:
Whyte [Celtic Monthly 13 (1904): 235].
MacBain [Celtic Monthly 15 (1907): 151].
"G.D." [Celtic Monthly 19 (1911): 56].
Adam F. [1924: 236].

CHAPTER III

THE PIPERS

(1) Competition Data

There is an old myth concerning the first competitions at Falkirk which reads as follows:

> "The obvious venue for the competitions was Falkirk, during the Falkirk Tryst or cattle market. Many Highlanders converged there from all over the Highlands with their droves of cattle, and they, as a civilian class licensed to carry 'arms', had a legal right to play the bagpipe." [Collinson 1975: 179; see also Alburger 1983: 225; MacNeill 1987: 52].

This remark is based on two mistaken assumptions: firstly, that the bagpipe had actually been proscribed following the '45; secondly, that the pipers in Falkirk were cattle drovers. It was correct in that the Falkirk Tryst was the greatest annual gathering of Highlanders in the South, a feature which "pointed out that place as then the most suitable for such a competition". [HSL 268, 25: 100]. The records, however, show that the attraction of the venue lay as much in the known attendance of Highland Gentlemen to act as judges, as in the appearance of pipers. [HSS Sd. Bk. I: 50].

Of the thirteen pipers who attended the inaugural event we have information only on the three prizewinners, one of whom was from Fortingall in Perthshire, one from

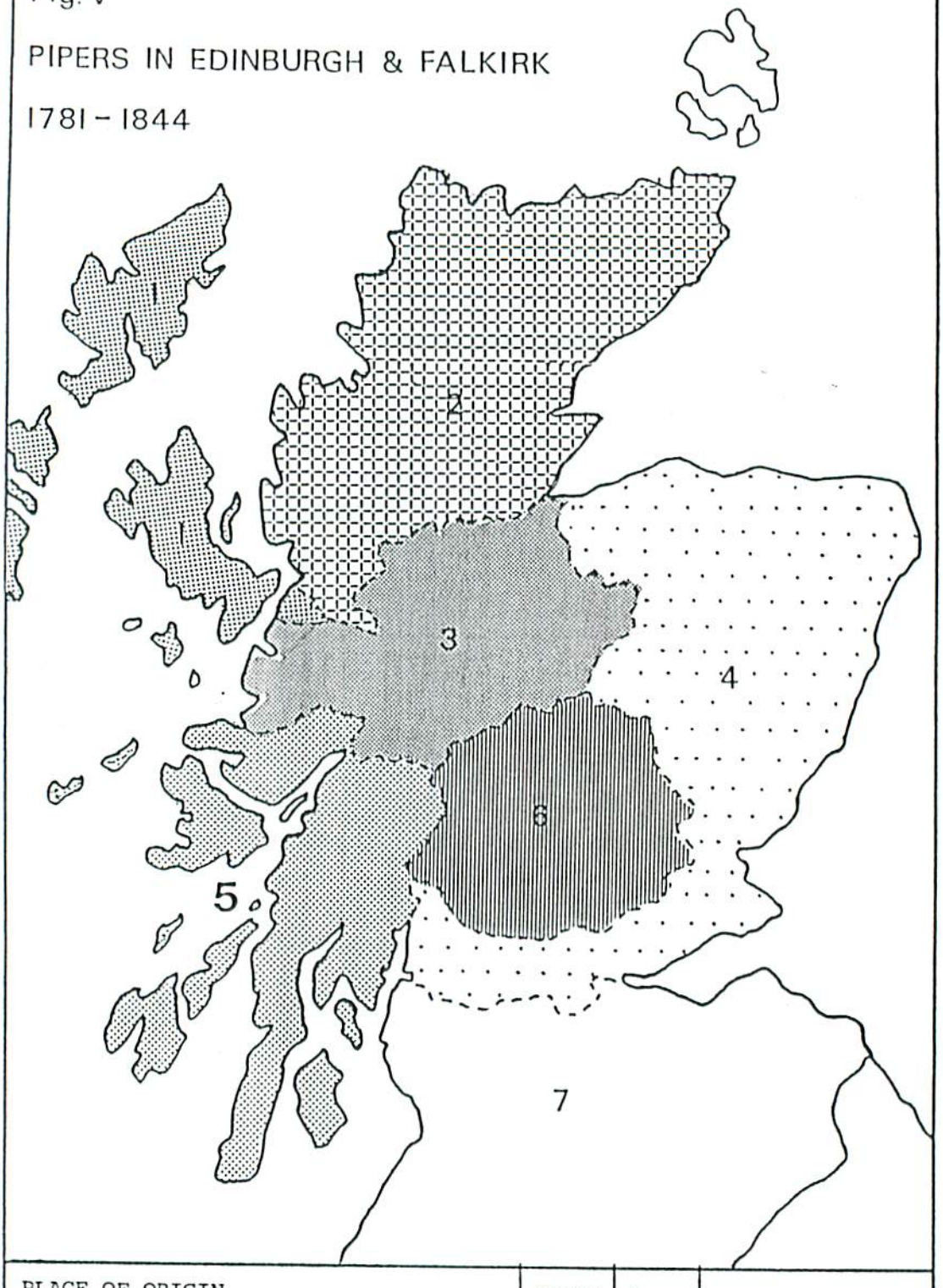
Pitlochry, and one from Eglinton in Ayrshire [E.E.C. 15/10/1781]; in 1782 we have information on seven competitors, three of whom were from Fortingall, one from Mentieth in South-West Perthshire, and two from Kintail [E.E.C. 19/10/1782]; and in 1783, the last year in which the event was held at Falkirk, five of the competitors were actually listed as living in Edinburgh, while most of the remainder were in service with chieftains and lairds in the Southern Highlands. [E.E.C. 27/19/1783]. Clearly these men had not piped their way from the high glens 'midst the great cattle droves. Few, if any, at this time came from further afield than Perthshire or Glasgow, and Clerk of Elden confirmed in 1784 that "all the candidates that have come to Falkirk except one or two are resident in or near Edin'r ..." [HSS Sd. Bk. I: 47-9]. The records in fact show that if these men were in any sense affected by seasonal concerns, it was in so far as several were farmers and estate workers, for whom the July Race week in Edinburgh was preferable to the October Tryst in Falkirk as "being after the hay season and before the general harvest". [HSS Sd. Bk. I: ibid.].

As the years went by and the fame of the competition spread, pipers did travel from far and wide to attend and play for glory, although many were subsidised by their employers or regiments, and all could claim travel expenses. From the original competition data it has been possible to construct a table of the origins of the 253 known competitors over the 52 years of the competition

Fig. V

PIPERS IN EDINBURGH & FALKIRK

1781 - 1844



PLACE OF ORIGIN	TOTAL	%	
1. Skye, Glenelg and Outer Hebrides	14	5.5	
2. North	30	11.9	
3. Invernesshire	26	10.3	
4. Northeast, East and Central	7	2.8	
5. Argyllshire	25	9.9	
6. Perthshire	97	38.3	
7. Lowlands	28	11.0	
8. Unknown	26	10.3	Source: Competition Records
	253	100	

(Fig. V). This undoubtedly has its limitations, given the occasional paucity of information, and the fact that many pipers were highly mobile (especially the estate pipers), travelling to where they could best find work. It does, however, provide a rough but useful percentage guide to the regional distribution of pipers performing at the Edinburgh competition.

The dominant statistic is that close to 40% came from Perthshire, not surprising, perhaps, in view of the fact that this was the most accessible part of the Highlands to Edinburgh, but nevertheless indicative, I believe, that in the early nineteenth century, Perthshire was the true piping heartland of Scotland. Where former cradles of piping such as Mull and Skye were denuded of their musical populations by the rigours of warfare, eviction, emigration and eventually evangelism, to the extent that in 1841 the minister of Duirinish in Skye could observe that "It is rare to hear a song sung, and still rarer to hear the sound of pipe and violin" [Clerk A. 1841: 358], Perthshire at the same time boasted a vibrant agricultural economy, large estates, and good employment for the estate worker who could also play the pipes. If we need look for a symbol of this reorientation of the piping world from the Isles to the Central Highlands, we might find it in the move, in 1823, of John MacKay, a renowned piping authority, from his old home in Raasay to Drummond Castle near Crieff, where he was to serve Lord Willoughby D'Eresby for several years. [QV Ch.IV 3(e)].

The early nineteenth century was a period of profound change in the rural communities of the Highlands, both economically and socially. Where formerly laird and chief put stock in their social obligations, the new breed of commercial landlords put economic considerations first, and energetically pursued agricultural "improvements" which were often most disadvantageous to the tenantry at large. It was in Perthshire and the Central Highlands that adaptation to the new economic principles was most smoothly accomplished, and "by the 1840s agriculture had proceeded furthest along the lines of capitalist change." [Smout 1986: 14]. It was here that wealthy land-owners were content to employ one or more pipers amongst their estate workers, for them to be on hand to don kilt and Glengarry, and entertain the guests when needed. It was on these rich estates and scenic glens that the romantic ideals of post-Enlightenment Edinburgh could be most easily realised, and where the kilted piper might prove a welcome and entertaining diversion. The wind-swept machair in North Uist or Skye, with an over-crowded tenantry on over-stocked land, living at subsistence level, proved less amenable to such romantic indulgence.

Perthshire, it should be remembered, had long been an important centre of piping, although this has tended to be obscured by the pre-eminence of Skye and Mull in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Stoddart remarked in 1800 on the quality of piping in the Atholl district [Stoddart 1801 II: 178], and J.G. Dalyell observed of the

early piping competitions that "if the McCrimmons and Rankines were celebrated of old, the McGregors were those now principally rising into reputation." [Dalyell 1849: 97]. This was an allusion to the remarkable rise to prominence, as pipers and teachers, of the MacGregor pipers from Fortingall in Perthshire. In the first 31 years of the Edinburgh competition, no fewer than 12 different members of this immediate family won the prize pipe - a record without equal. The progenitor of this family was Iain "Mac an Sgeulaiche", who is discussed in some detail below in his capacity as piper to the HSL. (Full details of the family are to be found in Appendix III). The MacGregors were primarily pipers to Campbell of Glenlyon, but members of the family were also in service with Atholl, Breadalbane and Menzies at Weem. These major estates, and many more such as Abercairney, Drummond, Glendaruel, and a host of lesser properties, feature large in the competition records. Not all estate pipers who competed in Edinburgh came from Perthshire, but certainly that county was predominant. In 1826 the Caledonian Mercury observed that

> "for years past, the greater part of the competitors, pipers particularly, have been from Perthshire. This we consider highly creditable to the feelings of the resident proprietors and gentlemen of that county ..." [Cal Merc 22/6/1826].

Fig VI ARCHIBALD MACARTHUR, piper to Ranald MacDonald of Staffa. Sketch by John Kay (1810). [Kay 1837, II:300]

Fig. VII JOHN MACGILLIVRAY, piper to Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale. (The title on the portrait is inaccurate.) Aquatint etching (c.1810-1815). [National Museums of Scotland]

(2) Estate Pipers

The lot of the estate piper was not a particularly easy one, but was rewarding in that it provided secure work, and the opportunity to indulge in at least some piping at the master's expense. An anecdote was told of old John MacDonald(1), veteran piper to the Glengarry family:

> "The Lady of Glengarry observed one day to John, that it was a matter of surprise he did not employ his leisure hours in doing something. 'Indeed Madam', said John, 'it is a poor estate that cannot keep the laird and the piper without working." [MacKay 1838: 11].

This charming notion possibly had an element of truth in relation to the hereditary pipers of old (of whom John was one of the last representatives), but unfortunately had little bearing on the facts of life for the early nineteenth century estate piper. For him estate duties definitely came first, with piping as a sideline which occupied a greater or lesser proportion of his time in relation to the circumstances of the estate. A good example of the hard-working estate piper was John Bruce (1775-1847), a member of a reputable Skye piping family, who was piper to Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford between about 1818 and 1825. In a testimonial note in 1818 Scott described him as "my wood forester and occasionally my piper" [Kilberry I: 47], and Lockhart recalled his first appearance at Abbotsford as follows:

> "A tall and stalwart bagpiper, in complete Highland costume, appeared

> pacing to and fro on the green before the house, ... At a pause in his strenuous performance, Scott took occasion to explain that John of Skye was a recent acquisition to the rising hamlet of Abottstown; that the man was a capital hedger and ditcher, and only figured with the pipe and philabeg on high occasions in the after-part of the day." [Lockhart 1842: 379].

Scott frequently took Bruce with him to meetings of the Celtic Society in Edinburgh [Grierson 1934 VI: 452], where he was admired not so much for his piping skills (which were inconsiderable(2)), but for his good build and fine appearance in the kilt, the very personification of the gallant Highlander. [Inverness Courier 1/4/1848]. Despite all this, however, Bruce was first and foremost a "hedger and ditcher", and it was not until after the sun had set behind the Abbotsford pines that he was called on to exercise his musical talents.

Scott had possibly found inspiration in a visit in 1810 to the home of Ranald MacDonald of Staffa (Sheriff of Stirlingshire, and Honorary Secretary of the HSS(3)), during which Staffa's piper was "a constant attender at our parties, and wakened us in the morning with music." [MacDonald A & A III: 295]. Staffa's piper was the redoubtable Archibald MacArthur(4), who in 1806 had caused such a stir by refusing 2nd prize at the Edinburgh competition, thinking that he deserved better. [Cal Merc 7/8/1806]. MacArthur's life style appears to have been somewhat akin to the hereditary pipers of old. He worked a farm in Ulva provided by his master [Kay 1838 II: 299],

and seems to have been regularly on hand to play for guests, several of whom commented on his fine uniform and splendid appearance. (He entertained Sir John Carr in 1807, for instance [Carr 1809: 479], and Alexander Campbell in 1815 [1815(a): 19]). As a sideline he made a trade of entertaining parties of tourists plying between Ulva, Staffa and Iona [vide MacDonald J. 1808 I:28], and there is a charming description from 1806 of a party of Aberdeenshire tourists who hired the Ulva piper to accompany them to Iona, where

> "...Our arrival was greeted by a number of people on the beach, who were attracted by our piper's music. For as soon as he got within hearing of the island he had struck up a pibroch with all his vigour and continued his music till we landed. He then ranged us behind him and we were marched single file through the village to the tune of some favourite highland air, apparently to the great delight of the natives." [Anon. 1806].

John Kay's portrait of 1810 [Fig. VI] demonstrates the splendour of MacArthur's uniform, and that this was by no means exceptional amongst the more ostentatious of estate pipers is shown by a near-contemporary portrait of John MacGillivray, piper on the Glenaladale estate in Moidart [Fig. VII]. (MacGillivray was piper to Alisdair Ruadh MacDonald of Glenaladale, a Regency buck of extravagant tastes. He emigrated to Nova Scotia soon after Glenaladale's death, in 1818, where he enjoyed a substantial reputation as piper and poet. [Sinclair A.M. 1896: 171-4; MacKenzie J. 1841: 398]).

An estate piper with rather more unusual duties was

John Campbell (1795-1831), of a family of hereditary pipers in Lorn(5), who was piper to W.F. Campbell of Shawfield and Islay in the 1820s. John was clearly an excellent piper, winning the Edinburgh prize pipe in 1810, but is best remembered for his connection with the Campbell Canntaireachd, compiled by his father, and brought by him to the Edinburgh competition of 1816. [QV Ch.IV]. At Islay House his responsibilities included the overall tuition of the Laird's son, the young John Francis Campbell (born in 1821), who was in later years to become Scotland's pre-eminent folklorist. J.F. Campbell recorded that ...

> "As soon as I was out of the hands of the nursemaids I was handed over to the care of a piper. His name was the same as mine, John Campbell, and from him I learned a good many useful arts. I learned to be hardy and healthy, and I learned Gaelic; I learned to swim and to take care of myself, and to talk to everybody who chose to talk to me." [J.F Campbell, cited by Thompson F. 1985. See also Campbell J.F. 1860 I: xxi].

John Campbell the piper unfortunately died young in 1831 (aged 36), mourned by his employer, who erected a gravestock to the memory of a "faithful servant and piper". [MacKay 1838:13].

Breadalbane

Many more examples of the duties of the estate piper could be cited, and the competition records contain a

wealth of information on estate piping which deserves scrutiny, but which would require a separate monograph to do justice to. One estate which must be mentioned, however, was the large and affluent property of Breadalbane, centred on Taymouth Castle by Loch Tay.

In the early nineteenth century, under John Campbell, 1st Marquis of Breadalbane (1782-1834), and his son John the 2nd Marquis (1834-1862), the fortunes of this estate were at their zenith. The first recorded piper on the estate was Allan MacDougall, descended of an Argyllshire family (pipers to the MacDougalls of Dunolly), who in 1792 left to establish a pipe-making business in Perth. (This was to span four generations, and the name MacDougall was to become a by-word in high quality bagpipes). [MacAulay A. 1964(a): 7-9]. Allan was succeeded by John MacGregor (II), a renowned teacher of the Fortingall family, who was succeeded in turn by his own son (John III) in 1799 - a man described by a German tourist in 1818 as "an extraordinary artist on this instrument." [Spiker 1818 I: 243].

It was however with the advent of John Ban MacKenzie (1796-1854, Fig. VIII), estate piper par excellence, that Breadalbane from the 1830s to 1850s became the focus of the piping world. Of all the pipers at the Edinburgh competition MacKenzie perhaps best demonstrated the potential upward mobility of the quality piper. The competition, of course, was about a good deal more than simply winning prizes: it was a forum for pipers to show off their qualities to best advantage, and for potential

Fig. VIII JOHN BAN MACKENZIE, piper to Breadalbane c.1830-1860.
[National Museums of Scotland]

employers to sample the market. It has been observed that the winner of the HSL Gold Medal in Inverness in later years could "rest on his laurels and select the most lucrative offer that was sure to follow" [MacAulay A. 1964(b): 11], and precisely the same held true of the Edinburgh competition in earlier times.

John Ban MacKenzie, after a schooling in Easter Ross, found his first piping employment on the estate of G.F. MacKenzie of Allangrange (near Fortrose on the Black Isle). It was whilst in his employ that he first competed in Edinburgh in 1820 to win the 4th prize. [Cal Merc 22/7/1820]. In the following year he moved to the estate of Duncan Davidson of Tulloch (near Strathpeffer), and completed a successful run at the competition in 1823 by winning the prize pipe. [Cal Merc 2/8/1823]. At this time also he was sent by Davidson to Raasay, for tuition under John MacKay. [MacKay 1838 Hist. Notes: 8]. In about 1828 MacKenzie set off post haste for Crieff, having eloped with the daughter of Donald MacKenzie of Applecross [Scott J.E. 1965(c): 8], and was not long there before he found employment with John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, who succeeded to the Breadalbane estates in 1834.

During his time at Taymouth, John headed a large corps of estate pipers, and acquired a far-reaching reputation as teacher, composer and virtuoso player, enhanced by his winning of the first Gold Medal in 1835. [Cal Merc 23/7/1835]. On his death in 1864, after 28 years in service with Breadalbane, his wife erected a grave stone in

Strathpeffer which stated simply that

> "He was known as the chief and father of all the Highland pipers, and had taught upwards of 40 young men". [Scott J.E. 1965(c) : 12].

It was during John Ban's term as head piper that Queen Victoria came North for the first time, in September 1842, to be captivated by the Highlands, the Highlanders, and the bagpipe. George IV, of course, had preceded her, met by a barrage of gunfire and piping at Leith pier in 1822, but it was Victoria's enthusiasm for the bagpipe which firmly established the instrument as an essential feature on the fashionable Highland estate. Within three days of her arrival in Scotland she was at Taymouth Castle where, as her journal reveals, the pipers were in constant attendance:

> "There were nine pipers at the castle; sometimes one and sometimes three played. They always played about breakfast time, again during the morning, at luncheon, and also whenever we went in and out; again before dinner, and during most of dinner time. We both have become quite fond of the bagpipes." [Victoria; 1868: Sept. 9].

Even while out boating on Loch Tay she had two pipers in the bow, in evocation of Scott's Lady of the Lake, ("See the proud pipers in the bow, And mark the gaudy streamers flow ..." [Victoria 1868: 19], and in all she was so impressed, that on returning to Windsor she sent for William MacKenzie, an old Waterloo veteran whom she had seen at Taymouth, to become her personal piper. [Lauder T.D. 1843:332]. MacKenzie declined on the grounds of ill

Fig. IX THE SCENIC HIGHLANDS. Pipers in the foreground. Taymouth Castle and Loch Tay in the background. Watercolour c. mid-nineteenth century. [Provenance uncertain]

health, and the biographer of the Royal visit records that John Ban MacKenzie was then approached to recommend "a tall good-looking man like yourself".

"Ye may seek a' Scotland" came the reply, "before ye find sic a man as that" [Lauder T.D. 1843: 36], but eventually a suitable candidate was found in Angus MacKay. [QV IV.3(e)]. Thus a Royal precedent was established which continues to this day, and the high age of Royal patronage of the bagpipe was underway.

Other Districts

It would be wrong to imply that all the pipers at the competition were from Perthshire, or indeed that all worked on major estates. (The records suggest that about 35% worked on estates at one time or another.) Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Invernessshire, and Argyll all provided their fair share of pipers [Fig. V], and the old MacKay country of Sutherland in particular had a thriving piping community which, on the evidence of Joseph MacDonald's 1760 treatise [QV], was little affected by post-Culloden strictures. No fewer than 10 Sutherland pipers won the prize pipe in Edinburgh, 5 of them bearing the surname MacKay. [Comp'n. records].

Inverness-shire, too, could boast a tight-knit community of pipers. At Glenmoriston, for instance, was Finlay MacLeod ("Fionlaidh Piobaire"), a tremendous character who had fought through the Peninsular War with

the 79th, and who on winning the prize pipe in 1813 was commended as having been wounded no fewer than four times in active service. [Cal Merc 31/7/1813]. At Abriachean, on the Seafield estate by Loch Ness, was Thomas MacDonald, a member of a long-established piping family. [MacDonald Alex 1914: 113]. At Glengarry was Archibald Munro, a native of Oban who, on Alasdair Ranaldson's untimely leap from a sinking steamer on Loch Linnhe (in 1828), composed the well-known Glengarry's Lament. [Celtic Monthly 13 (1904-5): 70]. These were all close friends and colleagues, and "many a day", wrote the chronicler of Glenmoriston, "MacLeod, MacDonald and he [Munro], made the pìob-mhòr sound and resound about Invermoriston". [MacDonald A. 1914: 113].

One feature which emerges clearly from the competition records is that in the early nineteenth century the playing of the Highland bagpipe was still largely the preserve of the Gael. In Perthshire, for instance, the vast majority of pipers came from the Gaelic speaking Northern parishes of Blair Atholl, Dull, Weem, Killin, Fortingall and so on, and very few from the Anglicised southern parts in the vicinity of Perth, Crieff and Callander.(6) Similarly, there were very few pipers from Aberdeenshire, Fife and the Central belt, and most of the pipers who did live in the Lowlands were acknowledged to be of Highland background.

It has been suggested, probably with a deal of truth [e.g. Campbell A. 1962(b):9] that the Highland pipe gained ground in the lowlands as the heavily depleted Highland

regiments were forced to seek Lowland and Irish recruits to maintain their numbers. (In 1809 certain Highland regiments were so depleted that they lost the right to wear the kilt. [Boag 1975: 29]). It is certainly of interest that in 1820 Colonel Farquarson introduced a piper of the 25th Regiment [K.O.S.B.] to the Edinburgh competition in the hope that "his not understanding the Gaelic language may be immaterial." [Kilberry I: 13]. At the 1815 competition we learn that Sir John MacGregor Murray addressed the assembled competitors in Gaelic, "which appeared to gratify them highly" [Cal Merc 31/7/1815]; but changes were afoot, and as the century progressed it was to become increasingly hard to recognise the pìob mhòr as a uniquely Highland instrument.

(3) The Army

> "What could be more gallant or heroic than a man unarmed advancing intrepidly in the face of an enemy, encouraging his comrades to deeds of hardihood and glory, by those martial strains so congenial and animating to the feelings of every Highlander?" (Speech by Sir John MacGregor Murray, 1816. [Cal Merc 3/8/1816]).

The lifestyle of the army piper has yet to be documented, but an intriguing foretaste is to be had in the memoirs of John MacDonald (1752-1832), the Argyll-born dominie and soldier, who was Pipe Major of the North Fencibles in 1778, and had an eventful military career

which encompassed the Siege of Gibralter, and a diplomatic mission to China with Lord MacCartney in 1792. [MacDonald J. 1906; MacCulloch J. 1824 II: 373].

The records show that at least 20% of the pipers who competed in Edinburgh (probably an underestimate) were at some stage involved in military service. The competition during the war years (pre-1815), was used by the organisers as an opportunity to extol the virtues of army life, and the value of the bagpipe as a military instrument. Their attack was two-pronged. On the one hand the competitions were invariably concluded with some stirring military rhetoric, usually delivered enthusiastically by Sir John Sinclair or Sir John MacGregor Murray. These speeches were reported at length in contemporary newspapers such as the Caledonian Mercury, but the approach was by no means new: as early as 1783 the competition was being heralded as a means of reviving the "warlike ancient music" [E.E.C. 20/10/1783]; and in 1798 the public were reminded that the bagpipe was "so necessary to be patronised, particularly at present, when so many loyal bands of Highlanders are embodied ... for defence of their King and Country." [Cal Merc 2/8/1798]. The second approach was to single-out military pipers for special notice, in the hope, no doubt, of inspiring emulation. Several instances are cited in the course of this work. One example was in 1816 when the Waterloo veteran, Donald Robertson (P/M of the 42nd) was called forward for a special award. [Cal Merc 3/8/1816].

Military concerns impinged on the competition in other

respects too. In certain years, such as 1810 and 1813, military demands were so high that the number of competitors was actually affected. [HSL 268, 25: 100; Cal Merc 31/7/1813]. At other times military officers were in attendance, availing themselves of "the presence of so many good performers ... to select regimental pipers for the Highland Corps." [Dalyell 1849: 102]. An amusing anecdote is told of the 1825 competition, when General Duff of the 92nd Regiment, on promising a piper an attractive and lucrative posting in the U.K. (and not abroad), was requested to "give that in writing". [Dalyell Gen. 355D: 15; 1849: 102].

The Piping College

The main thrust of the Societies' activities in promoting army piping, however, was directed towards the establishment of a piping college for army pipers. Such a scheme was contemplated from the earliest years: in 1783 John MacArthur of the Sleat piping family was urged to establish such a college, and a hope was expressed that

> "... those at the head of the army will in particular encourage so laudable an undertaking, that the Highland corps may be better and more easily furnished with pipers than they have hitherto been." [E.E.C. 27/10/1783).

Nothing specific came of this proposal, but the societies continued to encourage military instruction, praising the

Fortingall MacGregors for their efforts in this respect in 1784 [Scots Mag 46 (Oct 1784): 552]; urging Malcolm MacGregor to establish a Glasgow piping school in 1804 [Cal Merc 28/7/1804]; encouraging Donald MacDonald's use of staff notation as a teaching medium in 1806 [Cal Merc 7/8/1806]; and in 1810 urging pipers to instruct others "in the practice of this useful and warlike instrument". [Cal Merc 2/8/1810].

In July 1788 the HSL finally determined on a plan for "establishing the professorship of the Great Highland Pipe". [HSL 268, 21: 91, 98]. As chance would have it, in London at that time was Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon (c.1743-1825), last (along with his brother Iain Dubh), of the hereditary pipers to MacLeod of Dunvegan. The society soon decided that Donald Ruadh was the ideal candidate for the job, being "the last of the celebrated race of pipers and composers of that name, who successively for five centuries presided over a similar institution in the Highlands." [HSL 268, 25: 4,5]. If this was perhaps an exaggerated claim, there is no doubt that Donald Ruadh was a respected authority: in 1815 Alexander Campbell described him as "the best qualified of any now living to initiate beginners in the true stile of playing" [Campbell 1815 (a): 33]; in 1827 MacLeod of Gesto remarked that he was "allowed by all to be the best piper of his time..." [HSL 268, 2: Letter 24/12/1827].

In 1789, however, he was rather down on his luck. Having left Skye in 1772, following substantial rent

increases on the Dunvegan estates, [Grant I.F. 1959: 560; A Morrison, n.d.], Donald Ruadh emigrated to America. He was not there long, however, before the War of Independence broke out, and he took a Lieutenant's commission in the 84th Regiment of Royal Immigrants (in October 1778). [Poulter 1939: 5]. His war service was most adventurous (he is said to have captured a fully-armed privateer with only six men), but he lost an eye in action, and returned to Britain at the end of the war penniless. [HSL 268, 1: Petition 8/8/1808]. In December 1788 he was given the rank and emoluments of half-pay lieutenant (which rank he held until December 1808) [PRO WO 24/748-761], but in April of the following year he found himself in Newgate prison in London for debts incurred in "the support of his wife and numerous family." [HSL 268, 21: 96].

The HSL, on discovering this unfortunate turn of events, promptly bailed him out [HSL 268, 21: III; 31: 31/10/1789], and as luck would have it, the grandson of Donald Ruadh's old patron, General Norman MacLeod of MacLeod, was a member of the Society at the time, and secured the piping "professorship" for him. He was provided with an annual salary of 20 guineas, a further gratuity of £30 to render his circumstances "somewhat comfortable", and a berth to Glenelg with his family. [HSL 268, 21: 96,III; 34: 1789, 90, 91]. General MacLeod, in the meantime, was lobbying the War Office for the use of a wing of the abandoned Bernara Barracks in Glenelg, built by General Wade in 1720, to house the college, but his efforts

proved unavailing, and by March 1792 Donald Ruadh had moved from Glenelg to a farm in Skye. [HSL 268, 21: 115, 116, 131]. (A communication in 1792 shows that he was temporarily at Lochbay in Duirinish [HSL 268, 21: 147, 151], but R.H. MacLeod records that he held the land of Trien in Waternish from 1792. [MacLeod 1977(c): 16]).

Donald Ruadh's precise instructions from the Society are unclear. In June 1792 his salary was discontinued until he could "fix himself in any situation in Glenelg or near Fort Augustus, and carry the Society's initial intentions into execution." [HSL 268, 21: 151]. Donald Ruadh responded in February 1794 by saying that he was settled "in the ancient college of pipe music in the Isle of Skye", and was ready to take on pupils. [HSL 268, 22: 14, 15]. The likelyhood is that he was then back at Borreraig (which rentals confirm him to have held between 1795 and 1797 [Morrison A. n.d.]), his brother Iain Dubh having quarrelled with MacLeod and left that farm in about 1793. [Morrison op cit.; MacKay 1838: 5]. For the time-being, however, the Society's enthusiasm for the project faltered, and plans for the college were temporarily shelved.

Thirteen years later, in February 1807, Donald Ruadh returned to London, apparently to pursue his military career, and obtained a posting as Lieutenant in the 10th Veteran Battalion. [PRO WO 12/11189]. His appearance revived the HSL's interest in the piping college, and in March 1808 he was invited to perform at the Society's

anniversary dinner "to afford an opportunity of judging of his performance." [HSL 268, 23: 185]. The Society again strenuously lobbied the War Office for the use of the Bernera barracks, sending a high-powered delegation to discuss the proposal with the Commander In Chief (HRH The Duke of York), whilst also soliciting the help of the Duke of Sussex. [HSL 268, 23: 166, 167, 180; 25: 4, 5, 18, 23-6, 31; Inv. Courier 30/12/1808]. The society stressed that the only real outlay would be in providing a permanent salary for MacCrimmon (who was in any case an army officer), and that the objective was to promote a music "known to animate and preserve the military spirit of the Highlanders". [HSL 268, 25: 18]. The Duke of York expressed a "disposition to promote such an establishment" [268,25:18], but appears to have taken no action. In the meantime Donald Ruadh, whilst waiting in London for developments, again landed himself in Newgate prison, and was again bailed out by the Society. [HSL 268, 25: 18, 34: 1809; Box 1 Petition 8/8/1808]. To compound matters, the 10th Veteran Battalion was posted to Canada, and the Society was forced to apply for an extension of Donald Ruadh's leave of absence. [HSL 268 25:26].

War Office records show that he did not, in fact, accompany the Battalion to North America [P.R.O. WO 12/11145], but rather returned north, where in August 1813 he was stationed at Fort George. [NLS ms 19953, fol.9]. Sir John Sinclair recorded in that year that "The Plan [for the piping college] was suspended for a time, but is by no

means abandoned" [Sinclair J. 1813: 14], while a communication from the Duke of Kent revealed that he, at that time, was anxious to procure Donald Ruadh's services to instruct pipers in his own regiment, The Royal Scots. [NLS ms 19953, fol.9: 12/8/1813]. A final flurry of activity came in early 1816 when Alasdair Macdonnell of Glengarry suggested that the HSL might care to co-operate in the project with his own Society of True Highlanders ("a pure Highland Society"). [HSL 268, 26: 131-3, 141-2, 200]. By this time, however, Waterloo had been fought and won, the war effort was being wound down, and the venture was finally allowed to lapse.

After his departure for America in the 1770's Donald Ruadh did not again act as official piper to MacLeod of Dunvegan, (this post was occupied by distant cousins who had neither "the talents or respectability of their progenitors" [Clerk A. 1841: 340]), but he did occasionally come out of retirement to grace major occasions. He was at Dunvegan in 1799, for instance, to greet Norman MacLeod's homecoming from the Parliamentary session [MacLeod F.T 1933: 133], and was there in August 1814 to entertain Sir Walter Scott (who recalled "an old man, a lieutenant in the army, and a most capital piper"), during his visit with the Lighthouse Commission. [Lockhart 1837 IV: 309]. He was by this time living in Glenelg, bought by P.C. Bruce from the MacLeod estate in 1811, and it was there that in October 1815 he was visited by Alexander Campbell. Campbell recounted that Donald Ruadh had

"lately experienced disappointment" in a musical venture, which we can well imagine to have related to the proposed piping college. [1815(a): 62]. Although we know of certain of Donald Ruadh's pupils(7), there is no evidence that at any stage he had undertaken widespread instruction of army pipers. Certainly the whole episode, dragging-on as it did over 28 years, must have been very frustrating for him. Donald Ruadh enjoyed an army pension in later life, and died in London in 1825 after one last, if fleeting visit to the debtors prison in 1823 (this time in Inverness), when he was 82 years old. [PRO PMG 3/5; Poulter 1939: 6]. He will be best remembered for Alexander Campbell's description of his piping in October 1815:

> "After a few glasses of his own good tody, MacCrummin seized the pipe - put on his hat (his usual custom) - breathed into the bag - tuned the drones to the chanter - gave a prelude in a stile of brilliancy that flashed like lightning - and commenced Failte Phrionnsah, in tones that spoke to the ear and affected the heart". [Campbell A. 1815(a): 62].

The Bagpipe Preceptor

With the culmination of the Napoleonic Wars, any sense of military urgency in the Societies' piping activities was considerably diminished. They did, however, continue to support army piping in many different ways, and I believe

that we might include under this general brief a curious bagpipe tutor, entitled The Bagpipe Preceptor, published in 1818. [Menzies 1818].

This work scarcely rates a mention in the piping literature, but is of interest in that it actually predates the earliest significant pipe music collection (that of Donald MacDonald) by over two years. Its shortcomings are manifest: the gracing is dreadfully over-simplified and inaccurate (using a system of enumeration to represent grace-notes); the music is written a fifth lower than the actual sound of the chanter; certain tunes incorporate a high E (high B in modern notation), which was not a feature of Highland piping; and the choice of tunes, the list of 15 including such favourites as God Save the King and Taste Life's Glad Moments, could hardly have inspired confidence. The work is divided into two portions, of tutor and music, the former taking the most unusual form of a conversation between "amateur" and "shepherd" on the Perthshire moors, in which snippets of piping lore are interspersed between fishing tips and prognoses for the shoot. The relationship is not quite what one would expect, however, for it is "Amateur" who instructs "Shepherd" in the art of piping, and offers tempting inducements to the army life, where, apparently, the piper is "caressed by every body, especially the ladies, who would prefer a piper to a prince". [1818: 17]. "When you are master of the instrument", promises Amateur, "I shall recommend you to attend the competition of pipers at Edinburgh ... And who

knows but you may one of these days 'scorn the Shepherd's slothful life', and launch into the service of your King and Country in the capacity of a piper ..." [1818: 16].

Such a line in dialogue gives a clear indication of a military impetus behind the work. The work was produced anonymously, but James Logan identified the author in 1831 as "Captain Menzies". [1876 Edn. III: 307]. The author was further identified by "The Notices of Pipers" as Capt. Robert Menzies "of a Perthshire family" [PT Nov. 1973], but I am inclined to suggest that a much more likely candidate was Major Archibald Menzies, of the 42nd Regiment, who greatly distinguished himself at Waterloo. [Keltie 1879 II: 396]. He was a member of the HSS between 1817 and 1845 [THSS], with a particular involvement in musical matters : he judged regularly at the piping competition between 1818 and 1841 (he was on a shortleet of recommended judges in 1826 [HSSPMB: 43]); and he helped in the production of the Dalness Report in 1832. [QV ch II 2(8)]. Certainly he had the credentials to produce the Preceptor, but the case is not yet proven.

The author also demonstrated a healthy interest in another of the Societies' enduring concerns - staff notation - stressing to "Shepherd" that instruction by this "scientific" method would allow him to learn a hundred tunes for every one learnt in the traditional manner. [1818: 34]. To the Societies the musical and military concerns were not distinct, for staff notation was perceived as the most effective way of teaching piping to

Army recruits. Although this work was of little worth in its own right, its real value lay in the encouragement it gave to other experiments along similar lines, a point discussed in Ch.IV 3(c).

(4) Society Pipers

The competition records show that 6% of the competing pipers had at one time or other worked for one of the various Highland and sporting societies which enjoyed enormous popularity from the 1820's. Our concern here, however, is with the pipers who specifically worked for the two major Highland Societies.

1. The Highland Society of London put great stock in its social gatherings and the provision of nourishing fare, both culinary and musical. The Society held four major meetings between February and May, and at each (but particularly at the annual dinner) a full programme of music was offered. This had three major constituents - Highland piping, Irish union piping, and dance music, provided for many years by the band of John Gow.

Gow was of the well-known Perthshire family, and was a music publisher in London. His brother Andrew played quite regularly with his band in the 1780's and 1790's, and his brother Nathaniel, who was well established in

Edinburgh, played once in 1793. [HSL 268, 34: 1793]. John was paid a regular salary of 10 guineas per annum, with an additional sum to cover the costs of his musicians. [HSL 265: 34]. The Society's patronage of the Irish Union Pipe (the term Uilleann was not then in use) is a fascinating issue which is unfortunately outwith the scope of this work. Irish pipers played regularly at Society meetings between 1788 and 1822, and in the ranks of the performers were some of the leading exponents of the instrument at this crucial stage in its development.(8) Between them they published five of the earliest collections of Irish pipe music, and O'Farrell's collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes (1804) was for long a standard work. (It might be observed that this was published by John Gow, and it would be interesting to gauge the extent of the Society's patronage of this and like works).

Details concerning the Highland pipers who played at Society meetings are presented in Table III/1. A good deal of emphasis was put on the ceremonial, from the quality of the piper's dress, to the observance of correct etiquette during the meetings. In 1792, for instance, it was decided that the piper should

> "... play on the outside of the door, except at the time the whisky is going about, when he is permitted to play once or twice round the room". [HSL 268, 21: 145].

A good example of the musical arrangements for the annual dinner is to be found in the minutes for March 1807, which

instructed that "Mr Gow do provide a good band of music, consisting of three violins, a French horn, Jones the harper, O'Farrell the Irish piper, and John MacGregor the Highland piper ..." [HSL 268; 24: 126]. In 1811 Gow's band was six in number, while in 1816 the full Regimental band of the Royal Scots was in attendance. [HSL 268, 25: 117, 319].

The dinner itself was a real Society event, frequently receiving press coverage, as in 1802 when the Scots Magazine reported:

> "An elegant dinner was served at half past six o'clock, during which several national airs on the pipe were performed by the pipers of the Society, and a few pebrachs, with wonderful skill and execution, by Buchanan P/M of the 42nd Regiment ... The greatest harmony and conviviality prevailed during the evening. Gow's band of instrumental music, Murphy the Irish piper, together with the vocal strains of Dignum ... added much to the general festivity". [Scots Mag 63 (April 1802): 369].

Fig. X NEIL MACLEAN. Piper to the HSL 1785-1791. From a contemporary print. [National Museums of Scotland]

Table III/1

PIPERS TO THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON

	Period as Official Piper	Period as Extra Piper	Payment	Other Outlay	Others Acting as Extra Piper
Peter MacGregor	1782	(1799, 1800)	n.a.		
John MacGregor (I)	1783	-	n.a.		
Neil MacLean	1785-1791	-	£15-15-0 pa	Dress £41-9-9 Sundries £67-4-6	
Charles MacArthur	1791-1805	-	£1-1-0 per performance (2-5 per annum)	Dress £30-13-0 Pipe + Bag £7-12-0	John MacGregor II (1791, 92) P. MacDonald (1791, 94) Angus MacArthur (1796) John Buchanan (1802)
John MacGregor (IV)	1805-1821	(1800-1804)	£1-1-0 per performance (2-5 per annum)	-	Malcolm MacGregor (1805-15) Angus MacArthur (1815, 16)
George Clarke	1816-1837	-	£1-1-0 per performance until 1824 £10-10-0 pa 1824-37	Dress £1-17-0 Pipes £11-3-6	72 Regt. Pipers (1828)
John MacBeth	1829-1842	(1826, 27) (1843-50)	£8-8-0 pa until 1837 £40-0-0 pa 1837-42 as Piper & Messenger	Pipes £2-2-0	John Thomson (1841)
Donald MacKay	1843-1850	(1829-40)	£15-15-0 pa	Banner £6-5-0	John MacLennan (1847, 8)
Angus Mackay	1851-1854	(1845-50)	£15-15-0 pa	-	Alex MacKay (1853,4) Michael MacCarfrae (1855)
William Ross	1855-1891	-	£21-0-0 pa	Sundries £23-4-0	Donald MacKay Jnr. (1879-92)

Sources: HSL Minute Books NLS Dep. 268:15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 27, 28.
HSL Accounts Book NLS Dep. 268:34.

John and Peter MacGregor (1782, '83).

The very first piping appointments to the Society, however, were temporary posts which did not involve work in London, but rather attendance in an official capacity at the Falkirk competition.

John MacGregor Senior (1708-1789), patriarch of the remarkable family of Fortingall pipers described in Appendix III, was official piper to the Society in 1783. He was known as Iain "Mac an Sgeulaiche", and was of a family of pipers established in the Ruadhshruth (Ruaro) region of Glenlyon for several generations. During the '45 he had fought and been wounded in the Jacobite cause at Culloden, but escaped subsequent reprisals. [MacGregor A., 1879: 404]. He attended the first piping competition in Falkirk in 1781, when aged 73, and won the 3rd prize, being listed as piper to Colonel John Campbell of Glenlyon at Fortingall; he was again 3rd in 1782; and in 1783 was appointed piper to the HSL, and was asked to proceed to Falkirk to act as intermediary between judges and competitors. [Competition Records; Trigge 1783: 2]. There a dispute arose between the competitors and the judges (members of the Glasgow Gaelic Club), who had appointed their own man, John MacAllister, as official piper. "This I thought was using the Highland Society and you exceedingly ill", wrote David Trigge to the London secretary, "and the poor old man also [MacGregor] who at such a great distance and an advanced age had ventured out

to pay that respect due to the orders of the Society." [Trigge 1783: 2]. An alternative competition was arranged in Edinburgh for the following week, and old John was there to open the proceedings with Clanranald's March (in honour of the Preses) [Cal Merc 27/10/1783]. He was paid £5.11.1 for his services in 1783, with a £5 gratuity in 1785 in recognition of "the great age of John MacGregor, and his merit as a performer and teacher." [HSL 268, 34: 1783; HSS Sd. Bk. I: 86].

The reputation of the MacGregors as teachers is well documented. When John's son, John (II), piper to Breadalbane, won the prize pipe in 1784, the Scots Magazine reported that he, "with the additional merit of having taught above 50 military pipers himself, is the eldest of five sons taught by their father John MacGregor, together with 90 other pipers". [Scots Mag Oct 1784: 553]. James Logan subsequently confirmed that "there was a branch of the MacGregors ... who were celebrated musicians, and afforded instruction to the chief part of the pipers of the Central Highlands ..." [Logan J. 1876 Edn. II: 289]. The folklorist Henry Whyte also commented on the MacGregors' reputation, and that "it was their habit to send their best pupil for a year to the college of music conducted by the MacCrimmons". [Whyte 1912: 207]. Whether or not this was the case, one MacCrimmon-bred pupil of the MacGregor school was John's own son, Peter (known as "Patrick na Coraig"(9)), who won the prize pipe at the inaugural contest in 1781, and acted as the official piper to the HSL

in 1782. (The Caledonian Mercury [27/10/1783] explained that he was "bred at Dunvegan".) The HSL provided him with a badge of office to place in his bonnet [HSL 268, I: minutes], but his association with the Society was fairly short-lived, involving, after 1782, only a brief spell as "extra piper" in London in 1799 and 1800. [HSL 268, 34: 1799, 1800]. He was in later years piper to F.G. Campbell of Troup and Fortingall, and died in Fortingall, aged 76, in 1824. His obituary spoke of him as "nearly unequalled as a performer on the Great Highland Bagpipe." [Edinburgh Magazine (93): April 1824].

Neil MacLean (1785-1791: Fig. X)

In 1784 the HSL decided to import a piper from Scotland, who would be available to perform on a regular basis at Society meetings. This was not a full-time post. Rather the Society would pay "an annual allowance in proportion to his merit and good conduct", while it was hoped that the owner of the Shakespeare Tavern, in which the Society met, would provide more permanent employment. [HSL 268, 21: 17].

The selected candidate was Neil MacLean, a young piper from Mull, who in 1783 had won the prize pipe in Falkirk, rather to the surprise of all concerned. Neil was of a family of hereditary pipers to the MacLeans of Lochbuy, whose patronage of the bagpipe is attested to in the tune

MacLean of Lochbuie's Lament [vide Reid P. 1826: 62]. An early reference to this family is to be discerned in a court case of 1759 when, on trial along with John MacLean of Lochbuy (for illegally imprisoning a neighbour), was "Donald MacLean his piper's son". [Scots Mag 21 (Aug 1759): 441]. The "Notices of Pipers" (on uncertain authority) states that in 1760 Lochbuy's piper was Hector MacLean [PT June 73], while the HSL accounts show that in 1789 Neil's father (unfortunately unnamed) held that post. [HSL 268, 34: 17/2/1789]. It is of interest that prior to his winning the prize pipe in 1783, Neil spent six weeks in the Spring with John MacGregor (II) receiving instruction [Trigge 1783: 3], which suggests that he was then a novice rather than a seasoned piper.

Neil first performed for the Society, resplendent in new uniform, in January 1785, and held this position for six years, with an initial salary of 12 guineas per annum, increasing to 15 guineas in 1787. [HS2 268, 21: 37]. Unfortunately he was unable to hold down full-time employment in London, and incurred several debts which the Society paid. (These eventually amounted to some £52, compounded by apothecary's charges of £14 incurred by illness in 1789. [268: 34]). Although in 1788 the committee members resolved "to use their interest individually to procure him some appointment", and provided him with a good reference [HSL 268, 21: 90, 92], their efforts were unavailing, and on being faced with a final bill of £15 in December 1790, they decided that MacLean had

been a source of excessive "trouble and expense to the Society", and dismissed him. [HSL 268, 21: 123].

The accounts suggest that after this MacLean, still a young man, emigrated to India [HSL 268, 34: 9/6/1791], but there is evidence that he was back in Mull by 1794. [SRO GD 174/1501]. Remarkably, in 1968 the old Tiree pipers Calum and John MacLean were familiar with Neil MacLean, his son Allan, and his grandson Hector, which attests to their enduring reputation as pipers. [SA 1968/250/A1]. Neil's son Allan in fact won the prize pipe in Edinburgh in 1810, whilst piper to Alexander MacLean of Ardgour, and there is a strong likelihood that Murdoch MacLean, the Glasgow pipe maker who offered to decipher the Campbell Canntaireachd in 1816, was also of the family. (In 1814, when he won the 4th prize in Edinburgh, he too was listed as piper to MacLean of Ardgour. [Competition Records]).

Charles MacArthur (1791-1805)

MacLean was replaced by Charles MacArthur, most probably the same man who, as piper to the Earl of Eglinton, had won the 2nd prize at the inaugural Falkirk contest in 1781. [E.E.C. 15/10/1781]. There was a well known family connection between the Montgomeries of Eglinton and the MacDonalds of Sleat(10), which suggests that Charles was of the famed Skye piping family discussed in Ch IV 3(c). (It is of interest that Neil MacArthur of

this family served with Colonel Archibald Montgomerie's 77th Highlanders in the 1750's [Sanger K. 1986: 52].) Seton Gordon collected a fascinating tale in Skye in the 1930's which featured Charles MacArthur "piper and valet to Lord Eglinton" in a typical feat of piping endurance (see Appendix XI), and this too might lend credence to the notion that Charles was of Skye origins.

Whilst piper to the HSL he was paid a guinea per performance (varying from between two to five performances per year), and demonstrated considerable guile in informing the Society that the instrument on which he played was old "and hardly fit for performance to company's so respectible". [HSL 268, 22: 84, 87]. This had the desired effect, and resulted in the purchase of a new bagpipe for him in 1803. [HSL 268, 24: 36; 34: 1803]. In 1801 the Society provided him with a rather sumptuous new uniform(11), but he retired in 1805, most probably to continue service with Eglinton in Ayrshire. [HSL 268, 34: 1805]. An unsigned notice in the Piping Times states that he participated in the famous tournament arranged by Archibald, 13th Earl of Eglinton, in 1839. [PT Feb. 1970].

John MacGregor (IV) (1805-1822)

MacArthur's successor was another of the Fortingall MacGregors, John IV (1782-1822), son of Peter, the Society's piper in 1782. John accompanied his father to London in 1799, and stayed on there to become piper to both the Society, and to the Duke of Sussex. [Scots Mag 10 (March 1822): 415]. Between 1800 and 1804 he accompanied Charles MacArthur at the monthly meetings, and took over as official piper in his own right in 1805. [HSL 268, 34: 1805].

He appears to have been something of an infant prodigy, winning the 3rd prize at the Edinburgh competition in 1792, when only 10 years old, and gaining the prize pipe in 1806. [Cal Merc 26/7/1792; 7/8/1806]. He was also an accomplished player of the flute and the union pipe (on which instrument he doubled at Society meetings) [Scots Mag (op. cit)], and demonstrated his familiarity with staff notation in helping to compile the Society's own pibroch collection in 1820. [Q.V. Ch.IV 3(c)]. Archibald Campbell records that he was P/M of the Loyal North Britons, (a distinct possibility given that this volunteer regiment was raised by the Society itself), and also that he had a pipe making business in London, a fact which has yet to be substantiated. [Campbell A. 1950(d): 12]. It is known, however, that his regular assistant at Society meetings between 1805 and 1815, Malcolm MacGregor(12), had an instrument-making business in London, and it is a

possibility that John was a partner in this business.

Malcolm MacGregor himself was a reputable player of both Union and Highland pipes (he had won the prize pipe in 1804), but is best remembered for his innovative pipe making, and his production in 1810 of a keyed Highland pipe chanter(13). In 1810 he took out a patent on a flute with improved keys, applicable also to "various other wind instruments", [Patent A.D. 1810: 3349], and at the 1810 piping competition unveiled his new keyed chanter, of which the judges thoroughly approved, but which the competitors viewed with grave suspicion. (J.G. Dalyell recorded that "viewing it only as a flagrant and needless innovation" they "clandestinely sacrificed the instrument to their malevolence" - in other words, they broke it. [Dalyell 1849:8, Gen 351D: 54, 69]). Nothing deterred by this, however, the HSL appointed Malcolm their official pipemaker (he made the competition prize pipe between 1812 and 1815), and instructed him to make the 1812 prize chanter "upon his improved plan". [HSL 268, 25: 121, 122, 147]. Malcolm attended the 1812 competition in person to instruct the lucky winner in its use, and was on this occasion presented with a 10 guinea award "for essential improvements made by him on the Great Highland pipe, and on the Union and Northumberland pipes". [Cal Merc 30/7/1812]. This shows that the Highland Societies took his innovations seriously, but his keyed chanter, like all subsequent experiments in the same vein, failed to gain widespread support.

John MacGregor remained principal piper to the HSL

until the end of 1821, when, on New Year's night, he met a premature death by falling down the stairs at the home of Mr. Wedderburn, the Society secretary. [Scots Mag 10 (March 1822): 415]. Much later, in 1841, his widow petitioned the Society for financial aid in her old age, and was provided with a 5 guinea annuity from 1841 to 1845. [HSL 268, 6: Petition 25/11/1541; 18: Receipts].

George Clarke (1816-1837)

Prior to MacGregor's death, the piping duties at the Society had already devolved in part on George Clarke, a native of Tongue in Sutherland [Celtic Monthly Oct 1910: 190], and former Pipe Major of the 71st Regiment. From 1816 he played regularly at all meetings, initially being paid a guinea per performance, and, from 1824, an annual salary of 10 guineas, in recognition of his "high personal character". [HSL 268, 27: 6/3/1824].

Clarke was possibly the most famous piper of his day, not because of his piping skills (which have gone utterly unremarked), but because at the Battle of Vimiera in August 1808 (in the Peninsular campaign), he played his regiment on to victory, despite having been wounded in the legs. His contemporary James Logan recounted that

> "Finding himself disabled, he sat down on the ground, and, putting his pipes in order, called out 'weel lads, I am sorry I can gae nae further wi' you, but deel hae my saul if ye shall want music;' and struck up a favourite

> warlike air, with the utmost unconcern for anything, but the unspeakable delight of sending his comrades to battle with the animating sound of the piobrachd". [Logan J. 1876 Edn. II: 282].

This incident has been the subject of poems, paintings, and many paragraphs of martial prose(14), and from the very outset gripped the imagination of the public at large.

The Highland Societies found in Clarke an object worthy of their plaudits: the HSS presented him with a special Robertson-made bagpipe in 1809(15); and the HSL employed him to play at their meetings from 1816, providing him with another new instrument (made by Malcolm MacGregor) in 1820 [268, 43: 4/3/1820], and presenting him in 1822 with a specially-cast medal in recognition of "his gallantry as a soldier ... his individual worth, and musical talents". [HSL 268, 27: 2/2/1822]. In 1810 he had in fact returned to Portugal with his regiment [Inverness Courier 28/9/1810], but by 1815 he was back in Scotland and anxious to compete at the piping competition of that year. The competition committee, however, were swift to deter him (probably reluctant to see him bested in competition), and instead awarded him with a Gold medal. [HSL 268 26: 120; Dalyell 1849: 25, 6]. It was thus bedecked with medals and presentation pipes, that he was pictured in his prime, in a print circulated in 1816. [Fig. XI].

From 1829 Clarke was frequently helped out at HSL meetings by his successor John MacBeth, for his health had started to deteriorate [HSL 268 14: April 1829], and

Fig. XI GEORGE CLARKE, "Hero of Vimiera". Piper to the HSL 1816-1836. Print (1816). [National Museums of Scotland]

THE HIGHLAND PIPER, *GEORGE CLARKE,*

He was presented by the Highland Society with the above delineated silver pipes, upon which he is engraved.

although his salary continued until 1837, it is likely that his duties in later years were negligible. There exists in the Society records a poignant letter dated 6th February 1838, in which he informs the Society that he has returned "the pips and flag together in a small box". Sadly, he states that "I am not able to go out of dores, my limbs is verry bad". [HSL 268, Box 14]. Thus ended Clarke's involvement with the Society. He was a legend in his own lifetime. He died, according to one record , in 1851, aged 67. [PT Aug 1968: 21].

Later Pipers to the HSL

Clarke's successor, John MacBeth, was another Sutherland man, who after his term of office with the HSL (1829-1842) became piper to the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle. [HSL 268, 18: 7/8/1846]. He performed regularly for the Society from 1829, initially on a salary of 8 guineas per annum, rising to £40 in 1837 when he took on the dual function of piper and officer. [268, 18: Receipts]. He won the prize pipe in 1838, but is best remembered, on the testimony of Donald Cameron, as a jig player. ["Notices of Pipers", PT March 1970]. A Quickstep written by him for the Society (The Scottish Society of London) is contained in McLachlan's collection. [1854: 67]. He was officially succeeded in 1843 by Donald MacKay, piper to the Duke of Sussex, but continued to play

quite regularly at the anniversary dinners until 1850.

Donald MacKay (1794-1850) was the eldest son of John MacKay, Raasay, whose family is discussed in some depth in Ch. IV 3(e). Between approximately 1821 and 1829 he was piper to R.G. MacDonald of Clanranald, in which capacity he won the prize pipe in 1822 [Cal Merc 3/8/1822], and participated in the pageantry of George IV's visit to Edinburgh. [Scott J.E. 1965(c)]. He first performed for the HSL in early 1829, when he was voted a 5 guinea gratuity in recognition of his "eminent professional abilities". [HSL 265, 14: 2/5/1829]. From this time he accompanied Clarke and MacBeth regularly, being listed, from March 1830, as piper to the Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace. [268, 14: 22/3/1830]. Whilst in London he started making pipes, and received the commission for the Edinburgh prize pipe in 1841 and 1844. [HSL 268, 18: Receipts]. (J.G. Dalyell examined the 1844 set, "made of black ebony mounted with ivory" [Dalyell Gen 379D: 14, 15]). He died suddenly in 1850, to be succeeded between that time and 1854 by his brother Angus, then piper to the Queen. [Q.V. Ch.IV 3(e)].

The last and longest-lived piper to the Society (from 1855 to 1891) was P/M William Ross of the 42nd Highlanders who in 1855 had also been appointed Queen's piper. Details of his involvement strictly fall outwith the scope of this work, but it might be noted that in April 1874 the Society made a £5 donation towards the 2nd edition of his pipe music collection, which Ross duly acknowledged by

including his own tune, The Highland Society of London's Salute in the edition, ("dedicated to the Highland Society of London to whose encouragement and assistance the author is greatly indebted ..."). [HSL 268, 28: 106; Cannon 1980: 148]. The Society also provided a university bursary for his son in 1889 and 1890, and on his death in July 1891, wrote a letter of condolence to his widow praising the "faithful and conscientious manner in which he discharged his duties". [HSL 268, 30: 173, 273; 38: 72]. With Ross' death the permanent post of piper to the Society was abolished.

2. The Highland Society of Scotland (1784-1833)

Table III/2

Although the HSS did employ a piper to play at their meetings, on the whole they took this side of their activities much less seriously than did the HSL. Their first piper, in fact, was the most accomplished of all: he was John MacArthur of the Sleat piping family (his genealogy is discussed in Ch.IV.3(d)), who at the time was a grocer in Buccleuch St., Edinburgh. [E.E.C. 20/20/1783]. He bore the nickname "Professor", presumably in allusion to his fame as a teacher, and was described in contemporary accounts as "The only surviving professor of the ancient college of Dunvegan", which suggests that he was MacCrimmon trained. [E.E.C. 27/10/1783].

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Culloden, but he unfortunately died soon after his appointment in 1793. [HSS Sd. Bk. II: 139, 177, 210, 288]. (The Society provided his widow with a £4 annuity until 1823.(16)). His successor was William Henderson, whose chief recommendation was that he had been piper to the Lord President of the Court of Session, but he proved so inept that the Society was "ashamed to allow him to exhibit or play as the Society's piper", and he was dismissed in 1796. [HSS Sd. Bk. II: 327, 333; III: 81, 230]. Finally, with the appointment of Donald MacLean, a Kintyre man, in 1798, the Society found a suitable candidate for the job. MacLean had won the second prize in 1795, but thereafter performed only "exhibition tunes" on behalf of the Society. He held the post for 35 years, being paid £10 p.a. throughout, but his duties were not arduous, involving at most one or two performances per year. He finally retired in 1832 (aged 77), with a £10 annuity which he drew until his death in 1837. [HSS Sd. Bk. XII: 244; XV: 29]. With him went the Society's last concession to its original cultural trappings.

Table III/2

PIPERS TO THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND

	Years	Salary	Other Outlay
John MacArthur	1784-1791	£5 pa until 1786 £10 pa 1786-91	Dress - Unspecified Sum
Ronald MacDonald	1792-1793	£10 pa	Dress £13-4-6 Funeral £5-0-0
William Henderson	1794-1796	£10 pa	-
Donald MacLean	1798-1833	£10 pa	Dress - Unspecified Sum Sundries - £13-8-0

Source: HSS Sederunt Books I-V.

Notes for Chapter III

(1) John MacDonald (c.1721-1805) had been with the 42nd at Ticonderoga in 1758 (Cal Merc 16/7/1801), and in 1781 piped at the anniversary meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. [Dalyell Gen 378D: 23]. A possible descendant of his was Roderick MacDonald, piper to Glengarry in the 1830s, who composed Mrs. Macdonnell of Glengarry's Lament. Glengarry recorded in 1815 that his present piper was "... two and twentieth in a direct male line who have piped for my family" [HSL 268, 26: 141-6].

(2) John Bruce, although by repute MacCrimmon trained [Orme 1979: 37-40], was clearly not an outstanding piper: he competed unsuccessfully in Edinburgh between 1818 and 1835, and even Scott [vide Lockhart 1842: 411], recognised his deficiencies in this respect. His elder brother Alexander, however, won the second prize in Edinburgh in 1807, and had 3 sons, all successful estate pipers, who emigrated to Australia in the 1850s. [Orme, op.cit.] John Bruce in 1832 was piper on the U.K. Steamship [Comp'n records], and died in rather indigent circumstances in 1847. [Inv. Courier 1/4/1848].

(3) Ranald MacDonald of Staffa (d. 1838) inherited Ulva and other lands in Mull in 1800. [MacDonald A. & A. III: 295]. He judged regularly at the Edinburgh competitions (1822-1835), and was Honorary Secretary of the Society from 1813- 1835 [Ramsay 1879: 515].

(4) Archibald MacArthur is known to have been a pupil of Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon's [Campbell 1815(a): 9], and in turn maintained a "seminary" in Ulva. [Gordon S. 1923: 110; McCormick J. 1923: 46-8]. There has been speculation as to his relationship, if any, with the Sleat MacArthurs in Skye. [vide Gray W. 1973: 13].

(5) John Campbell's grandfather, Donald, served the Campbells of Carwhin at Armaddy House near Oban, and was by repute a MacCrimmon pupil. [MacKay 1838: 13]. He was succeeded by his son Colin Mòr, and in turn by his son Donald (John's brother). [Glasgow Herald 12/9/1834]. In 1782 John Campbell of Carwhin inherited the title and estates of Breadalbane. [Campbell 1871: 133-8].

(6) See Price [1984: 5] for a discussion of Gaelic-speaking parishes in the early 19th century.

(7) Known pupils of Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon were:
- Archibald MacArthur from Ulva [Campbell 1815(a): 9].
- Alexander MacArthur (son of Donald Ruadh's own

teacher, Charles MacArthur). [Sanger K. 1983: 16].

- Alexander Bruce from Glenelg. [Campbell 1815(a): 62.
- (Possibly also Hector Johnson, piper to MacLean of Coll. Gordon S. 1923: 107]).

(8) Irish Pipers To The HSL

PIPER	YEARS	PUBLICATIONS
James Murphy	1788, 89, 1794-1802	Collection of Irish Airs and Jiggs (c.1810)
Dennis Courtney	1788-1794	
James Macdonnell	1793, 1798	
Fitzmaurice	1803-1806	Fitzmaurice's New Collection of Irish Tunes (c.1805) Irish Tunes By Mr. Fitzmaurice (c.1809).
P. O'Farrell	1804-9, 1822	Collection of National Irish Music (1804) Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes (nd)
John & Malcolm MacGregor	1810-1821	

Sources: HSL 268: Minute Books 16, 17, 25, 26
HSL 268: Accounts Book 34
Cannon [1980: 81-91]

(9) This cognomen derived from the fact that he "wanted the whole third finger of the upper hand ... he used the little finger instead". [MacKay 1838: 9].

(10) Margaret Montgomerie, sister of Colonel Archibald Montgomerie of Eglinton (1726-1796) was married to Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat [DNB- Achd. Montgomerie; MacDonald A & A II: 85]. Another sister (Christian) was married to James Murray of Abercairney.

> "This connection produced a friendship and many reciprocal visits, and Abercairney ... had MacArthur, his brother-in-law's piper, a frequent guest at his own seat". [MacKay 1838. Hist. Notes: 9].

Note that another piper at Eglinton Castle in 1810 was John Murphy, Union piper to the HSL. [vide Cannon 1980: 90].

(11) MacArthur's uniform: "Superfine scarlet for jacket and waist^{ct}, superfine green cloth for cuffs and collar, platted buttons with thistle and crown, chain plated shoulder wings, silver lace for jacket ..." etc. £8-8. [268, 16: 8/6/1801]. Also (1797), "bonnet dressed up and feathered in the handsomest manner". [268 34: 1797].

(12) Malcolm MacGregor, too, might have been of the Fortingall family, although there is no positive proof of this. Between 1802 and 1804 at the competition he was "from Glasgow" [Records].

(13) This was most likely of similar design to Henry Starck's Brien Boru pipes, with keys for C and F natural, and extending the range above and below the normal gamut. [vide Starck 1908; Dalyell Gen 351D: 69]. Specimen's of MacGregor's union pipes are in the Edinburgh University collection of Historic Musical Instruments. [Cheape 1983(a): 8, 12, 13].

(14) e.g. Keltie 1879 II: 490; Celtic Monthly 15: 197; Manson 1901: 129; MacKay Scobie 1909(b): 32; Malcolm 1927: 114. The military artist, Skeoch Cumming, made a painting of the event c. 1897 [PT Aug 1968: 21]. A poem "The Highland Piper's Song" is to be found in NLS [MS 298; folio 124].

(15) This instrument was presented to Clarke by the Marquis of Huntly at the anniversary dinner of the HSL, June 1809. [HSS Sd. Bk. 4/2: 342, 515, 522, 549, 556, 564; HSL 268, 25: 63-66].

(16) Sources: HSS Sd. Bks. II-VII.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC

Section 1 Preamble

The following pages examine the music played at the Edinburgh competition, and the music set on paper by the pioneer notators of pipe music prior to 1840. The Highland Societies were influential in both respects: they determined the musical format of the competitions; and they actively encouraged pipe music notation through awards disbursed at the competition, and through financial involvement in certain of the early collections.

The music at the Edinburgh competitions was unequivocally pibroch (Ceòl Mòr). When the competition was inaugurated in the 1780s this was quite natural, since beyond pibroch, the pipe repertory consisted of little more than song airs and dance tunes. From the late eighteenth century, however, a new trend in pipe music was discernable, initially involving the composition of quicksteps for military purposes (in other words, marching music), and from the 1820s, a new style of technically demanding competition music based on the Ceòl Beag format of the March, the Strathspey and the Reel. This development was coeval with the upsurge in popularity of Highland Games in which professional pipers competed for a range of awards in a range of music categories, and

doubtless was associated with the need for a varied yet demanding repertoire.

Throughout such developments the Edinburgh competition stuck to a tried and tested formula of pibroch, interspersed with Highland dances. In 1832, in fact, the HSS did moot the possibility of introducing a Strathspey and Reel competition in Edinburgh, but this was shelved, partly on the grounds of unfavourable competitor response. Mr. MacDonald of Dalness, who prepared a report on the proposal, had this to say of the pipers' reaction to Strathspey and Reel playing:

> "It was a branch of his art which the Highland piper viewed with feelings approaching to contempt, accompanied with a strong prejudice against it from a belief that the practice of it was incompatible with anything like perfection in the nobler and more important strains with which he is wont to salute his chief and his friends, or to summon his Countrymen to battle. The committee are of opinion that this is a unfounded prejudice, and ... are satisfied that the occasional practice of reel and Strathspey Musick does give an ease and freedom to the fingering in Pibrochs, which the performer will in vain seek to acquire by any other means of equal facility." [Dalness Report. HSSPMB: 95-101].

This was indeed important testimony to the regard in which pibroch was held by pipers in the early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, as the century progressed the new competition music of the March, Strathspey and Reel came to supersede pibroch to the extent that in the early 1900s there was a genuine fear for its survival. This spurred the creation of the Piobaireachd Society in 1902 to counter

the threat, and this body has undoubtedly done much to preserve the art in its present healthy state. [Campbell G. 1944].

Both Highland Societies (and in particular the London Society) keenly supported efforts to set pipe music on the stave. Their concern was in part cultural (they were anxious to preserve the pibroch repertory as fully as possible), and in part practical (they were anxious to promote a medium by which the piper, and in particular the army piper, could be taught quickly and effectively). The extent of their influence is to be discerned in the number of early collections dedicated to the Societies (or leading members of the societies):

TABLE IV/1 Collections Dedicated to the Highland Societies

			DEDICATION
1784	Rev. Patrick MacDonald	Collection of Highland Vocal Airs	HSL
1803	Joseph MacDonald	Compleat Theory	Sir John MacGregor Murray
1816	Simon Fraser of Knockie	Airs and Melodies	HSS
1818	Archibald (?) Menzies	The Bagpipe Perceptor	Sir John MacGregor Murray
c.1820	Donald MacDonald	Collection of Ancient Martial Music	HSS
1828	Neil MacLeod of Gesto	Collection of Piobaireachd	HSL
1838	Angus MacKay	Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd	HSL

The Societies were undoubtedly aware of the fact that the old clan society in which pibroch had formerly been nurtured was defunct. The notion of a long and testing apprenticeship with a pibroch master, followed by a lifetime of study and performance in the service of a chief or patron, was long gone. The piper now held a functional position on the estate or in the army, with part-time piping duties, and limited time to dedicate to his art. The piper's apprenticeship probably amounted at best to the sort of six week stint which Neil MacLean had with John MacGregor in the Spring of 1783. [Trigge 1783: 3]. Many rued this state of affairs, and its detrimental effect on the art of piping. In 1838, for instance, Angus MacKay remarked that

> "It was formerly the practice for gentlemen to send their pipers for instruction to the celebrated masters, paying the cost of their board and tuition; but the performers now are chiefly educated at their own expense, which induces them to attempt the accomplishment of much in as short a time as possible; hence they play incorrectly ... " [MacKay 1838: 22].

Pibroch in the old society had been taught in part through example (by performance on practice chanter and bagpipe), in part through a rigorously structured system of singing tunes, termed Canntaireachd. This was a system of non-lexical vocables wherein particular combinations of vowel sounds and consonants represented specific notes and gracing formulae. [Chambers C. 1980; Grant J.P. 1920]. The system was only effective where singer and listener

alike understood the same canntaireachd (and there are indications of familial and regional diversity), and where the canntaireachd was actually performed by singing. When written down the system had two major failings: the precise rhythmic grouping of notes was obscured; and the pitch of certain notes was ambiguous.

Two major written collections of canntaireachd have survived to the present. Both were written during the period under study, but were essentially anachronistic in representing an ageing medium which was rapidly being superseded by the use of staff notation. The major collection, known now as the Campbell Canntaireachd, was produced by a family of Campbells who acted as pipers to the Campbells of Carwhin in Nether Lorn. The manuscript is in two volumes, the first of which is dated 1797, and contains 168 tunes in total (about 60 of which are otherwise unknown). [NLS MS 3714, 5]. There has been some debate as to the precise provenance and history of these volumes, but this need not concern us here. It is clear that a further volume (now lost) was produced at the 1816 piping competition by John Campbell of the Nether Lorn family (then piper to Walter Campbell of Islay), and was bought by Sir John MacGregor Murray. [Bartholomew c.1909; Campbell A 1948: 11; 1961(1): v; Kilberry I: 44]. It had first been examined by the music committee of the HSS, who found that the contents resembled a "written narrative, in an unknown language, nor bearing any resemblance to Gaelic". It was to them "utterly unintelligible".

[Dalyell 1849: 9]. A Glasgow pipe maker, Murdoch MacLean, offered to decipher the manuscript for the committee, but his offer was declined. [Dalyell, ibid.]. J.G. Dalyell, an active member of the committee, demonstrated in his notebooks that he himself was unsure of the precise nature of the contents, but he was curious, and in the 1840s attempted to trace the volumes through John Campbell's brothers (on information supplied to him by Angus MacKay). [Dalyell Gen 350D: 35; 353D: 32; 374D: 19; 1849: 9,10]. In this, unfortunately, he was unsuccessful, and the volumes remained hidden from the public view until recovered by Sheriff John Bartholomew in 1909, from a descendant of the Campbell family. [Bartholomew c.1909]. It is only in the present century that these volumes, through the attention paid to them by the Piobaireachd Society, can be said to have had any influence on playing style and repertoire amongst pipers at large.

The other collection of canntaireachd involved 20 tunes "as verbally taught by the McCrummen pipers in the Isle of Skye to their apprentices", published by Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto in 1828. [For a detailed appraisal of this work see Cannon n.d.]. MacLeod of Gesto was a member of the HSS, and a well known piping enthusiast of moderately eccentric habits. He was of a Skye family, and had derived his music directly from the canntaireachd of Iain Dubh MacCrimmon. In May 1828 the HSL agreed to subsidise his collection to the tune of 10 guineas, but on being presented with the finished product early in 1829

they appear to have been somewhat taken aback, and enquired of Charles Gordon, the Secretary of the HSS,

> "how far the work may be considered as a means of cultivating the knowledge of pipe music, or of enabling a piper without a previous acquaintance with the tunes to play the piobaireachds". [HSL 268, 27: 7/2/1829. See also 27: 3/5/28; 14: 2/5/29; HSS Sd. Bk 10: 28, 374].

MacLeod in the end got his money, but the volume itself seems to have made little impact. Certainly, it was not what the HSL was looking for: it needed an easy and practical teaching medium for the untutored player, and for this it turned to staff notation.

The four notated collections examined in this chapter all bear the hallmark of the Highland Societies' involvement in some form or other - from their rescuing from India of Joseph MacDonald's 1760 treatise, (published in 1803), to their commissioning of Angus MacArthur's collection (1820), to their patronage of the works of Donald MacDonald and Angus MacKay (1820 and 1838). If these works had not been produced, not only would our knowledge of pibroch have been the lesser, but the actual pibroch repertory would have been considerably diminished. In all, the Highland Societies fostered a climate of enthusiasm for staff notation, which spread beyond the works in which they were directly involved, and promoted a widespread use of the medium.

Enthusiasm on the part of the Societies, however, was not entirely sufficient, and to this day pibroch and staff

notation dwell together in uneasy partnership. The problem, in the main, stems from the often elusive pulse of the pibroch ground, which has caused many a notator problems over the years. Cooke [1972] cites the example of Maol Donn as a tune in which metre and phrase structure have been interpreted in different ways by different authorities. Metrical problems have often been exacerbated by the peculiarities of pibroch gracing, (such as the use of intrusive E cadences, discussed later in the chapter), and also by the need to "spice up" sometimes repetitive melodic material in order to avoid monotony. Certain notators, indeed, dispensed altogether with conventional barring [eg Reid 1826, Ross R. 1959-78]; others experimented with varying time signatures from phrase to phrase. [eg MacNeill 1968].

The publication of Donald MacDonald's pibroch collection in about 1820 marked the first major application of staff notation to bagpipe music, and was clearly greeted with some caution by the piping world. James Logan recorded soon after the event, in 1831, that

> "amusing anecdotes are told of [pipers'] concern to think that the pipes should be taught by notes, or that they should be fettered in learning by rule books." [Logan 1876 Edn. II: 306].

In 1959, Angus MacPherson, a respected player from Badenoch, made the memorable comment that pipe music hadn't been the same since "imprisoned in bars" [PT April 1959], and this reflects almost a century and a half of unease

with the medium. Pipers in fact have never wholly abandoned traditional teaching practices in favour of staff notation. All teachers demonstrate, conduct and sing tunes as of old (often using a personal canntaireachd little different from the formalised systems of old), and use the printed page more as aide memoire than as prescribed text. There is much evidence to show that famous pipers of the past, such as Calum Piobaire MacPherson, and the Camerons, were familiar with staff notation, but regarded it as a poor substitute for traditional teaching. In 1949, for instance, P/M William Gray of the Glasgow police recalled how

> "As a young player going to piobaireachd with Alexander Cameron ... Sandy remarked to me, "You cannot write piobaireachd" and insisted on my timing from him, and referring as little as possible to the book". [Gray 1949: 4].

William MacLean, a pupil of Calum MacPherson's, recorded how emphasis was always put on having the "song" of the tune firmly fixed in the mind before detailed work on the pipe commenced. There were "no books, but memory ... he wouldn't take anyone who couldn't memorise from his own playing". [MacLean W. SA 1953/5/A3]. In these circumstances, clearly, the content of the printed page was secondary to oral tuition. One recent writer has even gone so far as to suggest that the more inaccurately the pibroch is written, the better,

> "because the learner is forced to seek assistance from a piper who has been taught in the traditional manner". [MacNeill, 1968:31].

Despite such an ambivalent attitude towards the use of staff notation, its influence is possibly further-reaching than most would care to admit. Few pipers nowadays play by ear alone, and it is inevitable that the content of the written page has influenced playing style to some degree. The latter portion of this chapter will highlight features of early notation style which can be discerned in modern playing and notation. First, however, the chapter will commence with an examination of tune data from the Edinburgh competition records. Several writers (notably Archibald Campbell of Kilberry) have made occasional reference to this material, but no systematic analysis has hitherto been attempted. Constraints of time and space make it necessary to focus on five or six specific issues relating to the material, rather than attempting a catch-all examination of the data.

CHAPTER IV Section 2

(a) TUNE DATA FROM THE COMPETITION RECORDS

Archibald Campbell of Kilberry observed in 1948 that "piobaireachd nomenclature is in a hopeless tangle, and the piobaireachd devotee is happiest who concerns himself with the music, and accepts the current everyday titles for use as identity marks". [Campbell A. 1948: 16].

As an example of the extreme confusion which can afflict pibroch nomenclature, Appendix VI details the case of The Battle of Mulroy, a title applied to two different tunes in different sources, with ramifications involving Isobel MacKay, The Prince's Salute, and a host of subsidiary titles such as The Man With The Black Plaid and Clann Donail Raoich. Such confusion suggests, firstly, that before tune titles came to be standardised through the advent of published collections, there was regional diversity. Secondly, that during the period under study, there was a lack of consensus in certain titles, which would appear to reflect at least a partial post-Cullodon severance of the piping tradition.

The competition records are a valuable source of information on the contemporary repertoire. Our data is unfortunately incomplete, since for certain years we have the full list of 12 tunes entered by each competitor, while for others we have simply the tune played in public, or no information at all. This data is presented in Appendix

IV. Many unfamiliar titles appear in the records, some of which are old tunes, now lost; some of which are contemporary compositions which did not stand the test of time; and some of which are familiar tunes in unfamiliar guise, which can, with a little imagination, be matched to the extant repertoire.

"The Valley of Sorrow", for instance, entered by Alexander Campbell, piper to Lovat, in 1844, is almost certainly The Rout of Glenfruin, ("Gleann a Bhroin" being "The Valley of Sorrow". [vide MacDonald D. 1820: 48]). "The Old Man's Welcome", entered by John Bruce in 1832, can be equated with "Failte Bhodaich", the title used by Donald MacDonald for The Marquis of Argyll's Salute. [1826: 245]. This tune appears in the records in several other guises, ("Failte Mhaircuis", "Failte Mhaircuis Earaghaidheal", "Failte Mhic Ailean Mhoir"), and is in fact unexceptional in showing such variety. A more extreme example is the enduring Piobaireachd Dhomhnuill Duibh which features in the records as "Lochiel's March", "Black Donald's March", "The Battle of Inverlochy", "Piobaireachd of Donald Dhu" and "Donald Balloch's March". (For the record, the majority of pipers at this time considered this a Cameron, not a MacDonald tune.)

The records also bring to light tunes which are unfamiliar, but which might be traced to early manuscript sources. In 1813, for instance, Finlay MacLeod, piper to Glenmoriston, entered "McEachan of Kingerloch's Salute": we might equate this with "Port Urlar Mhic Eachin", or

possibly "Kingerloch's March", both of which appear in the Campbell Canntaireachd [1797: I, 169; II, 92]. (The last of the MacLeans of Kingerloch, whose family seat was on Loch Corry, Argyllshire, emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1812. [MacLean Sinclair 1899: 282]). Another unfamiliar tune, MacIver's Salute, was entered twice (in 1814 and 1821) and might be equated with MacIver's March [C.C. I: 137], which has recently been transliterated by Roderick Cannon, and bears a distinct similarity to Cha Till MacCruimein [Cannon 1977: 20]. The title may refer to the "Clann a' Ghlasraich", a family of MacIvers who acted as pipers to MacDonald of Keppoch. [Whyte 1904: 149; MacDonald A & A 1924: 265].

Regional variations in titles are quite evident in the competition records, and range from the familiar to the unfamiliar. A well-known case is the tune recorded by Angus MacKay as Beinn a Ghriann [MS I: 7], so similar to I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand as to brand it a variant. The title probably refers to a battle fought at "Ben Ghriam Mhor", a peak some 23 miles north of Golspie, in 1601. [Haddow 1982: 70]. The only competitor to enter it was a Sutherland man, John MacKay from Golspie, in 1821.
Another possible example of regional variation is the unfamiliar Lamont's March, dutifully entered in 1786 by Alexander Lamont (known colloquially as "Alasdair hairy"), piper to the Laird of Lamont. The tune was entered in 1822 by another Argyllshire man, Nicol MacIntyre. Although there is no trace of Lamont's March in the extant

repertoire, the tune's subtitle, "Deoch Slainte Catriona", might suggest that this was merely a local variant of Catherine's Salute.

The records furnish interesting examples of alternative titles for tunes, now lost, and occasional ambiguity in the original Gaelic. In the former category we might mention "A Chrioch", used twice (1813, 1821) for The Lament for the Union, and clearly at odds with the more common Gaelic title "An Co-Aontachadh". (The word perhaps signifies "boundary".) Another example is the now defunct "Togail Na Feinn" (e.g. "The Gathering of the Clans") used for the End of the Great Bridge. Certain titles also proved open to varied interpretation. In the 1780's, for instance, the MacGregeors of Fortingall preferred "Leannan Ghioll Ghruamaich" (translated as "The Stern Lad's Sweetheart"), to the more usual Leannan Dhomhnuill Ghruamaich ("Grim Donald's Sweetheart"), named after Domnhuill Ghruamach MacDonald of Sleat. Perhaps the distinct island connotations of the tune had been lost by the time it reached Perthshire. Another example of an apparently homonymous Gaelic title was "Darach Bheg" entered by John MacKay, Sutherland, in 1814, and translated as "The Little Oak or Boat". The tune he probably had in mind was An Daorach Bheag, "The Small Drunkenness", now usually translated as "The Little Spree". [PS: 198].

One title which seems to have confounded all the competitors was A Bhoilich, published by Angus MacKay in 1838 as The Vaunting (meaning "boasting"). Prior to

MacKay's publication quite a variety of opinion prevailed:

TABLE IV/2 A Bhoilich

1786	Bholaich	A Jovial Meeting	Alex MacGregor, Fortingall
1824	Bualadh	The Attack	John Bruce, Skye Kenneth MacRae, Caithness Donald MacDonald Jnr.
1824	Boilich na Mhisge	The Rage of Drunkenness	Angus Cameron, Rannoch
1825	Bholaich	The Jack	Angus Cameron
1838	Mholich	An Ancient Piobrach	Ewen Cameron, 78th Rgt.

Source: Competition Data

Donald MacDonald recorded another variant in "An Bhaolich. An Intended Lament" [1826: 223], and recorded an interesting story of how the title was "a drollery", a lament composed on a death which never occurred. The tune is accredited to Raonuill Mac Ailein Oig of Morar, a composer who specialised in enigmatic titles such as A Ghlas Mheur, Maol Donn and An Tarbh Breac Dearg. One suspects that he would have derived a certain wry amusement from the confusion evident at the competition.

Beyond the titles in the records which can be explained, there are a proportion whose meaning can only be guessed at. Might, for instance, "Piobrachd an Uilt", entered by Archibald MacGregor in 1786, refer to The Battle of Auldern ("Blar Allt Eireann")? Does "Blar Ghleantarbh", entered by William Gunn in 1838, refer to an

obscure clan battle, or is it in obtuse reference to the occasion when Raonuill Mac Ailein Oig wrestled a bull to the ground near Achnacarry, celebrated in An Tarbh Breac Dearg? [Whyte 1911: 168; MacLean C. 1959: 88]. Certain tunes simply have no corollary in the recorded repertoire, such as "The Lovely Lady's Request" (John Bruce, 1832), or "The Battle of Beallach na Fradh" (Donald Cameron, 1838).

A final complication for the collator of tune data is the fact that competitors occasionally had recourse to imagination in order to complete their required quota of twelve tunes: in other words, they cheated. The organisers were aware of the problem. In 1826 they threatened disqualification for playing "any piece of music or exercise except what is specifically prescribed by the bills ..." [HSSPMB: 43]. In 1844 J.G. Dalyell complained that "... for the Rehearsal the pieces should be more accurately named and identified. I am satisfied that some were entered in the lists apparently different but in fact the same." [Dalyell, Gen 379D: 13]. On this occasion the historian W.F. Skene was drafted in to check the Gaelic orthography.

Despite this, it is likely that several bogus titles were slipped-in, at a time when the judges were ill-versed in a repertoire which was in any case ill-defined. With over thirty tunes already associated with the Clan Donald, for instance, an authentic-looking title such as "Duc agus an dia le Clann Donell", (1823), or "The MacDonald's White Flag", (1824), would easily have passed un-remarked.

Another possible example was "'S trom cadal nan tri Nighean" ("Soundly Sleep The Three Girls"), entered by William Gunn (1824), who also had on his list of tunes The Lament For The Children. The former title, however, seems very compatible with one of the tales associated with The Lament For The Children - namely that it was written for a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, found drowned in a "linn of water" with two of her friends. [MacDonald D. 1826: 8]. Possibly in this instance, William Gunn was simply exercising his imagination.

Gaelic scholars who have read thus far will be aware of the fact that pibroch nomenclature is bedevilled by poor Gaelic orthography, and inadequate English translations. The problem stems in large part from these early Edinburgh competitions, where pipers who were in the main Gaelic speakers were required to produce English translations for judges who were thoroughly Anglicised, the whole passing through the hands of a Highland Society scribe whose knowledge of Gaelic was also probably rudimentary. Once the English titles came into everyday use, they were cemented in the publications of Macdonald (1820) and MacKay (1838), and have changed little since. Pipers are indeed content to use titles, however strange-sounding or ungrammatic, as simple "identity marks", and take a certain satisfaction in treading the boards to such mysterious-sounding tunes as A Flame of Wrath for Squinting Peter (perhaps more accurately "Squinting Peter's Blaze"), or Too Long In This Condition. Even now it would not be too late

to revise certain of the English titles, but most would take exception to this: the old titles are part of our musical inheritance, and are here to stay.

(b) THE REPERTOIRE

In the preface to his 1820 pibroch collection, Donald MacDonald remarked that "for nearly twenty years, there has not been above a dozen of different tunes played at the annual competition of pipers in Edinburgh". [MacDonald D. 1820: 5].

This statement has been widely taken as proof of the poor plight of piping in the early nineteenth century: a formerly rich tradition reduced to a vestige of its former self, its continuity shattered, its repertoire in tatters.

The information now available on the tune repertoire at the competitions shows that MacDonald grossly exaggerated. Between 1783 and 1790 at least 42 different tunes were actually performed in public. At the rehearsal in 1813 27 different tunes were entered by 12 competitors. In 1814 37 different tunes were entered by 14 competitors. The repertoire in fact amounted to some ten dozen tunes, not a dozen as MacDonald maintained.

Having sifted through the mass of tune data from the records we are left with approximately 120 known tunes which pre-date the competition period, plus a further 31 contemporary pieces, 10 of which have been recorded. (Full details of these tunes are presented in Appendices IV and V). There were clear favourites in The Prince's Salute, A Ghlas Mheur and Moladh Mairi; and several pieces appealed to the early nineteenth century piper which nowadays get short-thrift, for instance War or Peace and

The End of the Little Bridge (described by the Piobaireachd Society as "of a type of martial music now fallen into disuse". [PS: 241]). On the other hand, tunes which nowadays feature on every competitor's lists, such as The Lament for the Children and Donald Doughal MacKay's Lament, were being played, but were not as popular as nowadays.

All the classic tunes featured in the competition records, and the sum total of the tunes performed at the competition represents a fair proportion of the known repertoire. Walter Scott described Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon in 1814 as having some 200 tunes [Lockhart 1837 IV: 309], while in 1838 MacNeill of Drumstisich informed J.G. Dalyell that there were approximately 300 known pibrochs, "and that formerly an accomplished piper would have been able to play 100". [Dalyell Gen 375D: 55]. In 1841 Angus MacKay confirmed to Dalyell that there were some 300 pieces "of which he says he knows about 220 and could at once play any one selected". [Gen 374D: 19]. MacKay's MS pibroch collection in fact eventually totalled 243 tunes, drawn from a variety of sources such as his father's repertoire, the Highland Society of London MS, and other named informants such as "Mr. Reid" and "blind MacDougall". [MSS 3753, 4].

TABLE IV/3 Tunes Dedicated To The Highland Societies

COMPOSER	TITLE	INVOLVEMENT WITH SOCIETY	RECORDED
John MacArthur	The Highland Society of Scotland's Salute (c.1786)	Piper to HSS 1784-91	MacArthur A. 1820: 10
Donald MacDonald	The Highland Society of London's March (1823)	Pipemaker to HSL 1820-40	Lost
John MacKay	The Highland Society of London's Salute (1835)	Pension from HSL 1837-48	MacKay MS I: 42
John MacBeth	The Scottish Society of London (6/8 Quickstep)	Piper to HSL 1826-50	McLachlan J. 1854: 67
William Ross	The Highland Society of of London's Salute (c.1875) (different from MacKay's tune).	Piper to HSL 1854-91	Wm. Ross 1875 Edn. 29

(c) NEW COMPOSITIONS

Another feature evident from the competition records is that in the early nineteenth century a good number of pipers were writing new pibrochs, and were doing so in the traditional vein of elegy and eulogy to chief, patron or benefactor. Few pipers in the early nineteenth century could claim consanguinity with their chief (however distant), or aspire to the status of the old hereditary pipers, but they continued to compose Salutes and Laments to their patrons, be these mere Lowland Lairds elevated to Highland estate, with a romantic affection for kilt and bagpipe. This process is nowhere more apparent than in the tunes dedicated to the Highland Societies by their own pipers. (Table IV/3).

Appendix V(a) details 31 new compositions entered at the Edinburgh competition between 1781 and 1844, 16 of which are of known authorship, 10 of which have been recorded. Where possible, historical matter on the tunes has been incorporated in the Appendix. It is widely accepted that the 1745 Rising and its aftermath marked the last great flowering of pibroch composition, with tunes such as The Lament For Donald Ban MacCrimmon, My King Has Landed in Moidart, and Lord Lovat's Lament. The early nineteenth century is generally considered a period of retrenchment of a tradition in decline, yet the sheer number of new compositions evident at the Edinburgh competitions belies any suggestion that the art of

composing died with the Jacobite cause at Culloden. The period produced no masterpieces, but did witness some workmanlike productions, particularly in the compositions of John and Angus MacArthur, and John MacKay, often hailed as the last of the major pibroch composers.

A noticeable feature of Appendix V is that the bulk of tunes which survived to the present emanated from the MacArthurs and John MacKay, recorded respectively in the manuscripts of Angus MacArthur (1820) and Angus MacKay (1826-1840). Exceptions were The Chisholms Salute (composer unknown), Glengarry's Lament (Archibald Munro), and Mrs. Smith's Salute (John Ban MacKenzie). Both Munro and MacKenzie were pupils of John MacKay, which would account for the inclusion of their tunes in Angus's collection.

It is clear, however, that the MacArthurs and MacKays did not have a monopoly on composing at this period. There is no reason to suppose that the efforts of Roderick MacDonald (piper to Glengarry), the Rannoch MacIntyres, and others, were not of comparable quality: they were simply never noted down, and hence were lost. In actual fact Angus MacKay himself informed J.G. Dalyell in 1841 that "John MacIntyre of Rannoch is in possession of some music for the bagpipe", and suggested that it was a collection worthy of preservation. [Dalyell Gen. 374D: 19]. Sadly this collection has never surfaced.

It is perhaps doubtful if all, or indeed any of John MacKay's compositions would have survived had he lived in

an earlier era, and had his son not been on hand to note them down. The hallmark of a good tune is that it is liked and played. In the unlettered society of the Gàidhaeltachd, new tunes only survived if they achieved wide currency in the piping and oral repertory. Undoubtedly many tunes were composed, and swiftly discarded and forgotten. The fact that the Campbell Canntaireachd, written in Argyllshire in the 1790's, contained some 60 tunes not otherwise recorded, attests to the existence of a localised repertoire, and strongly suggests that the tunes recorded by the early nineteenth century notators represented only the most popular and enduring specimens of a much larger root stock.

With Angus MacKay's 1838 publication new pibrochs were for the first time introduced to the piping public through the medium of the printed page. (Donald MacDonald included no contemporary pieces in his 1820 collection.) The new tunes included by MacKay were mainly his father's compositions, and at least three of these (MacLeod of Colbeck's Lament, King George III's Lament and Lady D'Oyly's Salute) had found their way into the competition repertoire by 1844. This is indeed testimony to the influence of MacKay's published collection, and it is of interest that (with one exception), none of John MacKay's tunes recorded by Angus in manuscript alone [Appendix V(b)] found their way into the competition repertoire. (The exception was Millbank's Salute, performed in 1844 by John MacAllister, piper to Davidson of Tulloch, an associate of

the MacKay family.)

Even though the foregoing evidence suggests that the art of composing was not dead, the truth is that from the very start of competitive piping in 1781, there was considerable resistance to new compositions on the part of judges and competitors alike. J.G. Dalyell recorded in 1838 that several new tunes had been entered at the competition

> "... but of them the committee selected very few: nor do I think that any one was heard at the public performance where the piper has his own choice." [Dalyell Gen. 378D: 55].

Pibroch playing is a conservative, even reactionary art form, and is hampered by a conviction that the finest manifestation of the art lies firmly in the past. In truth, there have been few compositions in the last two centuries to rival the great tunes of old, but this must stem in part from the evident lack of encouragement for the aspiring composer. James Logan's remarks in 1831 will sound all-too-familiar to the modern enthusiast:

> "The composition of Salutes and other Piobrachds is now, perhaps, oftener attempted than success can warrant; and pipe musicians would acquire greater credit by paying more attention to the inimitable works of their ancestors than to their own rhapsodies". [Logan J. 1876 Edn. II: 285].

(d) "MARCH" AS A GENERIC TERM

The use of the term "march" to denote a pibroch is singularly inappropriate - for it is impossible to march to pibroch in any conventional sense - yet it seems to have come into use at an early stage. Nowadays we apply the term "march" in a specific way to distinguish a tune from other pibroch types such as Laments, Salutes and Gatherings. The term holds "martial" connotations, signifying perhaps "the march of the clan to battle".

In earlier times, however, it is clear that "march" was used in a generic sense, in the same way as we now use the term pibroch. There are many examples of the use of the term in this way, from Joseph MacDonald's 1760 Treatise on the bagpipe, to Daniel Dow's 1778 Collection of Ancient Scots Music (which included "Marches or Pibrachs"), to an 1820 dissertation on the bagpipe by an Inverness student with a keen interest in "pibrochs or Highland Marches". [Anderson G.: 1820]. One specific example is from the 1798 Statistical Account entry for the Parish of Thurso, which remarked on how

> "... the proper slow bag-pipe tunes and marches are not given in that perfection here, which seems almost peculiar to the West Highland pipers." [O.S.A 20 (1798): 581].

The indications are that "march" was a catch-all term, applied to the broad music category (pibroch), and also to tunes which did not fit into more specific categories such as Salutes and Laments. Certainly, where other tune types

adopted a consistent nomenclature over the years (Cumha for Lament, Failte for Salute, Port Tionail and later Cruinneachadh for Gathering), marches were linked with several different Gaelic terms. At the Edinburgh competitions the following terms were applied:

TABLE IV/4

GAELIC TERMS FOR "MARCH"	
SIUBHAL	SPAIDSEARACHD
Clanranald's (1785) Grant's (1786)	Clanranald's (1824, 38) Glengarry's (1824) Donald Gruamach's (1814,38) MacLean's (1824, 44) MacNeill of Barra's (1824, 29) Robertson's (1824) Chisholm's (1824) Stewart's (1824) Sutherland's (1824) Highland Society of London's (1824) Earl of Aboyne's (1838)
MARSHAL	
Trigge's (1783) Clanranald's (1784) Chisholm's (1790) MacDonald of Keppoch's (1823) Sutherland's (1823)	
PIOBRACHD	
Domhnuill Dubh (1785-1844) Clanranald (1813) Earl of Ross (1821, 24)	

Source: Competition Records

The term "Spaidsearachd" had come into general use by the 1820's, and remains the preferred term.

In the Campbell Canntaireachd (1797), the earliest major pibroch collection, we find several tunes labelled marches, which in subsequent records are given more specific titles. The Duke of Hamilton's March [CC II: 228], for instance, is in later records known as The Lament

for the Duke of Hamilton; Boisdale's March [CC II: 28] is in subsequent records Boisdale's Salute; Glengearrie's March [CC II: 40] is in subsequent records The Lament for Alasdair Dearg of Glengarry". The competition records reveal several similar instances of tunes labelled "Marches" in early years being given more specific titles as the competition progressed. Examples are:

Clanranald's March (1783-1838)	-	Clanranald's Salute (1823-1844)
Chisholm's March (1785-1825)	-	Chisholm's Salute (1818-1844)
Grant's March (1785-1790)	-	Grant's Gathering (Craigellachie) (1813-1844)
MacDougall's March (1822)	-	MacDougall's Salute (1838)
Struan Robertson's March (1824, 25)	-	Struan Robertson's Salute (1844

Clanranald's March was a popular tune in the early years of the competition, not least because Clanranald himself was an enthusiastic supporter, and acted as Preses in 1783 and 1785. Indeed, the 1783 event concluded with all twelve pipers playing Clanranald's March in unison around St. Andrew's Square. [E.E.C. Oct. 27 1783]. The tune is nowadays known as a Salute (after Reid [1826: 29] and MacKay [1838: 96]), but prior to 1823 at the competitions it was exclusively known as a March, by which title it was entered 14 times. The title for the tune in

Dow's 1778 collection, Pibrach Chlann Raonuilt. Clan Ranald's March to Edinburgh, reflects this early preference.

The tune now known as Chisholm of Strathglass's Salute [PS: 252] was also labelled a March prior to 1818, a title echoed in the Campbell Canntaireachd's Marsh na Shisalach. [CC I: 155]. From the 1820's the Salute title came to predominate, and was preferred by Donald MacDonald [1826: 216] and Peter Reid [1826:23]. This tune should not be confused with the contemporary composition, The Chisholm's Salute, published by Angus MacKay (1838).

The Grant's March appears to have been the common early title for The Grant's Gathering or Craigellachie. Significantly, even the Laird of Grant's own piper, William MacDonald, used the March designation in 1786 - a strong indication that it was then in common use. Other tunes to which the same process applied were the MacDougall's March (entered by Nicol MacIntyre, Lorn, in 1822, and recorded by Peter Reid [1826: 44]), later called a Salute by MacKay [MS. I: 96]; and Struan Robertson's March (1824, 25) which MacKay also published and popularised as a Salute. In the late nineteenth century this tune still bore an alternative title, Teachd Chlann Donnachaidh (The Coming of Clan Donnachie) [Whyte 1899: 5; Thomason 1900(b): 307], which possibly reflects an earlier incarnation as a march.

Such data appears to reflect a movement in naming tunes from the generic (e.g. "march") to the more specific (Salutes, Laments and Gatherings), over the first forty

years of the competition. The term "march" continued in use, but applied to specific martial clan pieces. Towards the end of the century "march" also gradually came to be applied to the real marching tunes, the quicksteps which were a major feature of the development of piping in a military context during the nineteenth century. The march, however, does remain a distinct pibroch type, despite the fact that it cannot actually be marched to, other than (as John MacCulloch put it in 1824) "as men may walk in spite of any noise". [MacCulloch 1824, II: 356].

(e) CONFUSION BETWEEN SALUTES AND LAMENTS

Salutes and Laments lie at different ends of the emotional spectrum, and pipers are of course keen to inject the one with a suitable measure of joy, to charge the other with appropriate sorrow. How, precisely, this is done is open to debate, and deserves further research.

Is it a question of the tonality and tempo of the tune? Do particular tune types appropriate specific keys? Is there an elusive but vital ingredient in the piper's "expression"? Do we rely, in fact, on the emotion ascribed to the tune in the common mind?

Joseph MacDonald devoted several paragraphs of his 1760 treatise to a discussion of the keys or "tastes" most appropriate to specific tune types: 'G' a "grave taste" for Laments; 'A' a "key for most of the martial marches"; and so on. [MacDonald J. 1760: 19]. Unfortunately the competition records show that by the early nineteenth century distinctions between tune types were sometimes blurred. At least four examples exist of tunes which were originally Salutes being described as Laments (or vice versa). The Lament for MacDonald's Tutor, named after William MacDonald of Vallay [d. 1730], was played at early competitions as a Salute. King James VIs Lament, first published by David Glen in 1880, was also considered a Salute, and was recorded as such by Angus MacKay [MS I: 101]. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel's Salute appears in the competition records as both a Salute and a Lament (although

the Salute designation was the more common). The best known example of this type of confusion was in two tunes relating to MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, one a Salute, the other a Lament. This case is discussed below.

Such data lends credence to the notion that the piping tradition suffered real disruption from the mid to late eighteenth century. Examples are in fact few and far between, so the case should not be overstated. It is nevertheless evident that the clear principles relating to tune tonality expressed by Joseph MacDonald in 1760 had, by the early nineteenth century, become somewhat blurred.

Table IV/5

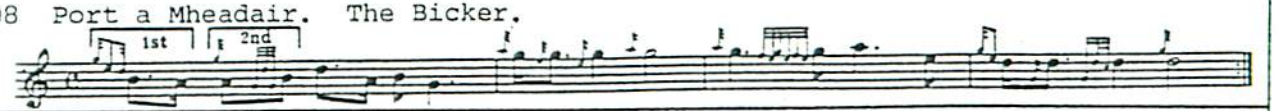
PIOBAIREACHD SOCIETY TITLES IN NEED OF AMENDMENT

(1) MACDONALD OF KINLOCHMOIDART'S LAMENT

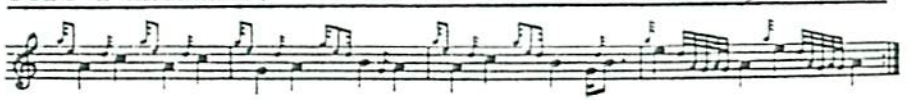
Piobaireachd Society [187-188] Cumha Tighearna Cheannloch Mùideart. MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Lament.		
SOURCE	SETTING # 1 [SALUTE]	SETTING # 2 [LAMENT]
1797 Campbell Canntaireachd		[I:180] Chumbh craoibh na tiubh
1818 EJ Ross [57]	Failte Fir Cheanlochmuidort	
1838 Competitors (x3)	Failte Mhic-Dhomhnuill Muideart MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Salute	
c1840 A Mackay [MS I:173]	Failte Fir Cheannlochmuideart MacDonald of Kinlochmudeart's Salute	[MS II:97] Cumha Fear Cheanlochmùideart MacDonald of Kinlochmudeart's Lament
1844 Competitor	MacDonald of Moidart's Salute	
1869 W Ross [28]	Cumha Fear Lochmuideart Kinlochmuidart's Lament	
1880 D Glen [197]	Kinloch-moidart's Lament Cumha Fir Cheann-Loch-Mùideart	
1900 CS Thomason [213]	Kinlochmùideart's Salute	[307] Lament for MacDonald of Kinloch Mùideart

(2) THE BICKER

(a) Piobaireachd Society [108 Port a Mheadair. The Bicker.



1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [I:96]	Rob't Sinclair's Wife's Lament.
1823/24 Kenneth MacRae	Port a Mhiodar. The Dairy Tune.
c1840 Angus Mackay [MS I:243]	Port a Mheadair.
1844 Duncan Campbell	An Tuasaid. The Bicker.
1880 David Glen [144]	Am Biceir Rioghail, No Port a' Mhàidsear. The Royal Bicker.
1900 Thomason [343]	The Extirpation of the Tinkers by the King's Orders.

(b) Piobaireachd Society [350] Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (or two-faced Englishman).

1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [I:178]	Sutherland's March
1822 James MacDonald	Sutherland March.
1823 Donald MacDonald Jnr.	Marsail na Sutherlanaich.
1824 John Cameron	Spaidsearachd nan Sumharlanach.
1826 Donald MacDonald [Snr MS:132]	Marsal na Suherlanach. Sutherland's March.
c1840 Angus Mackay [MS I:65]	Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (The Two-faced Englishman).

(3) I GOT A KISS OF THE KING'S HAND

Piobaireachd Society [126] Thug mi Pòg do Lamh an Righ. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.	
1651 Wardlaw MS [380]	Fuoris Pooge i Spoge i Rhi. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1813-1844 19 Competitors	Fhuair mi pog o Laimh an Righ. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1826 P Reid [MS:41]	Fhuair mi Pog o Laimh an Righ. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1838 Angus Mackay Collection [14]	Thuair mi Pog o' Laimh an Righ. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.
1840 Rev. N MacLeod	Thug mi Pòg do Làimh an Rìgh.
1880 D Glen [72]	Fhuair mi Pòg 'o Laimh mo Righ. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand.

(4) PATRICK OG MACCRIMMON'S LAMENT

Piobaireachd Society [83] Cumha Phadruig Oig MhicCruimean. Patrick Og MacCrimmon's Lament.	
1785, 86 Donald & Allan MacIntyre, Rannoch	Cumhadh MhicChruimean. The Lamentation of Patrick More McCrimmon.
1797 Campbell Canntaireachd [II:120]	Couloddin's Lament.
1820 Donald MacDonald Collection [84]	Cumh Pharic More MhicCruimmen. Lament on the Death of Patrick More McCruimmen.
1823 & 1824 Competitors (x4)	Cumha Phadruic MhicChruimean. Peter McCrimmen's Lament / Great McRimmen's. Lament / Peter McCrimmen's Lament.
1838 Angus Mackay Collection [82]	Cumha Phadruig Oic MhicCruimein. Patrick òg MacCrummen's Lament.
1844 Competitors (x4)	Cumha Phadruig Oig Mhic Cruimen. Patrick Og MacCrummen's Lament.

(f) PIOBAIREACHD SOCIETY TITLES IN NEED OF AMENDMENT

Although tune titles are now firmly established, certain titles currently used by the Piobaireachd Society (and hence by pipers at large) might usefully be reviewed on the basis of evidence from the competition records, combined with information from early notated sources. Four tunes are examined in the following pages. Two are cases in which the Piobaireachd Society has duplicated the same title for different tunes. One involves an inaccurate Gaelic title. The last involves the discarding of an early title in favour of a later, anomalous title. Data cited is presented in Table IV/5.

1. MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's Lament

In this case the Piobaireachd Society has taken the unusual step of publishing two different tunes side-by-side with the same title. Setting Number 2 was recorded by Angus MacKay [MS II: 97] as a Lament, and the Piobaireachd Society are justified in following this lead. The Campbell Canntaireachd title "Chumbh Craoibh na tiubh" (e.g. "The Lament for the Harp Tree") is of interest, but is an unnecessary confusion since a better-known tune has wider currency by that title [e.g. PS.362]. (There are several tunes in the Campbell Canntaireachd, such as Finlay's Lament and The Brother's Lament, which use titles

more commonly applied to other tunes).

It is clear from Table IV/5(1), that setting Number 1 of the tune, also published by the Society as a Lament, was up until the 1840's popularly considered a Salute. It appeared as such in the Ross [1812] and MacKay [c.1840] MSS., and was entered at the competition by four pipers in 1838 and 1844. Kinlochmoidart's Lament, by contrast, does not feature in the competition records at all. Curiously, the generation which succeeded Angus MacKay came to regard this tune as a Lament. William Ross (who normally followed MacKay closely in settings and titles) and David Glen, both published the tune as a Lament. Thomason (1900) sensibly reversed this trend, but the Piobaireachd Society opted for the Lament designation on the grounds that Alexander Cameron, a valued advisor to the Society, considered it such. [PS.189]. On the foregoing evidence, however, there seems no merit in perpetuating the confusion of publishing the two different tunes by the same title, and Setting Number 1 might usefully be relabelled a Salute.

2. The Bicker

A similar situation pertains in this case, for the Piobaireachd Society has again published two different tunes by the same title. Table IV/5(2) strongly suggests that the title Port a Mheadair. The Bicker (based on MacKay MS I: 243) most correctly applies to the first setting of

the tune. [PS: 108]. "Bicker" is a Scots word for "beaker", or drinking cup, but is often mistaken for the English word signifying a "quarrel". That this corruption had crept in early is shown in Duncan Campbell's entry for 1844, for which he used the Gaelic "An Tuasaid" (meaning a quarrel or brawl). Another corruption is seen in Glen's subtitle "Port a' Mhàidsear", translated as "The Major's Tune" [1880: 15]. The correct Gaelic was clearly "miodar" or "meadar", signifying either a drinking vessel, or a milk pail or churn. This latter connotation explains the title preferred by Kenneth MacRae, piper to the Earl of Caithness, namely "The Dairy Tune". The modern title is based on MacKay, and is broadly supported by Glen. Thomason's curious title ("The Extirpation of the Tinkers by the King's Orders") derives from a pencilled note on MacKay's MS., but this is not in MacKay's hand, and no explanation of its provenance has been advanced. The Campbell Canntaireachd, as with so many other tunes, furnishes a substantially different title from other sources, "Rob't Sinclair's Wife's Lament". This might suggest a Caithness origin for the tune, the Sinclairs being Earls of Caithness, and it is perhaps significant that the tune was first entered at the competition by the Earl's piper, albeit under a different title.

The Piobaireachd Society also published another tune by the title The Bicker (or Two-faced Englishman). [PS.350]. This title derives from Angus MacKay's MS.[I: 65], where he subtitles the tune in pencil "The two-faced

Englishman. John MacKay's Sett". This presumably was to distinguish it from the first version of The Bicker, which he recorded in the same MS., and suggests that he was aware of the discrepancy in titles. Table IV/5(2) indicates that a more suitable title was The Sutherland's March, recorded in the Campbell Canntaireachd [1797 I: 178], and also in the MSS of Donald MacDonald Senior [1826:132] and Donald MacDonald Junior [1826]. This title was also used at the competition by two of MacDonald's sons (James and Donald), and by John Cameron from Glasgow. These sources suggest that it was a title in active use, unlike "The two-faced Englishman" which appears only in MacKay's MS. Thomason was in error in entitling the tune The Sutherland's Gathering (for a better-known tune bears that title).

One further alternative title for the Sutherland's March was MacLean of Coll's Triumph (found in Thomason and in The Music of Clan MacLean [1900: 19]), but there is no early evidence to substantiate this title. The Piobaireachd Society here demonstrates a rather slavish adherence to MacKay's title, even where blatantly in error. The Sutherland's March seems a worthy alternative.

3. I Got a Kiss of The King's Hand

The Piobaireachd Society's error in this case lies in their use of a mixed title: "Thug mi pòg do làimh an Rìgh"

means "I gave a Kiss to the King's hand", not, as they write, "I got a Kiss of the King's hand".

In fact, early records strongly suggest that they have the Gaelic rather than the English wrong, for, as Table IV/5(3) shows, these almost unanimously use the Gaelic "Fhuair mi pòg o làimh an Rìgh".

The incident commemorated in the tune is well known. Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon (c.1595-c.1670), piper to MacLeod of Dunvegan, was present at the levee of Charles II's army near Stirling in the Summer of 1651. A contemporary account, the Wardlaw MS., recounted the following incident at the Stirling camp:

> "It was pretty in a morning [the King] in parad viewing the regiments and bragads. He saw no less then 80 pipers in a croud bareheaded, and John M'gyurmen in the middle covered. He asked What society that was? It was told his Majesty: Sir, yow are our King, and yonder old man in the middle is the Prince of Pipers. He cald him by name, and, comeing to the King, kneeling, his Majesty reacht him his had to kiss; and instantly played an extemporanian part Fuoris Pooge i spooge i Rhi, I got a kiss of the Kings hand; of which he and they all were vain." [Fraser J. 1905. Edn: 379].

There is some doubt as to whether the piper concerned was, in fact, Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon, since he is described as "John Mcgyurmen ... The Earle of Sutherland's domestick". [ibid.]. Tradition, however, avers this to be the case [vide. Rev. N. MacLeod 1840: 134-7], and certainly the account bears a resemblance to John MacCodrum's description of Patrick Mòr-

"Air na pìobairean uile
B'e MacCruimein an rìgh ..."
(Of all the pipers, MacCrimmon was King).
[Matheson W. 1938: 254].

An alternative account states that MacCrimmon wrote the tune in 1661 when he accompanied Roderick MacLeod of MacLeod to London after the Restoration. [MacKenzie A. 1889: 103; Whyte H. 1904: 123].

All the competitors in Edinburgh used the Gaelic "Fhuair mi pòg ...", translated as "I got a kiss of the King's Hand", (other than one who in 1838 had trouble with his English prepositions, and entered "I received a Kiss from the King's Hand"!). Likewise, both notated sources, and Pibroch Song versions recorded by the School of Scottish Studies [eg Tocher 5:325], concur in the use of the Gaelic "Fhuair mi Pog ...". The only exception I have traced is in Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod's article on "Clann 'ic-Cruimein" published in Cuairtear Nan Gleann in 1840 [134-7], in which he used the Gaelic "Thug mi pòg ...". Perhaps this simply represented an attempt at rationalising the title into superior English. MacLeod certainly proved adept at transforming English lyrics into Gaelic, (he was responsible for translating Scott's MacKrimmon's Lament, vide. Blankenhorn [1978]), but in this case the change was unjustified, and the Piobaireachd Society title is in need of amendment.

4. Patrick Òg MacCrimmon's Lament

In 1838 Angus MacKay published Cumha Phadruig Oic MhicCruimein, and furnished a nice traditional story on how the tune was composed by Iain Dall MacKay on a false report of the death of his tutor, Patrick Òg. [MacKay 1838. Hist. NOtes: 9]. By 1844 MacKay's title had gained currency at the competition, and it was adopted in all subsequent publications. (e.g. Glen 1880, Thomason 1900, etc).

Table IV/5(4), however, shows that prior to MacKay's publication the tune was not considered a Lament to Patrick Òg MacCrimmon, but rather to his father, Patrick Mòr. It was entered as such by Donald and Allan MacIntyre from Rannoch in 1785 and 1786, and it might be recalled that Donald's father John was, according to a 1783 newspaper report, "bred at the College of Dunvegan". [E.E.C. 27/10/1783]. Donald himself was 75 years old in 1785 [Cal Merc. 3/9/1785], which made him a late contemporary of Patrick Òg MacCrimmon, who on the evidence of estate rentals did not die until approximately 1730. [Morrison A. n.d.; Grant I.F. 1959: 490].

Other variants of the title used at the competition were, in English, "Peter McCrimmen's Lament" (1823), "Great Peter McCrimmen's Lament" (1823), and "Great McRimmen's Lament" (1824). There were several cases of "McCrimmen's Lament", but these could equally refer to the other famous MacCrimmon tunes, The Lament for Donald Ban MacCrimmon, and

Cha Till MacCruimein. The only Gaelic variant was "Cumha Phadruic MhicChruimein" (1824). There is other evidence to suggest that the "Patrick Mòr" designation was in wide use prior to MacKay's collection. In 1831 the historian James Logan wrote that ...

> "Pipers, as was becoming, were honoured with long and very affecting funeral dirges, one of which was on the last mentioned [MacLeod's Piper] who was designated 'Great Patrick'".
>
> [Logan 1876 Edn. II: 295].

Most importantly, in 1820 Donald MacDonald published the tune as Cumh Pharic More MhicCruimmen [1820: 84]. This, clearly, was no aberration. It was the actual title in common use at the time. In all, a good case could be made for re-naming the tune Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon's Lament, although it is unlikely that such a move would be popular.

The Campbell Canntaireachd, incidentally, managed to find an alternative title for the tune in "Couloddin's Lament". One wonders if this was the tune which Alexander Campbell heard played by Archibald MacArthur when he visited Ulva in 1815 - "The Lament for the Slain on the Fatal Field of Culloden". [Campbell, Alex. 1815(a): 9].

Table IV/6

THE REPETITION OF THE URLAR. INFORMATION FROM EARLY NOTATED SOURCES.

1760 Joseph MacDonald. A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe.
"In marches [eg pibrochs] which contain a variety of runnings [variations], they return to the Adagio once or twice. It is usual, at the running before the last, to return to the Adagio, after which you proceed to the last, which is that of greatest execution." [p26]

1778 Daniel Dow. A Collection of Ancient Scots Music.
Contains 5 tunes which can be identified as pibrochs, arranged for keyboard; and four of these have repetition at the end of every variation, one at the end only.

1784 Patrick MacDonald. A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs.
Contains four pibrochs arranged for violin. Three repetitions of the ground are indicated for all except A' Ghlas Mheur, which has six repetitions.

1797 The Campbell Canntaireachd. Repetition of the ground is not indicated.

1812 E.J. Ross. Original Highland Airs.
Contains four pibrochs arranged for keyboard. Repetition is indicated at the end of the doubling of each part. [Vide Cooke 1985]

1815 Alexander Campbell. Pioberachd Dhomhnuill Duibh.
Noted from the canntaireachd of Neil MacLeod, Gesto, Sept. 1815. "The creabh or theme of the piece, being the first 16 bars, is to be played once over after each variation and its doubling." Five repetitions indicated in all. [Campbell A: 1815(b)]

1816/18 Alexander Campbell. Albyn's Anthology. (2 vols 1816/18)
Contains three pibrochs, arranged for keyboard and voice. Two ("Pioberach Dhomhnuill Duibh" and "MacGregor's Gathering") were taken from MacLeod of Gesto, and in these the ground is in fact treated as a chorus; lyrics by Sir Walter Scott.

1818 Menzies. The Bagpipe Preceptor.
Contains one traditional pibroch "Cogadh na Sith" [pp39-42]. Seven repetitions of the ground are indicated. "Piobrachs always close with the first strain or subject." [43]

c.1820 Donald MacDonald. Collection of Ancient Martial Music.
..."as a chorus of a song is to the verses, so is the ground of a piobaireachd to its variations, and ought to be played after the doubling, and where it happens tripling of each measure." [p3] Of the 23 tunes included, repetitions are indicated as follows: None (3); 1 (1); 2 (4); 3 (10); 4 (3); 5 (1). Most commonly repetition is indicated before the Taorluath variations, before the Crunluath variations, and at the end.

1820 Angus MacArthur. Highland Society of London MS.
21 out of 30 tunes here indicate repetition only at the end. A further 7 indicate repetition before the crunluath, and only one has 3 repetitions. [King James VIs Lament]

1826 Peter Reid. Pibroch MS.
Reid's tunes are mostly written in abbreviated form. In three instances repetition is indicated between Taorluath and Crunluath. [1826:4, 14, 51] He often uses a shorthand to describe variations, eg "here a Taorluidh and Creanluidh with each a singling and doubling and D.C." [Failte Fir Staffa:31]

1828 Neil MacLeod of Gesto. A Collection of Piobaireachd.
"First measure of each tune to be played twice over, at the commencement, and once after each variation and doubling; but not to be played after Crouluigh Mach or last part." [1828:1]

1838 Angus MacKay. A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd.
Only 9 out of the 61 tunes do not indicate repetition before Crunluath variations, and at the end.

(g) TUNE STRUCTURE. THE REPETITION OF THE ÙRLAR

The indications are that tune structure has not materially changed since the late eighteenth century, other than for the fact that the Ùrlar or ground, which is nowadays repeated only once at the conclusion of the piece, used to be repeated one or more times as the tune progressed. Donald MacDonald described this practice in 1820 as follows:

> "... as a chorus of a song is to the verses, so is the ground of a piobaireachd to its variations, and ought to be played after the doubling and where it happens tripling of each measure. It is also the conclusion of each piece, as well as its beginning." [MacDonald D. 1820: 3].

At the time MacDonald wrote the practice was, in fact, close to extinction, for it was in the 1820's and 30's that pipers were forced to abbreviate tunes in response to the time-constraints of competition, and they did this by abandoning the repetition of the ùrlar.

Such repetition is attested to in a number of sources. Early notated pibroch sources, with the exception only of the Campbell Canntaireachd, indicate that regular repetition was commonplace, but was not systematically applied to all tunes. Table IV/6 presents a synopsis of data from major early sources to this effect. Donald MacDonald's 1820 collection is perhaps representative of the variety of ways in which the device was used. The 23 tunes in this collection reveal a continuum ranging from no

repetition at one extreme (3 tunes), to five repetitions at the other (1 tune), with a median of three repetitions, one before the Taorluath variations, one before the Crunluath variations, and one at the end (10 tunes).

Other sources confirm that repetition was a device in common use. When Alexander Campbell heard Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon playing The Prince's Salute in 1815, for instance, he remarked on Donald Ruadh's "regular return to the subject, or theme of the piece ... in fine contrast with the more intricate passages". [Campbell A. 1815(a): 62]. And in 1849 J.G. Dalyell, drawing on his long experience of the competition, wrote of how

> "... the bagpiper traverses the ground with haughty stride while occupied with his initial theme, or its renewal preceding each variation. During the latter, however, he becomes stationary - fronting him who he would most honour with his performance." [Dalyell 1849: 16].

Dalyell actually wrote with some licence, for it was in fact on his recommendation, as an active member of the competition committee, that the idea of abbreviating tunes by omitting the repetition of the ùrlar was first introduced to the competitions. [Dalyell Gen. 369D: 55]. The object was to allow a maximum number of competitors to compete in a limited period of time. It seems likely that his ideas were not initially welcomed. Regulations for the 1823 competition insisted that "each piper is to be left entirely to himself, and is not to be directed to play

short". [HSSPMB: 9,10]. This suggests a degree of resistance to the innovation, and helps us date the approximate time of its introduction. By the 1830's the practice of frequent repetition was clearly on the wane. In his 1838 collection Angus MacKay opted for a standard formula of just one repetition before the crunluath, and one at the end (in 52 out of the 61 tunes). Ross (1869), MacPhee (1879) and Glen (1880) all followed this lead, but at some stage during the nineteenth century the repetition before the crunluath was also abandoned. In his Musical Memoirs in 1849, J.G. Dalyell, speaking of the first Falkirk competition in 1781, was able to write with a degree of self-satisfaction:

> "It is no wonder that the competition is said to have lasted three days, for it must be recollected that the duration of piobrachs ... was by no means abridged as at present - an improvement due to later years." [Dalyell 1849: 101].

Although such a development in the art of pibroch playing may seem of little consequence nowadays, there is no doubt that it must have radically altered the feel of a tune. The chorus-like effect of regular repetition of the urlar must have been quite different from the slow but steady building of variations to climax which we now experience. Certain tunes, apart from anything else, were of prodigious length. Donald MacDonald's version of "Ceann na Drochaid Big" contained no fewer than 20 variations, with 5 repetitions of the urlar. This was exceptional, but many other tunes must have demanded a high

degree of concentration on the part of player and listener alike. This style of playing must also have put extreme demands on the instrument: it is exceptionally difficult to keep drones in tune for more than about twenty minutes of continuous playing. In fact, Dalyell recorded that "it was quite common to tune in the middle of any part, and resume where the pipe left off" [Gen. 355D: 13], and in 1825 competitors were being specifically warned against this practice. This too helps us to date the change of playing practice with regard to the ùrlar to the mid-1820's.

(h) OTHER ASPECTS OF TUNE STRUCTURE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Other than the question of the urlar, there is every indication that pibroch was an established tradition by the time the competitions were inaugurated in Falkirk and Edinburgh. Both the repertoire, and the actual nature of the music, were firmly delineated by 1781.

It is necessary to state this, because recently it has been suggested that pibroch did not reach full maturity until the late nineteenth century. The case has been put most vociferously by Campsie in his book The MacCrimmon Legend (1980). In order to justify his claim that "pibroch was formalised long after the MacCrimmons" [1980: 116], he cites two principal pieces of evidence. The first derives from the folklorist J.F. Campbell who in 1880 conducted an inquiry into the nature of Canntaireachd. Campbell interviewed Duncan Ross, piper to the Duke of Argyll, who had been a pupil of John Ban MacKenzie. Ross had this to say of MacKenzie:

> "It must be nearly a hundred years since he was in Raasay, learning 'Ceòl Mòr', great music, from MacKay. They had but two drones then, and they played no gracenotes."
> [Campbell J.F. 1880: 33].

This is poor testimony. John Ban MacKenzie was in fact born in 1796, and was a pupil of John MacKay's in the early 1820's (not the 1780's as Ross implies). By this time the 3-drone bagpipe was in common use, and there is no

evidence that pipe music at any time was played without gracenotes, for gracenotes are essential to separate notes of equal pitch. Indeed Joseph MacDonald, author of an invaluable treatise on the bagpipe in 1760, saw in the gracenotes "the principal beauty and singularity of true bagpipe music", [MacDonald Joseph 1760: 20], and went on to illustrate several gracenote formulae of far greater complexity than those currently in use. Besides this, we do in any case have precise knowledge of the nature of early nineteenth century gracenoting, for this has been preserved in the major pibroch collections of Donald MacDonald (1820), Angus MacKay (1838), and others. As shall be discussed in Section 3 of this chapter, there were differences in gracenoting between these authorities, but these were minor discrepancies which, if anything, illustrate a greater richness in the tradition than currently prevails, and are certainly not indicative of musical immaturity.

A second strand of evidence cited by Campsie [1980: 116] is a written account of the 1784 Edinburgh competition by the French geologist Faujas St. Fond. St. Fond had already heard the pipes in Oban, and confessed an understandable bewilderment at the music - it was, after all, his first taste of a thoroughly foreign culture. In Edinburgh, however, he appears to have come to some understanding of the music, aided, no doubt, by his companion Adam Smith:

> "The air he played was a kind of Sonata divided into three parts:" the first

> "connected with a warlike march and military evolutions"; the second "a sanguinary battle"; and the third "as if lamenting the slain who were being carried off from the field of battle." [St. Fond, 1907 Edn. II: 248].

This bears little resemblance to pibroch as we now know it, or indeed, as it was written in the earliest collections. Campsie, however, sees this as "startling proof" that pibroch in the late eighteenth century was thoroughly different from the modern product. [1980: 116].

St. Fond's remarks, of course, should be put in context. This passage marks a moment of levity in a tome overwise weighty with factual information on contemporary Scottish society, and geomorphological and geological data. He wrote at this point primarily to amuse, and clearly had little understanding of piping, for he described the "loud cries" and "pantomimical gestures" with which the piper accompanied himself during his portrayal of the "sanguinary battle" - a physical feat verging on the impossible. [St. Fond. ibid.].

If his remarks have little bearing on the actual nature of pibroch in the late eighteenth century, they do however illustrate an interesting side-issue: namely that pibroch <u>was</u> commonly envisaged as music descriptive of battle, at least amongst non-pipers. Appendix VIII details three other contemporary accounts which use precisely the same sort of vivid descriptive imagery - the march to battle, engagement, victory and lamentation. Two of these accounts were written by native Scots, one of

whom, James Logan, also demonstrated a good understanding of the actual construction of pibroch. [Logan 1876 Edn. III: 291]. Why this type of interpretation became commonplace is open to debate. Pipers who set pen to paper did not indulge in comparable imagery to describe the pibroch, so perhaps this should simply be seen as an extension of the prevailing romantic notion of the Gael as noble warrior.

Sources such as those cited by Campsie should not detract from the fact that pibroch was by the early nineteenth century a highly-developed art form. Greater variety in playing style and tune format at this time need not be taken as evidence of an ill-developed tradition. The reverse, in fact, is probably true.

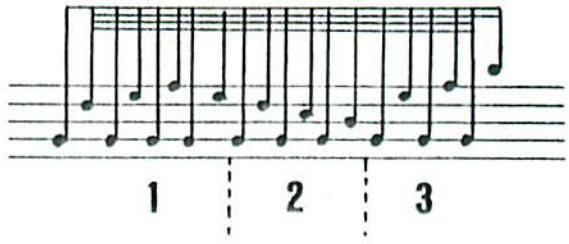
CHAPTER IV SECTION 3

(a) JOSEPH MacDONALD (1739-c1761) A Compleat Theory of The Scots Highland Bagpipe. Compiled 1760. Published 1803.

The first pipe music publication with which the Highland Societies were directly involved was an invaluable work compiled by a young Sutherland man, Joseph MacDonald, whilst en route to India in 1760.

The Compleat Theory was not a tune collection, but rather a descriptive treatise, combining detailed instructions on how to play the pipe with personal remarks on composition, keys ("tastes"), time, and the "antient rule" of measurement using "fingers"(3) rather than bars.

Musical illustrations include one complete pibroch ("A March for a beginner"), plus numerous short extracts of unnamed but recognisable tunes. The principal value of the work lies in the fact that it predates subsequent records by a full generation, and recalls the playing style and musical lore of pipers who lived before the '45. In many respects it shows how little has changed in piping. Much of the terminology is familiar, as is Joseph's jibe at those pipers who "by their insipid musick and antick gestures give the publick the most despicable idea of this instrument". [1760: 21]. On the other hand, he described aspects of technique and playing style now lost, although echoed in other pre-MacKay sources such as Donald MacDonald

(1820) and Angus MacArthur (1820). His analysis of variation forms is particularly illuminating - his fingering instructions are quite explicit, and he includes specimens of variations or "cuttings" no longer played, such as "Barludh":

This formidable-looking sequence is in fact quite playable, and breaks down into three familiar constituents:

(1) A closed E throw (a G rather than A)

(2) The movement "Darodo"

(3) A closed throw from low G to high G

He included four other unfamiliar variations, but admitted that most tunes then, as now, went no further than the Crunluath, "a graceful conclusion to the whole."

Joseph MacDonald was in a unique position to produce such a document. He was at once a piper with a love of his native music, and a musician trained in the conventions of staff notation, capable of writing pipe music on the stave. Born in 1739, one of eleven children of the Rev. Murdoch MacDonald of Durness, Joseph and his elder brother Patrick (1729-1824) were taught the rudiments of music by their father, and by Kenneth Sutherland of Knockbreac. [Scott H. VII: 102 MacDonald K.N. 1897:135]. In 1753, when aged 14, Joseph spent some time with Patrick who was then a school teacher in Rosshire. His father described

him then as an accomplished player of flute, violin and hautboy (oboe) [S.R.O, GD 125/22/1(24)], who by 1754 had also made "considerable progress on playing the bagpipe". [MacDonald P. 1784:1]. He was sent to school in Haddington, where he studied music under "Signor Pasquali", but fortunately never lost his enthusiasm for Highland music. On returning home in 1757 he set about making a collection of the songs and instrumental music of Ross and Sutherland, including a collection of "the different kinds of bagpipe music." [MacDonald P. ibid.]. In 1759 he decided to join the East India Company, but before setting sail he again visited Patrick, newly appointed to the Presbytery of Kilmuir in Argyll (which charge he held for 69 years), and also made a copy of "a number of vocal airs" which he left with a sister. [MacDonald P. ibid.].

En route for India Joseph occupied himself in editing his music with a view to publication, and also in writing the Compleat Theory, aided by two practice chanters ("feadan meaghra") made for him by native craftsmen in Persia. Like so many of his compatriots, within a year of arriving in India, Joseph died of fever. [MacDonald P. 1784: 1,2]. Surprisingly, two of his manuscripts survived, and were eventually published with the help of his brother Patrick. The first was the manuscript of vocal airs deposited with his sister prior to departure, which forms the largest portion (86 tunes) of Patrick MacDonald's Collection of Highland Vocal Airs, published in 1784. This is considered a milestone in the history of

Gaelic folksong collecting, not least because of Patrick's admirable reluctance to "alter or improve the pieces according to his own taste". [vide Matheson W. 1955: 68-70]. The collection was published by subscription, the HSL proving the principal backer (60 copies at a sum of £18), with many individual members of the Society such as John MacKenzie the secretary (20 copies), subscribing privately. [MacDonald P. 1784: 16-22; HSL 268, 34: 1784]. The first edition was dedicated to the HSL, although MacDonald acknowledged a particular debt to his friend John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, who helped him raise the subscription, and contributed an important dissertation on "The Influence of Poetry and Music Upon the Highlanders" to the volume.(4)

Besides the music collected by Joseph, Patrick included song airs from Argyll, Perthshire and the Western Isles; 32 reels and jigs, mostly collected from a Sutherland piper; and 4 pibrochs recorded from an "eminent performer" in Lochaber.(2) These latter tunes include many favourites in the pipe repertory, such as John MacKechnie's Reel, and the pibrochs A Ghlas Mheur and MacIntosh's Lament. Patrick named neither of his piping sources, but one likely candidate was George MacLeod, a veteran of the '45 and piper to Lord Reay. The Durness poet Rob Donn recorded at least one occasion when these "brothers in music", Patrick and George, were together in his house. [Grimble I 1979: 108].(5)

Patrick, like many notators before and since, confessed particular difficulty in transcribing the pibroch

variations, and prophetically announced that this would require the attention of a piper ..." able to write from his own performance, to explain the graces and modes of execution ... and to invent and apply proper characters to express them." He suggested that the HSL would almost certainly assist and encourage any such undertaking. [MacDonald P. 1784:7]. Coincidentally, in the precise year in which the Highland Vocal Airs was published, Sir John MacGregor Murray, then a colonel in the East India Company, wrote to the HSL from Bengal on a matter "deserving the particular attention of the Society". [HSL 268, 21: 22]. Sir John, it transpired, had come into possession of Joseph's Compleat Theory, and was anxious to have it published. He forwarded the manuscript to the HSL, who in turn passed it on to the HSS for evaluation, with the promise that if considered worthwhile, they would "print it at their own expense". [HSL 268, 21: 43; 34: 1806; HSS Sd. Bk. I: 90]. The manuscript had reached Edinburgh by November 1785, and there a committee was formed to examine it, comprising five members:

Sir John Clark of Pennycuick

Mr. Clerk of Elden

Mr. Grant of Corrymony

Dr. Gregory Grant

Dr. Alex. MacDougall [HSS Sd. Bk. I: 90].

The Compleat Theory was published 18 years later (in 1803) in a form containing so many editorial errors, omissions and alterations as to render parts of it

worthless. (Two reprints in 1929 and 1971 perpetuated these errors, but fortunately the original manuscript is extant in the Edinburgh University Library). The major flaws lay in the music examples and fingering charts which were hopelessly jumbled; a lack of distinction between gracenotes and melody notes (which Joseph distinguished by size); two major editorial additions to the text which went unacknowledged (one concerning the bass drone, the other the use of small-pipes for dancing); several small omissions; and many simple copying errors, such as "Iuludh" for "Tuludh". The whole savours of sloppy work by an editor with no knowledge of pipe music.

Unfortunately the records of the Highland Societies provide no clues as to who actually edited the work. Patrick MacDonald put his name to the dedication in the 1803 volume, and probably wrote the preface in which Sir John MacGregor Murray was thanked for rescuing a "monument of the genius and abilities of a long-lost brother". [1803: 1]. The title page shows that the work was "printed for Patrick MacDonald", and the HSS records confirm that Patrick himself published the work, "the proceeds to be applied for the benefit of a relation." [HSS Sd. Bk. 4/1 : 101]. It seems highly unlikely, however, that Patrick, (given his knowledge of Joseph and the piping tradition), would have perpetrated the editorial blunders evident in the work.

The manuscript had probably reached Patrick by 1788 (for he dedicated the second edition of the Highland Vocal

Airs to MacGregor Murray in that year), but it is known that it had first passed through the hands of the HSS. A distinct possibly is that the forementioned HSS committee of 1785, or a musician employed by them, edited the work, and made a very poor job of it. Indeed, a second manuscript copy of the Compleat Theory, different from the original, is known to have been in existence prior to World War II [MacDonald M.A. 1948: 131], and this might have been a proof copy drawn up for publication.

A note written on the inside cover of the original manuscript provides a further insight. This reads: "D. Laing. Feby. 1st 1833. Bought at Lord Eldin's Sale." John Clerk of Elden was a member of the 1785 committee. The fact that the original manuscript was retained by him might suggest that he, or an associate, was responsible for the editorial work on the original text.(6)

An authentic edition of the Compleat Theory, based on Joseph's original manuscript, would be an invaluable addition to the modern stock of piping literature. Unfortunately it is questionable whether the 1803 edition made much immediate impact on the piping world. Apart from the editorial blunders which rendered it confusing, it was in any case ahead of its time. Pipers in 1803 were simply not educated in the use of staff notation, and continued to communicate their music orally (through canntaireachd) and through performance on practice chanter and bagpipe. Within forty years, this situation had changed, and the Compleat Theory, it is clear, was the

spark which ignited the flame of enthusiasm for "scientific" notation, (in other words, pipe music set on the stave). The Highland Societies, their interest aroused, set to the task of promoting the use of staff notation.

Table IV/7

NOTATION AWARDS AT THE EDINBURGH COMPETITION			
	£-sh-d		Primary Source
1806	5- 5-0	Donald MacDonald Pipe Maker, Edinburgh.	Kilberry I:25
1808	2- 2-0	John MacDonald, Son of the above.	Cal Merc July 28 1808
1814	0-10-0	Murdoch MacLean, Pipe Maker, Glasgow.	HSL 268:19
1816	1- 1-0	John Campbell, Nether Lorn. (Campbell Cannt'd)	Kilberry I:44
1817	1-18-0	John Campbell, Nether Lorn. Hector Johnston, Piper to MacLean of Coll.	Kilberry I:47
1818	3- 3-0	Murdoch MacLean John Campbell Adam Graham	HSL 268:19
1820	0-10-6	William MacKay, Piper to the Celtic Society	Kilberry I:12, 51
1821	1- 1-0	Adam Graham, Piper to the Caithness Meeting. MacKay (Wm./Donald?)	HSL 268:19
1822	0-10-6	William MacKay, Piper to the Celtic Society.	Kilberry II:14, 24
1823	1- 0-0	William MacKay	HSL 268:19
1825	0- 5-0	Angus Mackay. Drummond Castle	HSSPMB:38
1841		Angus Mackay John MacLeod, Skye	HSSPMB:157
1844	1-10-0	John MacLeod, Piper to the Celtic Society.	HSL 268:19

(b) The Highland Society Notation Awards. 1804-1844

In early July 1804 Sir John Sinclair examined Joseph MacDonald's newly-published Compleat Theory, and decided that it was "likely to conduce much to the improvement of performers in this warlike and natural music." [HSS Sd. Bk. 4/1: 101]. He therefore determined that the HSS should purchase twenty copies, to be distributed to "such of the competitors as had made the greatest progress" at the next Edinburgh competition. At the same time he suggested that awards should be made to pipers who appeared at the competition with the tunes they intended to play "wrote down or set to music by themselves". [HSS Sd. Bk. 4/1: 101, 2, 4].

Thus started the Highland Societies' initiative to encourage pipers to write music on the stave, through awards made at the annual Edinburgh competitions. Awards were advertised from 1806 to 1812, with a fresh initiative announced in 1815 to

> "...facilitate the instruction of performers, and as a means of fixing and improving the music of the national instrument." [HSS 268, 26: 109-120].

The idea of "fixing and improving" the music was an enduring theme of the campaign. In 1825, for instance, the HSL's own manuscript collection, compiled by Angus MacArthur, was promoted as a means of fixing "the proper standard for each tune - for at present scarcely two pipers play exactly the same set of any piobrachd". [Letter

Gordon/Wedderburn 16/11/1825. HSL 268: 2]; and in 1835 Angus MacKay's proposed pibroch collection was advertised as "furnishing a fixed standard for future performers". [MacLellan J.A. 1966: 11]. The Societies were clearly anxious to preserve the music in an easily-accessible form, but were anxious also to preserve it in a standardised form which could be taught easily to learner pipers (particularly army pipers) with a minimum of complication. Music that was straightforward to learn and play, was also straightforward to judge. Significantly, it was Angus MacKay's 1838 Collection, the most rigorously systematic published, which set the trend for the coming century, and furnished the "fixed standard" which the Societies so anxiously sought.

It is clear, also, that the army came to lead the way in the use of staff notation. The first award was presented to the Edinburgh pipe maker, Donald MacDonald, (who was also Pipe Major of the Argyllshire militia), in 1806. On receiving the award he was advised to

> "... continue his exertions in this way, and to instruct such other performers as should apply to him to be taught the method of setting to music the most approved piobrachs". [Cal Merc Aug 7, 1806].

Amongst his pupils were his own sons, (John, who received a notation award in 1808, and Donald, P/M of the 72nd Regiment, who compiled a tune collection in 1826), and possibly several army pipers including William Fisher, piper in the Kings Own Borderers, who was sent to MacDonald

in 1820 for the express purpose of learning "by note only". [Kilberry I: 12]. (Another army piper was sent all the way from Ireland to Edinburgh for instruction in 1821. [Boag 1975: 28]). The firmest evidence of the lead taken by the army in the use of staff notation, however, came in a letter from Charles Gordon, secretary of the HSS, to his counterpart in London in 1825:

> "It is but very recently," stated Gordon, "that any other but military pipers could note music; those in the country learned their tunes by ear from some old piper who knew as little of music, scientifically, as themselves." [Correspondence 16/11/1825. HSL 268: Box 2].

The actual notation awards made during the Edinburgh competiton are detailed in Table IV/(7). In all, 16 awards were made to 9 different individuals, the most substantial being the first of £5.5.0 to MacDonald in 1806, probably for a fairly sizeable collection. In light of future developments, the most significant awards were clearly those to MacDonald (1806) and Angus MacKay (1825), whose manuscripts and published collections together form the core of the modern piping repertory. The three awards to John Campbell, Nether Lorn (in 1816, '17 and '18) are also of interest, for it was he who brought the Campbell Canntaireachd to the competition in 1816, while Murdoch MacLean, the Glasgow pipe maker (awards in 1814 and 1818) offered to decipher it. [Dalyell 1849: 9, 10]. (Note that Campbell's awards were for "scientific" notation, showing that he was not merely rewarded for bringing the

Canntaireachd.) John MacLeod, a young pupil of Angus MacKay's, brought music in 1841 and 1844, and also a rather interesting testimonial note stating that ...

> "he can write pipe music, and must therefore be allowed to possess a more correct knowledge of it than such as acquire the same by ear". [NLS Acc 7451, 19: File 3].

This is indeed an important reflection of the importance attached to staff notation, at least by the patrons of pipe music.

William MacKay, who gained notation awards between 1820 and 1823, was a champion piper who hailed from the North. He won the prize pipe in 1820, having competed regularly since 1806 as P/M of the Inverness-shire Militia. From 1820 until his death in November 1841 he acted as piper to the new-formed Celtic Society in Edinburgh, where he was furnished with a "suit of Royal tartan" and an annual salary of 3 guineas, and commemorated his appointment with a fine tune The Celtic Society's Quickstep. [R.C.S. I: 30; II: 13, 216, 247, 273, 299, 306].

William is best known for a collection of light music which he published shortly before his death in 1840, (The Complete Tutor for the Great Highland Bagpipe, comprising 100 quicksteps, reels, jigs, etc.). Although demonstrating a rather crude notation style this was a valuable collection in being only the second of its type (after MacDonald, 1828). On his death it was revised by Angus MacKay, who in 1843 further updated it and incorporated it into his own Piper's Assistant (with fresh

plates, 55 additional tunes, and much-improved prefatory matter). [Cannon 1980: 135, 6,9]. William's experiments with pibroch seem also to have been hampered by a certain crudeness of notation style. In 1820 he produced three tunes (A Ghlas Mheur, The Princes Salute, and Moladh Mairi), but was required to rewrite the latter two "marking the clef properly, and also the grace notes & C.". [Kilberry I: 51]. His choice of tunes was interesting, because these were in fact the three most popular tunes at the Edinburgh competition. (Appendix IV). It has to be said that these were also tunes which featured in Donald MacDonald's pibroch collection, published (most probably) in 1820: one wonders if William derived a certain degree of inspiration from this publication?

A question which has been of rather greater concern to piping historians, is what became of the manuscripts collected at the Edinburgh competition? Unfortunately it seems that very few were preserved, for on the testimony of Charles Gordon in 1825,

> "... the very few pipers who were qualified to note the piobrachd, had generally but one copy of the tunes committed to writing, and which copy they declined to leave with the committee: althou' they promised to produce a transcript of tunes after the competition ... in nearly every instance the promises of the piper were made only to be forgotten." [Correspondence. Gordon/Wedderburn 16/11/1825. HSL 268 Box 2].

A later transaction revealed that in 1833 the HSL had in its possession only its own manuscript of 30 tunes

(produced by Angus MacArthur), plus five additional sheets of pipe music, which, we must assume, represented the sum of the music collected in Edinburgh. [Letter Edmonstone/ MacDonald 18/11/1833, HSL 268: 4].

In any case, the value of the scheme lay not in the actual manuscripts produced at the competition, but rather in the fact that the Societies fostered an environment of experimentation and enthusiasm for the new medium of staff notation, which was in time to produce the major collections of MacDonald, MacKay and others. It was the first step on the road to widespread acceptance of staff notation by the piping community.

(c) ANGUS MacARTHUR. The Highland Society of London Manuscript, 1820.

Although the notation awards were bearing fruit, in London the Highland Society decided to seize the initiative and commission its own collection of pibroch. On 6th March 1819, Mr. Andrew Robertson proposed that John MacGregor (IV), the Society's piper, should be commissioned to write out a collection of tunes on

> "a plan lately adopted for simplifying the process of learning and teaching bagpipe music." [HSL 268, 43: 2].

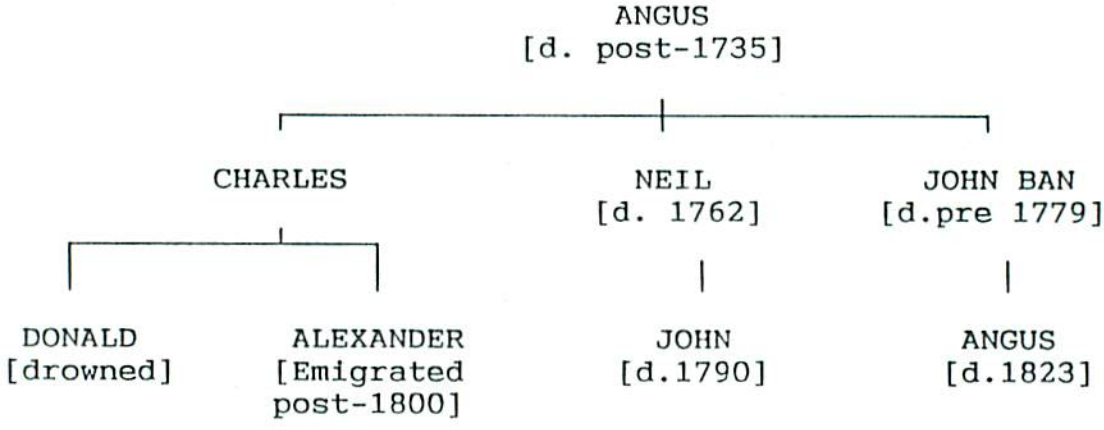
The "plan" alluded to might have been Donald MacDonald's Collection, which in July 1819 was "immediately to be published" [Kilberry I: 51], but was perhaps more likely to have been The Bagpipe Preceptor, a small pipe tutor produced by a member of the HSS in 1818 (discussed in Ch. III). This preceptor was of little value as a teaching tool, but did share with the Highland Society of London manuscript one exceptional characteristic in being written a fifth lower than any other pipe music collection. (Low A was written as Low D, etc.). The author of the Preceptor worked "in the hope that some abler hand will start up to improve upon this original attempt at reducing the study of the bagpipe to science" [Menzies 1818: 10], and it seems plausible that this was indeed the spur to the HSL's efforts. It would certainly explain why MacGregor adopted an unusual key, although in other respects the Preceptor was far too rudimentary to have influenced his

work.

John MacGregor was a versatile musician who played both Highland and Union pipes at the Society meetings (see Ch. III for further details), and who shortly before his death in 1822 gave a concert in Perth at which he played the pipes, flute and whistle. [Scots Mag. 10 (March 1822): 418]. This versatility would account for his familiarity with staff notation at a time when few pipers had knowledge of it. It was not to him, however, that the Society turned for their actual music, but rather to another piper resident in London, Angus MacArthur - "an eminent piper of the School formerly established in the Isle of Skye for the cultivation of bagpipe music." [HSL 268, 43: 6].

Angus was of the family of Skye pipers who occupied the lands of Hunglater in Trotternish by virtue of their office as hereditary pipers to MacDonald of Sleat. They were supposedly of a branch of the MacArthurs of Proaig in Islay, who were armourers and pipers to MacDonald of the Isles. [Whyte 1904: 114]. Of the family, we have definite knowledge of only three generations:

TABLE IV/(8) The MacARTHURS. Hereditary Pipers to the MacDonalds of Sleat



Sources: Note (9)

Angus MacArthur, the first recorded member ("a famous piper in his day") led the clan to battle at Sheriffmuir in 1715, and featured in the estate rentals as late as 1735. [MacDonald A & A III: 127; Sanger 1983: 14]. He had three sons, the eldest of whom, Charles, was reputedly a pupil of Patrick Og MacCrimmon's. [MacKay A. 1838: 11]. In 1726 Charles attended Sir Alexander MacDonald, 14th Chief, whilst a student in St. Andrews, (a period of extravagance and high-living which "taxed the professional capacity of Charles MacArthur to the very upmost". [MacDonald A. & A. II: 85]). Charles featured in the Sleat rentals in 1731, '33, '35 and '49. [Sanger 1983]. In 1735, for instance, the penny land of Hunglater was valued at 84 merks of silver duty, but Charles "being the Laird's piper", retained "three fourths of the haill rent and casualties". [SRO, GD 221/118/23, 9; MacDonald A & A III: 126]. He served three chiefs: Sir Alexander (d.

1746); the scholarly and popular Sir James (1741-1766) whom he elegized in the Lament For Sir James MacDonald of the Isles; and Alexander, 1st Lord MacDonald (d.1795). Pennant in 1772 described him as "quite master of his instrument", and was the first to record that the MacArthurs, like the MacCrimmons, operated a piping seminary. [Pennant 1774: 301]. Johnson and Boswell also heard the Laird's piper in 1773, playing "below stairs both at breakfast and dinner". [Boswell 1936 Edn.: 115]. The precise year of Charles' death is unknown. A subsidy of meal to "Charles MacArthur the piper" in 1778 might have referred to him, or to a younger member of the family. [SRO, GD 221/14/4]. In life he had the respect of his contemporaries such as the Uist bard John MacCodrum(7); in death his epitaph attested to "His fame as an honest man and remarkable piper". [Whyte 1904: 113].

Charles had two brothers. Neil was piper at Monkstadt House in 1735, where he earned a salary of £9.5.4, [SRO, GD 221/14/1(1)], and later joined Montgomerie's Highlanders, raised in 1757 by Colonel Archibald Montgomerie, brother-in-law of Sir Alexander MacDonald. He died in service with the regiment in Cuba in 1762. [SRO.C.C.8 (18/7/1767); Sanger 1986]. His son "professor" John acted as piper to the HSS in the 1780's. John Ban, the second brother, was piper on the MacDonald barony of North Uist, where in 1745 he earned a salary of £33.6.8. [MacDonald A & A III: 127]. Later he returned to Kilmaluag in Skye, where his widow, Marian MacLean,

received meal allowances in 1779 and 1782. [SRO, GD 221/14/4].

John Ban's son was Angus, compiler of the HSL manuscript. He appears to have accompanied Alexander, 2nd Lord MacDonald, to London in 1796, where he stayed, for Lord MacDonald was content to run his estates from afar. [MacDonald A & A II: 102]. There he probably met his cousin Alexander (son of the celebrated Charles), who in 1800 unsuccessfully petitioned Lord MacDonald for the post of piper on the Sleat estate (and with it the ancient patrimony of Hunglater) [Sanger 1983: 16]; and also another relation, Charles MacArthur, who was at the time piper to the HSL. Angus himself played only intermittently for the HSL (in 1796, 1815 and 1816), but was involved in their plans to establish a piping college at Glenelg (possibly as assistant to Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon), for which service he was paid £5 in 1816. [HSL 268: 141, 196]. In February 1820 he received another payment of £10 from the Society, which was probably intended to heighten his enthusiasm for the notation project, by then well in hand. [HSL 268, 43: 6].

In March 1820 the Society commissioned John MacGregor to write out "24 original piobrachs ... from the information and subject to the approbation of Angus MacArthur and Mr. Andrew Robertson." Each piper was to receive half a guinea per tune [HSL 268, 43: 6]. In June a further 26 tunes were commissioned on the same terms, but receipts show that only 6 of them were actually written,

bringing the total to 30. [HSL 268, 43: 9]. These were initially collected in three volumes, two of 12 tunes, and one of 6, which were later rebound into the single volume which is now in the National Library of Scotland. [NLS MS 1679].

MacKay recorded that Angus MacArthur was "on his deathbed" when the manuscript was written [MacKay 1838: 12], (although in actual fact he was still alive in April 1822 when the Society gave him a £10 subsidy. [268, 27: 6/4/'22]). Angus communicated the tunes to John MacGregor by "whistling" them to him, which probably meant that he played them on the practice chanter. (The Gaelic Feadan can be a whistle or a chanter: Joseph MacDonald likewise spoke of "whistling" pipe tunes [1760: 24]). All the tunes were inspected by Andrew Robertson, the HSL member responsible for overseeing the project(8), and his initials are still to be found on 12 of the 30 tunes. A signed note by Robertson under Tune 21, The Bard's Lament, attests to MacArthur's reliability as an informant:

> "This is the only pibroch in which there appeared the least uncertainty in Mr. McArthur's recollection. In all the others there was not the change of a single note in repeatedly whistling them and very seldom even of the time of the dotted crotchets."
> [NLS Ms 1679: 21].

The extant receipts of payment to MacArthur and MacGregor prove that they did in fact write all the tunes: there has been some doubt cast on this, since a few of the tunes were written in a heavier pen than the others. [e.g.

PS 1925: ii; Campbell A. 1948: 11; Receipts HSL 268, 17: 1/7/1820, 4/7/'20, 29/8/'20]. The music is neat and legible, although to the modern piper difficult to read, being written in a lower key than usual. The notation style has a good deal in common with other pre-MacKay sources (particularly Donald MacDonald), being characterised by a greater number of gracenote permutations than found in MacKay. Aspects of MacArthur's notation are illustrated in Section 3 of this chapter. Finally, the manuscript shows an understandable bias towards MacArthur tunes, some of which were later popularised by Angus MacKay in his 1838 collection:

TABLE IV/(9) MacARTHUR COMPOSITIONS IN THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON MANUSCRIPT

By Charles MacArthur (Angus' Uncle)	No. 12.	"Murray of Abercairney's Salute"
	No. 23.	Sir James MacDonald's Lament" (1766).
By John MacArthur (Angus' cousin)	No. 10.	"The Highland Club" (c.1786). (e.g. The Highland Society of Scotland's Salute).
By Angus MacArthur	No. 16.	"The Late Lord MacDonald's Lament" (for Alexander, 1st Lord MacDonad, d. 12 Sept. 1785).
	No. 24.	"Lady MacDonald's Lament" (for Lady Elizabeth Diana, wife of the above, d.1789).
	No. 27.	"Lady Margaret MacDonald's Salute". (for Lady Margaret, wife of Sir Alexander, 14th Chief. She was aged 85 when visited by Johnson & Boswell in 1773).

Source: NLS MS 1679

Having spent 30 guineas in compiling the manuscript, the Society was naturally anxious to have it published. In this, however, it singularly failed to distinguish itself. First, in 1821, it wrote to the Scottish Society to see if any more manuscripts had been collected at the Edinburgh competition, and it seems likely that it was their intention to publish these along with the MacArthur manuscript. Nothing, however, came of this inquiry, nor indeed of a similar inquiry along the same lines in 1825. [Kilberry II: 3; HSL 268 Letter Gordon/Wedderburn 4/8/1821, Box 19; 6/11/1825, Box 2]. In March 1824 the manuscript was sent to John Gow, London music publisher, for an estimate of publishing costs, which he duly calculated as follows (each tune to start on a fresh plate):

79 Plates	27.13.0
Paper for 100 copies	7.15.0
Printing costs	7. 0.0
Title page (on pewter)	1.10.0
	£43.18.0

[HSL 268, 27: 6/3/'24; Letter Gow 3/5/'24. Box 2].

On receiving Gow's costing a committee of four members was set up "to procure the same to be printed". [268, 27: 7/5/'24]. This committee, however, proved to be of the particularly inactive variety. In February 1825 it failed to take advantage of an offer of a manuscript of light music (comprising 100 reels, jigs, quicksteps, etc.)

compiled by a Lochalsh piper, John MacRa from "the most celebrated pipers ... some of them now no more"(10), and in November 1825 it failed to procure joint funding from the HSS for the publication of the MacArthur manuscript. [Letter Gordon/Wedderburn 6/11/1825 268, Box 2]. With this set-back all plans for publication appear to have been abandoned.

The later history of the MacArthur manuscript is told in the section on Angus MacKay, for it was almost certainly MacKay who in 1833 travelled to London to inspect it; it was MacKay who indexed it; and it was from MacKay that the manuscript passed into the hands of Michael MacCarfrae, and ultimately to the National Library of Scotland where it now rests. Why, precisely, the HSL failed to publish the manuscript has never been made explicit. Instead, however, the Society later patronised Angus MacKay's collection of 1838, and in so doing helped to popularise MacKay's notation style, at the expense of the style evinced in the earlier manuscripts of Donald MacDonald and MacArthur. The MacArthur manuscript is in fact rarely used as a source for modern tune settings. Despite this, its value lies in the fact that it directly represents MacArthur playing style; and that, next to Donald MacDonald's collection, it is the earliest major collection of pibroch in staff notation.

(d) Donald MacDonald [c.1749-1840] A Collection of the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia (c.1820)

It was probably in 1820 that Donald MacDonald's Collection of the Ancient Martial Music reached the book stalls, the first functional collection of pibroch, with twenty three tunes written fully in staff notation, brief but pertinent playing instructions ("the cheeks must be kept firmly contracted"), two pages of scales, and, as a bonus, twelve of the most popular reels and jigs, also written for the bagpipe.

The collection was dedicated to the Highland Society of Scotland, with the caveat that "if, under their auspices it fails, it can be worthy of success under no other". The depth of MacDonald's gratitude to the Society is a bit surprising given that, beyond the notation award to him in 1806, its sum financial commitment to the project was an advance order for five copies (at a guinea each) in 1819. [Kilberry I: 51]. The venture, as J.G. Dalyell was to confirm in talking to MacDonald's publisher in 1839, was in fact undertaken entirely at his own expense, with no advance subscription, and no editorial help. [Dalyell Gen 353D: 12]. Although eventually running to four editions, initial sales were so slow that MacDonald was forced to abandon the idea of publishing a second volume, the proofs of which he offered to a friend in India with the sad story that "the publication of the first had almost ruined the donor." [Thomason 1900(a): ii].

The truth is that there was nothing wrong with the quality of Macdonald's work. It was simply that he was an innovator in a field with an exceptionally ill-defined market. Most pipers in 1820 could not read staff notation. The music-playing public at large could scarcely be expected to beguile the winter's evening playing pibrochs on the piano. To give MacDonald his due, he tried. The collection was advertised as "the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia ... now also adapted to the pianoforte, violin and violincello", and his professed intention was to introduce "to the more fashionable instruments of the day those strains hitherto confined to the bagpipe". [1820: title page; 3]. A simple bass line was provided for each tune (paying scant regard to drone tonality), and the patronage of the HSS was prominently advertised, in the hope no doubt that such a "distinguished body" would bring with it a respectable readership. In the preface MacDonald pulled no punches. He spoke of his own "patriotic feelings"; he hinted that the pibroch repertory was nearing extinction (a point which we have already disproved); he ridiculed the use of canntaireachd by pipers "ignorant of music", (where he himself had probably learnt by this medium, and his father and old Neil MacLeod of Gesto were known to sit in his own home on the Castle Hill, exchanging tunes in the canntaireachd. [MacGregor A 1878: 464; 1879: 194-6]). He was not slow, either, in appealing to the patriotic and romantic sentiment of the day - these were, after all

> "the strains that delighted and animated our warlike ancestors, and of which many had their origin in the most interesting circumstances of dangerous adventure, and romantic attachment". [1820: dedication].

He pushed hard to sell his collection, but the cause was a worthy one, and in so doing he was to set new standards in pipe music publishing.

He actually didn't turn to notation until quite late in life (when he was in his 50's), in contrast to the other innovators, Joseph MacDonald and Angus MacKay, who were young men when they set about their work. He was born in about 1749 (11), one of several children of John MacDonald of Glenhinisdale in Skye, friend and retainer of the MacDonalds of Kingsborough. On the evidence of the Rev. Alexander MacGregor, who was a friend of the MacDonald family in the 1830's,

> "Donald was a superior performer on the bagpipe, having acquired a correct knowledge of piobaireachd from the last of the MacArthurs". [MacGregor A. 1878: 463].

Which of the MacArthurs taught him is not specified, although he was a near-contemporary of both "professor" John and Angus. His notation style was certainly compatible with Angus MacArthur's, although he professed (in his light music collection at any rate) an eclectic approach, preferring to note the tunes "as played by himself". [MacDonald D. 1828: iii].

By the early 1800's Donald and his family were in Edinburgh, where he proved his piping ability by winning

the competition prize pipe in 1817. Three of his sons, also, were pipers, and their competition careers can be summarised as follows:

TABLE IV/(10). Donald MacDonald and Sons: Competition Record

	DONALD Snr.	JOHN	DONALD Jnr.	JAMES
YEARS COMPETING	1801; 1806-9; 1811,12; 1817-20	1806-1811	1819-1826	1819-22; 1826
5th Prize	-	-	1821	1820
4th Prize	-	-	1823	-
3rd Prize	1801	1806	1824	1826
2nd Prize	1811	-	1826	-
1st Prize	1817	-	-	-
Additional Info. from Records	1801 Caithness Fencibles 1806-9 Pipe-Maker 1811-20 P/M Argyllshire Militia	1810,11 Argyll-shire Milita	1825,26 72nd Reg't.	

Source: Competition Records

In Edinburgh Donald set up as a pipe maker at 529 Castle Hill. There is every possibility, in fact, that he inherited his business from the old and established pipemaker, Hugh Robertson, who also had premises on the Castle Hill. It is known, for instance, that Robertson still had the commission for the competition prize pipe in 1818, when he was 88 years old, which strongly suggests that he then had an assistant. [HSL 268: 19]. MacDonald was awarded the prize pipe commission in 1821 (when Robertson was in ill-health [HSS Sd. Bk. 6: 341]), and continued to make the prize pipe until his death in 1840.

These years represent his hey-day as a pipe maker when, although himself in advanced years, his pipes enjoyed wide favour. He advertised himself as a teacher of "the Great Highland, Northumberland and Irish bagpipes" [1820: title page], and museum specimens show that he made all these instruments, plus several varieties of Scottish small pipes, bellows-blown and otherwise. [Cheape 1983(a), (b)]. In February 1823, with the patronage of Sir John Sinclair, he was appointed official pipe maker to the Highland Societies, which title he used in his unpublished pibroch manuscript (1826), and in later editions of his published collection (but not the 1st edition, which confirms this to predate 1823). [HSL 268, 27: 1/2/1823; Edinb. & Leith P.O. Directory, 1824-5].

Conventionally his published collection has been dated to c.1822 [vide Cannon 1980: 118], but I would suggest c. 1820 to be a more realistic date, on the following evidence:

(1) The 1819 competition accounts contain an entry for

> "sum subscribed for five copies of a collection of piobaireachd to be immediately pub. by Don. MacDonald, £5.5.0". [Kilberry I: 51].

(2) Two pieces of correspondence between the secretaries of the London and Scottish Societies in 1821 mention the collection. On 15 Feb. 1821 John Wedderburn, the London Secretary, sought Charles Gordon's "opinion in D. MacDonald's book". [Kilberry II: 3]. On 4 Aug. 1821 Charles Gordon recorded that a good many tunes

had been produced at the Edinburgh competition "several of them not in MacDonald's collection". [HSL 268, 19: Letter 4/8/1821].

(3) Just prior to the King's visit to Edinburgh in August 1822 an advertisement appeared in the Caledonian Mercury for a 3d Edition of MacDonald's Collection. [Cal Merc July 29 1822].

(4) The first time the tune title The Finger Lock appeared in print was in MacDonald's collection. The first time this title was used at the Edinburgh competitions was in July 1821. Prior to then the tune (known in Gaelic as A Ghlas Mheur (12)) had been entered numerous times, but had been described in English simply as a "favourite", "capital" or "principal" piece. In 1784, indeed, the tune was used as a test piece, being "a much admired composition, but difficult of execution". [Scots Mag. 46 (Oct. 1784): 552]. The tune was recorded twice prior to MacDonald (by Patrick MacDonald (1784) and in the Campbell Canntaireachd (1797)), but in neither record does it have an English title. This evidence strongly suggests that MacDonald in fact coined the English title The Finger Lock (a literal translation of the Gaelic), and that it was through his collection that the title was popularised at the Edinburgh competition. This would support the notion that his

collection was published prior to July 1821.

Notation

In his preface to the published collection MacDonald acknowledged that he had been

> "encouraged by a prize from the Highland Society of Scotland, as being the first who had succeeded in setting the piobaireachd to music". [MacDonald D. 1820:3].

This was a reference to his notation award of 5 guineas in 1806. He also stated that he had "sacrificed the leisure moments of the last fifteen years" in compiling the work [1820: ibid.], from which we can deduce that he commenced the task in about 1805. There is a strong likelihood that he would have had access to Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory (copies of which were distributed at the 1804 competition), which, despite its defects, would have been a useful starting point for any would-be notator. (We can possibly detect a veiled reference to the Compleat Theory in his remark on pipe music notation "hitherto unattempted, or at least, unaccomplished". [1820: 1]). There is also every likelihood that he would have taken some time to evolve a reasonably consistent notation style, given that he was one of the first in the field, and there is in fact a manuscript in the National Library of Scotland, known as the Hannay/MacAuslan MS [c.1811-1819, NLS Dep. 201], which Buisman has identified as a likely early specimen of his

work. [Buisman 1985(a)].

His most enduring legacy was in the creation of a simple and effective way of separating-out gracenotes from melody notes on the printed page. He simply wrote the stems of all melody notes downwards (unlike conventional notation), and wrote the gracenotes with smaller heads and upward-pointing stems. This meant that melody notes could be grouped as rhythm required, without interference from the gracenote stems, hence avoiding the problems evident in Joseph MacDonald's volume. He wrote all his gracenotes of equal value (as demi-semi-quavers), and his work is characterised by a variety and subtlety of gracenoting which is not evinced in the work of his successor, Angus MacKay, who made a clear effort to rationalize the gracing system. Specific examples of the differences between the two in this respect are illustrated later in the chapter.

MacDonald's notation style is probably representative of the playing of an older generation of pipers who grew up in the mid to late eighteenth century. Other early sources written by pipers of the same vintage, such as Joseph MacDonald (1760) and Angus MacArthur (1820), exhibit many similarities, and on the whole diverge noticeably from the style later popularised by Angus MacKay, a piper born in 1813.

Modern detractors of MacDonald's style [e.g. Campbell J. 1988: 24] have tried to explain notational differences between MacDonald and MacKay by pointing to MacDonald's professed intention to accommodate other musicians. The

implication is that MacDonald did not in fact represent true bagpipe notation, but rather a product diluted to the requirements of other instruments. This is a flimsy argument which fails on three counts: firstly, MacDonald's notation is in fact more elaborate than MacKay's, and for that reason would have been, if anything, less accessible to other musicians; secondly, other pre-MacKay sources which are compatible with MacDonald (e.g. MacArthur, Reid), were not written for non-pipers; and thirdly, MacKay himself advertised his collection as "adapted to the piano". [MacKay 1838: title page]. In fact there is no evidence that either collection sacrificed musical content to the needs of non-pipers. There are many examples of pibrochs actually adapted to the keyboard [e.g.. Dow (1778), P. MacDonald (1784), E. Ross (1812), A. Campbell (1816)], and none of these show the intricate pipe gracings contained in the scores of MacDonald and MacKay. The inescapable fact is that the music notated by MacDonald represented an actual playing style which once had wide currency. The fact that it was slightly different from the music later notated by MacKay (which forms the basis of our modern playing style), should not be allowed to obscure the value of MacDonald's work.

MacDonald recorded that the tunes in his published volume formed "only a small part [of] those the publisher has arranged and collected" [1820: 5], and by 1826 he had written-out in detailed proof a further 48 tunes, ready for publication. [MacDonald D: 1826]. When financial

constraints forced him to abandon plans for publication, he sent this manuscript to an old pupil, W.J. Grant of Elchies, in India, who in turn passed it to his grandson, General C.S. Thomason. Thomason used the manuscript in compiling his compendious collection of Ceòl Mòr in 1900. [Thomason 1900(a): ii; 1900(b): 83]. Another notation scheme which MacDonald had underway was a collection of 119 quicksteps, strathspeys, reels and jigs, which he published in 1828 - the first of its type. The preface recorded that

> "The present work has been finished for several years, and has been so long withheld, owing to the publisher's diffidence regarding his own abilities."
> [MacDonald 1828: preface].

In fact in this, as with the pibroch notation, MacDonald was a trend-setter, and this volume presaged a flood of light music publishing as the century progressed.

He died in October 1840, aged 91, and "his effects went to the hammer for the benefit of some charities". [MacGregor A 1878: 466]. The HSS provided two of his widowed daughters (in "destitute circumstances") with a small allowance [HSL 268, 5: petition; HSSPMB: 164], and although he had no direct successor in business, the firm of Thomas Glen, (established 1827) bought several items from him shortly before his death, including "24 music plaits". [Glen Accounts Cannon 1980: 65]. The plates were for the light music collection which Glen republished in 1841. J. & R. Glen were later to bring out further

editions of the light music, and a final edition of the pibroch in about 1870. [Cannon 1980: 31-39].

Within 18 years of publication, MacDonald's pibroch collection was superseded by Angus MacKay's larger, simpler, better-presented and more richly funded collection, which above all, bore the authority of the Queen's piper. MacDonald undoubtedly suffered in having to break down barriers and familiarise the piping public with staff notation, graft from which MacKay himself was later to benefit. MacDonald's collection was nevertheless influential in its time. He published seven of the ten most popular tunes at the competition (see Appendix IV); and there are at least four tunes which feature in the competition records only after he had published them.(13)

In a letter of 1820 he was described as "the inventor of the gamut for the Great Highland Pipe" [Kilberry I: 12], and there is no doubt that MacDonald's approach to the notation of pipe music influenced all subsequent notators.

Fig. XII ANGUS MACKAY. Queen's piper and piper to the HSL (1850-1854). Watercolour by Kenneth MacKay. [Royal Collection, Windsor Castle]

(e) Angus MacKay (1813-1859) A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd 1838

Angus MacKay was the talented son of a respected father. From humble beginnings in Eyre, Raasay, where he was born in September 1813 [MacLellan J.A. 1966: 10], he rose to become personal piper to Queen Victoria, and the very personification of the successful Highlander in Victorian Britain. His collection of 61 pibrochs, published in 1838, was a conspicuous success, being described by one twentieth century piping authority as "the pipers' Scriptures". [Campbell A. 1950(b): 9]. No new volume of pibroch was to be published for over thirty years,by which time MacKay's style of notation and playing had become firmly established as "the only acceptable language of pibroch" [Cannon 1980: 30], and was to form the model for all subsequent generations. MacKay's success derived in part from his own talents and authority; in part from the enviable reputation of his father as piper and teacher.

John MacKay ("Iain MacRuari of Eyre". c.1767-1848)

Angus' father John was piper to MacLeod of Raasay. He competed in Edinburgh only once, in 1792 (when he was 25), and won the prize pipe. [Cal Merc July 26 1792]. He had been an orphan herd boy in the employ of Captain Malcolm MacLeod, grandson of Iain Garbh of Raasay, who,

besides his notorious pro-Jacobite sympathies, was a piper. (One of his tunes, Prince Charles' Lament, is still played. [MacKay A 1838: 169]). Later in life Angus recorded in his own hand how

> "Fir Eyre [Malcolm MacLeod] played the pipes and was teaching a young lad; my father used to overhear them and pick up his lesson and play the same on the moors while herding; and that on a fiadan Sialeasda [reed pipe] he was overheard by Fir Aire, who taught him and afterwards sent him to the college of the MacCrummens and to the MacKays of Gearloch ..." [MacKay A. MS 3756: ii-iv].

Given the dates, John MacKay was most probably instructed by Iain Dubh MacCrimmon, then resident at Borreraig in Skye [Grant I.F., 1959: 560], and Angus MacKay, son of the renowned Iain Dall, piper to Gairloch. [MacLean J. 1952: 295]. In Raasay John also had contact with Eliza Ross, orphaned granddaughter of John MacLeod of Raasay, who

> "was so fond of piobaireachd that she acquired many of the longest pieces from the performance of the family piper, and was accustomed to play them on the piano with much effect." [MacKay A. 1838, Hist. Notes: 7].

She in fact included five of John's pibrochs in her collection of Original Highland Airs, compiled in 1812 [SSS: 3], and he in turn wrote a tune for her, "Lady Doyle's Salute", so-called after she had emigrated to India and effected a good marriage to the English baronet, Charles D'Oyly. [Cooke 1985: 2].

In 1821 it appears that the relationship between MacKay and his patron, James MacLeod of Raasay, was strained. In July of that year, in striking testimony to John's reputation, William MacKenzie, secretary of the new-formed Celtic Society, wrote to the HSS. MacKenzie explained that he had recently met MacKay:

> "The fame of this man is too well known to require any praise from me. He is not satisfied with the treatment he is receiving, and as his abilities are unnoticed and his allowance so reduced that he cannot exist he talks as a last resource of going to America. To let this man leave the Highlands will bring deserved obloquy on those institutions who have it in their power to relieve one so capable of preserving in purity the strains of our beloved Ancestors, and in the event of his quiting his native land, we lose a treasure as he will leave none behind him worthy of being his successor." [Kilberry I: 18].

MacKenzie suggested that the various Highland Societies should join forces to establish MacKay as a piping teacher. Nothing came of this, but he was not, in fact, forced to emigrate, for on the death of MacLeod of Raasay in 1823, he was employed by Lord Gwydir at Drummond Castle near Crieff. The trek from Raasay was a long one, and an old employee at the castle recalled in later years how MacKay had arrived with his family on foot, their belongings in peat creels on two Highland ponies. [Meldrum R. 1951(b): 9].

John was then in his fifties, and was probably in his prime as teacher and composer. Of his nine compositions preserved by his son Angus, the one which is now most

widely played is The Lament for MacLeod of Colbeck. Of his pupils, besides his own sons, undoubtedly the most famous was John Ban MacKenzie, who first received instruction from him in Raasay in the early 1820's, when he was piper to Davidson of Tulloch. Later, in Perthshire, they renewed their acquaintanceship, for while John was at Drummond Castle, MacKenzie was head piper at nearby Taymouth. [MacKay 1838, Hist. Notes: 8; Meldrum 1951(a)]. Other pupils included Angus Cam MacPherson, progenitor of a famous Badenoch piping family, and Archibald Munro, piper to Glengarry [MacPherson A. 1955: 72; MacLean W., SA 1953/5/A3], and it was through these men that John's teachings and reputation were to be spread to a further generation.

On his retirement from service with Lord Gwydir, MacKay was provided with an annual pension of £10 by the HSL (from 1837 until his death in 1848), and retired to Kyleakin where his son Roderick and daughter Kitty were living. On his death an annuity of £5 to his widow continued until 1855. [HSL 268: 6, 18, 20 Receipts]. This pension, clearly, is further evidence of the regard in which John was held by the major patrons of piping during his lifetime. The status of his family is confirmed by the successful competition careers of all four of his sons (summarised in Table IV/(11)), and by the fact that they all found steady employment as pipers on major estates. Donald and James followed the family vocation in serving MacLeod of Raasay; Donald was the first to enter Royal

Table IV/11

JOHN MACKAY AND SONS

	JOHN Snr. (c1767-1848)	DONALD (1794-1850)	RODERICK (1810-1854)	ANGUS (1813-1859)	JOHN Jnr. (1814-1848)
Years Competing	1792	1820-1823	1826-1832	1825,26; 1835	1829,35,44
5th Prize	-	-	-	-	-
4th	-	-	-	1826	1835
3rd	-	1820	-	-	-
2nd	-	1821	-	-	-
1st	1792	1822	1832	1835	-
	Pre 1823. Piper to MacLeod of Raasay 1823-c1837. Piper to Lord Gwydir, Drummond Castle. 1837-1848. HSL Pension Kyleakin. 9 children.	1820. Piper to MacLeod of Raasay. 1821-c1829. Piper to RG MacDonald of Clanranald. 1830-1850. Piper to the Duke of Sussex. (1845-1850. Piper to HSL). 3 children. d. London.	c1826-1829. Piper to CC MacKay of Arisaig. 1829-1832. Piper to James Moray of Abercairney. 1838. Piper to MacLeod of Raasay. Later merchant in Kyleakin. 4 children. d. Edinburgh.	1826. Piper to Lady Gwydir. c1829. Piper to Duncan Davidson of Tulloch. c. 1837-1840. Piper to Walter Campbell of Islay. 1841. Piper to Lord Ward, Glengarry. 1843-1854. Piper to Queen Victoria. (1850-1854. Piper to HSL). 4 children. d. Dumfries.	1835. Piper to Sir Robert Gordon, Balmoral. c1838. Piper to Duke of Richmond. 1844. Piper to CP Leslie, Invergarry. 1845. With Admiral MacDougall of Dunollie in Hong Kong. Single. d. London.

Sources:
(1) "Notices of Pipers". PT Dec 1971, Feb, March, June 1972.
(2) Mackay A. 1838: subscribers; MS 3756:ii-iv (genealogy).
(3) Campbell A. 1950(b):8.
(4) MacIntyre North 1880 II:34.
(5) Dalyell JG. Gen 374D:20.
(6) HSL Records.

Service, with H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex in 1830; but it was Angus who, with his appointment as Queen's piper in 1843, was to find most lasting fame.

Angus MacKay. Working Life

Prior to 1843 Angus served on four different estates of which we know. When he first competed in Edinburgh in 1825, a mere twelve-year-old, he was listed as piper to Lady Gwydir on the Drummond Estate. [Cal Merc July 11 1825]. Soon after this, in 1829, he was piper to Duncan Davidson of Tulloch, near Strathpeffer (for whom his father wrote a Salute) [Whyte 1904: 6], while by 1837 he was piper to Walter Campbell of Shawfield and Islay. [Campbell J.F. 1880: 4,5]. This period of employment ended amicably in about 1840(14), when Angus composed his only surviving pibroch, Farewell To The Laird Of Islay [PS: 267]. His stay at Islay House was instructive, for it appears that he had access to manuscript material left there by his predecessor, none other than John Campbell, keeper of the Nether Lorn or Campbell Canntaireachd. Campbell had died in 1831 [MacKay 1838: 13], and the canntaireachd volumes vanished from sight until re-discovered by Sheriff John Bartholomew in 1909. [Bartholomew: 1909]. It is evident, however, that Angus had access to what was probably an early draft of the Canntaireachd, for a manuscript in his own hand, watermarked 1853, contains four tunes which

unquestionably originate from that source.(15) [NLS MS 3754].

Angus' final estate appointment was at Glengarry, purchased in October 1840 by William Ward (Baron of Dudley and Ward), from a debt-ridden Aeneas Macdonnell of Glengarry. Lord Ward, although an Englishman, took to the trappings of the Highland lifestyle with enthusiasm, and hired MacKay as piper soon after his marriage to Mary Russell in May 1841. [DNB; Prebble 1963: 274; MacLellan J.A. 1966: 10]. J.G. Dalyell met MacKay at this time, and recorded his impressive credentials:

PT March 1966

> "MacKay is 28 years of age. He has gained a prize bagpipe no less than eight times from his superiority on the instrument; besides various inferior prizes for dancing and dress." [Dalyell Gen 374D: 20].

It appears that knowledge of his credentials and pedigree was widespread, for it was on the recommendation of the Marquis of Breadalbane, no less, that Angus was appointed piper to Queen Victoria in April 1843, aged only thirty. [Victoria 1868: 89; MacLellan J.A. 1966: 10]. By June 1843 he was ensconced at Windsor, and the Queen recorded happily in her journal:

> "was agreeably surprised at 8 by hearing our new Scotch piper, whom Albert had ordered to walk before the palace without telling me anything about it. It put me in mind of Scotland ... The piper is called Angus MacKay". [Quoted by Campsie 1980: 19].

Further entries in the Royal journal provide a useful insight into the piper's duties at Windsor and in the

Highlands. MacKay developed a useful technique of writing tunes to commemorate major events in the Royal calendar: on September 10th 1852, for instance, he was to be found leading a band of seven pipers at the famous torchlight ball at Corriemulzie, near Balmoral, and on that occasion he doubtless aired his new piece The Queens Welcome To The Torchlight Ball at Corriemulzie; similarly, the laying of the foundation stone for Balmoral Castle on September 23rd 1853 was accompanied by MacKay, with his latest composition, The Foundation Stone of Balmoral Castle 1853. [Victoria 1868: 89, 95, 99; MacKay MS 3744: 40, 50, 52].

Whilst serving at Windsor, MacKay was also active in various of the London Scottish Societies. He was, for instance, a member of the "Club of True Highlanders", where he might have rubbed shoulders with the historian James Logan [MacIntyre North 1881 II: 33], and he performed at meetings of the HSL, initially with his brother Donald, and from 1850 (on Donald's death), as official piper and officer to the Society, with an annual salary of £15.15.0. [HSL 268: 18, 20, Receipts].

Sadly, in early 1854 he started to show signs of mental illness, and was admitted to the Royal Bethlem Hospital (Bedlam).(16) He had periods of remission in which he continued to indulge his musical talents (a good deal of his manuscript music dates from this period), and he actually wrote a tune to commemorate his plight, not a lament, but a jig - Triall Bhethlehem [MS 3744: 52]. In March 1856 he was moved to the Royal Crichton Institute in

Dumfries. He died from drowning in the River Nith, whilst attempting to escape from there in March 1859. [Dumfries and Galloway Courier, 29/3/1859].

Early Notation and the Published Collection, 1838

If MacKay's senior position in the piping establishment ensured that his work was treated with respect, a good deal of the success of his published and manuscript volumes undoubtedly derived from the quality and consistency of his work.

At the age of twelve he had already turned his hand to music notation, for in 1825 he received a small award of 5 shillings for music produced at the Edinburgh competition, which music was forwarded to London in early 1826. [HSS PMB: 38; HSL 268, 27: 4/2/1826]. This effort certainly impressed the secretary of the HSS, Charles Gordon, who wrote to his counterpart in London:

> "I recollect the young boy Angus MacKay produced at last competition the best collection I had seen in MS of pipe tunes. He is the son of Lord Gwydir's piper, - and probably it would be well if you had access to this collection." [Letter Gordon/Wedderburn 16/11/1825 HSL 268: Box 2].

Angus must have received his musical training whilst at Drummond Castle, possibly from a musician employed to teach the Gwydir family, with time to spare for the piper's son. A possible candidate (although the case is not

proven) was Duncan McKercher (1796-1873), a Dunkeld musician who published two volumes of fiddle music in 1824 and 1830. [McKercher 1824; Baptie 1894: 126]. A link between MacKay and McKercher is suggested by two factors: McKercher subscribed to a copy of MacKay's 1838 collection; and MacKay, in his light music manuscripts written in the 1850's, acknowledged several tunes to be from "McKercher Dunkeld". [MS 3756: cover page].

In 1833, having served some time with Davidson of Tulloch, it appears that MacKay was in London, possibly visiting his brother Donald who was in service there. It was at this time that Angus became interested in the manuscript produced by Angus MacArthur for the HSL, for in November 1833 the secretary of the Society was contacted by Robert Edmonstone (a member who occasionally adjudicated at the Edinburgh competitions), who had this to say:

> "Some public spirited Highland pipers, finding that little or nothing is to be expected from any of the Highland Societies, have determined, ere it be too late, to make a collection of the piobrachds themselves - and two of those pipers, who understand music, are now at work noting down the tunes of a list of upwards of 120 piobrachds - the alphabetical list of which I have furnished them." [HSL 268. Letter Edmonstone/MacDonald 18/11/1833].

Edmonstone explained that one of the pipers was staying with him in London, and requested the loan of the Society's "packet of Highland piobrachds", which duly arrived two days later, containing the MacArthur manuscript, and five separate sheets of music. [HSL 268, 4: Letter

Edmonstone/MacDonald 20/11/1833]. The evidence strongly suggests that the piper involved in this transaction was Angus MacKay. Although his collection was not actually published until 1838, it was clearly in an advanced stage of production when the prospectus was issued in late 1835, (see below). The collection included one tune (The Highland Society of Scotland's Salute) which Angus acknowledged to be from "the original MSS in possession of the Highland Society of London" [1838: 148]; and also included a brief but detailed description of the way in which the manuscript was produced by MacArthur and MacGregor. [1838: 12]. These statements confirm Angus' intimate knowledge of the manuscript at this early stage. Later (post-1838) he was to index the manuscript, and indeed included seventeen tunes from it in Volume I of his own manuscript collection, all carefully acknowledged. [MS 3753]. The other piper involved at this stage might have been John Ban MacKenzie (there have been rumours to that effect, vide Scott J.E. 1965(c)), but no positive information has yet emerged on this question.

Possibly the most interesting point to emerge from Edmonstone's correspondence was the fact that the pipers were "noting down the tunes of a list ... which I have furnished them." [Edmonstone op. cit.]. There has been much speculation as to why MacKay failed to incorporate many classics in his published collection (such as The Lament for the Children), while including several poor tunes whose chief recommendation was that they had specific

clan associations. [eg. PT Dec. 1971: 18]. The likelihood is, in fact, that he was constrained in his choice of material by the HSL (or perhaps, by Edmonstone acting on its behalf), which was anxious to include tunes which would appeal to a wide cross-section of clan loyalties. Significantly, MacKay referred to himself as "Author of Clan piobrachd" in 1843, which lends credence to the notion that he was working to a prescribed formula of clan tunes. [MacKay A. 1843: 1].

In July 1835 Angus won the prize pipe in Edinburgh, and on the 5th of August issued from Drummond Castle the prospectus for his forthcoming music collection. This promised 60 pibrochs, detailed playing instructions, and historical and biographical matter on "the principal ancient pipers", to be published in February 1836. He declared that his main objective was to

> "preserve in its native simplicity and purity the ancient music of the country, by furnishing a fixed standard for future performers." [MacLellan J.A. 1966: 11].

This was a rather presumptious ambition on the part of a mere twenty-two year old, albeit a prize winner, and one suspects that this remark actually represented the objectives of the patrons of the project - those "best judges of performances on the Scottish Bagpipes" whose approval was advertised in the prospectus.

Although subscribers were readily obtained (246 in all, including 45 individual members of the HSL, and a block subscription of 10 copies for the Society),

publication of the work was mysteriously postponed for over two years. In an apologetic preface dated July 1838, Mackay explained that the delay was due to "an anxiety to render the work as perfect as possible", although whether the problem lay with the music or the prefatory matter is unclear. Some compensation was perhaps to be had from the fact that the published volume contained not 60 tunes as advertised, but rather 61, the bonus tune presumably being The Chisholms Salute, a contemporary piece written in 1836. [NLS MS 7451, 19: 3].

The Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd was an attractive buy. The tunes were attractively set out, and there was a wealth of historical matter written in the vein of Pennant (1774) and Ramsay of Ochtertyre (1784) which must have appealed to the antiquarian taste of the period. A good deal of this material was obviously not written by MacKay, who indeed acknowledged the help of "some literary friends who assisted him in researches for the historical portion of the work". [1838: preface]. The helping hand was most evident in the "Circumstantial Account" of the Edinburgh piping competition [15-20], which was gleaned from contemporary newspaper reports, clearly at the expense of some detailed library work; and in the short essay on "The Bapipe-History-Effects" etc. [21-22], which was highly redolent of the romanticism of the age. ("The Highland pipe has stimulated to heroism ... has melted the lion-hearts of sorrowing clansmen ... " etc.). This section also contained snippets from the major competition

speeches, such as Sir John Sinclair's remarkable revelation that the existence of a carved cherub playing the bagpipe at Rosslyn Chapel, with a book spread before it, was proof that "in an early age, the bagpipes were played, not by ear alone, but from musical notation." [Speech reported in Cal Merc Aug 3, 1822]. (The Societies were clearly very anxious to convince pipers that the use of staff notation was the way forward!)

Two other sections of particular value were the "Account of the Hereditary Pipers" [7-14], and a series of historical notes on 51 of the tunes in the volume. This material was an entertaining amalgam of factual history, and piper's lore, a good deal of which clearly derived from MacKay himself. Little of this matter had previously been published, and its value should not be underestimated.

Occasional editorial confusion attests to the involvement of more than one hand in the production of the volume. (MacLeod of Raasay's Salute, for instance, was attributed at one point to Angus MacKay, Gairloch; at another to his son John Roy.) The name most commonly linked with the historical portion of the work was that of James Logan (1794-1872), author of The Scottish Gael (1831), and contributor to volumes such as Mackenzie's Beauties of Gaelic Poetry (1841) and The Clans of The Scottish Highlands (1843). In a copy of the collection deposited by him in the British Museum in 1856, he inked in the words "by James Logan" by the historical material, and this assignation of authorship has been accepted by the

British Museum in its catalogue. [Cannon 1980: 25]. Certainly he had the credentials to write authoritatively on bagpipe history. He was an Aberdeen-educated scholar with a good knowledge of Highland matters. He spent most of his adult life in London, living by writing. He was a member of the Club of True Highlanders, and a founder-member of the London Gaelic Society, and in 1839, riding on critical acclaim for The Scottish Gael, he was appointed assistant secretary to the HSL. [Stewart A: 1876; MacIntyre North 1881 I: ix; HSL 268, 5: 2/4/1840]. Unfortunately this post was short-lived, for in March 1840 he suffered a nervous breakdown and was forced to resign his position. (Logan attributed his condition to having been hit on the head by a throwing hammer in his youth). [HSL 268, 5: 2/4/1840]. His association with the HSL at this time lends weight to the idea that he was involved with MacKay's collection, and it is significant that in clearing his desk after being dismissed, he made specific reference to "the copies of MacKay's piobaireachds ... a heavy parcel", which had been in his keeping. [HSL 268, 5: 24/4/1840].

The precise extent of the HSL's involvement in MacKay's collection has yet to be fully determined. The volume was dedicated by MacKay to the Society,

> "whose patriotic encouragement of Gaelic manners and customs is so well known, and whose patronage, so generously bestowed on this work, confers so much honour, and is so gratifying to the editor". [MacKay 1838: preface].

Unfortunately it is impossible to tell whether the Society's patronage took a financial form (for the relevant minutes are now lost), or whether it involved purely practical help with editing, printing, publishing and so on. It is almost inconceivable that Angus, as a young man of fairly modest background, could have tackled the sheer logistics of such a lavish publication without help. It is quite likely, in fact, that his own contribution was confined to the music, and to providing the piping lore and background information which featured in the literary section. That he probably had little involvement in the editorial work is suggested by the rather large number of music misprints, which he would surely have rectified if given the opportunity. It has already been suggested that even the choice of tunes was vetted by the Society, and its influence is perhaps also to be discerned in the choice of a London printer and engraver (Molinari, 191 The Strand). In all, the format of the work probably had a good deal to do with the wishes of the London Society. The music, however, was undeniably the work of Angus MacKay.

Later Collections

The publication of the Ancient Piobaireachd was by no means the end of MacKay's collecting activities. In 1843 he updated and expanded William MacKay's collection of

light music (first published in 1840) to form his own Piper's Assistant, containing 155 tunes and a useful tutor [MacKay A: 1843]; and between 1849 and his death he compiled two manuscript volumes of light music, containing more than 500 tunes. [NLS MS 3755, 6]. These volumes represent an advanced draft, for the tunes are categorized by type, and are fully gracenoted and neatly written. Angus himself was at the forefront of the new-style competition music involving technically-demanding 2/4 marches, strathspeys and reels, and some of his own compositions are still widely favoured, such as The Glengarry Gathering and The Balmoral Highlanders (both marches). These volumes contain many other specimens of this genre (in The Breadalbane Fencible's Quickstep [3756: 27], for instance, we recognise a prototype two-parted version of The Highland Wedding), as well as several tunes from the MacKay family repertoire, such as John MacKay's Great Reel, and John MacKay's Farewell to Raasay. [3756: 36, 177]. (For further appraisal of MacKay's involvement with light music see Campbell A. 1950 (c): 5-7).

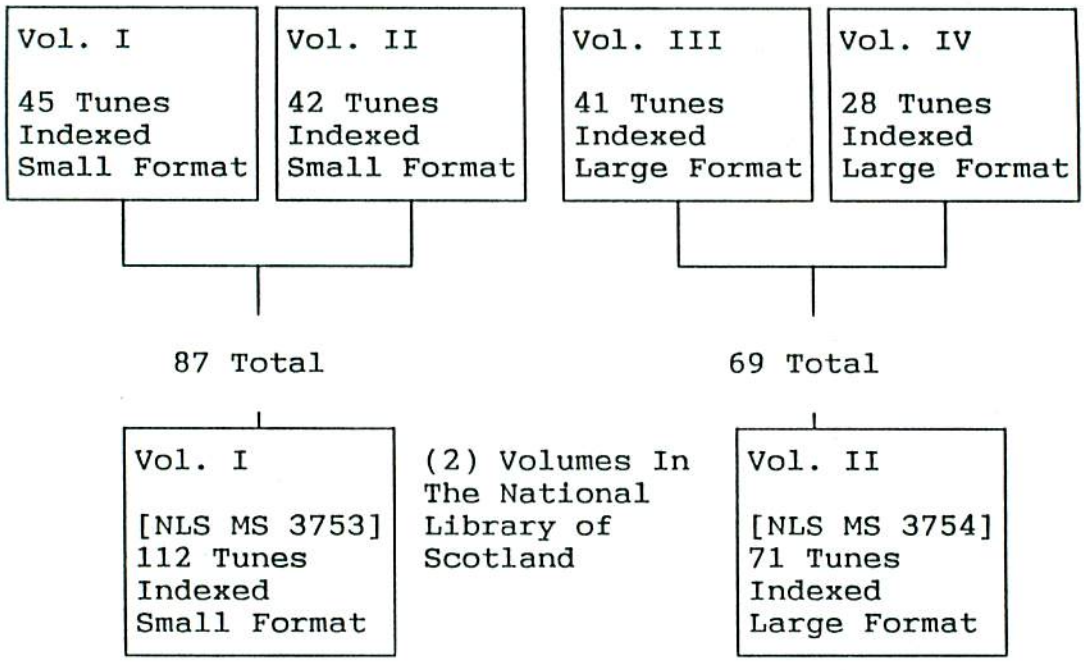
Of even more significance were two manuscript volumes of pibroch, comprising 183 tunes (4 repeated), which according to MacKay himself were compiled between 1826 and 1840 [MacKay MS 3744: front page]. The index pages of these volumes, which are now in the National Library of Scotland [MSS 3753, 4], are watermarked 1839 and 1840 respectively, and the indications are that these, too, were neat copies, meticulously written-out for publication.

Only one tune in the manuscript volumes was duplicated in the published collection.

Angus' manuscript collection was certainly completed by July 1841 when, in response to an advertisement for notation awards, he appeared at the Edinburgh competition with no fewer than four volumes of pibroch, containing 156 tunes. J.G. Dalyell, as senior member of the HSS music committee, was appointed to examine these volumes, and fortunately for us he kept detailed notes on their contents. [Dalyell Gen 374D: 19, 20; HSSPMB: 151-3]. On first sight it would appear that the four volumes brought to the 1841 competition do not correspond with the two volumes of pibroch currently on deposit in the National Library of Scotland. It is indeed possible that these four volumes represent material which is now lost - perhaps an early draft of the pibrochs. On the other hand, the extant volumes are distinguished by the fact that Vol. I [Ms 3753] is of smaller format than Vol. II [Ms 3754]. Coincidentally, of the four volumes described by Dalyell, the first two were of smaller format than the second two. We might therefore postulate a later re-binding of the volumes, with the addition of a few extra tunes to each, in the following fashion:

TABLE IV/(12) The Pibroch Collections of Angus MacKay

(1) Volumes Described by J.G. Dalyell, 1841 [Gen. 374D: 19, 20]



In all other respects, Dalyell's description of the volumes strongly suggests that they contained the same matter as the extant volumes. He remarked that the majority of tunes were unpublished; that they were all written in "good, plain, distinct notation"; and that there was "frequent reference to a manuscript collection in the possession of the Highland Society of London". [Gen 374D: 19]. In November 1841 MacKay offered to sell these four volumes to the HSS. J.G. Dalyell, on behalf of the Society, declined the offer in the belief that

> "MacKay has made a selection of the best music for the collection he published ... Much of the contents of these volumes may be of secondary matter." [Dalyell, ibid.].

With this extraordinary oversight the HSS lost the opportunity of acquiring the largest collection of notated pibroch then in existence.

Later History of MacKay's Manuscripts

On his death Angus had six manuscripts in his possession, and their subsequent history has been ably summarised by Archibald Campbell [1950(b): 9] as follows:

(1) The two pibroch manuscripts and two light music manuscripts which Angus himself compiled were sold by his widow to Michael MacCarfrae (1810-1876), a former pupil of MacKay's, who was piper to the Duke of Hamilton at Brodick Castle in Arran. These were bequeathed by MacCarfrae to the Duke of Hamilton, who had them bound in green leather, and stamped in gold. For a time they were thought lost, but were rediscovered in the Duke's house in Easton Park, Suffolk, in 1919, and returned to Brodick Castle. They are now on deposit in the NLS [MSS 3753-6].

(2) The HSL or MacArthur manuscript was also sold to Michael MacCarfrae, but stayed in the possession of his family at Boggarie in Arran, until procured from his daughter by Dr. Charles Bannatyne in August 1904. It was bought from Bannatyne's estate by the

Piobaireachd Society, and is now on deposit in the NLS. [MS 1679].

(3) A final manuscript in Angus' possession was one he inherited from his brother John, on his death in 1848. It contains 62 pibrochs, generally sketchily notated, and was described by Angus as "a collection of my father's tunes". The notation is apparently by John, Angus' brother, but has been amended by a later hand (thought to be Dr. Bannatyne's). The Piobaireachd Society considers that this has considerably devalued the manuscript. Also in the manuscript are the 54 "Specimens of Canntaireachd" written by Angus. This manuscript shared the same fate as (2) above, but has not been deposited in the NLS.

One other manuscript in MacKay's hand is extant. This is known as the Seaforth Manuscript, and was written by Angus in 1854 for the personal use of Donald Cameron, piper to MacKenzie of Seaforth. It includes 22 tunes (11 pibrochs) taken "from the original MSS in his possession". It is now on deposit in the NLS [MS 3744].

(f) The Notation Styles of Donald MacDonald and Angus Mackay

In order to give a clearer picture of the contrasts and similarities in notation between MacDonald and MacKay, the following pages will examine the tune Bodaich Na'm Briogais in some depth. The tune selected is a straightforward tune of "tertiary A" construction [vide MacNeill 1968: 66], incorporating only "closed" rhythmic variations of Taorluath and Crunluath (with doubling) and Crunluath a mach. The ground is of 16 bars in 4 lines: the first line is repeated; the third line is essentially repeated with an alternate two-bar end phrase to signal the conclusion of the theme.

Tune Background

Bodaich Na'm Briogais is possibly the most published of pibrochs. It appears in all the major collections with the exception of Ross (1869), and was one of only three tunes published by both MacDonald and MacKay. As Table IV/(13) indicates, the melody also has wide currency in the song repertory, in association with the traditional Gaelic song A Mhnathan a' Ghlinne - So. This is a song of warning, traditionally associated with the Massacre of Glencoe (1692), although the lyric actually warns against the activities of a noted cattle lifter, sometimes

identified as "Iain Dubh Biorach", sometimes as "Seumas an Tuim". (Appendix IX provides a textual comparison of lyric sources: all are compatible in broad content). Both Iain Dubh Biorach (a Lochaber man) and Seumas an Tuim (James Grant of Carron) were lifters who operated in the Spey Valley in the mid seventeenth century, a time when unneighbourly violence was commonplace. ["Speach" 1842: 182; Shaw A.M. 1880: 319; Scott J.E. 1986(b): 23]. In the 1890's the lyric was remodelled by Neil MacLeod to specifically encompass the theme of the Massacre of Glencoe [Table IV/13/iv]. Both the traditional and modern lyric are frequently sung, and are a popular feature of Gaelic choral performances. In 1790 Burns appropriated the tune to his song Merry Hae I Been Teething a Heckle (an allusion to his former occupation as a flex-dresser), while it was also used for settings of Scott's Hail To The Chief [Table IV/13/v].

The earliest instrumental setting of the tune is to be found in Dow's Collection of Ancient Scots Music (c.1778), where it goes by the title Lord Bradalban's March or Boddich na Mbrigs. There is every indication that Dow (a Perthshire musician resident in Edinburgh [Baptie 1894: 46]) notated his music from the performance of an actual piper. His collection contains no fewer than five pibrochs(1), and although notated for keyboard, these show a good understanding of pibroch structure. A comparison between Dow's notation of the ground and Donald MacDonald's is presented in Appendix X (along with two vocal settings

which show a high degree of compatibility with the pibroch).

The title used by Dow is of interest. This tune bore a dual title in much the same way as Glengarry's March was known as "Gillechrist", MacLachlan's March as "Moladh Mairi", The Earl of Ross's March as "Ceann na Daise", and so on. It was a specific clan tune associated with the Campbells of Breadalbane (a feature confirmed in all the early pipe sources, including the Campbell Canntaireachd), but which also bore a "nickname" (Bodaich Na'm Briogais) linked with a particular incident in the clan's history. The incident in question was the raid led by John Campbell of Glenorchy in June 1680 into the Sinclair territory of Caithness. Campbell, through some characteristic double-dealing, had obtained a legal charter to the Earldom of Caithness, and marched thence to enforce his claim. He was met at Allt-nam-Meirleach near Wick by George Sinclair of Keiss, the rightful heir. The Sinclairs were thoroughly routed, and as they turned, were mocked by the Campbell taunt "Tha bodaich na'm briogais a nise ga'r fàgail", (the men with the breeks are now fleeing, an allusion to the fact that the Sinclair gentry, mounted on horseback, wore breeks rather than the breacan). [Stewart D. 1822: 327; MacKay 1838: 5; Highlander 24/3/1877; Whyte 1894: 169](17) Although Glenorchy won the short term victory, in 1681 he renounced his claim to Caithness, and was created instead 1st Earl of Breadalbane. [Douglas Peerage I:298].

In his published version of the tune MacKay printed the words "Tha Bodaich na'm brigan ... a nise ga'r fàgail" under the first line of music. [1838: 5]. It is likely that this represented a sort of piper's mnemonic, and there is no indication that this lyric progressed beyond a single line. MacKay published five other examples of lyrics associated with well-known tunes(18), and there are many more be found in Henry Whyte's historical notes to the Glen collection. [Whyte 1899]. These piper's rhymes rarely amount to more than a simple ditty, and where structured verse is found in association with pibroch, there is a good chance that a nineteenth century editorial hand has been at work. A well-known example is "Thoir dhomh mo phìob is theid mi dhachaidh", a song originally set to the pibroch Cumha Ruaridh Mhoir, which can be traced with some confidence to the creative pen of the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod. [Vide Cuairtear Nan Gleann (1840): 134-7]. Another of the Rev. MacLeod's more imaginative offerings was Cha Till MacCruimein, a song now widely supposed to be an authentic product of the oral tradition, but which Blankenhorn [1978: 44-67] has shown to be nothing other than a translation into Gaelic of Scott's MacKrimmon's Lament (first published by Alexander Campbell in 1818). Fortunately Bodaich na'm Briogais escaped this sort of lyrical amendment, possibly because there was already a well-known song associated with the tune.

The rather stilted English title The Carles with the Breeks was published and popularised by Angus MacKay in

1838 (the title did not feature in the competition records prior to that time), and has superseded the older title Lord Breadalbane's March. [Table IV/(13)/I]. Several Ceòl Beag versions of the tune have been published [Table IV/(13)/III], and Alexander Cameron's title "The Women of the Glen" reflects the association of the melody with the song Mhnathan a' Ghlinne-so. A further link between pipe and song traditions is seen in the reputed playing of the pipe tune at the Massacre of Glencoe, when Glenorchy's piper is said to have attempted to warn the MacIains of their imminent danger by playing the tune. [Whyte, 1904: 54]. There are obvious parallels in this with the most famous of all the warning tunes, The Piper's Warning to His Master. [vide Haddow 1982: 38-50].

Table IV/13

BODAICH NA'M BRIOGAIS: SOURCES

I THE PIBROCH

(1) Campbell Canntaireachd [1797 I:42] Lord Breadalbin's Gathering.

(2) Donald MacDonald [1820:102] Bodaich Na'm Brigis. Lord Breadalbane's March.

(3) Angus Mackay [1838:5] Bodaich Na'm Brigais. The Carles With the Breeks. (Lord Breadalbane's March)

(4) Donald MacPhee [1879 II:17] Bodaich Na'm Briogais. The Carles With the Breeks. (Lord Breadalbane's March)

(5) David Glen [1880:45] The Carles with the Breeks (Lord Breadalbane's March) Bodaich Na'm Briogais.

(6) CS Thomason [1900:45] The Carles Wi' The Breeks. Bodaich nam Briogean.

(7) A Campbell [1948:49] Bodaich Nam Briogais. The Carles With The Breeks.

(8) Piobaireachd Society [PS 233] Bodaich Nam Briogais. The Carles With The Breeks.

(9) Roderick Ross [1978:VI:38] The Carles With The Breeks.

II THE PIBROCH ARRANGED FOR KEYBOARD/VIOLIN

(1) Daniel Dow [c1778:32] Lord Bradalban's March or Boddich Na Mbrigs.

(2) Angus Fraser [1854] The Churls With the Breeks. Lord Breadalban's March.

(3) KN MacDonald [1895:60] Bodaich Nam Brigis. The Carle With The Breeks.

III CEÒL BEAG VERSIONS FOR BAGPIPE

(1) John McLachlan [1854:30] Lord Breadalbane. Slow March. Arr. McLachlan.

(2) A&J Campbell [1909:15] Bodaich Nam Briogais. Slow March. Arr. Campbell.

(3) GS McLennan [1929:14] The Women of The Glen. Slow March. Arr. A Cameron.

(4) Seaforth Highlanders [1936:39] The Carles Wi' The Breeks. Slow March.

(5) Angus Mackay [MS 3756:277] Breadalbane's March. Draft of $\frac{6}{8}$ quickstep.

IV GAELIC SONGS: (a) MHNATHAN A' GHLINNE-SO (Traditional)

(1) "Speach" in Cuairtear Nan Gleann [III (Sept 1842):182] Lyric only.

(2) C Stewart The Killin Collection [1884:43].

(3) Henry Whyte Celtic Monthly [3 (1894):169.] [Also in Whyte 1904:54].

(4) S Given Clàrsach a Ghlinne. [Glasgow 1925:36].

(5) HM Campbell Orain Na Clarsaich [London 1933].

(6) An Comunn Gaidhealach Coisir a Mhòid III [Glasgow 1935:13].

(7) School of Scottish Studies 6 Field Recordings, 1953-68. Including Nan MacKinnon [SA 1956/86].

GAELIC SONGS. (b) MHUINNTIR A' GHLINNE-SO (Lyric by N MacLeod c1890)

(1) A' choisir-chiuil [Glasgow 1894:50].

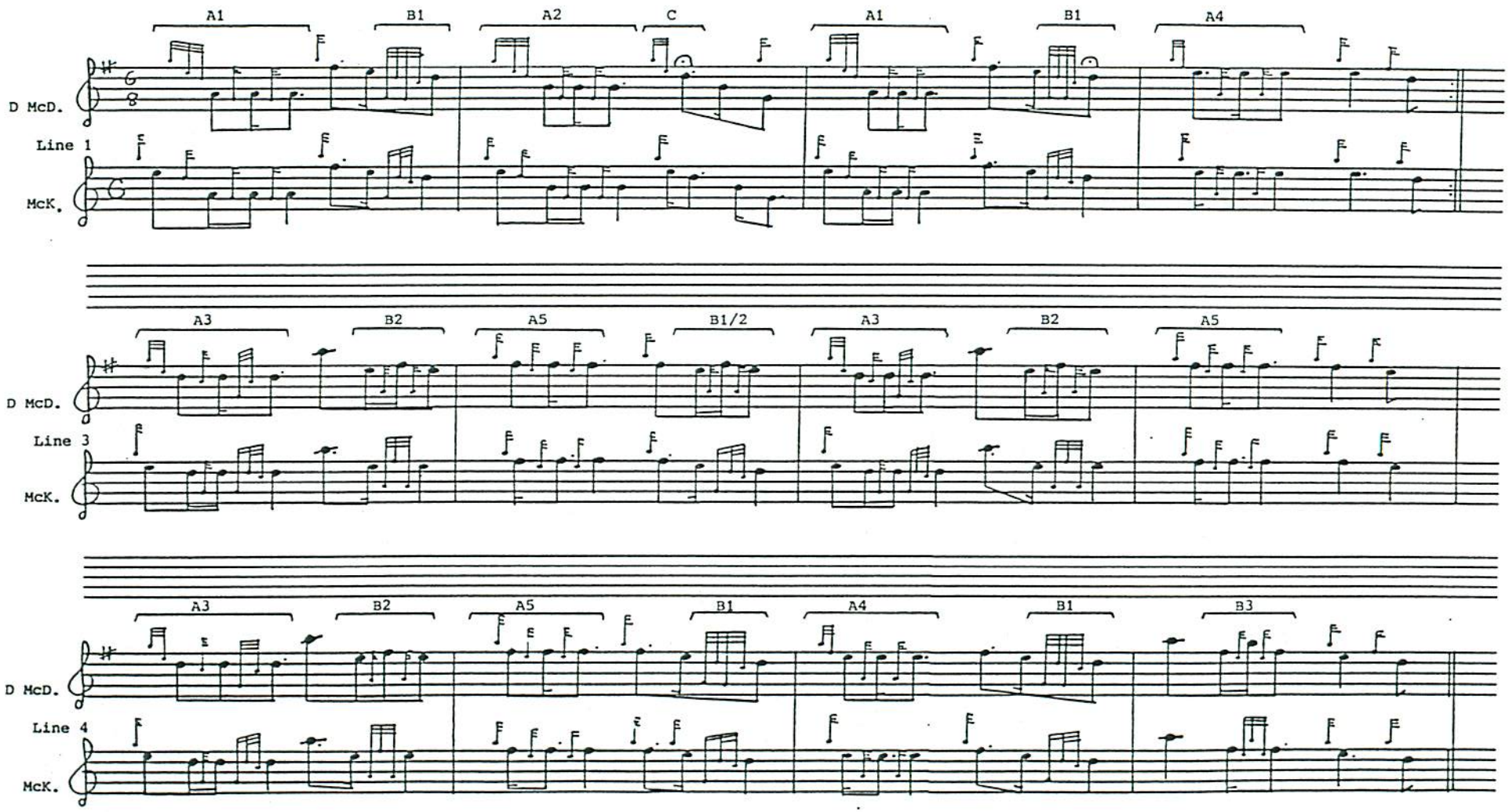
(2) An Comunn Gaidhealach Coisir a Mhòid II [Glasgow 1926:7].

(3) M MacFarlane The Blackbird [Glasgow nd I:24].

V ENGLISH SONGS

(1) Robert Burns "Merry Hae I Been Teething a Heckle." 1st published in J Johnson The Scots Musical Museum [III Feb 1790:279]

(2) Walter Scott "Hail To The Chief." (An extract from Lady of the Lake. Set to music several times eg. The Lyric Gems of Scotland [Glasgow 1856:52]).

Fig. A. BODAICH NA'M BRIOGAIS. Comparison Between Donald MacDonald [1820:102] and Angus Mackay [1838:5]. (Key overleaf)

(1) Key To Fig. A

A1	Echo Beat on	A	B1	Throw on	D
A2	" "	B	B2	" "	E
A3	" "	D	B2	" "	F
A4	" "	E			
A5	" "	F	C	Introduction to Plain D	

Note that Mackay writes no Key signature. A Key of two sharps should be assumed for all music examples.

(2) General Abbreviations for Music Figures

1. J. McD. Joseph MacDonald. Compleat Theory (1760)
2. D. McD. Donald MacDonald. Collection of Ancient Martial Music (1820)
3. A. McA. Angus MacArthur. HSL MS (1820)
4. A. McK. Angus Mackay. Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd (1838)
5. P.S. Piobaireachd Society.

Fig. B1. INTRODUCTIONS TO PLAIN MELODY NOTES

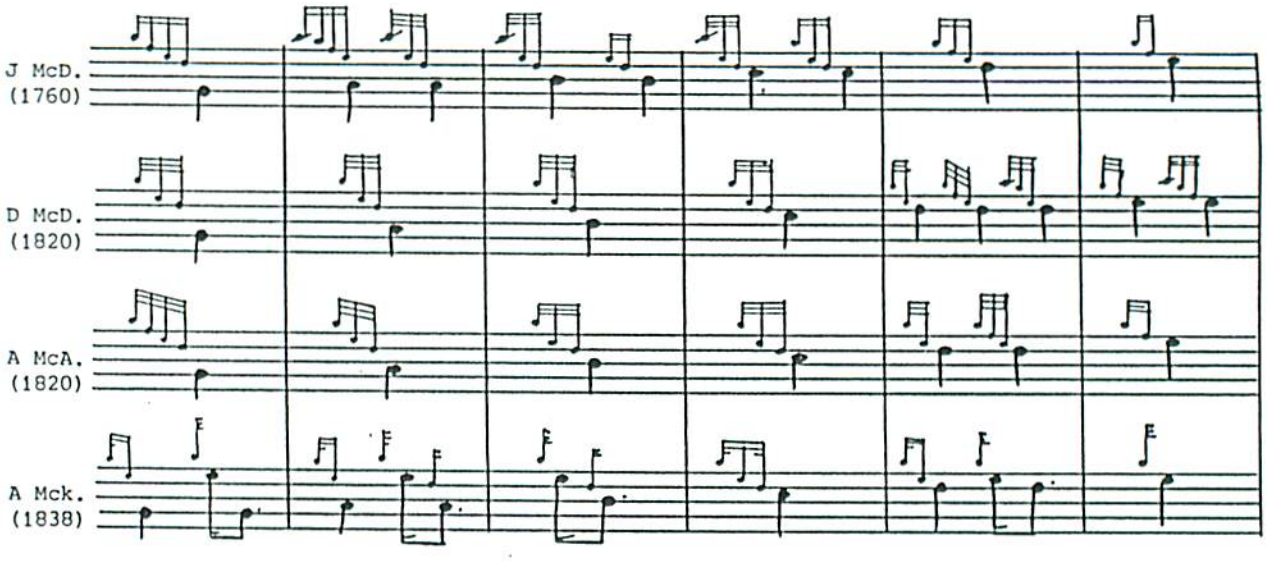
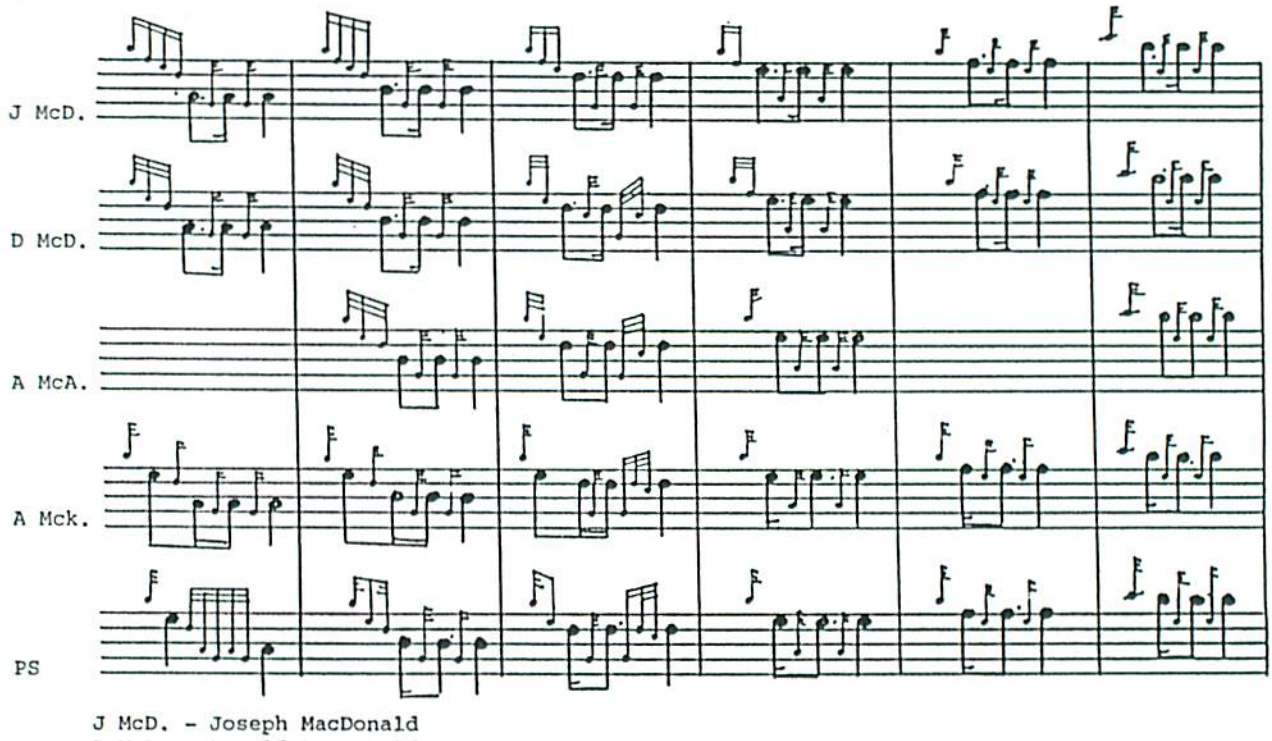


Fig. B2. INTRODUCTIONS TO ECHO BEATS



J McD. - Joseph MacDonald
D McD. - Donald MacDonald
A McA. - Angus MacArthur
A Mck. - Angus Mackay
PS - Piobaireachd Society

The Ground: Introductions or Cadence E's (Figs. B1 and B2)

It is in the notation of the introductions that MacDonald and MacKay exhibit the greatest disparity, and which to this day proves one of the most controversial aspects of pibroch playing. As the name implies, introductions are not part of the melody, but are rather ornamental graces designed to give emphasis to the adjacent melody note. The device is usually used as an anacrusis at the very start of a line or measure, or at emphatic points in the ground structure, such as at the start of the concluding phrase. The effect is one of falling from a high gracenote, or run of gracenotes, onto a lower melody note.

Nowadays these introductions are vigorously prescribed and played as written. In Joseph MacDonald's time (1760), however, it appears that there was some flexibility in their use. He did not notate them in his music specimens, and indeed suggested that the piper, once fully trained, "was judge where to dispose these cuttings properly". [MacDonald J. 1760: 23]. Similarly, the Campbell Canntaireachd (1797), our earliest major pibroch collection, is very sparing in its use of introductions. This suggests that either the notator himself played them infrequently, or else that their use was optional, and the piper could apply them at his own discretion.

MacDonald and MacKay differ in two respects in the use of introductions: in the rhythmic notation of the

movement; and in the frequency of use throughout the tune. Differences in rhythmic notation are quite clear in the ground of Bodaich Na'm Briogais, where the introductions are used principally in conjunction with the echo beats (Fig. A.: A1-5), and in one instance, onto the plain melody note of the movement "Haroem" (Fig. A: C). For ease of comparison Figs. B1 and B2 provide a table of introductions as used in major early sources. From this information it is evident that:

1. Donald MacDonald and MacArthur write all their introductory gracenotes of equal value, as demi-semi-quavers.
2. The application of introductions to echo beats (Fig. B2) by MacDonald and other pre-MacKay sources follows a logical pattern. Introductions to A and B involve a three-gracenote sequence (or in the case of Joseph MacDonald, a four-gracenote sequence); introductions to D and E involve a two-gracenote sequence (with the exception of MacArthur's E echo beat); and introductions to F and G involve a single gracenote. The effect, particularly onto the lower notes, and particularly exemplified by Joseph MacDonald, is of a rapid tumble of gracenotes onto the principal melody note.

3. MacKay differs from earlier sources in two respects: all introductions to E are reduced to a single

gracenote (e.g. Fig. A: A4), hence breaking the pattern evinced in earlier sources; introductions to Low G, A, B and D are generally notated with the middle E gracenote as a melody note. When applied to the echo beats (Fig. B2) this has the effect of lengthening the introductory E (written as a quaver) at the expense of the adjacent melody note (now a semi-quaver). When applied to other notes, the introductory E is still generally notated as a melody note, but is less emphatic than the adjacent root melody note (e.g. Fig.A: C). It is this emphatic use of the E introduction which explains the modern term "E Cadence".

We must assume that this usage arose from a genuine difference in playing style between MacKay and earlier sources - that MacKay did in fact play pronounced introductory Es. Whether the difference was as pronounced as it appears on paper, however, is open to question. On the one hand MacDonald and other early sources did not differentiate between different gracenote values; on the other hand MacKay was highly prescriptive in his gracenoting, and went to great lengths to distinguish between gracenote values. The polarity of these two approaches must have tended to exaggerate differences (on paper), which in reality were perhaps less pronounced.

Donald MacDonald was the first to apply the term "appogiatura", a loan-word from the European classical tradition, to the Cadence E introductions. [1820: 4, Ex.5]. Cooke has demonstrated that this term, even in the classical context, varied in precise meaning and application over the years, but an essential element of the long appogiatura was the creation of a momentary discord (by playing a note usually one step above the melody note) which then resolved into the melody note. [Cooke 1979]. Although MacDonald used the term, he gave no indication that the conventions applicable to the long approgiatura (namely that it borrowed a quarter to two-thirds the value of the subsequent melody note), were applicable to his music. MacKay, on the other hand, not only made use of these conventions, but actually wrote the long appogiaturas as they would be sounded, thus transfiguring the E gracenote into a melody note. The question is, did MacKay really intend the introductory E to be sounded as emphatically as his notation suggests? And was the use of this convention, in any case, appropriate, given that the E does not sound a discord, but instead a rather pleasant concord (of a fifth) with the drones in A?

The evidence of the Eliza Ross manuscript tends to suggest that MacKay's notation was indeed over-emphatic. This manuscript, notated in Raasay in 1812, includes five pibrochs which Eliza almost certainly took from the playing of Angus' father, John. [E.J. Ross: 1812]. Although she

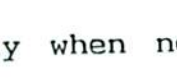
notated for keyboard, and hence did not accurately portray the pipe gracings, it is clear that she treated these introductory Es as anacruses, lying before the beat of the melody note. As an example, Fig. D2 compares her notation of the first bar of The MacLeod's Salute with Angus'. Her treatment of the introductory E as an anacrusis is particularly evident in the second half of this bar.

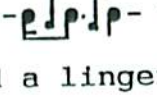
4. Modern notation of the E cadence is influenced primarily by MacKay's style of notation. This is particularly evident in the introductions to the B and D echo beats (Fig. B2), where the E is given a quaver value (although notated as a gracenote rather than as a melody note) at the expense of the adjacent melody note which is reduced to a semi-quaver. The A echo beat is a special case: modern notation has taken MacKay's example a step further, and has transformed the E introduction into a full beat, of equal value to the remainder of the movement. The two initial melody notes are both written as gracenotes, and the full weight of the movement falls on the final A. This is many stages removed from the movement notated by MacDonald, and of course is inconsistent with the other echo beats, whether notated in the style favoured by MacDonald, or MacKay.

A final disparity between MacDonald and MacKay lies in MacDonald's frequent use of these formulaic openings, where

MacKay uses them much more sparingly and systematically. MacDonald was apt to use them at any emphatic point in the ground, as for instance demonstrated in The Rout of Glenfruin (Fig. D1, note especially Bar 5), and also at the start of each variation, as an introductory anacrusis. (This was the case with Bodaich Na'm Briogais.) This is just one area in which MacDonald demonstrates variety, where MacKay opts for a more structured approach.

Echo Beats (Fig. B2)

The echo beat was a device for separating out three consecutive notes of equal pitch, by the interpolation of gracenotes of lower pitch. The term was an apt one, particularly when notated  , which was the style favoured by MacDonald and other early sources, (Fig. A: A1-5; Fig. B2). The effect was of two evenly-paced beats on the melody note, for which it was important that the intermediate gracenotes should be sounded rapidly. Joseph MacDonald (who termed these "Na Crahinin") insisted that the graces "must be so quick and light that they cannot be said to be sounded, but only beat upon". [1760: 4].

MacKay favoured a thoroughly different rhythmic notation -  - which gives the effect of a brisk initial beat, and a lingering second beat, further emphasised by a heavy second gracenote (a semi-quaver).

The two exceptional echo beats were the beat on A

(which we have already discussed) and the beat on D, which Joseph MacDonald considered "the finest beat of the whole". [1760: 3]. It is evident that Joseph's notation of the D echo, with two simple strikes to G, was more consistent with the other echo beats than was the normal procedure of interjecting a throw on D to the second beat. In his description of this movement, however, Joseph stipulated that on the second beat, the forefinger of the lower hand "casts off the two middle fingers", which sounds precisely like the movement actually notated by Donald MacDonald and MacArthur - a light throw to D touching briefly on C. Donald MacDonald demonstrated a subtle touch in the notation of this movement, writing the first strike to C (rather than to G) to complement the light throw on the second strike. MacKay, by contrast, notated a much heavier movement, with an initial G strike, and a full D throw on the second strike. The light D throw here used by MacDonald was one gracenote combination which MacKay eliminated from the arsenal of possible movements - presumably in the interests of simplicity. The Piobaireachd Society follows MacKay's rhythmic notation of the echo beats.

Throws (Fig. C)

Although the throw is a vital ingredient of any pibroch, none of the early sources, strangely, had a term for it. Joseph MacDonald perhaps came closest in noting

that the fingers "cast off each other", and that each movement starts "from the little finger or lowest note". [1760: 7].

As Fig. C demonstrates, the major point of difference between early sources lies in the notation of the throw to D, which MacDonald made heavier than the others by using two low G gracenotes. MacKay emphasised the G sound by notating the G gracenote as a semi-quaver, and this is the style now advocated by the Piobaireachd Society (although in reality many pipers still play the heavier movement preferred by MacDonald).

The throw to E is familiar to us as the major constituent of the Crunluath movement, and indeed Joseph MacDonald referred to the throw itself as the "creanludh", and the movement as a whole as "tuludh agus creanludh", (which is an accurate description of its component parts). It is particularly noticeable that Donald MacDonald notated the middle note of both the E and F throws as a melody note, and this is a clear indication that he would have played the middle note emphatically, giving a rounded effect to the movement as a whole. An interesting feature of the throw to high G is MacKay's omission of the final E gracenote, which would certainly give a lighter feel to the movement. For once, the Piobaireachd Society opts for MacDonald's notation of the throw to high G.

Fig. C. THROWS

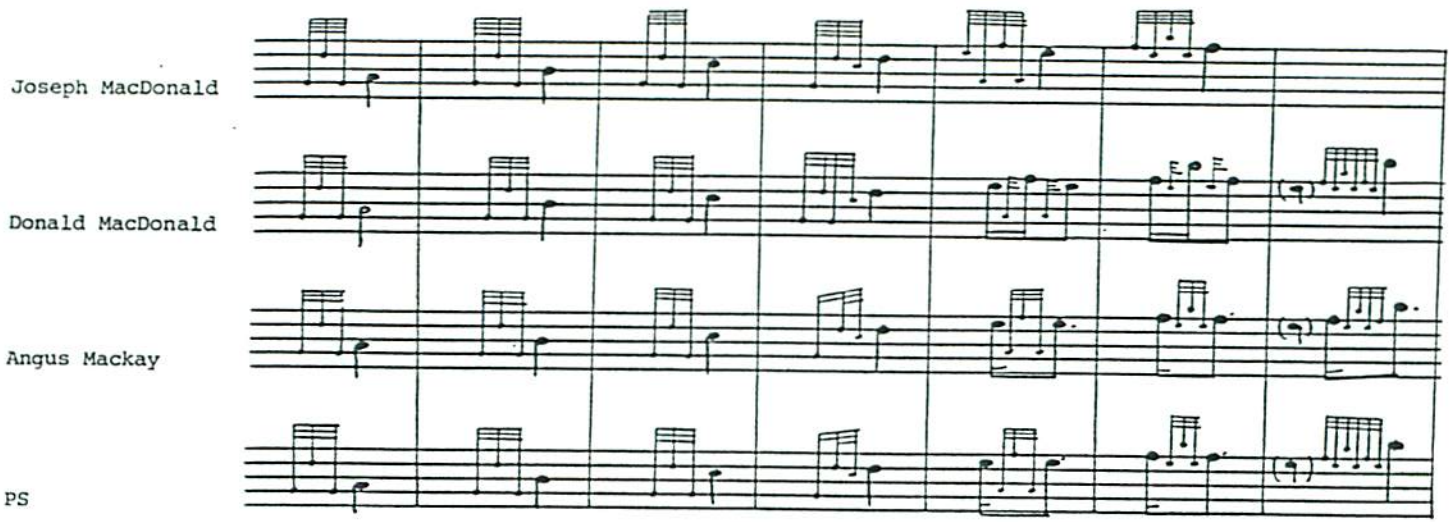



Fig. D1. THE ROUT OF GLENFRUIN (Line 1, Ground). Comparison Between MacDonald [1820:48] and Mackay [MS II:65]

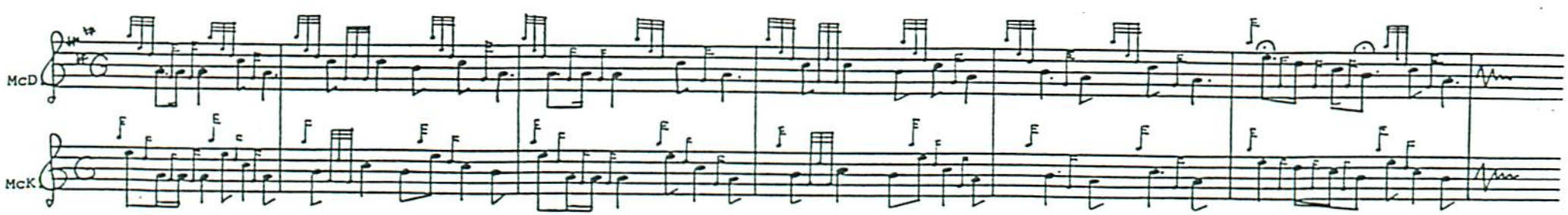



Fig. D2. MACLEOD'S SALUTE (Bar 1, Ground) Comparison between EJ Ross [1812] and A Mackay [1838:39]

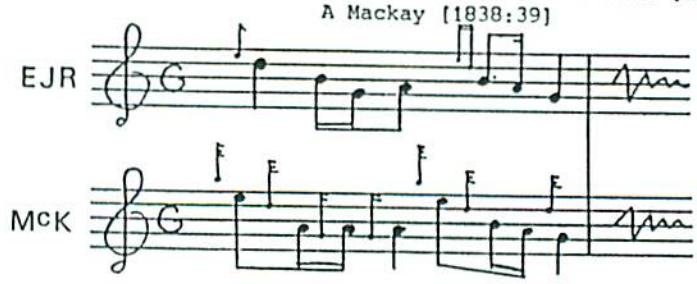



Fig. D3. MOLADH MAIRI (Bars 11, 12, Ground) Comparison between MacDonald [1820:73] and Mackay [MS I:67]

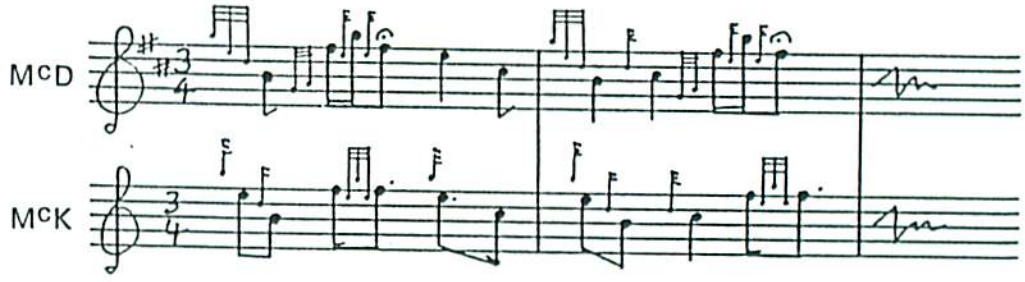



Fig. D4. GLENGARRY'S MARCH. Relationship between Siubhal and Fosgailte Variations. [D MacDonald 1820:30]

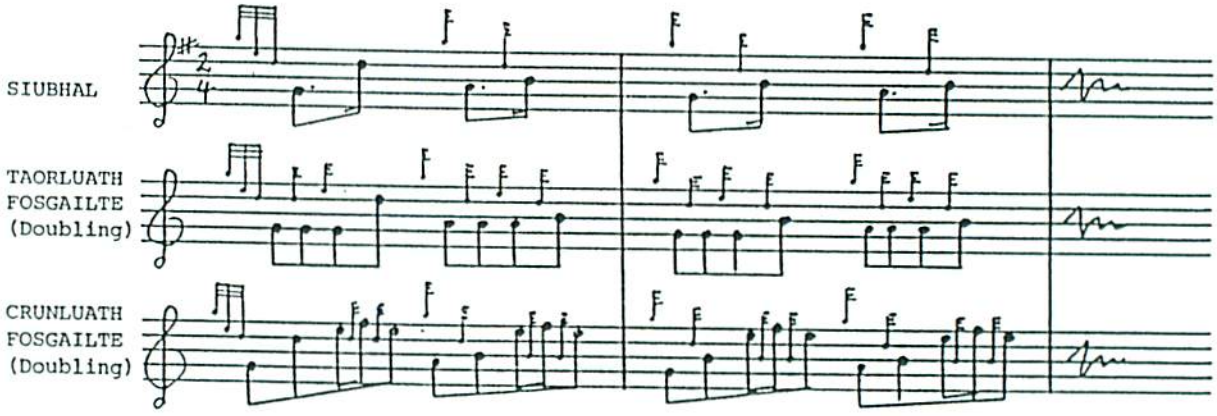


Fig. D5. A GHLAS MHEUR. Crunluath Singling (Bars 1-4) [D MacDonald 1820:10]

Other Graces

Besides the major gracenote formulae discussed, there are many other points in which the gracings used by MacDonald and MacKay diverge. In bar 4 of Bodaich Na'm Briogais, for instance, MacKay concludes the phrase with two G gracenotes (on E and D respectively), where MacDonald opts for a G gracenote, followed by an F gracenote. This is a combination rarely found in modern notation, and although a simple movement, would require some practice for the modern piper to play with comfort. A more substantial example is to be found in the ground of Moladh Mairi (Fig. D3), where MacDonald precedes his F throw with a small strike to low A. This creates a pleasant effect similar to the Breabach (a kick from low A), which MacKay does not incorporate into his notation scheme. Any tune would provide further similar examples of variety on MacDonald's part, uniformity on MacKay's. MacKay was determined to furnish a "fixed standard", and was consequently rigorously systematic in his notation. We are now heir to MacKay's notation system: what it lacks in variety, it makes up for in clarity, uniformity and ease of learning.

The Rhythmic Variations (Fig. E)

The so-called rhythmic variations constitute the Leumluath, Taorluath and Crunluath. They are aptly named

because they are indeed highly rhythmic, particularly in comparison with the ground which often has a very elusive pulse. In the case of Bodaich Na'm Briogais the rhythmic variations follow on immediately to the ground. In other tunes the ground may be followed by two or three melodic variations (the thumb variation, Siubhal or Dithis) which although of interest, vary little from source to source. The nomenclature for the variations has changed little over the years, and Appendix VII presents a synopsis of information on this question. No attempt has been made to explain the derivation of the various terms involved: this is a thorny question which deserves the attention of a Gaelic linguist. The modern spelling of these terms derives from MacKay.

Both Taorluath and Crunluath can be divided into sub-types: the plain or "closed" movement, which is the common form; the Breabach, which involves a "kick" from low A to a higher note; and two "open" movements, the Fosgailte and a Mach, so called because the bottom hand is kept open on the melody note while the movement is executed. Fortunately not all these movements are applied to every tune, and certain movements are mutually exclusive. The most common pattern, as demonstrated in Bodaich na'm Briogais, is for a plain Taorluath and Crunluath (each with doubling) to be followed by a Crunluath a Mach. Another major category, found in one in seven tunes, is for Taorluath and Crunluath to be played Fosgailte (with doubling), which only occurs after a Siubhal melodic

variation. A third category involves the playing of a Taorluath and Crunluath Breabach, which excludes the use of the Fosgailte and a Mach. The a Mach is rare in laments, but there are exceptions such as Patrick Og MacCrimmon's Lament. Other permutations are possible, such as the use of the Taorluath Fosgailte (tripling), followed by a plain Taorluath and Crunluath.

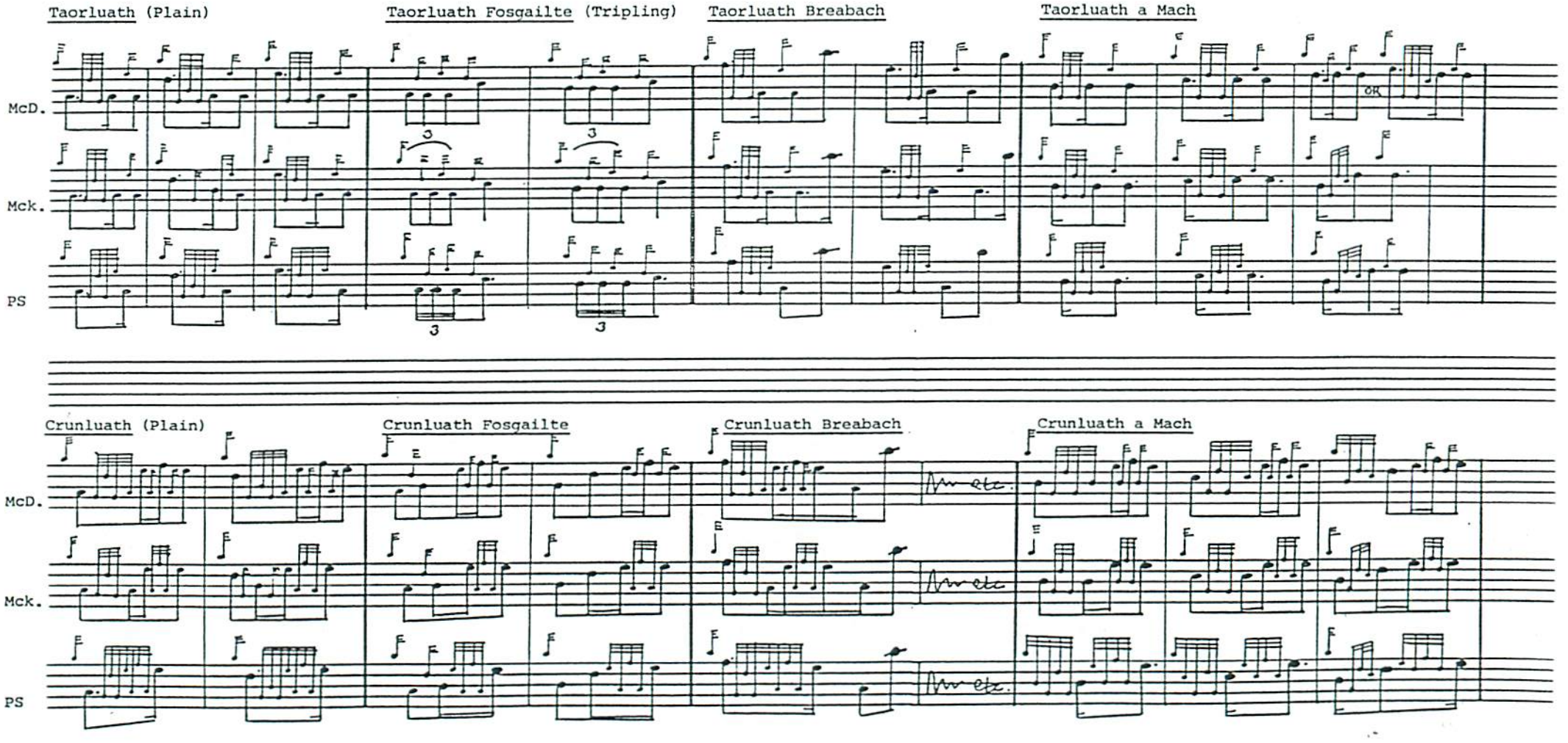
The Redundant A

In the case of the rhythmic variations disparities in notation lie not so much between MacDonald and MacKay (although there are small discrepancies, for instance in the rhythmic notation of the Taorluath a Mach), but rather between sources written prior to 1907, and those written after. 1907 marked the publication of John McLennan's collection of pibroch "as MacCrimmon played it" [McLennan 1907], when for the first time the middle A note of the Leumluath, Taorluath and Crunluath variations was entirely omitted. (A comparison between the modern notation in Fig. E, and the older forms, will make this quite clear). McLennan and after him the Piobaireachd Society, (a Society which had enormous influence on the playing style of competing pipers), decided that the middle A was redundant, presumably because it was inaudible in the style of playing which they advocated. This move occasioned a storm of protest from pipers at home and abroad who preferred the

style of playing which actually featured in all collections prior to McLennan's. The Oban Times, a newspaper with a keen piping interest, provided an open forum for this debate, and published contributions such as the following from the Scots-born Montana sheep farmer A.K. Cameron:

> "It is a great pity to see the Piobaireachd Society forcing bagpipe players to play ... notes as they are shown in their leaflets, and giving prizes to them for doing so" ... "I advise all bagpipe players to play these movements with the redundant A as they are written in all the standard works of pipe music." [Oban Times 21/11/1925; 13/3/1926; Pearson J. 1981: 130].

There was much more in similar vein, and to this day there are pipers such as George Moss, Kessock, who prefer the old style of playing with the middle A distinctly sounded. Moss maintains that in his youth (he was born in 1903) this style was the norm rather than the exception, and was used by his own teacher, Sandy Cameron, piper to Lochiel at Achnacarry. [Moss 1982: 3; PT May 1957]. The old style of playing gave a distinctly more rounded feel to the movements, and significantly Donald MacDonald actually referred to the Crunluath as the "round" movement. The effect was of a smooth rippling rather than the spectacular rattle of gracenotes which we now hear. The only point at which MacKay's notation approximated to the modern style was in his notation of the D Leumluath, Taorluath and Crunluath, in which it will be observed that he does omit the middle A. This was presumably for ease of fingering on what is one of the most difficult movements to perform,

Fig. E. TAORLUATH AND CRUNLUATH VARIATIONS. Comparison Between Donald MacDonald, Angus Mackay and Piobaireachd Society.

due to the use of a prominent B rather than a D gracenote.

The Taorluath and Crunluath Fosgailte

The Fosgailte is invariably used in conjunction with the Siubhal variation, and is based on the melody notes used in the Siubhal. To make this relationship clear, the opening bars of Glengarry's March, as played in Siubhal, Taorluath Fosgailte and Crunluath Fosgailte, are presented in Fig. D4.

The Taorluath Fosgailte is commonly known, for obvious reasons, as the "tripling", and occasionally as Taorluath Gearr (short Taorluath). The Crunluath Fosgailte was labelled by Joseph MacDonald "Siubhill Amach",

> "because in it the lower hand is almost Keep't open, and the upper hand executes most". [1760:16].

It was this feature which made the movement "open". Donald MacDonald's notation (Fig. E) confirmed both its relationship with the Siubhal, and the fact that the throw element was played with the bottom hand open. MacKay, however, failed to notate the movement with an open throw, but rather with a closed throw common to the plain Crunluath. (MacKay in fact was ambiguous on this point. Where in practice he used the closed throw, in the fingering scales at the beginning of his collection [1838: iii] he indicated an open throw of the sort used by MacDonald. This shows that he was familiar with the old

usage, but opted for a simpler notation in keeping with a standardised Crunluath fingering). The Piobaireachd Society has followed MacKay in using a closed throw, and hence in modern usage the movement is no longer truly played "Fosgailte", although the term is still applied to it.

The Taorluath and Crunluath Breabach

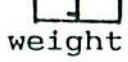
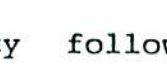
It is in the notation of the Taorluath Breabach that modern notation is seen at its least effective. The Breabach is a rare movement (there is only one example in MacDonald's 1820 collection), characterised by a standard closed Taorluath or Crunluath, followed by a rising two note sequence from low G or low A, to a higher note conforming to a root note in the ground. It is the "kick" from low A or G which gives rise to the Gaelic term "breabach".

As can be seen in Fig. E the Breabach can only be properly applied to the Taorluath movement when this incorporates two low A melody notes, for the second low A, besides being the closing note of the Taorluath, is also the opening note of the "breab". MacKay actually dots the second low A to provide the necessary accentuation to this "kick" note. In modern notation, where only one low A is sounded, the opening note of the Breabach is swallowed up into the Taorluath, and the true Breabach effect, of a

rising two note sequence, is lost. The Crunluath Breabach does not pose the same difficulties, since the Crunluath ends on an E, and does not obscure the opening note of the Breabach movement.

The Taorluath and Crunluath a Mach

The "a Mach" is again an open movement, played with the fingers of the lower hand held open on the melody note as the throw is executed. This criterion restricts the movement to the bottom hand notes of B, C and D.

In the Taorluath a Mach (Fig. E) MacDonald and MacKay show a different rhythmic emphasis, MacDonald putting the weight on the opening note as in the plain Taorluath (), while MacKay cuts the opening note and puts the weight on the second note (). The Piobaireachd Society follows MacKay in rhythmic notation, while continuing to omit the middle note of the movement as in the plain Taorluath. (The exception is on D, in which the middle note is distinctly sounded, preceded by a brisk throw). MacDonald demonstrates two interesting variants of the a Mach on D (one light, one heavy), neither of which are now played.

MacDonald's term for the Crunluath a Mach was "Clialudh" and he justifiably described this as "the quickest of all the runnings" [1820: 4]. MacDonald and MacKay concur in writing the movement evenly, attaching the

same weight to the opening melody note as to the final note of the throw. (The exception was MacDonald's a Mach on D, in which he cut the opening note, and played a light throw to the D). The Piobaireachd Society, as can be seen, adopts a totally different approach, thrusting the weight of the movement on to the final note of the throw. This produces a highly rhythmic effect, but obscures the main melody notes, and is a technique which players of the old school such as George Moss dislike. [Moss 1982: 20]. The notation adopted by MacDonald and MacKay has merit in giving due emphasis to the main melody notes, while still achieving the exciting rhythmic effect which is the hall-mark of the a Mach movement.

Other Movements

We know that Joseph MacDonald in 1760 described movements which by the early nineteenth century had fallen out of use. On page 10 of Donald MacDonald's 1820 collection we get a glimpse of another movement which did not survive Angus MacKay's standardisation. It was a Crunluath movement for the tune A Ghlas Mheur marked "very quick", and it commenced with two bars of Crunluaths on B. (Fig. D5). It was neither a Fosgailte nor an a Mach variation, yet the Crunluaths were played in the open style, with the bottom hand held open on B. This example is unique to staff notation (19), although Buisman has

discovered possible specimens of the same movement in the Campbell and Gesto Canntaireachd collections. [Buisman 1986(a); 1987(a, b).] It was clearly not a common movement. Its existence, however, was symptomatic of a variety which pervaded pibroch playing prior to MacKay's collection, and prior to the dissemination of a uniform style of playing throughout the piping world.

(g) The Enduring Influence of The MacKay School

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Angus MacKay had a far greater impact on modern notation style than did MacDonald. His influence is to be discerned in the notation of emphatic E cadences; in the rhythmic notation of the echo beats and the Taorluath a Mach; in the fingering of all throws other than the high G; and in the use of a closed throw on the Crunluath Fosgailte. MacDonald, by contrast, was only influential in the notation of the high G throw. Later influences, of course, are also to be discerned in modern notation style (particularly in the notation of the Leumluath, Taorluath and Crunluath movements), but MacKay's legacy is written large on modern pibroch playing.

MacKay's style predominated for several reasons, not least because his publication came at a time when pipers were finally reconciled to the use of staff notation, and turned to his work as the biggest, best and most up-to-date available. It also bore the authority of the Queen's piper, and the imprint of a respected style of playing - that of John MacKay.

There is ample evidence to show that the work made an immediate impact. Where MacDonald had struggled for sales, MacKay attracted a large list of subscribers, including nineteen professional pipers, who a few years earlier would probably have had little time for staff notation. A reprint was called for within a year [Cannon

1980: 130], and the competition records reveal several tunes which the publication appears to have popularised (such as MacKenzie of Applecross' Salute and MacKenzie of Gairloch's Lament, both compositions of the Gairloch MacKays [See Appendix IV]).

One useful indicator of MacKay's influence was the fact that when pipers came to copy tunes into their own manuscript collections, they almost invariably chose his settings. Copying pibrochs by hand was an important element in the study of the music, particularly amongst army pipers. This was in part to do with the fact that it was a good teaching device (for those keen to use staff notation); in part to do with the fact that for many pipers publications were prohibitively expensive. P/M Robert Meldrum, an army piper who also served at Drummond Castle in the late nineteenth century, recalled that

> "In my younger days publications were scarce and dear, and we did much MS work. Most of my MSS were from John Ban MacKenzie and Duncan Campbell." [Meldrum 1951(d)].

There are several early manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland and elsewhere which contain music directly derivative of MacKay. These include the Duncan Campbell MS [NLS 3746], Colin Cameron's MS [NLS 3745], Daniel Dow's MSS [NLS 3750-2], William Lamont's MS [PS I: iii], Ronald MacKenzie's MSS [NLS Acc. 8745], and the D.S. MacDonald MS [NLS 3110]. This latter was compiled by the successor to Michael MacCarfrae as piper to the Duke of Hamilton, and contains 64 tunes taken directly from

MacKay's MSS, drawn up for publication. By contrast the only extant MS of similar vintage which contains tunes notated in the MacDonald style, was P/M Ewen Henderson's collection of 28 tunes compiled in the mid-nineteenth century. This contains four pieces copied from MacDonald's publication, while the remainder appear representative of the Cameron style of playing. [PS I: iii; PS: 269].

Undoubtedly one reason why the MacKay style came to predominate was that so many of the very best players of the mid to late-nineteenth century were taught by John MacKay or his pupils,which ensured that this style of playing was widely disseminated. Where Donald MacDonald had pupils, few made a lasting impact. Where the MacGregors of Fortingall and others such as Donald Fisher, (a veteran of the Breadalbane estate whose teaching services were recognised in 1815 [HSL 268, 26: 118]), were once a major influence, by the mid 1820s they were scarcely heard of. The picture which emerges is of a tight-knit community of pipers on the major estates in central Perthshire (and beyond), who taught and played pibroch in the style advocated by John MacKay. In Perthshire this included the Drummond estate (where the MacKays were based), Breadalbane (where John Ban MacKenzie was head piper) and Abercairney (where Roderick MacKay and James MacKenzie worked). There were also outliers, particularly in Easter Ross where John Ban MacKenzie had an enduring influence. A particularly good example was the estate of

Duncan Davidson of Tulloch (near Strathpeffer), where between 1821 and 1835 there was a succession of pipers which included John Ban MacKenzie, Angus MacKay, John MacAllister, James MacKenzie and Robert Murchison. [Competition Records]. James MacKenzie also served on the Abercairney estate, and I believe might have been a relative of John Ban's. John MacAllister (1820-1886) was almost certainly a pupil of the MacKay's, for at the 1844 competition (at which he was placed second), he included in his list of tunes Millbank's Salute. This was one of John MacKay's compositions (written in 1821 for MacKenzie of Millbank), but it had not been published by Angus in his 1838 collection. MacAllister, therefore, could only have learnt the tune by direct teaching, or by manuscript. [Appendix V; MacKay A. MS I: 189].

The competition records, in fact, provide us with other revealing examples of MacKay influence. The tune now known as Scarce of Fishing, for instance, appears in the competition records in various guises (e.g. "Lochnell's Lament" and "O'Kelly's Lament"), but between 1838 and 1844 was entered exclusively by pipers with known MacKay connections (Donald Cameron, Duncan Campbell and John MacAllister) who used the same title as used by Angus MacKay in his manuscript collection - Scarce of Fishing, (Spiocaireachd Iasgaich) [I: 35]. Another interesting example was The Lament For The Union, entered only twelve times in the course of the competition. Of those who entered it, three distinct lines of allegiance are

discernable:

1. Alexander and Peter Bruce from Glenelg entered the tune in 1813 and 1838 respectively. The Bruces are known to have been influenced by Neil MacLeod of Gesto, who published the tune in Canntaireachd in 1828. [MacLeod N. 1828: 13].
2. James and Donald MacDonald, sons of Donald the pipe maker, entered the tune in 1822 and 1824 respectively. Donald Snr. recorded the tune in his 1826 MS. [190].
3. Donald MacKay, Angus MacKay, John Ban MacKenzie, Donald Cameron and John MacAllister all entered the tune between 1821 and 1844. Angus MacKay recorded the tune in his MS [II: 86].

The HSL clearly approved of and supported the MacKay style of playing and teaching. The late 1830's was a particularly important time in this respect, for not only did the Society employ Donald MacKay as their piper, provide old John with a pension (1837), and assist in the publication of Angus' collection (1838), but it also actively attempted to establish Donald as a pipe teacher in London. In 1836 it decided to set aside £10 per annum to support this venture, but in failing to get assistance from the HSS, the scheme lapsed. [HSS Sd. Bk. 14: 279]. Significantly, in the following year Angus too was reported to be interested in establishing a piping school, which might have been part of the same initiative. [Campbell J.F. 1880: 4].

The likelihood is that the MacKays promoted the use of notated music in their teaching (for long an objective of the Highland Societies). A good example of this was the case of John MacLeod, a young Skyeman who in the 1840's was resident in Edinburgh working as a tailor. In 1841 he attained the position of piper to the Celtic Society on the recommendation of his teacher, Angus MacKay, who gave him "a very favourable certificate". [R.C.S. II: 306,7]. MacLeod competed in 1841 and 1844, and in both years was given awards for producing notated pipe music - which we must assume to be the product of MacKay's teaching. [Dalyell Gen 374D: 19]. John Ban MacKenzie, who was himself accredited with forty pupils, is on record as having made use of notated pipe music [Meldrum 1951(d); MacLean J. SA 1968/250/A1], while the manuscripts of other pupils of the MacKay school, such as P/M Ronald MacKenzie (John Ban's nephew) and Duncan Campbell from Foss (1816-1860, vide Urquhart 1984), are extant. Notated music certainly wasn't everything in the teaching of pibroch, but in the MacKay school it was undoubtedly a contributory factor.

The two pupils who were most crucial in the dissemination of this playing style were Donald Cameron (1810-1868), a native of Strathconan in Rossshire, and Calum "Piobaire" MacPherson (1807-1885), who although born in Raasay, made his mark whilst piper to Cluny MacPherson in Badenoch. Cameron won the prize pipe in Edinburgh in 1844, when piper to Sir J.J.R. MacKenzie of Scatwell, and

continued to actively compete until he won the medal for former winners in Inverness in 1867. He had three sons (Colin, Alick and Keith) who were renowned pipers on major estates, and it is of interest that Colin advised David Glen in the production of his 1880 collection, while Keith assisted General C.S. Thomason in his work of 1900. ["Notices of Pipers" PT Jan/April 1968]. Calum MacPherson had a most thorough grounding, learning first from Archibald MacLean (a pupil of John MacKay's) in Raasay; then from the Glenelg Bruces; then from Archibald Munro (another of John's pupils); and finally from Angus MacKay himself. At Catlodge in Badenoch Calum was later to instruct a further generation of famous pipers, such as John MacDonald, Inverness, William MacLean, Kilcreggan, Angus MacRae, Callander, and his own sons, and thus the music of the MacKays was handed down to recent generations in an unbroken stream of teaching. [MacLean W. SA 1953/5/A3; MacLean C. 1959: 112; PT Sept. 1972].

Those who believe that they have inherited the music of the MacKays (and by association the MacCrimmons) in its purity, however, might reflect on the fact that the Camerons and MacPhersons came to develop quite individualistic styles of playing. The truth is, or at least would appear to be, that each successive generation of pipers has contributed its own music and interpretation to the mainstream of tradition, and the product has changed through the ages. One need only examine the books published by Roderick Ross which represent the playing

style of Malcolm MacPherson, (the last of the Badenoch family, recorded in the 1960s), to realise that in terms of rhythmic expression this is quite different from the music notated by MacKay in 1838. [Ross R. 1959-78]. Despite this, what we now play undoubtedly has a good deal to do with MacKay and his influence: we see it in the music, the titles, the lore, and the associated terminology. By contrast, the music played and notated by Donald MacDonald is largely forgotten.

Chapter IV NOTES

(1) Daniel Dow, c.1778, pibrochs:
Lord Bradalban's March
Bishop of Argyll's Lament
Clan Ranald's March to Edin'r.
The Stewart's March [e.g. The Prince's Salute]
Duke of Atholl's March ["S'Fhada Mar so tha sinn"].

(2) Rev. Patrick MacDonald, 1784, Pibrochs:
Cumha Mhic a h Arasaig. McIntosh's Lament [38].
Cha Till mi Tuille. Never More Shall I Return [41].
Coma leam Cogadh no Sith. Alike to me Peace or War. [43].
A'Ghlas Mheur. A Bagpipe Lament. [42].

(3) This issue has been examined by R.L.C. Lorimer in "Studies in Pibroch", Scottish Studies 6 (1962): 1-30; 8 (1964).

(4) Ramsay of Ochtertyre is not mentioned by name, but identifies himself as author of this dissertation in his Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century. Edinb. 1888 II: 411.

(5) Rob Donn was a close acquaintance of the MacDonald family. He wrote an elegy to the Rev. Murdoch MacDonald in 1763- Marbhrann Do Mhaighstir Murchadh MacDomhnaill. [Grimble 1979: 213].

(6) J.G. Dalyell was aware of the discrepancy between the original and the published text. In 1840 David Laing, librarian to the Signet Library, lent him the original MS, which he had bought in 1833. This Dalyell compared with a printed edition, borrowed from Glen the pipemaker, and remarked in his notebook on the alterations made to the latter. [Dalyell Gen 372D: 69, 72, 75; E.U.L. La IV: 17]. In his Musical Memoirs [1849: 7] he queried whether the MS might not be a "modification of some more extensive original work". J.A. MacLellan [Int. Piper May 1978: 22] has recorded that an inventory of Joseph's effects made in India after his death itemised 3 MS volumes, but unfortunately does not cite an original source.

(7) See for instance John MacCodrum's Diomoladh Pioba Dhomhnaill Bhain, in which the virtue of Charles MacArthur's pipe ("A 'bhairisgeach") is extolled. [Matheson W. 1938: 64].

(8) Little is known of Andrew Robertson. He became a member of the HSL in 1806, and took out life membership in 1810. In 1820 he inspected a set of pipes made for the Society's piper, and he clearly occupied a music-advisory role within the Society. In 1844 he was no longer a member. [Sinclair J. 1813; HSL 268, 34: 1897, 1810; Letter Robertson 7/4/1820, Box 17].

(9) Sources for this table:
1. MacKay A. 1838: 11, 12.
2. MacDonald A & A 1904 III: 126, 7.
3. Whyte H. 1904: 110-114.
4. Sanger K. 1983: 13-16.
5. Competition Records.

(10) The John McRa. MS (1825)

John McRa from Failoch, Lochalsh Parish, wrote to the HSL on 18 Feb. 1825. He stated that he was soon to leave the country, but was anxious, if possible, to publish his light music collection which he believed to form "the most complete collection of the kind extant". He himself was a piper, and claimed that if not recorded, the tunes were "likely to be lost for ever to this country, as some of them are now not known to any other". He asked whether the HSL would "patronise any attempts on my part to give them to the public". [Letter 18/2/25. HSL 268 Box 2].

On 5th March MacRa's letter was referred to the committee dealing with the HSL MS. No further action was taken. [HSL 268, 27: 5/3/1825].

McRa can possibly be identified with John MacRae, eldest son of Donald MacRae from Applecross who won the prize pipe in 1791. John was a piper in the 78th Highlanders, and competed only once in Edinburgh, in 1835. [Competition Records; PT Aug 1973: 31].

(11) This is based on Alex MacGregor's statement that Donald was 82 in 1831. [MacGregor A. 1878: 465].

(12) A Ghlas Mheur. The Finger Lock

This curious tune was composed by Ronald MacDonald of Morar (Raonuill Mhic Ailein Oig). J.G. Dalyell described it cryptically in 1849 as a piece which "a lowlander may not venture to interpret" [1849: 101], and John Johnson, the Coll piper, confirmed to C.S. Thomason that it was "used as a puzzle by the old pipers". [Thomason 1900(b): 12]. Its unusual title has spawned a fascinating body of lore, which can be summarised as follows:

1. James Logan [1876 II: 294]. A tune with "a wild

traditional account", (not specified).

2. "Abrach" in An Gaidheal [1874: 74]. Raonuill Mhic Ailein Oig composes the tune whilst visiting his kinsman, MacDonald of Boisdale. Lyric: "ol air an daoraich, ol, ol, ol" (a drinking song).
3. Alexander Carmichael The Highlander [1881: 52, 3] Lyric recorded from Neill MacNeill, Barra cottar, 1870. A Love Song.
4. Wendy Wood. Moidart and Morar [1950: 121]. Fingers of competitors "locked" with cold until rubbed with icicles. (Traditional story).
5. Donald MacIntyre, South Uist. [SA 1952/146/A2] A "pìobairean Smearclait" story. "It's many a finger other than your own will be locked onto the tune".
6. Andra Stewart, Blairgowrie [SA 1955/153/A3]. The finger which unlocks the door to reach the fairy pipe will play the magic tune "The Finger Lock".
7. James E. Scott [PT Nov. 1972]. An Argyll take featuring Conduille (Rankin). Under the fairy spell the "glas", or lock, comes off the pupil's fingers.

(13) Tunes popularised by Donald MacDonald:
Too Long in This Condition.
The Groat.
Lament for the Departure of King James.
Ronald MacDonald of Morar's Lament.

(14) Curiously, Angus was still listed as piper to Walter Campbell of Islay at a piping competition which took place in Glasgow in July 1841. At this competition he presented the organisers with a new-pressed copy of his pibroch collection.
[Cuairtear Nan Gleann (Aug. 1841): 173].

(15) This MS is entitled "Specimens of Cantaireachd". It contains 54 specimens in all: 50 short extracts in a style which has not yet been identified; 4 longer extracts which clearly derive from the Campbell Canntaireachd, as follows -

Campbell Canntaireachd II: 13-16	MacKay "Specimens" 53-55	MacKay MS 3743 (Notated Version)
Argyle's March	One of Argyle's Marches	The Battle of Lochcarron Point
Leacran	Leacran	The half-finished piobaireachd
Sophia Eskie	Subie Eskie	Subiaski's Salute
Glengarrie's March	Nameless	Red Alexander of Glengarry's Lament

For further information see Buisman 1987(c): 44; PS I: iii; PS: 130; PS X: v; Campbell A. NLS MS 3716.

(16) Those interested in the details of MacKay's illness might consult Campsie [1980: 20-28, 161-164].

(17) Kessock piper George Moss recalls a more recent tradition associated with a Breadalbane man "who had just finished his time in the Royal Scots, and was elated at the thought of return to the hills and the "feile-beig". ("Bodaich nam Brigisean ... tha mi gad fhagail"). This was in allusion to the fact that the Royal Scots, being a Lowland Regiment, wore the trews. The story is of interest in that it remains specifically connected with Breadalbane. [PT Oct 1959].

(18) Angus MacKay: tunes with associated Lyrics:
1. Thanig Mo Righ air tir am Muideart. [1].
2. Bodaich Na'm Briogais. [5].
3. Thuair Mi Pòg O'Làimh an Rìgh. [14].
4. Cha Till MacCruimein. [17].
5. Failte Uilleam Dhuibh Mhic Coinich. [116].
6. Caismeachd a Phiobaire Da Mhaighsteir. [125].

(19) MacDonald did incorporate this form of open Crunluath in his version of 'S Fhada Mar So Tha Sinn, but only in the 3rd edition of his work. (See Buisman 1987(a): 34, for further discussion of this question).

Table V/1

INDICATIONS OF THE HSS's RELUCTANT INVOLVEMENT IN MUSICAL CONCERNS

Year	Event	Source
1804	The HSS query the propriety of purchasing 20 copies of Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory from their own funds: they suggest that this is more properly the concern of the HSL.	HSS Sd Bk 4/1:104
1815	The HSS query the proposed funding of Alexander Campbell's Albyn's Anthology (30 Guineas). It is discovered that the original regulation concerning Highland music has been written out of the charter.	HSS Sd Bk 5:104
1824	A motion for the HSS to present a competition prize pipe at its own expense is rejected.	HSSPMB:20, 22
1825	The HSS music committee observe that the piping competition "should be distinguished from the proper business of the Society."	HSS Sd Bk 8:263
1825	The HSS decline to help the HSL fund the publication of the MacArthur MS.	HSL 268;2:Letter 16/11/1825
1826	The competition is put on a triennial footing. Dalyell observes that this "to say the truth, resulted from avoiding the great trouble of the preliminary arrangements."	Dalyell 1849:97
1829	The HSS decline to subsidise Gesto's Canntaireachd, and point out that they "always abstained from any direct patronage of the bagpipe."	HSL 268,3:Letter 28/4/1829
1832	The HSS fail to maintain the post of Society piper after Donald MacLean's retirement.	HSS Sd Bk 12:244
1836	The HSS decline to help the HSL co-sponsor Donald MacKay as a piping instructor: "this Society is not authorised by the charter to vote its funds to such a purpose."	HSS Sd Bk 14:279
1841	JG Dalyell declines to buy Angus Mackay's 4-volume MS. pibroch collection on behalf of the Society.	Dalyell Gen 374D:19
1847	The HSS stop running the piping competitions which "falls more properly under the superintendence of the Celtic Society."	HSS Sd Bk 20:531

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The End of the Competition

The last of the competitions sponsored by the HSL, and run by the HSS, was held in Edinburgh in July 1844. Three years later, in March 1847, when the next triennial competition was imminent, the HSS determined to withdraw its services, and to recommend that the HSL approach the Celtic Society as a more suitable body to run the competition. (The Royal Celtic Society records give no indication that they were in fact approached). [HSS Sd. Bk. 20: 531].

The reasons for the HSS's withdrawal were several. From the very outset the Society had put less emphasis on its cultural remit than had the HSL, and from the outset had been eager to stress that it ran the competition on behalf of the London Society, with no financial liability of its own. As its agricultural concerns came to predominate, particularly from approximately 1810, it indicated on several occasions a growing distaste for its cultural commitment. Several such incidents (particularly with respect to piping), are enumerated in Table V(1). In 1815, when the committee was debating a grant for Alexander Campbell's Albyns Anthology, it was discovered that the original sub-clause relating to "the language, poetry and music of the Highlands" had actually been written out of the charter [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 104]; and in 1825 the

1825 the committee noted pointedly that the piping competition should be "distinguished from the proper business of this society." [HSS Sd. Bk. 8: 263]. At much the same time the Society determined to extricate itself from any further involvement in Gaelic Scholarship, and with the publication of the Dictionary in 1828 the Celtic Committee went out of existence. [Black 1986: 34].

The 1830s and 1840s were significant years in the sense that founder members of the Society, who had enthusiastically promoted Highland cultural matters, began to pass away: Sir John MacGregor Murray died in 1822, Henry MacKenzie in 1831, Sir John Sinclair in 1835, and finally Charles Gordon, the long-serving and industrious secretary, in 1845. [Ramsay 1879: 521]. He was succeeded by John Hall Maxwell, one of the new breed of Society members - practical innovators and agriculturalists with little time for cultural ephemera.

Margaret Fay Shaw has summarised this general shift in attitude towards Gaelic cultural concerns as follows:

> "After 1820 interest in Ossian and Gaelic music and literature died down. The second generation of Highland Lairds to be educated in England became entirely Anglicised. The ulitarian ideas associated with the industrial revolution and, in some parts of the Highlands, the evangelical revival of the 1820s and 1830s, were alike hostile to Gaelic folklore." [Shaw 1977: 74. Cited Black 1986: 35].

This shift in attitude within the HSS was made explicit in 1834, with re-incorporation under the new title "The Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland". This

reflected the Society's avowed intention to continue "its attention to the improvement of agriculture and the different branches of rural industry". [Ramsay 1879: 220]. Not long after this the Rev. John MacIntyre felt constrained to remind readers of Sàr Obair that the Society had once

> "had reference to the mental culture of their Caledonian countrymen, instead of as now, unfortunately, to the physical development of the points of the inferior animals." [MacKenzie 1841: 325].

What little enthusiasm the Society retained for the Edinburgh piping competition must have been eroded in the 1840's, when a combination of circumstances produced financially poor years. [vide Table II/3]. The financial difficulties perhaps reflected a decline in popular appeal of an event which had been so long established; the general malaise of the economically depressed and socially volatile 1840s [Smout 1986: 7-32]; and specific organisational difficulties prompted by the retirement of J.G. Dalyell after 1838, leaving the event in the hands of members with limited organisational know-how, and limited enthusiasm for the task in hand. [Dalyell Gen 379D: 10].

The Northern Meeting and Provincial Competitions

The HSL's reaction to the HSS's withdrawal of its services is unfortunately not on record (the appropriate

minutes being lost), but its solution in the long-term was to transfer sponsorship to the pre-established pibroch competition at the Northern Meeting in Inverness.

The Northern Meeting was established in 1778, and comprised a week of Society balls and equestrian amusements akin to the Race Week in Edinburgh. [Pollitt 1981: 168]. A Highland Games organised by Macdonnell of Glengarry was added to the list of amusements in 1822, and piping competitions were introduced for the first time in 1841. [Pollitt (ibid.); MacPhee 1984]. These included both a pibroch competition (for which the prize was initially a set of pipes), and also a competition for Strathspeys and Reels. The HSL first provided a Gold Medal for a competition of former winners in 1849, but appears not to have repeated the award until 1859, after which it became a regular feature. [Campbell A. 1955(a): 7]. By the 1890s the Gold Medal had been appropriated for the main pibroch event, rather than for the competition for former winners. [Campbell A (ibid); HSL 268: 28-31]. From 1875 the Society also awarded a Gold Medal for pibroch at the Argyllshire Gathering in Oban, which, like the Northern Meeting, was a long-established Society event. [vide Cal Merc 5/9/1822; HSL 268 28: 147]. The Buinn Oir (Gold Medals) at Oban and Inverness remain to this day the most sought-after accolades in competitive piping.

Prior to this time the HSL had already engaged in sponsorship of a growing number of provincial Highland

Games. The first body to benefit from this patronage was Alexander Macdonnell of Glengarry's extravagantly-named "Society of True Highlanders", established in Fort William in 1815. In 1816 the HSL contributed a piping award of £15 to the Society's first Highland Games, held "at the June market in Inverlochy". [HSL 268, 20: 201]. This can probably be considered the first provincial event of its type outwith Edinburgh, and functioned for many years despite occasional moral censure from the more high-minded of Scotsman contributors. [vide Scotsman 24, 191 (1817).] The HSL sponsored the piping at Fort William quite generously until 1819 (in which latter year £20 was contributed), and also again between 1849 and 1855. [Table V(2)].

The event which really set the trend for all subsequent outdoor Highland Gatherings, however, was the St. Fillans Games, established by Lord Gwydir on scenic Loch Earn in 1819. (Fig. XIII) [Porteous 1912: 72-77]. It was at this event in 1823 that we first get indication of a regular reel-playing competition for the pipe [Handbill HSL 268, Box 19], and to this date, therefore, we can ascribe the introduction of Ceòl Beag piping competitions. The HSL provided prizes for the Games between 1823 and 1828: these were generally in cash, but in 1823 and 1825 came in the form of copies of MacGregor Murray's Poems of Ossian - prizes designed to both delight and educate.(1) The winner of the pibroch competition was, as in Edinburgh, presented with a prize pipe.

The event was held towards the end of August, and incorporated all the basic ingredients of the modern games - piping, dancing, running and throwing events, shooting and boat races, and a lavish buffet for the fashionable members of the St. Fillans Highland Society, clad, naturally, in the Highland dress. [Logan 1876 II: 321]. It was an impressive spectacle, and certainly appealed to the Caledonian Mercury reporter who witnessed the 1822 Gathering:

> "The shrill notes of the bagpipe, reechoed by the surrounding hills, and, above all, the grand and romantic features of the mountains, the lakes and rocks, and the woods, which distinguish Loch Earn, rendered the meeting of the St. Fillans Highland Society one of the most interesting and beautiful scenes that can be imagined." [Cal Merc 9/9/1822].

The establishment of the St. Fillans Highland Society opened the floodgates for a spate of Highland and Athletic Societies, which combined the current enthusiasm for the romantic Highlands, with the equally current vogue for athletic self-improvement.(2) Table V(2) details provincial Games subsidised by the HSL prior to 1860. As the Caledonian Mercury pertinently observed [22/6/1826] these were chiefly concentrated in Perthshire, and it is clear from the Society records that a prime mover in this respect was General David Stewart of Garth, who was responsible for disbursing the HSL funds to the St.

Table V/2

HIGHLAND GAMES SUBSIDISED BY THE HSL, PRE-1860

Event	Years Sponsored By HSL	Amount	Society Details	Sources
Society of True Highlanders. Fort William Games.	1816-1819 1849-1855	£15-£20 £5	Society of True Highlanders. Est. June 1815 by A Macdonnell of Glengarry. "A Pure Highland Society."	Inverness Journal 23/6/1815 19/7/1816 ECL W/ML/46,III:37 HSL 268,26:201 27:6/4/1822 43:3
St. Fillans Highland Gathering	1823-1828	£5-£10	St. Fillans Highland Society. Est. 1819 by Lord Gwydir.	Porteous 1912:72-77 Logan 1876 II:321 HSL Records - see Note (1)
Strathearn Highland Gathering (at Muthill)	1825-1829	£5	Strathearn Highland Friendly Society. Est. 1823. Ranald MacDonald of Staffa president (1826).	HSL 268,15:Hand Bills 1825 1827, 1828 Also Boxes 3, 7, 21
Dunkeld Highland Gathering	1826-1828	£5	Dunkeld Highland Society. Est. c1826. General Stewart of Garth president.	HSL 268:3/17/27
Atholl Highland Gathering (at Bridge of Tilt)	1827-1828	£5	Atholl Highland Meeting. Est. 1825.	HSL 268:15/27 E.E.C. 22/8/1840
Stirling Annual Gathering	1829 1840	£10-10-0 £5-5-0	Stirling & Bannockburn Caledonian. Society. Est. c1823.	HSL 268:3/4/5/6/17/18/19
Lonach Highland Gathering	1845-1855	£5	Lonach Highland Society, Strathdon. Est. 1823.	HSL 268:18/20
Braemar Highland Games	1849-1855	£5	Est. c1832.	HSL 268,28:19 268:18/20
Kintail Highland Games	1849-1851	£5	Kintail Highland Society.	HSL 268:18/20

Fillans, Dunkeld and Atholl Gatherings in the 1820's. [e.g. HSL 268, 27: 5/5/1827, 3/5/1828]. The athletic and gymnastic associations were primarily concerned with the "preservation and encouragement of manly national games and exercises" [Highland Club of Scotland, Rules HSL 268: 15], a goal which coincided with the athletic pursuits at the Highland Games. Many of the athletic clubs held their own games with pipers in attendance (3), and the oldest of all, the St. Ronans Border Club (est. 1827), maintained its own piper, Angus Cameron. The report on the 12th Annual Meeting of the Club, in August 1838, recounted how

> "At 10 o'clock, piper Angus from Rannoch struck up the Border Air 'Come gather, come gather, brave sons of the Heather' ... ", and the Games commenced. [Cal Merc 9/8/1838].

Conclusions

It is in the modern Highland Games that the influence of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland on piping, dancing and the Highland dress is most apparent. The very existence of modern competitive piping and dancing has root in the early competitions organised by the Societies in Falkirk and Edinburgh. The fact that the piper takes to the boards wearing the kilt; that he submits a list of tunes for the judges' scrutiny; that even to this day he can occasionally expect to be judged by a man of questionable musical calibre - these are all facets of an

ethos of competitive piping established during the great Edinburgh competitions.

Clearly the Highland bagpipe has evolved somewhat since the period under study. It is now played in the many countries of the world in which the Scottish regiments made their mark, and on the home front the social divide between patron and piper is less marked than of yore. The age of estate piping has come and gone, and most modern practitioners pipe merely as a hobby, albeit with a degree of dedication which would be hard to surpass. Competitive piping is the back-bone of modern piping practice. The winning of the HSL's Gold Medal is highly prestigious (although of limited pecuniary advantage), and the competitions keep alive the venerable art of Ceòl Mòr for which, unfortunately, there are few cultural outlets other than on the competition platform.

The nature of the Ceòl Mòr played nowadays undoubtedly has a good deal to do with the Highland Societies' encouragement of staff notation in the early nineteenth century, and their later preferential patronage of the MacKay style of notation and playing. We may not play our music exactly as MacKay wrote it, but his influence is nevertheless to be discerned in many of our tunes. The 1781 competitor, could he but witness it, would doubtless be surprised at the modern uniformity of playing styles, tune arrangements, titles and piping lore, but such is the price we have had to pay for the benefits of staff notation, and for the drift of Ceòl Mòr away from

its cultural roots in the Gàidhealtachd. If the modern Scot finds in pibroch the confusion of "tunes without measure or end"(4), this is an understandable reflection of his remoteness from the cultural idiom in which the music was engendered.

The HSL itself never lost faith in the propriety and value of its patronage of pipe music. In 1813 Sir John Sinclair boasted that

> "Had it not been for the exertions of the Society, the army would not have been supplied with Highland pipers, so rapidly was that species of music sinking into oblivion". [Sinclair J. 1813: 14](5).

He perhaps exaggerated, but the evidence of contemporary history does suggest that the Highland Societies, and the landed interests they represented, did much to revive and sustain the fortunes of the Highland Bagpipe during an uncertain period in its history. Beyond this, they helped ensure a healthy future for the instrument, both in the military context, and on the estate. The nineteenth century was probably a good time to be a piper - there was work aplenty on the estates, and there was a good competition circuit on which the best players could expect to make fair earnings. The mother of all competitions, however, remained the Edinburgh competition - with its lavish prizes, fine surroundings, and appreciative audiences. This event has become firmly established in piping lore (Appendix XI), and it was from this event that much of modern piping derives.

Notes to Chapter V

(1) For details of HSL Prizes for the St. Fillans Games see:
HSL 268, 27: 1/2/1823, 3/5/1823, 22/3/1824, 5/2/1825, 7/5/1825, 20/4/1826, 22/1/1827, 5/5/1827, 3/5/1828.
See also Handbills in boxes 15 and 19.

(2) James Logan enumerated the following Societies in 1848: The Celtic, Bannockburn, St. Fillans, Atholl, Braemar, Strathearn, Glasgow, Perth, Dunkeld, Ft. William, and Dornoch Societies; the Hollyrood and Roslyn Gymnastic clubs; the St. Ronans Border club; the Heather Club of Edinburgh. Logan J. Gaelic Gatherings [London 1848: 210].

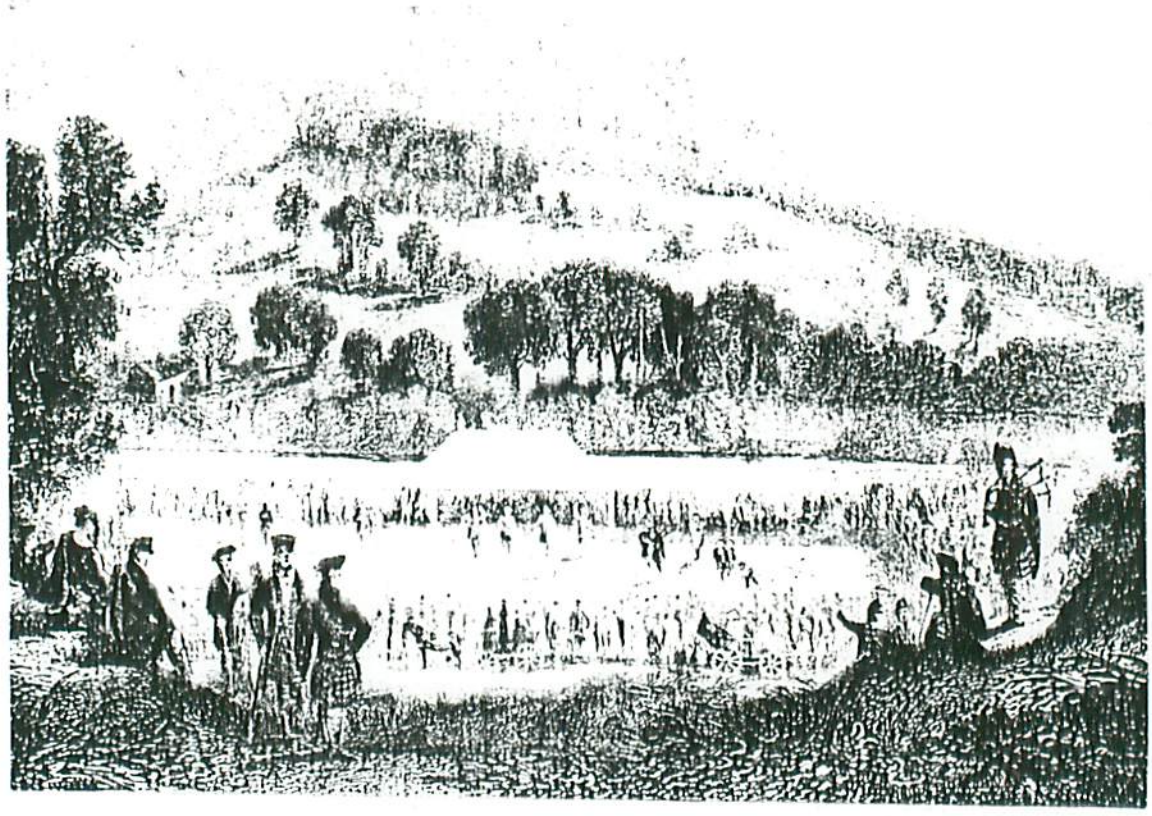
(3) e.g. see "Roslyn Gymnastic Club" [Cal Merc 20/7/1838]. "Leith Gymnastic Games" [Cal Merc 22/7/1844].

(4) From Hugh MacDiarmid "Bagpipe Music". In The Complete Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid [Edinb. 1985 I: 665].

(5) In 1808 Colonel Colyear Robertson communicated much the same message to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex:

> "The Highland Society has for many years past applied about £140 p.a. in premiums, to the best performers on the Highland pipe, without which that species of music, from the change of manners and ability in the Highlands, would in all probability have long ere this time sunk into oblivion". [HSL 268, 25: 25].

Fig. XIII ST. FILLANS HIGHLAND GATHERING. Watercolour (C.1830s). [Provenance uncertain]



APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

HANDBILL FOR THE 1785 COMPETITION

IN DUNN's ASSEMBLY ROOM.

ANCIENT MARTIAL MUSIC.

PLAN of the COMPETITION for PRIZES,

TO BEST PERFORMERS ON THE

GREAT HIGHLAND PIPE.

To begin at Eleven o'Clock forenoon, of TUESDAY the 30th Auguſt, 1785.

ACT I.

Pieces.	*English Tranſlation.*	*Candidates names and Country.*
	1. A Salute by Profeſſor M'ARTHUR.	
2. Ceau Drochaid Beg,	*Head of the Little Bridge, or the Carle-an', Gathering.*	To be played by John M'Gregor, ſen. from Fortingall, who won the firſt Prize at Edinburgh laſt year.
	3. A Piece by Peter M'Gregor, who won the firſt Prize at Falkirk Competition.	

ACT II.

1. Failte a' Phrionſai',	*The arrival or welcome*—A Salute,	John Cumming, Piper to Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart.
2. Failte Shir Sheumais,	*Sir James M'Donald's welcome,*	Robert M'Intyre, Piper to John M'Donald, Eſq; of Clanronald.
3. Cumhadh Mhic an Leathain,	*The M'Lean's Lament,*	John Cumming.
4. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Robert M'Intyre.
5. The ſame,	. . .	Alexander Lamont, Piper to John Lamont, Eſq; of Lamont
6. Glaiſ-mheur,	*A favourite Piece,*	Colin M'Nab, Piper to Francis M'Nab, Eſq; of M'Nab.
7. Molaidh Mharai',	*A Piece in praiſe of Mary, or the Laird of M'Lachlan's March,*	Alexander Lamont.
8 Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Colin M'Nab.
9 The ſame,	. . .	Donald Gun, Piper to Sir John Clark of Penycuick, Bart.
10. Cumhadh Mhic Chruimean,	*The Lamentation of Patrick More M'Crimmon,*	Donald M'Intyre, ſen. from Rannoch.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act II.

ACT III.

11. The Grants March,	. . .	Donald Gun.
12. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Intyre, ſen.
13. The ſame,	. . .	Dougald M'Dougal, Piper to Allan M'Dougal, Eſq; of Hayfield.
14. Piobrachd Ereanach,	*An Iriſh Pibroch,*	John M'Pherſon from Badenoch, Piper to Colonel Duncan M'Pherſon of Cluny.
15. Failte Shir Dheorſa,	*In praiſe of the Laird of Callandar.*	Dougald M'Dougal.
16. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Pherſon.
17. Teachd am Phrionſai' gu Muideard,	*The Landing in Moydart,*	Hugh M'Gregor, from the ſtewartry of Monteath.
18. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Malcolm M'Pherſon, from Breadalbane.
19. The ſame,	. . .	Hugh M Grigor.
20. Glaiſ-mheur,	. . .	Malcolm M'Pherſon.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act III.

ACT IV.

21. Leannan Dhonail Chruaimeich,	*Donald's Love,*	Donald Filher from Breadalbane, who won the ſecond prize laſt year.
22. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Archibald M'Grigor from Fortingal.
23. The ſame,	. . .	Donald Filher.
24. Leannan Ghiull Chruaimeich,	*The Stern Lad's Sweetheart,*	Archibald Macgrigor.
25. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Alexander M'Grigor, from Fortingal.
26. Ceau Drochaid Mhoir,	*Great Bridge,*	John M'Grigor, from Glenlyon.
27. Shiffealach Strath Ghlais,	*Chiſholm's March,*	Alexander M'Grigor.
28. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Grigor.
29. Piobrachd Shabh an t Siora',	*Sherrifmuir, a Pibroch,*	John M'Grigor jun a boy of twelve years of age, ſon to the above John M'Grigor from Fortingal, who won the prize laſt year.
30. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Lean of Edinburgh.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act IV.

ACT V.

31. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	The boy John M'Grigor.
32. Cumhadh Eoin Ghairbh,	*Lamentation of Rough John,*	Donald M'Lean.
33. Siubhal Mhic Allain,	*Clanranald's March,*	Donald M'Intyre jun from the eſtate of Sir Robert Menzies of that Ilk, in Rannoch, Perthſhire.
34. Piobrachd Mhic Dhonail Dhuibh,	*Cameron's Gathering,*	Paul M'Innes from Lochabar, Piper to John Cameron, Eſq; of Callart.
35. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Intyre jun.
36. The ſame.	. . .	Paul M'Innes.
37. Siubhal Mhic Allain,	*Clanranald's March,*	Allan M'Intyre of Edinburgh.
38. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Pherſon from Strathſpey, late Piper to the Atholl Highlanders.
39. The ſame,	. . .	Allan M'Intyre.
40. Cumhadh an Aoin Mhic,	*Lamentation for an only Son,*	John M'Pherſon.
41. Glaiſ-mheur,	. . .	Duncan Steuart from Rannoch.
42. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John Dewar from the eſtate of Sir Robert Menzies.
43. The ſame,	. . .	Duncan Steuart.
44. Ceau Drochaid Mhoir,	*Head of the Great Bridge*—a Pibroch,	John Dewar.
45. Shabh an t Siora',	*Skierrifmuir.*	Ronald M'Donald, from Culloden.
46. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Robert M'Dougal from Fortingal, Perthſhire.
47. The ſame,	. . .	Ronald M'Donald.
48. Molaidh Mharai',	*In praiſe of Mary,*	Robert M'Dougal.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act V.

The whole to conclude with a Piece by Profeſſor M'ARTHUR.

Appendix II

COMPETITION SOURCE DATA

	Caledonian Mercury	Scots Magazine	H.S.S. Sederunt Books (1)	H.S.L. Minute/ Accounts Books (2)	H.S.L. Correspondence/ Misc. Records (2)	J.G. Dalyell Notebooks (3)	A. Campbell Notebooks (4)	Other
1781		(43):553				351D:50 371D:96		E.E.C.(5) 15/10/1781; Dalyell 1849:94, 99, 101
1782					Minutes: Box 15			E.E.C. 19/10/1782
1783				34:1783	Letter: Trigge 4/11/ 1783 Box 1 Letter: Donaldson 13/12/1783 Box 1			E.E.C. 20/10/1783 " 27/10/1783 Dalyell 1849:95, 96 Glasgow Mercury 23/10/1783
1784		(46):552,3	I:45-50	34:3 (1784)	Letter: Robertson 29/10/1784 Box 1 Letter: MacKenzie 7/10/1784 Box 1			E.E.C. 29/9/1784 ". 16/10/1784 " 20/10/1784
1785	3/9/1785	(47):414	I:82, 84-87	21:31, 2 34:9 (1785)				Dalyell 1849:282; 84; 96-97 Seton Gordon NLS/Acc 7451/19/3
1786	26/7/1786 29/7/1786 2/8/1786	(48):359		34:2/8/1786	Handbill:Box 15			
1787	21/7/1787 26/7/1787	(49):360	I:160, 189	34:July 1787				
1788	24/7/1788 26/7/1788 31/7/1788	(50):359	I:212	34:1788				
1789	1/8/1789	(51):410	II:16	34:1789				
1790	10/7/1790 12/7/1790 15/7/1790	(52):533		34:1790				Edinburgh Evening News 17/7/1790
1791	16/7/1791	(53):360	II:136, 7, 155	34:27/6/1791				E.E.C. 21/7/1791

	Cal. Merc.	Scots.Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Othe:
1792	16/7/1792 26/7/1792		II:210	34:1792				
1793	6/7/1793 11/7/1793		II:288, 9 327, 333	34:1793		425D:103		
1794	14/7/1794 17/7/1794 20/7/1794		II:258	34:1794				
1795	9/7/1795 23/7/1795	(57):476	II:443	34:1795				
1796	18/7/1796		III:69	34:1796				E.E.C. 21/7/1796
1797	13/7/1797 24/7/1797 29/7/1797	(59):501	III:113, 146, 161, 196	34:1797				
1798	21/7/1798 30/7/1798 2/8/1798	(60):574	III:230	34:1798				
1799	25/7/1799 3/8/1799 8/8/1799	(61):574	III:296		Receipts:Box 16			
1800	21/7/1800 24/7/1800		III:445	34:1800				
1801	13/7/1801 16/7/1801			34:1801				
1802	17/7/1802 22/7/1802	(63):705	III:535	34:1802				
1803	16/7/1803 21/7/1803	(65):581		24:35 34:1803				
1804	21/7/1804 28/7/1804		IV/1:101,2	24:59 34:1804				

	Cal. Merc.	Scots Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1805	20/7/1805 1/8/1805	(67):644	IV/1:141	34:1805				
1806	17/7/1806 4/8/1806 7/8/1806		IV/1:221, 234	34:1806		351D:52		Letter MacRae 8/7/1806 Ingliston A.V. 1(3)
1807	27/7/1807 6/8/1807			24:138 25:19 34:1807	Letter: Gordon 12/8/1807 Box 1		I:26,27	
1808	16/7/1808 28/7/1808		PMB:4,5	34:1808		351D:52	I:27,28	
1809	20/7/1809 3/8/1809		PMB:6	25:68,69 34:1809		351D:53	I:28,29	
1810	14/7/1810 2/8/1810		PMB:6,7	25:100,101 34:1810			I:29,30	Black 1986:25,26
1811	15/7/1811 27/7/1811			25:126 34:1811			I:30,31	
1812	16/7/1812 27/7/1812 30/7/1812		PMB:7	34:1812		351D:52	I:31,32	Sinclair 1813:70
1813	10/7/1813 26/7/1813 31/7/1813		IV/2:555	34:1813		351D:52	I:32-36	
1814	1/8/1814 6/8/1814	(76):714		34:1814		351D:52	I:36-41	
1815	31/7/1815		PMB:8	26:109-120				
1816	3/8/1816		V:311	34:1816			I:43-45	
1817	14/7/1817 19/7/1817						I:45-47	

	Cal. Merc.	Scots.Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1818	18/7/1818 25/7/1818		PMB:8		Letter: Gordon 25/7/1818:Box 1 ARP(6):Box 19	351D:52		
1819	21/7/1819 31/7/1819		VI:112				I:10,11, 50,51	
1820	17/7/1820 22/7/1820				Receipt: Box 17	351D:52	I:15,16	
1821	30/7/1821 4/8/1821				Letter: Gordon 4/8/1821 Box 19 ARP:Box 19		I:18,19, 52-57 II:1-4	
1822	29/7/1822 3/8/1822				ARP:Box 19	350D:36,37	II:4-24	
1823	2/8/1823		PMB:3, 9,10	27;1/2/1823	Judges List: Box 19 ARP:Box 19	351D:53	II:24-41	
1824	17/7/1824 21/7/1824		PMB:2, 11-22		List of Pipers: Box 15 ARP: Box 17 Handbill: Box 19 Receipt: Box 17	351D:78	II:41-56	
1825	11/7/1825		PMB:25-38		Receipt: Box 17	355D:13-15	II:56-63	P.T.: May 1984 Dalyell 1849:102
1826	15/6/1826 22/6/1826		PMB:43-50, 55 IX:394 X:175	27:5/5/1827	Letter: Gordon 27/10/1826 Box 2 " Gordon 7/6/1827 Box 2 Receipt: Box 17 ARP: Box 17	356D:7		
1829	1/8/1829		PMB:59-62, 66- 72, 76, 80 X:120, 175-176	27:3/5/1828 27:7/2/1829	Letter: Smith 2/4/1828 Box 3 " Gordon 16/4/1828 Box 3 " " 26/7/1828 Box 3 " " 28/4/1829 Box 3	358D:67, 81-86		Dalyell 1849:97

	Cal. Merc.	Scots Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1832	28/7/1832		PMB:81-101, 138	14:4/4/1829 14:2/2/1833	Letter: Gordon 5/5/1841 Box 6 " Gordon 2/5/1838 Box 5	360D:38-44	I:1	
1835	23/7/1835		PMB:103, 119-120, 125		ARP: Box 19	369D:40, 41, 49-56		Dalyell 1849:100 Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3
1838	26/7/1838		PMB:136-148		Letter: Gordon 2/5/1838 Box 5 Handbill: Box 19 Programme: Box 19 ARP: Box 19 Letter: Gordon 25/5/1839 Box 5	378D:54-59		Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3
1841	22/7/1841		PMB:157-164, 150, 153		Letter: Gordon 5/5/1841 Box 6 " Gordon 15/5/1841 Box 6	374D:14-18		Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3 Dalyell 1849:105,106
1844	15/7/1844		PMB:1844		Letter: Gordon 10/6/1844 Box 6 " Gordon 8/7/1844 Box 6 ARP: Box 19 Programme + Bill: Box 19	379D:9-15		Dalyell 1849:105,106

Footnote: Sources

(1) HSS Records. Royal Highland and Agricultural Society, Ingliston. Comprise early Sederunt Books; Piping Minute Book (HSSPMB, from 1824); correspondence, indexed and catalogued by R. Black.

(2) HSL Records. National Library of Scotland, Deposit 268.

(3) J.G. Dalyell Notebooks. Edinburgh University Library. Laing Collection. Gen 350D; Gen 425D; Gen 427D; Gen 351D-382D.

(4) A. Campbell Notebooks. Two typescript notebooks of material from the HSL Records. Loaned by James Campbell, Kilberry. Contains references to material no longer in NLS Dep. 268.

(5) E.E.C. Edinburgh Evening Courant.

(6) A.R.P. Accounts of Receipts and Payments for the Edinburgh Competition. Surviving Accounts are in Dep. 268.

(7) Angus Mackay in his 1838 Collection (15-20) included a "Circumstantial Account of the Competitions". This material is largely quoted verbatim from the contemporary Newspaper Accounts.

Appendix III

THE MACGREGORS OF FORTINGALL

(A) References cited in this Appendix

(1) Competition Records.

(2) Alexander MacGregor. "The aged Piper and His Bagpipe." Celtic Magazine [5(1879-80):404-5]. First published in The Perthshire Courier 26/3/1857; reproduced in Gaelic in An Gaidheal [5(1876):19-21].

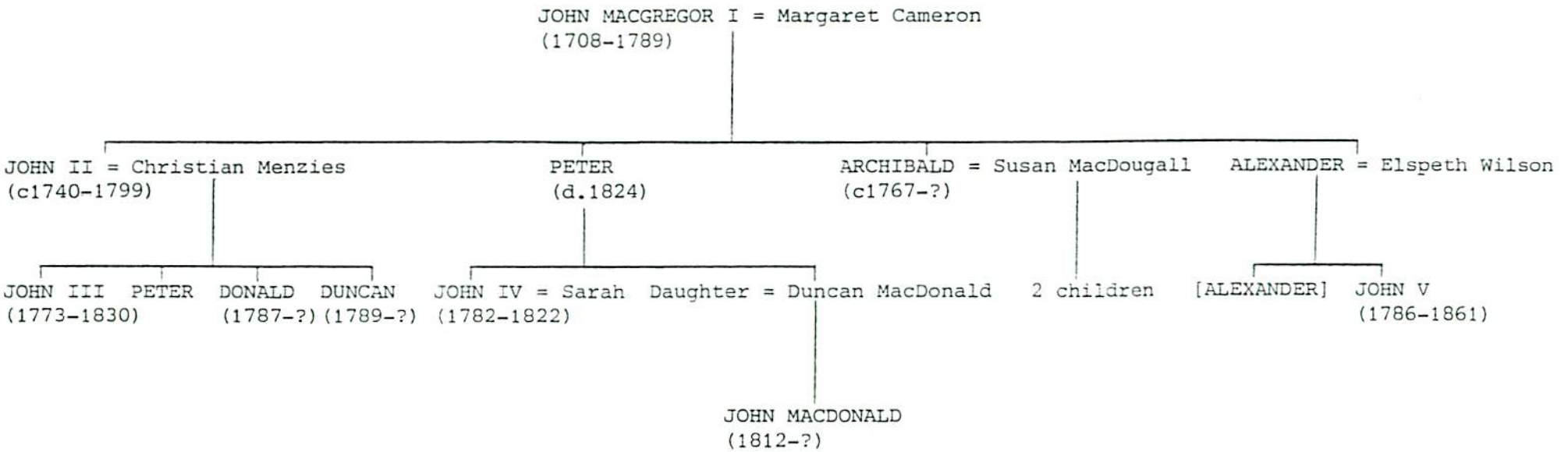
(3) Henry Whyte. "Clann an Sgeulaiche". Celtic Monthly 20(1912): 207-8.

(4) Archibald Campbell of Kilberry. "The MacGregor Pipers of Clann an Sgeulaiche". Piping Times July/Aug/Sept 1950.

(5) Capt. John MacLellan. Genealogical Tree in International Piper [March 1979:22].

(6) DGC Burns "John MacGregor of Fortingall and his descendants". Scottish Genealogist 29 (1982):105-8. Burns largely draws on the forementioned sources, with additional matter from the Baptismal Register of Glenmuick Parish.

(B) JOHN MACGREGOR AND HIS PIPING PROGENY



Data: The numbering of the various Johns is based on A Campbell (4). Main genealogical data is from Burns (6), but dates are only included if proved accurate. Dates provided by MacLellan (5) are speculative, and in many instances wrong.

(C) Biographical information on John MacGregor I ("Iain Mac an Sgeulaiche", 1708-1789) is detailed in Ch III. On the evidence of John V, he had 4 piping sons, and 8 piping grandsons (2):

1. John MacGregor II (c1740-1799). Eldest son of John I. Competed in 1782 when piper to the HSL (2nd prize), and in 1784 (1st prize). Became first piper to hold Breadalbane c1786, and is mentioned in that capacity in 1790, 94, 95 and 99, in which year it is believed he died. He played exhibition tunes at the competition in 1785, 86 and 90. Stated in 1784 that he had "taught above 50 military pipers himself" and was "the eldest of five sons (sic?) taught by their father John MacGregor, together with 90 other pipers." [Scots Magazine 46 (Oct 1784):552,3]. Performed for the HSL, 1791/92. [HSL 268:34]. Sources: (1), (4), (5). His sons were:

   (a) John MacGregor III [1773-1830]. Son of John II and mentioned in 1783 as grandson of John I "not above 12 years old." Competed in 1784, 85, 86, 89 (3rd prize), 90, 91 (2nd prize) and 93 (1st prize). Described in 1784 as a boy of 11, and in 1785 as a boy of 12 who had "made great progress and gave great satisfaction" [HSS Sd.Bk.I:86]. Lived at Taymouth while his father was piper there. In 1793 was piper to the Breadalbane Fencibles. Succeeded his father as piper to Breadalbane in 1799, and was listed as such in 1822 when he gave an exhibition tune. Mackay in 1838 stated that he had died 8 years previously, aged 59. [Mackay A 1838:16].
   Sources: (1), (4).

   (b) Peter MacGregor. Son of John II. Competed 1794 (3rd prize) and 1795 (1st prize).
   Source: (1)

   (c) Donald MacGregor (1787-?). Son of John II. In 1802, aged 15, appointed piper to Menzies at Weem. [MacAulay A 1963] Competed 1806, 07, 08, 09 (4th prize), 10 (3rd prize), 11, 12 (1st prize). Initially described as from Taymouth, and from 1809 as piper to the Highland Regiment of the Perthshire Local Militia. Applied to compete for the Gold Medal, 1835, but was too late. In a letter to the HSS Secretary, dated Haddington 23 July 1835, he stated that he had been Sheriff Officer in East Lothian for 14 years.(4) In 1824 he was appointed Town Piper of Haddington in an attempt to revive an old tradition, but the post lapsed with his death. [Mooney 1985:14]
   Sources: (1), (4).

   (d) Duncan MacGregor (1789-?). Son of John II. Competed 1806, 07, 08, 09 (3rd prize), 16. Listed as from Taymouth until 1809. Later P/m of the Centre Battalion, Perthshire Local Militia.
   Sources: (1), (4), (5).

2. Peter MacGregor ("Patrick Na Coraig"). d.1824. Son of John I. Competed 1781 (1st prize) when piper to Henry Balnaves of Adradour. Played exhibition tunes 1785, 1790. For further details see under HSL pipers, Ch. III. His son was:

   (a) John MacGregor IV.(1782-1822). Son of Peter. Competed 1792 (aged 10) (3rd prize), 1798 (2nd prize), 1806 (1st prize). Exhibition tune 1807. For full details see under HSL pipers, Ch. III.
   Source: (1)

   (b) i. John MacDonald (1812-?). Grandson of Peter MacGregor by his daughter and Duncan MacDonald, Fortingall. Competed 1824, 25 (5th prize), 26, 29 (3rd prize). In 1824, when aged only 12, he was eliminated at the rehearsal but allowed to perform in public, where he "played his tune on the stage with much apparent ease, and in a manner remarkably correct for so young a performer." [Cal Merc 17/7/1824] Gained a 3rd prize at the Atholl Meeting in 1827.
   Sources: (1).

3. Archibald MacGregor (c1767-?). 3rd son of John I. Competed in 1783 (2nd prize), 84, 85, 86, 87 (1st prize). Listed as from Fortingall until 1786, when he became piper to Campbell of Glenlyon. At his first attempt in 1783 he was awarded 2nd prize over his brothers, his father, and John MacArthur.(1) This incident was recorded by David Trigge: "Arch'd McGrigor, being asked if he thought himself a boy of 16 years better than his father, he said in answer if he was that, what for needed he be getting lessons from him? His father replied that he had given him all he could, but if he did not get more he would be lost." [Trigge D 1783:2] From Trigge's evidence we can date his birth to c. 1767. McLellan (5), followed by Burns (6), states that he died in 1797, but unless he died young, this is improbable. One might speculate that it was this man who was mentioned in Menzies' Bagpipe Preceptor in 1818, in the context of a discussion of the MacGregor pipers: "I must be content with the sound of Archie's pipe once a year, at a Highland wedding." [Menzies 1818:15]
   Sources: (1), (5), (6).

4. Alexander MacGregor. 4th son of John I. Competed 1782, 85, 86, 90 (2nd prize), 97 (1st prize). Listed as from Fortingall until 1797, when he succeeded his brother Archibald as Glenlyon's piper. Performed as a former winner in 1817.
   Source: (1). His son was:

   (a) John MacGregor V (1786-1861). Son of Alexander. Competed 1807 (3rd prize), 08, 10 (2nd prize) and 11 (1st prize), in which years he was piper to William Farquarson of Monaltry (near Ballater in Aberdeenshire). Performed

as former winner in 1812 and 1815, listed as from "Appindow". Competed in the Gold Medal competition in 1835, and although he did not win, JG Dalyell considered his instrument "certainly the best". [Dalyell Gen 369D:52] Appointed as piper to the Duke of Atholl in 1812. Seen by Sir David Wilkie in Sept 1817, who described him as ... "a famous personage. He has got the complete uniform of his order (a kilt and plaid) [and] is a fine looking fellow. ... He plays regularly for half an hour before breakfast and dinner, and walks with stately majesty before the house." [Miles & Brown 1987:180] He features in the Wilkie oil The Death of the Red Deer (1821), and also in a Dighton made during the Royal Visit, 1822, when he acted as piper to the MacGregor contingent. [S.N.P.G.] 3rd in Pibroch at the St. Fillans Games, 1822; and piper to the Atholl Highlanders during the Eglinton Tournament, 1839. Retired from service to Atholl c1835, and was given a half-pension. In c1841, when old and in "straightened circumstances", he wrote to Alexander MacGregor, a native of Dull, regarding the pipes he inherited from his grandfather - and the information communicated forms the basis of Source (2). Miss Murray MacGregor of MacGregor recorded of him: "I saw the old man many years ago, and if I remember right he lived in a house somewhere about Appin of Dull, opposite Tirinie, and he was wont to play sometimes to the late Mr. Fletcher Menzies across the river."[3] Died in Drumcharry 18 July 1861: listed as 75 years old, single, and a piper (6).
Sources: (1), (2), (3), (6).

(b) Alexander MacGregor. A possible candidate for 7th grandson of John I, who might logically, on the strength of his name, have been son of Alexander, and brother of John V. This, however, is not proven. Competed 1813-1819, gaining 4th prize in 1813, but failed to better himself thereafter. From 1816 he was piper to the Gaelic Society of Perth.(1)

There are several other MacGregors mentioned in the competition records who might have been of the family. A John MacGregor, who was piper to Sir Robert Menzies at Weem, competed in 1786 and 1803, gaining 3rd prize in the latter year; another John, probably his son, was piper to Sir Neil Menzies, and competed in 1841 (5th prize) and 1844. He remained piper to Menzies until 1890, when the post passed to his son Neil, who features in a photograph of the Aberfeldy pipe band, c1906. [Whyte 1904:146; P.T. Jan 1980:17]

A John MacGregor, piper in the Edinburgh City Guard, gained 3rd prize at the 1783 Falkirk competition when still a teenager. Trigge described him as "very bad" [Trigge 1783:2], but possibly he improved and was the same John MacGregor from Glenlyon who competed in 1784 and 1785, and won the prize pipe in 1788; or even the John MacGregor,

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The End of the Competition

The last of the competitions sponsored by the HSL, and run by the HSS, was held in Edinburgh in July 1844. Three years later, in March 1847, when the next triennial competition was imminent, the HSS determined to withdraw its services, and to recommend that the HSL approach the Celtic Society as a more suitable body to run the competition. (The Royal Celtic Society records give no indication that they were in fact approached). [HSS Sd. Bk. 20: 531].

The reasons for the HSS's withdrawal were several. From the very outset the Society had put less emphasis on its cultural remit than had the HSL, and from the outset had been eager to stress that it ran the competition on behalf of the London Society, with no financial liability of its own. As its agricultural concerns came to predominate, particularly from approximately 1810, it indicated on several occasions a growing distaste for its cultural commitment. Several such incidents (particularly with respect to piping), are enumerated in Table V(1). In 1815, when the committee was debating a grant for Alexander Campbell's Albyns Anthology, it was discovered that the original sub-clause relating to "the language, poetry and music of the Highlands" had actually been written out of the charter [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 104]; and in 1825 the

1825 the committee noted pointedly that the piping competition should be "distinguished from the proper business of this society." [HSS Sd. Bk. 8: 263]. At much the same time the Society determined to extricate itself from any further involvement in Gaelic Scholarship, and with the publication of the Dictionary in 1828 the Celtic Committee went out of existence. [Black 1986: 34].

The 1830s and 1840s were significant years in the sense that founder members of the Society, who had enthusiastically promoted Highland cultural matters, began to pass away: Sir John MacGregor Murray died in 1822, Henry MacKenzie in 1831, Sir John Sinclair in 1835, and finally Charles Gordon, the long-serving and industrious secretary, in 1845. [Ramsay 1879: 521]. He was succeeded by John Hall Maxwell, one of the new breed of Society members - practical innovators and agriculturalists with little time for cultural ephemera.

Margaret Fay Shaw has summarised this general shift in attitude towards Gaelic cultural concerns as follows:

> "After 1820 interest in Ossian and Gaelic music and literature died down. The second generation of Highland Lairds to be educated in England became entirely Anglicised. The ulitarian ideas associated with the industrial revolution and, in some parts of the Highlands, the evangelical revival of the 1820s and 1830s, were alike hostile to Gaelic folklore." [Shaw 1977: 74. Cited Black 1986: 35].

This shift in attitude within the HSS was made explicit in 1834, with re-incorporation under the new title "The Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland". This

reflected the Society's avowed intention to continue "its attention to the improvement of agriculture and the different branches of rural industry". [Ramsay 1879: 220]. Not long after this the Rev. John MacIntyre felt constrained to remind readers of Sàr Obair that the Society had once

> "had reference to the mental culture of their Caledonian countrymen, instead of as now, unfortunately, to the physical development of the points of the inferior animals." [MacKenzie 1841: 325].

What little enthusiasm the Society retained for the Edinburgh piping competition must have been eroded in the 1840's, when a combination of circumstances produced financially poor years. [vide Table II/3]. The financial difficulties perhaps reflected a decline in popular appeal of an event which had been so long established; the general malaise of the economically depressed and socially volatile 1840s [Smout 1986: 7-32]; and specific organisational difficulties prompted by the retirement of J.G. Dalyell after 1838, leaving the event in the hands of members with limited organisational know-how, and limited enthusiasm for the task in hand. [Dalyell Gen 379D: 10].

The Northern Meeting and Provincial Competitions

The HSL's reaction to the HSS's withdrawal of its services is unfortunately not on record (the appropriate

minutes being lost), but its solution in the long-term was to transfer sponsorship to the pre-established pibroch competition at the Northern Meeting in Inverness.

The Northern Meeting was established in 1778, and comprised a week of Society balls and equestrian amusements akin to the Race Week in Edinburgh. [Pollitt 1981: 168]. A Highland Games organised by Macdonnell of Glengarry was added to the list of amusements in 1822, and piping competitions were introduced for the first time in 1841. [Pollitt (ibid.); MacPhee 1984]. These included both a pibroch competition (for which the prize was initially a set of pipes), and also a competition for Strathspeys and Reels. The HSL first provided a Gold Medal for a competition of former winners in 1849, but appears not to have repeated the award until 1859, after which it became a regular feature. [Campbell A. 1955(a): 7]. By the 1890s the Gold Medal had been appropriated for the main pibroch event, rather than for the competition for former winners. [Campbell A (ibid); HSL 268: 28-31]. From 1875 the Society also awarded a Gold Medal for pibroch at the Argyllshire Gathering in Oban, which, like the Northern Meeting, was a long-established Society event. [vide Cal Merc 5/9/1822; HSL 268 28: 147]. The Buinn Oir (Gold Medals) at Oban and Inverness remain to this day the most sought-after accolades in competitive piping.

Prior to this time the HSL had already engaged in sponsorship of a growing number of provincial Highland

Games. The first body to benefit from this patronage was Alexander Macdonnell of Glengarry's extravagantly-named "Society of True Highlanders", established in Fort William in 1815. In 1816 the HSL contributed a piping award of £15 to the Society's first Highland Games, held "at the June market in Inverlochy". [HSL 268, 20: 201]. This can probably be considered the first provincial event of its type outwith Edinburgh, and functioned for many years despite occasional moral censure from the more high-minded of Scotsman contributors. [vide Scotsman 24, 191 (1817).] The HSL sponsored the piping at Fort William quite generously until 1819 (in which latter year £20 was contributed), and also again between 1849 and 1855. [Table V(2)].

The event which really set the trend for all subsequent outdoor Highland Gatherings, however, was the St. Fillans Games, established by Lord Gwydir on scenic Loch Earn in 1819. (Fig. XIII) [Porteous 1912: 72-77]. It was at this event in 1823 that we first get indication of a regular reel-playing competition for the pipe [Handbill HSL 268, Box 19], and to this date, therefore, we can ascribe the introduction of Ceòl Beag piping competitions. The HSL provided prizes for the Games between 1823 and 1828: these were generally in cash, but in 1823 and 1825 came in the form of copies of MacGregor Murray's Poems of Ossian - prizes designed to both delight and educate.(1) The winner of the pibroch competition was, as in Edinburgh, presented with a prize pipe.

The event was held towards the end of August, and incorporated all the basic ingredients of the modern games - piping, dancing, running and throwing events, shooting and boat races, and a lavish buffet for the fashionable members of the St. Fillans Highland Society, clad, naturally, in the Highland dress. [Logan 1876 II: 321]. It was an impressive spectacle, and certainly appealed to the Caledonian Mercury reporter who witnessed the 1822 Gathering:

> "The shrill notes of the bagpipe, reechoed by the surrounding hills, and, above all, the grand and romantic features of the mountains, the lakes and rocks, and the woods, which distinguish Loch Earn, rendered the meeting of the St. Fillans Highland Society one of the most interesting and beautiful scenes that can be imagined." [Cal Merc 9/9/1822].

The establishment of the St. Fillans Highland Society opened the floodgates for a spate of Highland and Athletic Societies, which combined the current enthusiasm for the romantic Highlands, with the equally current vogue for athletic self-improvement.(2) Table V(2) details provincial Games subsidised by the HSL prior to 1860. As the Caledonian Mercury pertinently observed [22/6/1826] these were chiefly concentrated in Perthshire, and it is clear from the Society records that a prime mover in this respect was General David Stewart of Garth, who was responsible for disbursing the HSL funds to the St.

Table V/2

HIGHLAND GAMES SUBSIDISED BY THE HSL, PRE-1860

Event	Years Sponsored By HSL	Amount	Society Details	Sources
Society of True Highlanders. Fort William Games.	1816-1819 1849-1855	£15-£20 £5	Society of True Highlanders. Est. June 1815 by A Macdonnell of Glengarry. "A Pure Highland Society."	Inverness Journal 23/6/1815 19/7/1816 ECL W/ML/46,III:37 HSL 268,26:201 27:6/4/1822 43:3
St. Fillans Highland Gathering	1823-1828	£5-£10	St. Fillans Highland Society. Est. 1819 by Lord Gwydir.	Porteous 1912:72-77 Logan 1876 II:321 HSL Records - see Note (1)
Strathearn Highland Gathering (at Muthill)	1825-1829	£5	Strathearn Highland Friendly Society. Est. 1823. Ranald MacDonald of Staffa president (1826).	HSL 268,15:Hand Bills 1825 1827, 1828 Also Boxes 3, 7, 21
Dunkeld Highland Gathering	1826-1828	£5	Dunkeld Highland Society. Est. c1826. General Stewart of Garth president.	HSL 268:3/17/27
Atholl Highland Gathering (at Bridge of Tilt)	1827-1828	£5	Atholl Highland Meeting. Est. 1825.	HSL 268:15/27 E.E.C. 22/8/1840
Stirling Annual Gathering	1829 1840	£10-10-0 £5-5-0	Stirling & Bannockburn Caledonian. Society. Est. c1823.	HSL 268:3/4/5/6/17/18/19
Lonach Highland Gathering	1845-1855	£5	Lonach Highland Society, Strathdon. Est. 1823.	HSL 268:18/20
Braemar Highland Games	1849-1855	£5	Est. c1832.	HSL 268,28:19 268:18/20
Kintail Highland Games	1849-1851	£5	Kintail Highland Society.	HSL 268:18/20

Fillans, Dunkeld and Atholl Gatherings in the 1820's. [e.g. HSL 268, 27: 5/5/1827, 3/5/1828]. The athletic and gymnastic associations were primarily concerned with the "preservation and encouragement of manly national games and exercises" [Highland Club of Scotland, Rules HSL 268: 15], a goal which coincided with the athletic pursuits at the Highland Games. Many of the athletic clubs held their own games with pipers in attendance (3), and the oldest of all, the St. Ronans Border Club (est. 1827), maintained its own piper, Angus Cameron. The report on the 12th Annual Meeting of the Club, in August 1838, recounted how

> "At 10 o'clock, piper Angus from Rannoch struck up the Border Air 'Come gather, come gather, brave sons of the Heather' ... ", and the Games commenced. [Cal Merc 9/8/1838].

Conclusions

It is in the modern Highland Games that the influence of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland on piping, dancing and the Highland dress is most apparent. The very existence of modern competitive piping and dancing has root in the early competitions organised by the Societies in Falkirk and Edinburgh. The fact that the piper takes to the boards wearing the kilt; that he submits a list of tunes for the judges' scrutiny; that even to this day he can occasionally expect to be judged by a man of questionable musical calibre - these are all facets of an

ethos of competitive piping established during the great Edinburgh competitions.

Clearly the Highland bagpipe has evolved somewhat since the period under study. It is now played in the many countries of the world in which the Scottish regiments made their mark, and on the home front the social divide between patron and piper is less marked than of yore. The age of estate piping has come and gone, and most modern practitioners pipe merely as a hobby, albeit with a degree of dedication which would be hard to surpass. Competitive piping is the back-bone of modern piping practice. The winning of the HSL's Gold Medal is highly prestigious (although of limited pecuniary advantage), and the competitions keep alive the venerable art of Ceòl Mòr for which, unfortunately, there are few cultural outlets other than on the competition platform.

The nature of the Ceòl Mòr played nowadays undoubtedly has a good deal to do with the Highland Societies' encouragement of staff notation in the early nineteenth century, and their later preferential patronage of the MacKay style of notation and playing. We may not play our music exactly as MacKay wrote it, but his influence is nevertheless to be discerned in many of our tunes. The 1781 competitor, could he but witness it, would doubtless be surprised at the modern uniformity of playing styles, tune arrangements, titles and piping lore, but such is the price we have had to pay for the benefits of staff notation, and for the drift of Ceòl Mòr away from

its cultural roots in the Gàidhealtachd. If the modern Scot finds in pibroch the confusion of "tunes without measure or end"(4), this is an understandable reflection of his remoteness from the cultural idiom in which the music was engendered.

The HSL itself never lost faith in the propriety and value of its patronage of pipe music. In 1813 Sir John Sinclair boasted that

> "Had it not been for the exertions of the Society, the army would not have been supplied with Highland pipers, so rapidly was that species of music sinking into oblivion". [Sinclair J. 1813: 14](5).

He perhaps exaggerated, but the evidence of contemporary history does suggest that the Highland Societies, and the landed interests they represented, did much to revive and sustain the fortunes of the Highland Bagpipe during an uncertain period in its history. Beyond this, they helped ensure a healthy future for the instrument, both in the military context, and on the estate. The nineteenth century was probably a good time to be a piper - there was work aplenty on the estates, and there was a good competition circuit on which the best players could expect to make fair earnings. The mother of all competitions, however, remained the Edinburgh competition - with its lavish prizes, fine surroundings, and appreciative audiences. This event has become firmly established in piping lore (Appendix XI), and it was from this event that much of modern piping derives.

Notes to Chapter V

(1) For details of HSL Prizes for the St. Fillans Games see:
HSL 268, 27: 1/2/1823, 3/5/1823, 22/3/1824, 5/2/1825, 7/5/1825, 20/4/1826, 22/1/1827, 5/5/1827, 3/5/1828.
See also Handbills in boxes 15 and 19.

(2) James Logan enumerated the following Societies in 1848: The Celtic, Bannockburn, St. Fillans, Atholl, Braemar, Strathearn, Glasgow, Perth, Dunkeld, Ft. William, and Dornoch Societies; the Hollyrood and Roslyn Gymnastic clubs; the St. Ronans Border club; the Heather Club of Edinburgh. Logan J. Gaelic Gatherings [London 1848: 210].

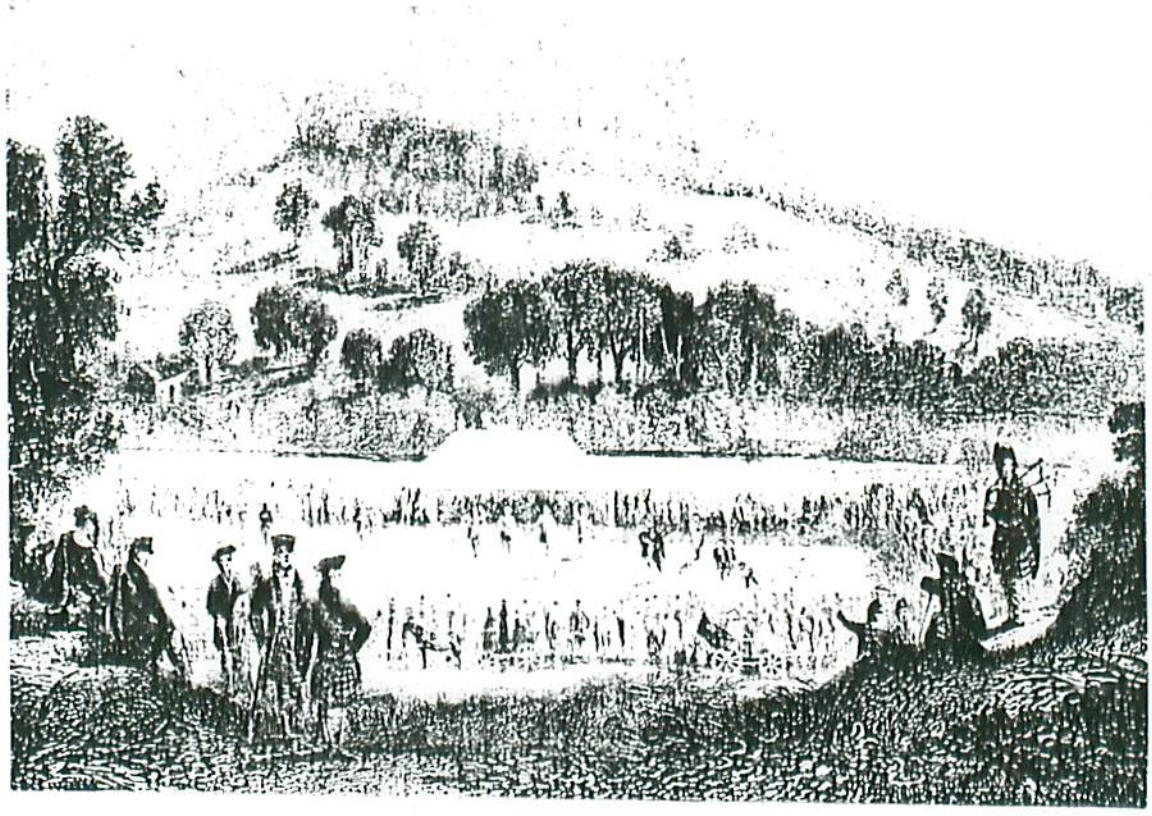
(3) e.g. see "Roslyn Gymnastic Club" [Cal Merc 20/7/1838]. "Leith Gymnastic Games" [Cal Merc 22/7/1844].

(4) From Hugh MacDiarmid "Bagpipe Music". In The Complete Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid [Edinb. 1985 I: 665].

(5) In 1808 Colonel Colyear Robertson communicated much the same message to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex:

> "The Highland Society has for many years past applied about £140 p.a. in premiums, to the best performers on the Highland pipe, without which that species of music, from the change of manners and ability in the Highlands, would in all probability have long ere this time sunk into oblivion". [HSL 268, 25: 25].

Fig. XIII ST. FILLANS HIGHLAND GATHERING. Watercolour (C.1830s). [Provenance uncertain]



APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

HANDBILL FOR THE 1785 COMPETITION

IN DUNN's ASSEMBLY ROOM.

ANCIENT MARTIAL MUSIC.

PLAN of the COMPETITION for PRIZES,

TO BEST PERFORMERS ON THE

GREAT HIGHLAND PIPE.

To begin at Eleven o'Clock forenoon, of TUESDAY the 30th Auguſt, 1785.

ACT I.

Pieces.	*English Tranſlation.*	*Candidates names and Country.*
	1. A Salute by Profeſſor M'ARTHUR.	
2. Ceau Drochaid Beg,	*Head of the Little Bridge, or the Carle-an', Gathering.*	To be played by John M'Gregor, ſen. from Fortingall, who won the firſt Prize at Edinburgh laſt year.
	3. A Piece by Peter M'Gregor, who won the firſt Prize at Falkirk Competition.	

ACT II.

1. Failte a' Phrionſai',	*The arrival or welcome*—A Salute,	John Cumming, Piper to Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart.
2. Failte Shir Sheumais,	*Sir James M'Donald's welcome,*	Robert M'Intyre, Piper to John M'Donald, Eſq; of Clanronald.
3. Cumhadh Mhic an Leathain,	*The M'Lean's Lament,*	John Cumming.
4. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Robert M'Intyre.
5. The ſame,	. . .	Alexander Lamont, Piper to John Lamont, Eſq; of Lamont
6. Glaiſ-mheur,	*A favourite Piece,*	Colin M'Nab, Piper to Francis M'Nab, Eſq; of M'Nab.
7. Molaidh Mharai',	*A Piece in praiſe of Mary, or the Laird of M'Lachlan's March,*	Alexander Lamont.
8 Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Colin M'Nab.
9 The ſame,	. . .	Donald Gun, Piper to Sir John Clark of Penycuick, Bart.
10. Cumhadh Mhic Chruimean,	*The Lamentation of Patrick More M'Crimmon,*	Donald M'Intyre, ſen. from Rannoch.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act II.

ACT III.

11. The Grants March,	. . .	Donald Gun.
12. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Intyre, ſen.
13. The ſame,	. . .	Dougald M'Dougal, Piper to Allan M'Dougal, Eſq; of Hayfield.
14. Piobrachd Ereanach,	*An Iriſh Pibroch,*	John M'Pherſon from Badenoch, Piper to Colonel Duncan M'Pherſon of Cluny.
15. Failte Shir Dheorſa,	*In praiſe of the Laird of Callandar.*	Dougald M'Dougal.
16. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Pherſon.
17. Teachd am Phrionſai' gu Muideard,	*The Landing in Moydart,*	Hugh M'Gregor, from the ſtewartry of Monteath.
18. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Malcolm M'Pherſon, from Breadalbane.
19. The ſame,	. . .	Hugh M Grigor.
20. Glaiſ-mheur,	. . .	Malcolm M'Pherſon.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act III.

ACT IV.

21. Leannan Dhonail Chruaimeich,	*Donald's Love,*	Donald Filher from Breadalbane, who won the ſecond prize laſt year.
22. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Archibald M'Grigor from Fortingal.
23. The ſame,	. . .	Donald Filher.
24. Leannan Ghiull Chruaimeich,	*The Stern Lad's Sweetheart,*	Archibald Macgrigor.
25. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Alexander M'Grigor, from Fortingal.
26. Ceau Drochaid Mhoir,	*Great Bridge,*	John M'Grigor, from Glenlyon.
27. Shiffealach Strath Ghlais,	*Chiſholm's March,*	Alexander M'Grigor.
28. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Grigor.
29. Piobrachd Shabh an t Siora',	*Sherrifmuir, a Pibroch,*	John M'Grigor jun a boy of twelve years of age, ſon to the above John M'Grigor from Fortingal, who won the prize laſt year.
30. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Lean of Edinburgh.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act IV.

ACT V.

31. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	The boy John M'Grigor.
32. Cumhadh Eoin Ghairbh,	*Lamentation of Rough John,*	Donald M'Lean.
33. Siubhal Mhic Allain,	*Clanranald's March,*	Donald M'Intyre jun from the eſtate of Sir Robert Menzies of that Ilk, in Rannoch, Perthſhire.
34. Piobrachd Mhic Dhonail Dhuibh,	*Cameron's Gathering,*	Paul M'Innes from Lochabar, Piper to John Cameron, Eſq; of Callart.
35. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Donald M'Intyre jun.
36. The ſame.	. . .	Paul M'Innes.
37. Siubhal Mhic Allain,	*Clanranald's March,*	Allan M'Intyre of Edinburgh.
38. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John M'Pherſon from Strathſpey, late Piper to the Atholl Highlanders.
39. The ſame,	. . .	Allan M'Intyre.
40. Cumhadh an Aoin Mhic,	*Lamentation for an only Son,*	John M'Pherſon.
41. Glaiſ-mheur,	. . .	Duncan Steuart from Rannoch.
42. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	John Dewar from the eſtate of Sir Robert Menzies.
43. The ſame,	. . .	Duncan Steuart.
44. Ceau Drochaid Mhoir,	*Head of the Great Bridge*—a Pibroch,	John Dewar.
45. Shabh an t Siora',	*Skierrifmuir.*	Ronald M'Donald, from Culloden.
46. Failte a' Phrionſai',	. . .	Robert M'Dougal from Fortingal, Perthſhire.
47. The ſame,	. . .	Ronald M'Donald.
48. Molaidh Mharai',	*In praiſe of Mary,*	Robert M'Dougal.

A HIGHLAND DANCE after Act V.

The whole to conclude with a Piece by Profeſſor M'ARTHUR.

Appendix II

COMPETITION SOURCE DATA

	Caledonian Mercury	Scots Magazine	H.S.S. Sederunt Books (1)	H.S.L. Minute/ Accounts Books (2)	H.S.L. Correspondence/ Misc. Records (2)	J.G. Dalyell Notebooks (3)	A. Campbell Notebooks (4)	Other
1781		(43):553				351D:50 371D:96		E.E.C.(5) 15/10/1781; Dalyell 1849:94, 99, 101
1782					Minutes: Box 15			E.E.C. 19/10/1782
1783				34:1783	Letter: Trigge 4/11/ 1783 Box 1 Letter: Donaldson 13/12/1783 Box 1			E.E.C. 20/10/1783 " 27/10/1783 Dalyell 1849:95, 96 Glasgow Mercury 23/10/1783
1784		(46):552,3	I:45-50	34:3 (1784)	Letter: Robertson 29/10/1784 Box 1 Letter: MacKenzie 7/10/1784 Box 1			E.E.C. 29/9/1784 ". 16/10/1784 " 20/10/1784
1785	3/9/1785	(47):414	I:82, 84-87	21:31, 2 34:9 (1785)				Dalyell 1849:282; 84; 96-97 Seton Gordon NLS/Acc 7451/19/3
1786	26/7/1786 29/7/1786 2/8/1786	(48):359		34:2/8/1786	Handbill:Box 15			
1787	21/7/1787 26/7/1787	(49):360	I:160, 189	34:July 1787				
1788	24/7/1788 26/7/1788 31/7/1788	(50):359	I:212	34:1788				
1789	1/8/1789	(51):410	II:16	34:1789				
1790	10/7/1790 12/7/1790 15/7/1790	(52):533		34:1790				Edinburgh Evening News 17/7/1790
1791	16/7/1791	(53):360	II:136, 7, 155	34:27/6/1791				E.E.C. 21/7/1791

	Cal. Merc.	Scots.Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Othe:
1792	16/7/1792 26/7/1792		II:210	34:1792				
1793	6/7/1793 11/7/1793		II:288, 9 327, 333	34:1793		425D:103		
1794	14/7/1794 17/7/1794 20/7/1794		II:258	34:1794				
1795	9/7/1795 23/7/1795	(57):476	II:443	34:1795				
1796	18/7/1796		III:69	34:1796				E.E.C. 21/7/1796
1797	13/7/1797 24/7/1797 29/7/1797	(59):501	III:113, 146, 161, 196	34:1797				
1798	21/7/1798 30/7/1798 2/8/1798	(60):574	III:230	34:1798				
1799	25/7/1799 3/8/1799 8/8/1799	(61):574	III:296		Receipts:Box 16			
1800	21/7/1800 24/7/1800		III:445	34:1800				
1801	13/7/1801 16/7/1801			34:1801				
1802	17/7/1802 22/7/1802	(63):705	III:535	34:1802				
1803	16/7/1803 21/7/1803	(65):581		24:35 34:1803				
1804	21/7/1804 28/7/1804		IV/1:101,2	24:59 34:1804				

	Cal. Merc.	Scots Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1805	20/7/1805 1/8/1805	(67):644	IV/1:141	34:1805				
1806	17/7/1806 4/8/1806 7/8/1806		IV/1:221, 234	34:1806		351D:52		Letter MacRae 8/7/1806 Ingliston A.V. 1(3)
1807	27/7/1807 6/8/1807			24:138 25:19 34:1807	Letter: Gordon 12/8/1807 Box 1		I:26,27	
1808	16/7/1808 28/7/1808		PMB:4,5	34:1808		351D:52	I:27,28	
1809	20/7/1809 3/8/1809		PMB:6	25:68,69 34:1809		351D:53	I:28,29	
1810	14/7/1810 2/8/1810		PMB:6,7	25:100,101 34:1810			I:29,30	Black 1986:25,26
1811	15/7/1811 27/7/1811			25:126 34:1811			I:30,31	
1812	16/7/1812 27/7/1812 30/7/1812		PMB:7	34:1812		351D:52	I:31,32	Sinclair 1813:70
1813	10/7/1813 26/7/1813 31/7/1813		IV/2:555	34:1813		351D:52	I:32-36	
1814	1/8/1814 6/8/1814	(76):714		34:1814		351D:52	I:36-41	
1815	31/7/1815		PMB:8	26:109-120				
1816	3/8/1816		V:311	34:1816			I:43-45	
1817	14/7/1817 19/7/1817						I:45-47	

	Cal. Merc.	Scots.Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1818	18/7/1818 25/7/1818		PMB:8		Letter: Gordon 25/7/1818:Box 1 ARP(6):Box 19	351D:52		
1819	21/7/1819 31/7/1819		VI:112				I:10,11, 50,51	
1820	17/7/1820 22/7/1820				Receipt: Box 17	351D:52	I:15,16	
1821	30/7/1821 4/8/1821				Letter: Gordon 4/8/1821 Box 19 ARP:Box 19		I:18,19, 52-57 II:1-4	
1822	29/7/1822 3/8/1822				ARP:Box 19	350D:36,37	II:4-24	
1823	2/8/1823		PMB:3, 9,10	27;1/2/1823	Judges List: Box 19 ARP:Box 19	351D:53	II:24-41	
1824	17/7/1824 21/7/1824		PMB:2, 11-22		List of Pipers: Box 15 ARP: Box 17 Handbill: Box 19 Receipt: Box 17	351D:78	II:41-56	
1825	11/7/1825		PMB:25-38		Receipt: Box 17	355D:13-15	II:56-63	P.T.: May 1984 Dalyell 1849:102
1826	15/6/1826 22/6/1826		PMB:43-50, 55 IX:394 X:175	27:5/5/1827	Letter: Gordon 27/10/1826 Box 2 " Gordon 7/6/1827 Box 2 Receipt: Box 17 ARP: Box 17	356D:7		
1829	1/8/1829		PMB:59-62, 66- 72, 76, 80 X:120, 175-176	27:3/5/1828 27:7/2/1829	Letter: Smith 2/4/1828 Box 3 " Gordon 16/4/1828 Box 3 " " 26/7/1828 Box 3 " " 28/4/1829 Box 3	358D:67, 81-86		Dalyell 1849:97

	Cal. Merc.	Scots Mag.	HSS Sd. Bk.	HSL Min. Bk.	HSL Misc.	Dalyell	Campbell	Other
1832	28/7/1832		PMB:81-101, 138	14:4/4/1829 14:2/2/1833	Letter: Gordon 5/5/1841 Box 6 " Gordon 2/5/1838 Box 5	360D:38-44	I:1	
1835	23/7/1835		PMB:103, 119-120, 125		ARP: Box 19	369D:40, 41, 49-56		Dalyell 1849:100 Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3
1838	26/7/1838		PMB:136-148		Letter: Gordon 2/5/1838 Box 5 Handbill: Box 19 Programme: Box 19 ARP: Box 19 Letter: Gordon 25/5/1839 Box 5	378D:54-59		Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3
1841	22/7/1841		PMB:157-164, 150, 153		Letter: Gordon 5/5/1841 Box 6 " Gordon 15/5/1841 Box 6	374D:14-18		Seton Gordon NLS Acc 7451/19/3 Dalyell 1849:105,106
1844	15/7/1844		PMB:1844		Letter: Gordon 10/6/1844 Box 6 " Gordon 8/7/1844 Box 6 ARP: Box 19 Programme + Bill: Box 19	379D:9-15		Dalyell 1849:105,106

Footnote: Sources

(1) HSS Records. Royal Highland and Agricultural Society, Ingliston. Comprise early Sederunt Books; Piping Minute Book (HSSPMB, from 1824); correspondence, indexed and catalogued by R. Black.

(2) HSL Records. National Library of Scotland, Deposit 268.

(3) J.G. Dalyell Notebooks. Edinburgh University Library. Laing Collection. Gen 350D; Gen 425D; Gen 427D; Gen 351D-382D.

(4) A. Campbell Notebooks. Two typescript notebooks of material from the HSL Records. Loaned by James Campbell, Kilberry. Contains references to material no longer in NLS Dep. 268.

(5) E.E.C. Edinburgh Evening Courant.

(6) A.R.P. Accounts of Receipts and Payments for the Edinburgh Competition. Surviving Accounts are in Dep. 268.

(7) Angus Mackay in his 1838 Collection (15-20) included a "Circumstantial Account of the Competitions". This material is largely quoted verbatim from the contemporary Newspaper Accounts.

Appendix III

THE MACGREGORS OF FORTINGALL

(A) References cited in this Appendix

(1) Competition Records.

(2) Alexander MacGregor. "The aged Piper and His Bagpipe." Celtic Magazine [5(1879-80):404-5]. First published in The Perthshire Courier 26/3/1857; reproduced in Gaelic in An Gaidheal [5(1876):19-21].

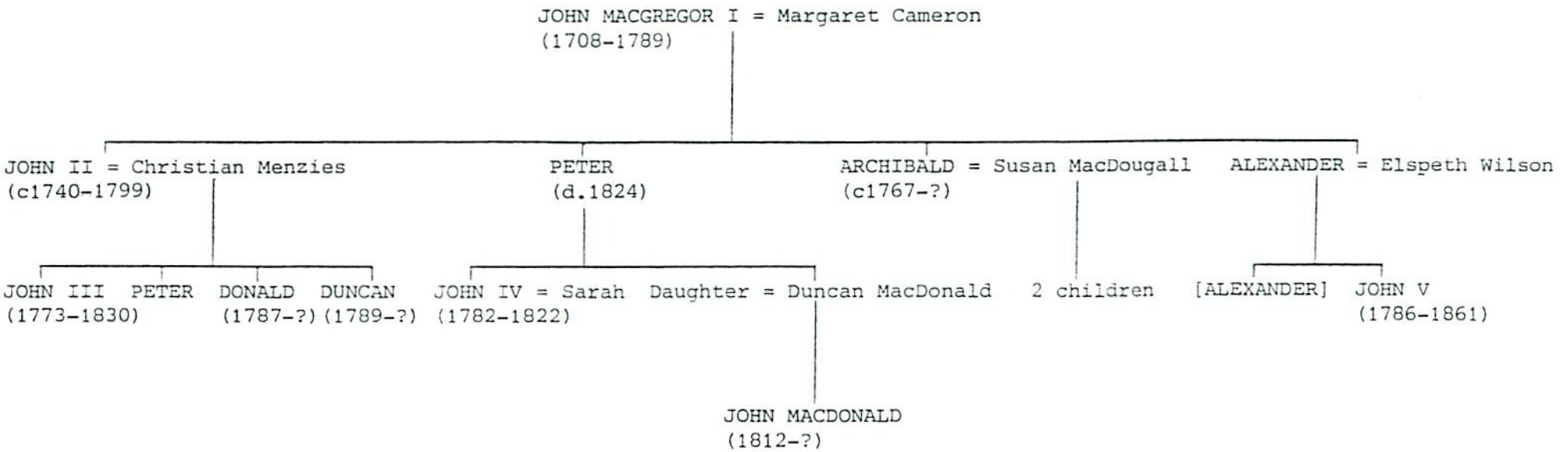
(3) Henry Whyte. "Clann an Sgeulaiche". Celtic Monthly 20(1912): 207-8.

(4) Archibald Campbell of Kilberry. "The MacGregor Pipers of Clann an Sgeulaiche". Piping Times July/Aug/Sept 1950.

(5) Capt. John MacLellan. Genealogical Tree in International Piper [March 1979:22].

(6) DGC Burns "John MacGregor of Fortingall and his descendants". Scottish Genealogist 29 (1982):105-8. Burns largely draws on the forementioned sources, with additional matter from the Baptismal Register of Glenmuick Parish.

(B) JOHN MACGREGOR AND HIS PIPING PROGENY



Data: The numbering of the various Johns is based on A Campbell (4). Main genealogical data is from Burns (6), but dates are only included if proved accurate. Dates provided by MacLellan (5) are speculative, and in many instances wrong.

(C) Biographical information on John MacGregor I ("Iain Mac an Sgeulaiche", 1708-1789) is detailed in Ch III. On the evidence of John V, he had 4 piping sons, and 8 piping grandsons (2):

1. John MacGregor II (c1740-1799). Eldest son of John I. Competed in 1782 when piper to the HSL (2nd prize), and in 1784 (1st prize). Became first piper to hold Breadalbane c1786, and is mentioned in that capacity in 1790, 94, 95 and 99, in which year it is believed he died. He played exhibition tunes at the competition in 1785, 86 and 90. Stated in 1784 that he had "taught above 50 military pipers himself" and was "the eldest of five sons (sic?) taught by their father John MacGregor, together with 90 other pipers." [Scots Magazine 46 (Oct 1784):552,3]. Performed for the HSL, 1791/92. [HSL 268:34]. Sources: (1), (4), (5). His sons were:

   (a) John MacGregor III [1773-1830]. Son of John II and mentioned in 1783 as grandson of John I "not above 12 years old." Competed in 1784, 85, 86, 89 (3rd prize), 90, 91 (2nd prize) and 93 (1st prize). Described in 1784 as a boy of 11, and in 1785 as a boy of 12 who had "made great progress and gave great satisfaction" [HSS Sd.Bk.I:86]. Lived at Taymouth while his father was piper there. In 1793 was piper to the Breadalbane Fencibles. Succeeded his father as piper to Breadalbane in 1799, and was listed as such in 1822 when he gave an exhibition tune. Mackay in 1838 stated that he had died 8 years previously, aged 59. [Mackay A 1838:16].
   Sources: (1), (4).

   (b) Peter MacGregor. Son of John II. Competed 1794 (3rd prize) and 1795 (1st prize).
   Source: (1)

   (c) Donald MacGregor (1787-?). Son of John II. In 1802, aged 15, appointed piper to Menzies at Weem. [MacAulay A 1963] Competed 1806, 07, 08, 09 (4th prize), 10 (3rd prize), 11, 12 (1st prize). Initially described as from Taymouth, and from 1809 as piper to the Highland Regiment of the Perthshire Local Militia. Applied to compete for the Gold Medal, 1835, but was too late. In a letter to the HSS Secretary, dated Haddington 23 July 1835, he stated that he had been Sheriff Officer in East Lothian for 14 years.(4) In 1824 he was appointed Town Piper of Haddington in an attempt to revive an old tradition, but the post lapsed with his death. [Mooney 1985:14]
   Sources: (1), (4).

   (d) Duncan MacGregor (1789-?). Son of John II. Competed 1806, 07, 08, 09 (3rd prize), 16. Listed as from Taymouth until 1809. Later P/m of the Centre Battalion, Perthshire Local Militia.
   Sources: (1), (4), (5).

2. Peter MacGregor ("Patrick Na Coraig"). d.1824. Son of John I. Competed 1781 (1st prize) when piper to Henry Balnaves of Adradour. Played exhibition tunes 1785, 1790. For further details see under HSL pipers, Ch. III. His son was:

   (a) John MacGregor IV.(1782-1822). Son of Peter. Competed 1792 (aged 10) (3rd prize), 1798 (2nd prize), 1806 (1st prize). Exhibition tune 1807. For full details see under HSL pipers, Ch. III.
   Source: (1)

   (b) i. John MacDonald (1812-?). Grandson of Peter MacGregor by his daughter and Duncan MacDonald, Fortingall. Competed 1824, 25 (5th prize), 26, 29 (3rd prize). In 1824, when aged only 12, he was eliminated at the rehearsal but allowed to perform in public, where he "played his tune on the stage with much apparent ease, and in a manner remarkably correct for so young a performer." [Cal Merc 17/7/1824] Gained a 3rd prize at the Atholl Meeting in 1827.
   Sources: (1).

3. Archibald MacGregor (c1767-?). 3rd son of John I. Competed in 1783 (2nd prize), 84, 85, 86, 87 (1st prize). Listed as from Fortingall until 1786, when he became piper to Campbell of Glenlyon. At his first attempt in 1783 he was awarded 2nd prize over his brothers, his father, and John MacArthur.(1) This incident was recorded by David Trigge: "Arch'd McGrigor, being asked if he thought himself a boy of 16 years better than his father, he said in answer if he was that, what for needed he be getting lessons from him? His father replied that he had given him all he could, but if he did not get more he would be lost." [Trigge D 1783:2] From Trigge's evidence we can date his birth to c. 1767. McLellan (5), followed by Burns (6), states that he died in 1797, but unless he died young, this is improbable. One might speculate that it was this man who was mentioned in Menzies' Bagpipe Preceptor in 1818, in the context of a discussion of the MacGregor pipers: "I must be content with the sound of Archie's pipe once a year, at a Highland wedding." [Menzies 1818:15]
   Sources: (1), (5), (6).

4. Alexander MacGregor. 4th son of John I. Competed 1782, 85, 86, 90 (2nd prize), 97 (1st prize). Listed as from Fortingall until 1797, when he succeeded his brother Archibald as Glenlyon's piper. Performed as a former winner in 1817.
   Source: (1). His son was:

   (a) John MacGregor V (1786-1861). Son of Alexander. Competed 1807 (3rd prize), 08, 10 (2nd prize) and 11 (1st prize), in which years he was piper to William Farquarson of Monaltry (near Ballater in Aberdeenshire). Performed

as former winner in 1812 and 1815, listed as from "Appindow". Competed in the Gold Medal competition in 1835, and although he did not win, JG Dalyell considered his instrument "certainly the best". [Dalyell Gen 369D:52] Appointed as piper to the Duke of Atholl in 1812. Seen by Sir David Wilkie in Sept 1817, who described him as ... "a famous personage. He has got the complete uniform of his order (a kilt and plaid) [and] is a fine looking fellow. ... He plays regularly for half an hour before breakfast and dinner, and walks with stately majesty before the house." [Miles & Brown 1987:180] He features in the Wilkie oil The Death of the Red Deer (1821), and also in a Dighton made during the Royal Visit, 1822, when he acted as piper to the MacGregor contingent. [S.N.P.G.] 3rd in Pibroch at the St. Fillans Games, 1822; and piper to the Atholl Highlanders during the Eglinton Tournament, 1839. Retired from service to Atholl c1835, and was given a half-pension. In c1841, when old and in "straightened circumstances", he wrote to Alexander MacGregor, a native of Dull, regarding the pipes he inherited from his grandfather - and the information communicated forms the basis of Source (2). Miss Murray MacGregor of MacGregor recorded of him: "I saw the old man many years ago, and if I remember right he lived in a house somewhere about Appin of Dull, opposite Tirinie, and he was wont to play sometimes to the late Mr. Fletcher Menzies across the river."[3] Died in Drumcharry 18 July 1861: listed as 75 years old, single, and a piper (6).
Sources: (1), (2), (3), (6).

(b) Alexander MacGregor. A possible candidate for 7th grandson of John I, who might logically, on the strength of his name, have been son of Alexander, and brother of John V. This, however, is not proven. Competed 1813-1819, gaining 4th prize in 1813, but failed to better himself thereafter. From 1816 he was piper to the Gaelic Society of Perth.(1)

There are several other MacGregors mentioned in the competition records who might have been of the family. A John MacGregor, who was piper to Sir Robert Menzies at Weem, competed in 1786 and 1803, gaining 3rd prize in the latter year; another John, probably his son, was piper to Sir Neil Menzies, and competed in 1841 (5th prize) and 1844. He remained piper to Menzies until 1890, when the post passed to his son Neil, who features in a photograph of the Aberfeldy pipe band, c1906. [Whyte 1904:146; P.T. Jan 1980:17]

A John MacGregor, piper in the Edinburgh City Guard, gained 3rd prize at the 1783 Falkirk competition when still a teenager. Trigge described him as "very bad" [Trigge 1783:2], but possibly he improved and was the same John MacGregor from Glenlyon who competed in 1784 and 1785, and won the prize pipe in 1788; or even the John MacGregor,

P/M of the 73rd Regiment (a Perthshire regiment) who competed in 1806, 07 and 08, winning the prize pipe in the latter year.

A Hugh MacGregor from Monteath, and later the Royal Scots, competed in 1785 and 1799, winning 3rd prize in 1799. Donald MacGregor competed in 1816 and 1818, while Malcolm MacGregor won the prize pipe in 1804. His later association with John MacGregor IV and the HSL (see Ch. III) might suggest that he was of the family, and possibly even the eighth of John I's piping grandsons.

Appendix IV

MACKAY COLLECTION	MACDONALD COLL. N.	TUNES PLAYED AT THE EDINBURGH COMPETITION	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	6TR	6TR	1TP	1TR	6TR	6TR	12TR	12TR	1TR	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	12TR	12TR	TOTAL
		YEAR	1783	1784	1785	1786	1790	1813	1914	1818	1819	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1829	1835	1838	1844	
		No. of Competitors.	12	16	24	26	9	12	14	22	26	23	30	28	28	27	15	15	35	21	28	
	X	Prince's Salute	2	1	All	2	2	6	12	3	1	9	17	17	24	2	1		1	18	15	133
	X	Finger Lock		All	3	2	2	7	7	1	2	9	15	20	17	1	1	1	1	10	8	107
	X	In Praise of Mary		1	2	2		4	8		1	4	8	16	16	1	1	1	1	11	4	82
X		MacIntosh's Lament	1					2				3	6	10	9	1	1	1		15	14	63
	X	Donald Gruamach's March			2	1		3	7	1	1	3	8	13	12			1	1	6	2	61
X	X	The Carles With the Breeks				1		5	8	1	1	3	4	12	9	1				4	7	57
	X	Boisdale's Salute					1	3	4	2	1	3	9	12	12	1				4	2	54
	X	End of the Little Bridge		1	1	1	2	3	3	2		4	5	9	9					3		43
(X)		Chisholm's Salute			1			1	1	1		3	5	8	9	1				4	8	42
X		Clanranald's Salute	4	2	2	2	1	2	3				5	1	8	2				4	6	42
X		MacKay's White Banner											2	8	8	1			1	9	10	39
X		Battle of Sheriffmuir		1	2			3	2			3	4	3	6					5	5	34
	X	Black Donald's March		1	1	2			1	1		1	4	7	5	1				4	5	33
X		My King Has Landed at Moidart			1					1	1	1	1	7	6		1	2	1	6	5	33
	X	Glengarry's March				1							3	8	10	1	8				2	33
		Battle of Waternish										1	1	1	4	1		1	3	9	12	33
	X	End of the Great Bridge		1	1	1			1			4	10	9	2	1				1	1	32
X	X	Craigellachie			1	1	1	2	3		1	2	4	6	7	1				2	1	32
X		The Glen is Mine																	1	8	19	28
	X	Duke of Hamilton's Lament				1	1		1			1	5	5	9					1	3	27
		Young George's Salute			1			1				2	4	1	6		1			4	5	25
		The Blue Ribbon			1			2	1			1		1	3			1		7	7	24
	X	Rout of Glenfruin						2	1			2	4	4	7					1	3	24
X		MacDonald's Salute							1			1	2	1	4	1	1			6	7	24
X		War or Peace	1					3	3				2	3	4		1			3	1	21
		Lament for an Only Son		2	1			2	2			1	1	4	6						1	20
X		MacLeod's Salute			1							1		2	4	1				3	8	20
X		I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand						2	3			1	4	3	2	1				1	2	19
	X	Stewart's White Banner		1										1	5	1		1		4	6	19
X		Earl of Seaforth's Salute												4	2					8	4	18
X		Piper's Warning to his Master		1									4		6	1				1	5	18
		Scarce of Fishing										1	3	3						5	5	17

MACKAY COLLECTION	N.T.I.C.O. MACDONALD																							
		YEAR	1TP 1783	1TP 1784	1TP 1785	1TP 1786	1TP 1790	6TR 1813	6TR 1814	1TP 1818	1TR 1819	6TR 1821	6TR 1822	12TR 1823	12TR 1824	1TR 1825	1TP 1826	1TP 1829	1TP 1835	12TR 1838	12TR 1844	TOTAL
		No. of Competitors.	12	16	24	26	9	12	14	22	26	23	30	28	28	27	15	15	35	21	28	
X		Earl of Ross' March									1	3	3	5	4		1					17
X	X	Patrick Og MacCrimmon's Lament			1	1			1				1	3	4	1				1	4	17
X		Menzie's Salute											4	5	5	1					1	16
X		Bell's of Perth							1				1						1	0	5	16
X		Massacre of Glencoe											1	2	2				2		9	16
X		Sir James MacDonald of the Isle's Salute		1	1	1		1	1	1				2	1					4	3	16
		Lament for Iain Garbh MacLean			1	1						2	3		5			1		2		15
X		MacKenzie of Gairloch's Lament												2					1	6	4	13
		Lament for the Union						1				1	2	1	2				1	1	4	13
X		Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil's Salute											2	2	5		1			1	1	12
X		MacLeod of Raasay's Salute												2	1				1	3	4	11
		MacNeill of Barra's March								1	1		3	2	3		1					11
		Sutherland's Gathering						1	1			2	1	5				1				11
X		The Vaunting				1								1	4	1				1	3	11
		Lament for Donald Ban MacCrimmon												1	5					1	4	11
X		MacLeod of Raasay's Lament											1		3						7	11
		MacCrimmon's Sweetheart												5	1	1				1	3	11
X		MacKenzie's Gathering / Tulloch Ard										1		2					1	3	3	10
X		Struan Robertson's Salute													1	1					8	10
		Lament for the Children							1					4	4						1	10
		Battle of Auldearn				1							1	1					1	5	1	10
		MacKenzie of Gairloch's Salute							1			1	2	1	4				1			10
X		MacGregor's Salute						1	1				3	2						1	1	9
X		Gordon's Salute													1				1	1	5	8
		Lord MacDonald's Tutor's Lament																		1	7	8
		Battle of the Pass of Crieff							1			1		2	2						2	8
X		Lord Lovat's Lament																1		3	3	7

MACKAY COLLECTION	MACDONALD COLL'N.		1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	6TR	6TR	1TP	1TR	6TR	6TR	12TR	12TR	1TR	1TP	1TP	1TP	12TR	12TR	
		YEAR	1783	1784	1785	1786	1790	1813	1814	1818	1819	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1829	1835	1838	1844	TOTAL
		No. of Competitors.	12	16	24	26	9	12	14	22	26	23	30	28	28	27	15	15	35	21	28	
X		MacLean's March							1				1		1				2		2	7
X		MacLeod's Lament						3	1	1				1							1	7
X		MacNab's Salute												2						1	4	7
	X	The Groat												1	3						2	6
X		Lament for the Viscount of Dundee												2							4	6
		Catherine's Lament													2					1	3	6
X		Marquis of Argyll's Salute		1											1		1		1		1	5
		Battle of Mulroy											1	2						1	1	5
		King James VI's Salute												1	1					1	2	5
X		Donald Doughal MacKay's Lament										1								1	2	4
		The MacDonald's Gathering							2			1		1								4
		MacDonald of Kinloch-moidart's Salute																		3	1	4
		Sir James MacDonald of the Isles' Lament												1	1						2	4
		Sobieski's Salute												3		1						4
		The Bicker												1	1						1	3
		In Praise of Marion																			3	3
X		Isobel MacKay						1	1											1		3
		The Men Went to Drink														1				2		3
		The Old Men of the Shells												1						2		3
		Queen Anne's Lament	(1)																	1	1	1
		The Sutherland's March											1	1	1							3
	X	Too Long In This Condition											2	1								3
X		The Young Laird of Dungallon's Salute												2	1							3
		Cha Till MacCruimein																		1	2	3
		MacIntyre's March							3													3
X		Abercairney's Salute	1																1			2
		Abercairney's Lament	1											1								2
		Battle of Coulin									1				1							2
		Battle of Strome												2								2
		Beinn a Ghriann										1	1									2

MACKAY COLLECTION	MACKINNON COLL.		1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	6TR	6TR	1TP	1TR	6TR	6TR	12TR	12TR	1TR	1TP	1TP	1TP	12TR	12TR	TOTAL
		YEAR	1783	1784	1785	1786	1790	1813	1814	1818	1819	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1829	1835	1838	1844	
		No. of Competitors.	12	16	24	26	9	12	14	22	26	23	30	28	28	27	15	15	35	21	28	
		End of Inchberry Bridge																		2		2
		Turn the Cattle, Duncan												1						1		2
		Lamont's March				1							1									2
		Glengarry's Gathering						1												1		2
		The Little Spree							1						1							2
		MacIver's Salute							1			1										2
		MacLeod (Gesto's) Gathering						1												1		2
		Red Alexander of Glengarry's Lament																	1		1	2
		The Red Ribbon										1		1								
		Rout of Bendoig												1						1		2
		Battle of Atholl																			1	1
		Cameron's Salute										1										1
		Cluny MacPherson's Salute																		1		1
		The Company's Lament												1								1
		Lady Anapool's Lament																			1	1
		Laird of Anapool's Lament																		1		1
	X	Lament for the Departure of King James												1								1
	X	Lament for Ronald MacDonald of Morar													1							1
		MacDougall's March											1									1
		McEachan of Kingerloch's Salute						1														1
X		MacKenzie of Applecross Salute																			1	1
		MacLean's Gathering							1													1
		MacLean's Lament			1																	1
		MacLeod's Fairy Flag																			1	1
		MacLeod of Grishernish's Lament																		1		1
		MacLeod of Tallisker's Salute																1				1
		Park Piobaireachd	1																			1
		Lament for Red Hector of the Battles																		1		1

MACKAY COLLECTION	MACDONALD COLL. N.		1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	1TP	6TR	6TR	1TP	1TR	6TR	6TR	12TR	12TR	1TR	1TP	1TP	1TP	12TR	12TR	
		YEAR	1783	1784	1785	1786	1790	1813	1814	1818	1819	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1829	1835	1838	1844	TOTAL
		No. of Competitors.	12	16	24	26	9	12	14	22	26	23	20	28	28	27	15	15	35	21	28	
		Red Speckled Bull							1													1
		Lament for the Old Sword																			1	1
		Flame of Wrath for Squinting Peter												1								1

Footnote: (1) This Appendix does not include new compositions over this period. See Appendix V.
(2) 1TP = One tune played, public competition.
(3) 1TR = One tune, rehearsal.
(4) 6TR = Six tunes entered, rehearsal.
(5) 12TR = Twelve tunes entered, rehearsal.

Appendix V(a)

NEW COMPOSITIONS ENTERED AT THE EDINBURGH COMPETITION, 1783-1844

LAMENTS	COMPOSER	DATE	ENTERED AT COMPETITION	RECORDED	REMARKS
Donald Branda's Lament	-	-	1823, 1824	-	Entered by John Smith, piper to Grant of Grant.
Glengarry's Lament	Archibald Munro	1828	1838, 1844	Mackay A 1838:31	Composed by Glengarry's piper, after Alasdair Ranaldson's death whilst escaping a sinking steamer in Loch Linnhe Jan 14 1828. [Mackay A 1838. Hist. Notes:6]
Janet's Lament	-	-	1824	-	Possibly a Perthshire tune. Entered by John MacPherson, Breadalbane, and Duncan Menzies, Glenlyon, in 1824.
King George III's Lament	John MacKay	1820	1838, 1844	Mackay A 1838:102	"It was in the reign of George III that the importance of the Highland race was acknowledged"... etc. [Mackay A 1838. Hist. Notes:10]
Lady MacDonald's Lament	Angus MacArthur	1790	1823, 1844	MacArthur A 1820:24 Mackay A 1838:137	Angus MacArthur was piper to Lord MacDonald. Written on the death of Elizabeth Diana, Lady MacDonald, 18 Oct 1789. [Mackay A 1838:12]
Mrs MacDonald of Glengarry's Lament	Roderick MacDonald	c.1840	1844	-	Roderick MacDonald was piper to Aeneas Macdonell of Glengarry. The tune was probably written on the death of Rebecca, widow of Alasdair Ranaldson, in 1840. [MacDonald A&A III:315]

MacLeod of Colbecks' Lament	John MacKay	c.1823	1844	Mackay A 1838:149	Colonel John MacLeod of Colbecks was a descendant of the MacLeods of Lewis. Married [1782] Jane, daughter of John MacLeod of Raasay (hence the Mackay connection). He was a Colonel in the MacLeod Fencibles. Died, London 1823. Colbecks was a successful plantation in Jamaica, operated by his father. [Mackinnon & Morrison 1974:14]
Sir Robert Menzies' Lament	(Donald MacIntyre?)	c.1800?	1823	-	The renowned MacIntyres from Rannoch acted as pipers to Menzies at Weem. Pipers on the estate in Sir Robert's day included Donald MacIntyre Jnr, John MacGregor and John Dewar.
Robertson of Struan's Lament	John MacIntyre	1822	1823	-	Colonel Alexander Robertson of Struan died childless in 1822. His family piper was Allan MacDonald, Rannoch, but the MacIntyre pipers also lived in close proximity to the Robertson seat at Dun-Alister, Loch Rannoch. [Reid J. 1933:51]
Sandaig's Lament	-	-	1838	-	Entered by William Gunn in 1838. Gunn appears to have been associated with Peter Reid, and we might guess that this was the same tune as "Lament for MacDonald of Sanda" recorded by Reid in 1826[43]. (This in itself was a version of Contullich's Lament). Archibald MacDonald of Sanda was an Edinburgh advocate, and cousin of Clanranald. He judged at the Edinburgh competitions in the early 1790s. Died 1796. [MacDonald A&A III:393]

Sandy Roy MacDonald's Lament	(John Robertson?)	-	1825	-	Entered by John Robertson, Strathbran, 1825.
Sir Reginald MacDonald of Staffa's Lament	(Roderick MacDonald?)	1838	1838	-	MacDonald of Staffa was Hon. Secretary of the HSS (1813-1838) and a prominent patron of piping. Dalyell records that the tune was performed at the Edinburgh competition only months after his death. [Dalyell 1849:18] The composer might well have been Roderick MacDonald, who performed it on this occasion, and who is credited also with the "Lament for Mrs. MacDonald of Glengarry". [Q.V.]
Smith's Lament	(John Robertson?)	-	1825	-	Entered by John Robertson Strathbran. A "Mrs Smith's Salute" was composed by John Ban MacKenzie at Taymouth. [Glen D. 1880:118]
SALUTES	COMPOSER	DATE	ENTERED	RECORDED	REMARKS
The Celtic Society's Salute	(Wm. MacKay/John MacLeod?)	post-1820	1844	-	The Society was formed in 1820. A probable composer was William MacKay, piper to the Society 1820-1841, who was a pibroch player of repute. The tune was entered in 1844 by John MacLeod, who succeeded MacKay as piper to the Society.
The Chisholm	-	1836	1838	Mackay A 1838:41	Composed, according to a testimonial note in the Seton Gordon papers, on the occasion of Chisholm of Chisholm being elected to parliament in 1836. [NLS 7451,19:3] Not to be confused with the older tune "Chisholm of Strathglass", published by the P.S. [252]

Forbes Salute	-	-	1838	-	Entered by Alex. MacLeod, piper to the Lonach Highland Society. The Secretary to that Society in 1845 was Capt. Charles Forbes, [HSL 268:18] - who might be the subject of this tune. Logan recorded the existence of a tune "The Forbes Gathering", in 1831. [Logan 1876 edn.:II-293]
The Highland Society of Scotland's Salute	John MacArthur	c.1786	1786-1844	MacArthur A 1820:10 Mackay A 1838:146	Composed by John MacArthur who was piper to the Society 1784-1791. Performed on many occasions at the competition.
Lady D'Oyly's Salute	John MacKay	1830s?	1844	Mackay A 1838:43	Lady D'Oyly (nèe Eliza Jane Ross) was a granddaughter of John MacLeod of Raasay, and a life-long friend of John MacKay, Raasay's piper. [Mackay A 1838. Hist. Notes:7]
Lord Seafield's Salute	John Smith	1811?	1823	-	Composed by John Smith, piper to Grant of Grant. Most probably marks the accession of Sir Lewis Grant of Grant to the title of Earl of Seafield in 1811. [Adam 1924:223]
MacDonald of Staffa's Salute	(Archibald MacArthur?)	c1800?	1826	Reid P 1826:30	Reginald MacDonald of Staffa inherited his properties in 1800. His piper Archibald MacArthur of Ulva, who died in 1834, probably composed this tune. [MacDonald A&A III:295]

MacIntosh's Salute	-	-	1823, 1824	-	The tune was entered by Donald MacDonald Jnr. It might be identified with "MacIntosh of Boreland's Salute" recorded in the Peter Reid MS [1826:38].
Salute to Miss Fanny Murray	John MacGregor II	c1780s	1786	-	Composed by John MacGregor, piper to Breadalbane, possibly dedicated to one of the family of Atholl. Perhaps a "small tune", since it was entered by his son, a boy of 13 in 1786.
Prince of Wales' Salute	John MacArthur	1780s?	1790	-	Written by John MacArthur, presumably for the future George IV (1762-1830), who became Prince Regent in 1811, and King in 1821. [D.N.B.]
Sir John Clerk's Salute	(Donald Gunn?)	-	1822	-	Sir John Clerk of Penicuik was an active judge at the Society competitions between 1784-1793, and employed as his piper Donald Gunn from Caithness.
Millbank's Salute	John MacKay	1821	1844	Mackay A MS I:81 Glen D 1880:214	Composed for Kenneth MacKenzie of Millbank, son of Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Gairloch. [Whyte 1899:19]
MARCHES	COMPOSER	DATE	ENTERED	RECORDED	REMARKS
The Earl of Aboyne's March	(Angus MacInnes?)	1836?	1838	-	Possibly written to commemorate the accession of George, Earl of Aboyne, to the title of Marquis of Huntly in 1836. [Adam 1924:220] The tune was entered in 1838 by Angus MacInnes, piper to Huntly, who is a likely candidate for composer.

The Highland Society of London's March	Donald MacDonald	c1823	1824	-	Written by Donald MacDonald on being appointed pipe-maker to the HSL in 1823, and entered by his son Donald in 1824. Curiously, Donald MacDonald did not record it in his pibroch MS (1820).
Mr Trigge's March	Donald MacIntyre	1783	1783	-	Written after the 1783 competition for David Trigge, the HSL's agent in Edinburgh. Trigge recorded that "All the pipers at the exhibition learned it but I would not allow it to be played there for fear of making the Diannas blush.... I have got it set to music by Nathan. Gow". [Trigge 1783:3] I can trace no copy of this music.
OTHER	COMPOSER	DATE	ENTERED	RECORDED	REMARKS
Allan of Strath's Piobrach	-	-	1824	-	Possibly a Skye tune. It was entered by John Bruce from Skye in 1824. Strath is a parish in South-east Skye.
The Battle of Waterloo	John MacKay	1815	1822	Mackay A 1838:89	"The important part which the Highland regiments performed on this glorious occasion, is universally known"... [Mackay A 1838. Hist. Notes:10]
The Raven's Rock ("Creagan an Fhithich")	Donald MacIntyre	-	1824	-	"Creagan an fhithich" - is the name of Glengarry Castle, and by association, the warcry of the Macdonells of Glengarry. A well-known reel bears the same title. [Wm. Gunn 1860:29]

Appendix V(b)

NEW COMPOSITIONS 1783-1844, NOT PERFORMED AT THE COMPETITION

TUNE	COMPOSER	DATE	RECORDED
Lord MacDonald's Lament	Angus MacArthur	1796	MacArthur A 1820:16
Lady Margaret MacDonald's Salute	Angus MacArthur	-	MacArthur A 1820:27
Capt. Donald MacKenzie's Lament	John MacKay	-	Mackay A MS
Davidson of Tulloch's Salute	John MacKay	1821	Mackay A 1838:68
Highland Society of London's Salute	John MacKay	1835	Mackay A MS I:94
Lachlan MacNeill Campbell of Kintarbert's Salute	John MacKay	1837	Mackay A MS I:227
Farewell to the Laird of Islay	Angus Mackay	1840	Thomason 1900:254
Mrs Smith's Salute	John MacKenzie	c1840s?	Glen D. 1880:118

Appendix V(c)

POSSIBLE COMPOSITIONS OF DONALD AND COLIN CAMPBELL CONTAINED IN THE CAMPBELL CANNTAIREACHD [1797]

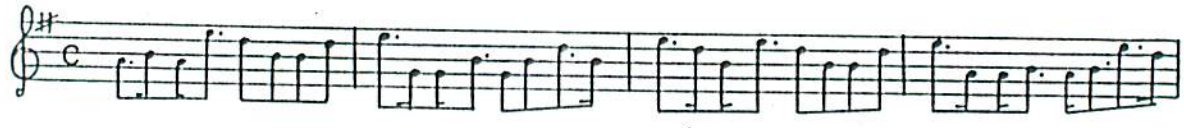
TITLE	VOL. OF C.C.	
Carwhin's Lament	I:40	
Lochend's March	I:41	
Melford's March	I:42	
Captain Arch'd Campbell Glenlyon Lament	I:43	
Piper's Meeting	I:44	
Harrow's March	II:37	Information: A Kenneth 1965(9):20

Appendix VI

AN EXAMPLE OF CONFUSION IN TUNE TITLES: ISOBEL MACKAY AND THE BATTLE OF MULROY

(1) P.S. 182. Isabel Mackay (Isebeil NicAoidh)

1. The Piobaireachd Society (PS) follow Angus Mackay [1838:26] in title and score for this tune. MacLeod of Gesto [1828:35] provides a similar title ("Isabel Nichkay"), and states that it was a Sutherland tune composed to "a dying girl who was at the time attending her cattle at a shieling." [MacLeod N. 1883]. Mackay records that the tune was inspired by Rob Donn's poem "Iseabeal NicAoidh", written for the daughter of John MacKay of Skerray. [Mackay 1838 Hist. Notes:6]. The poem describes a single girl, and hence must pre-date 1747, the year of Isobel's marriage to John Sutherland of Keoldale. [Grimble 1979:31].

2. Rob Donn's poem Iseabeal NicAoidh was set and sung to the pipe tune The Prince's Salute, composed by John MacIntyre, Rannoch, in 1715. It is for this reason that Daniel Dow's setting of The Prince's Salute (the earliest recorded setting) was entitled "Isobail Ni Caoidh, The Stewarts March" [Dow 1778:40]:

The "Stewart's March" appellation reflects the tune's association with John Francis Stewart (The Old Pretender). The titles The Stewart's March and The Stewart's Salute featured regularly in the Edinburgh competition records, and could refer to

(a) The Prince's Salute.

(b) The Stewart's White Flag [Mackay I:128], which was an alternative name for Cumadh Dubh Shomairle [MacDonald 1820:98], or "Somerled's Lament."

(c) The Stewart's March, which was an alternative title for "Gabhaidh Sinn an Rathad Mòr". [Whyte 1904:147].

3. The tune labelled "Isabel MacKay" by Angus Mackay was recorded in the CC as Clann Donail Raoich [I:63], and by Donald MacDonald as The Battle of Maolroy. [1826:254]. The Battle of Mulroy was fought near Roy Bridge in 1688: MacDonald of Keppoch resoundingly defeated his feudal superior, the chief of MacIntosh. MacDonald subtitled the tune "A Mhuinntir a chail chaoil thugibh am bruach oirbh", which he translated as "you of the long kail down the brae with you." [MacDonald 1826:8]. Whyte recorded verses in a similar vein, constituting a taunt on Clan Chattan:

"Chlann Domhnuill an fhraoich,
'Mhuinntir mo ghaoil
Luchd nan cas caol
Thugaibh am bruthach dhiu!"

[Whyte 1904:97]

(Mr. George Moss has recorded a third variant, vide Cannon [nd.:294]. The opening line of Whyte's verse explains the title used in the CC). This tune featured at the Edinburgh competition in 1823, when Angus Cameron, Rannoch, entered "Muintir Achaill Choill". Thomason, in compiling his Ceòl Mór [c.1900], remarked, in reference to this tune, that "MacDonald took the Brae of them" was a common tune "not long ago". [Thomason 1900(b):237].

(2) Mackay [MS I:11] The Battle of Red Hill (Blàr na Maol a' Ruaidhe)

Mackay, in his pibroch MS, recorded an entirely different tune by the title The Battle of Redhill (or Mulroy):

This he acknowledged to have been recorded in the HSL MS, where the tune, however, went without a title (in the original hand). [MacArthur 1820:No.8]. Mackay also recorded another line of verse associated with the tune and the Mulroy incident: "Fhir a Bhreacain duibh, chaidh an diugh oirnne, chaidh an diugh 's an dé Le clann Domhnuill." [I:11] (eg. Men of the black plaid, the day went with us, today and yesterday, with Clan Donald).

Ross broadly followed Mackay in publishing this tune as Fear Na Breacan Duibh ("The Battle of Redhill"). [Ross W. 1869:20]. Ewen Cameron, piper in the 78th Highlanders, entered "Fir a Bhreachdan Dhuibh" ("The Man With the Black Plaid") at the 1838 competition, which suggests that the title had some currency. The title The Battle of Red Hill was entered twice: by John MacNab, Lorne, in 1822; and by Donald MacKenzie, son of John Ban, in 1844. MacKenzie precisely followed Mackay's Gaelic title ("Blàr na Maol a' Ruaidhe"), which is testimony to the links between the two.

Appendix VII

VARIATION TERMINOLOGY IN EARLY SOURCES

	GROUND	DITHIS	SIUBHAL	TAORLUATH	TRIPLING OR TAORLUATH FOSGAILTE	CRUNLUATH	CRUNLUATH FOSGAILTE	CRUNLUATH BREABACH	CRUNLUATH A MACH
Joseph MacDonald [1760]	Callip Eurlair a Phuirt	Ludh Sleamhuin	-	Tuludh	Na Le Leicinin	Tuludh aqus Creanludh	Creanludh Foisgilt/ Suibhill Amach	-	-
Campbell Canntaireachd [1797]	-	-	-	Taolive	Taolive Gair	Crulive	Crulive Fosgail	Crulive Gair	Strulive
Donald MacDonald [1820]	Cnamh/Urlar/ Na Calepe a Phuirst	-	-	Taorluidh	-	Creanluidh	Creanluidh Fosgilt	Creanluidh Breabich	Clialuidh
Alex. Campbell [1815(b)]	Creabh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Crouluadh a Mach
Neil MacLeod of Gesto [1828]	-	-	-	-	-	Craulaugh	-	-	Crouluigh Mach
Angus Mackay [1838]	Urlar/Calpa	Siubhal/ Siubhal Sleamhuinn (doubling)	Siubhal Singilte/ Siubhal Dubailt (doubling)	Taor-luath (Thri Buillean)	Taorluath Fosgailte (Cheithir Buillean)	Crun-luath Dubailt	Crun-luath Fosgailte	Crun-luath Breabach	Crun-luath a Mach

Note: (1) "Leumluath" is a term of modern derivation.
(2) Mackay [1838] is the only source to use Taorluath Breabach or Taorluath a Mach.
(3) The MacArthur MS [1820] provides no useful information.

Appendix VIII

THE PIBROCH SEEN AS A PIECE DESCRIPTIVE OF BATTLE

(1) George Anderson. "The Changeable Nature of Piprochs in Regard to Time." Extract. Common Place Book 1820. Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie.

"We know that they [pibrochs] were frequently prepared beforehand or played off extempore during the heat of an actual battle. There we naturally expect to find differences of time in the different charges or onsets, in the retreat or advance. We may then see the composer change to lament the death of some favourite hero or chieftain that falls among the dying or wounded who shed tears for his loss, and encourage their brethren to bravery and revenge. At last he may break forth with the shouts of victory and the cries of the flying enemy, and conclude with the joyous meeting of the conquerors and the families and other friends of the clan."

(2) Dr. John MacCulloch. The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland. 1824 II:386.

"The subject of the pibroch, such as it is, consists of a few simple notes, or a ground; often, scarcely containing a determined or intelligible melody. On this, are engrafted a train of variations, gradually increasing in velocity and violence, and supposed to describe the augmenting fury of the fight; generally succeeded by a slow movement, which is meant to represent lamentation."

(3) James Logan. The Scottish Gael. 1831 [II:291 of 1876 Edn.]

"The different parts are meant to express the various feelings according with the transaction, such as the rising to battle, the tumultuous collision of the combatants, the cries of the wounded, and wailing of their relations; and, finally, the exultation for victory, or lamentation for defeat."

Appendix IX

MHNATHAN A GHLINNE SO: TEXTUAL COMPARISONS

First Verse

1. "Speach" in Cuairtear Nan Gleann [III/Sept 1842:182]

Hò gur e'n latha e - 's mithich 'bhi 'g éiridh;
'Mhnathan a' ghlinne, nach mithich dhuibh éiridh?
Hò gur e'n latha e - 's mithich 'bhi 'g éiridh;
Mis' rinn a mhoch-eirigh, 's agaibhs' bha feum air.
Hò gur e'n latha e - 's mithich 'bhi 'g éiridh,
'S Iain Dubh Biorach ag ioman na spréidh.

[Ho - it is day, it is time to be rising,
Women of this glen - is it not time for you to rise?
Ho - it is day, it is time to be rising;
I arose early (but) you had need of it.
Ho - it is day, it is time to be rising
And Iain Dubh Biorach driving the cattle away.]

2. "Fionn" (Henry Whyte) in Celtic Monthly [3/1894:169] - Translation by Whyte.

'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so,
'Ghlinne so, 'ghlinne so,
'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so
'S mithich dhuibh éirigh.
'S mis' rinn a' mhoch-éirigh
'Mhoch-éirigh,'mhoch-éirigh
'S mis rinn a' mhoch-éirigh
Agaibhs' bha feum air.

[Wives of wild Cona-glen,
Cona-glen, Cona-glen,
Wives of wild Cona-glen
Wake from your slumbers.
Early I woke this morn,
Early I woke this morn,
Woke to alarm you
With music's wild numbers.]

'S Iain dubh, biorach dubh, biorach dubh, biorach,
'S Iain dubh, biorachdubh 'g iomain an treuda.
'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so, 'ghlinne so, 'ghlinne so,
'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so, 's mithich dhuibh éiridh.

[Iain du beeroch du, beeroch du, beeroch du,
Iain du beeroch is off with the plunder
Wives of wild Cona-glen, Cona-glen, Cona-glen,
Wives of wild Cona-glen wake from your slumber.]

3. Nan MacKinnon, Vatersay [SA 1956/86/A3]

Mhnathan a' ghlinne-sa, ghlinne-sa, ghlinne-sa
Mhnathan a' ghlinne-sa, 's mithich dhuibh éirigh
'S mise rinn mocheirigh, 's mise rinn mocheirigh
'S mise rinn mocheirigh, agaibhs' bha feum air.

[Women of this glen (x 3)...
Wake from your slumbers
I arose early (x 3)...
You had need of it.]

Iain Dubh biorach dubh biorach dubh biorach dubh
Iain Dubh biorach ag iomain na spréidhe
Iain Dubh biorach dubh biorach dubh biorach dubh
Iain Dubh biorach ag iomain na spréidhe.

[Iain Dubh biorach (x 3)... driving the cattle]
Repeated.

4. C. Stewart in The Killin Collection [1884:43]- Translation by Stewart.

Tha'n crodh air an togail,
An togail, an togail,
Tha'n crodh air an togail,
'S na fir air an reubadh.
'S mis' Iain Dubh biorach so,
Biorach so, biorach so
'S mis' Iain Dubh biorach so,
'S mi 'g iomain na spréidhe.

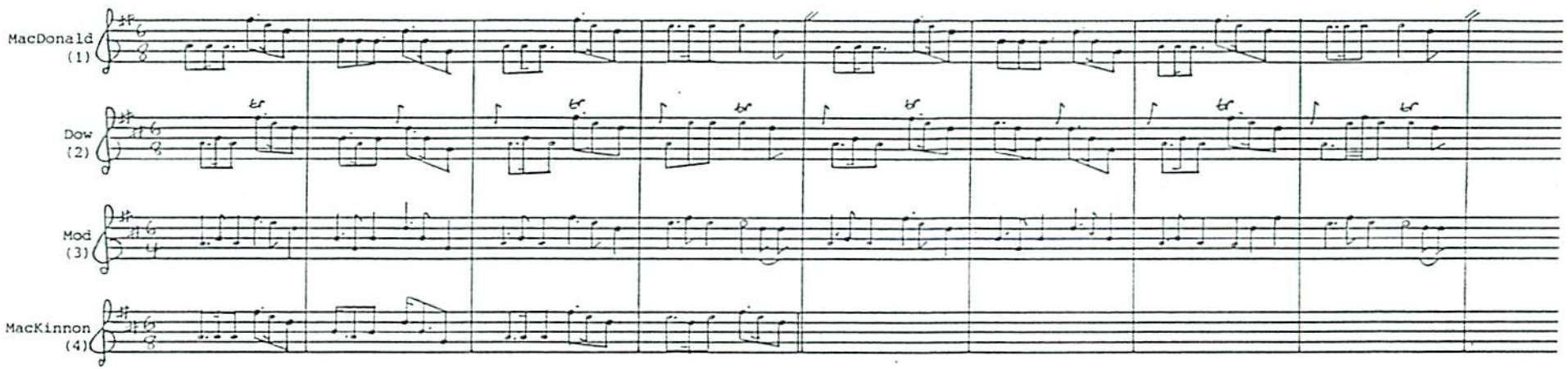
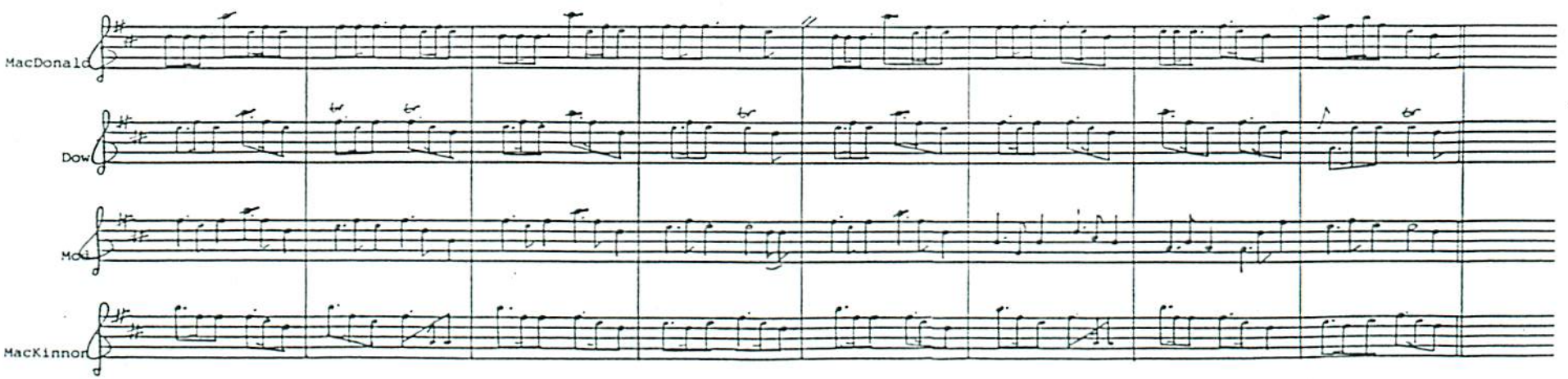
[Your cattle lifted are,
Lifted are, lifted are,
Your cattle lifted are,
Your men sadly slain are.
I'm Black John, the sharp-eyed one,
Sharp-eyed one, sharp-eyed one,
I'm Black John, the sharp-eyed one,
Driving them safely.]

5. Alexander Mackenzie in Historic Tales and Legends of the Highlands [1878]- Translation by Mackenzie.

A mhnathan a ghlinne, A mhnathan a ghlinne,
A mhnathan a ghlinne nach mithich dhuibh eiridh,
'Seumas-an-Tuim 'ag iomain 'na spréidhe.

[Ye women of the Glen, Ye women of the Glen,
Ye women of the glen is it not time for you to ris
And Seumas-an-Tuim driving away your cattle.]

Appendix X

FOUR MUSICAL SETTINGS OF THE MELODY ASSOCIATED WITH BODAICH NAM BRIOGAIS and MNATHAN A GHLIINNE SO

SOURCES (1) D MacDonald [1820:102] (2) D Dow (1778:32) (3) Coisir a Mhòid III [1935:13] (4) Nan MacKinnon [SA 1956:86]

Appendix XI

EXAMPLES OF EDINBURGH COMPETITION LORE

1. Concerning John MacAllister, winner of the 1782 Falkirk Prize Pipe.

> "John McAllister was employed to perambulate the streets of Campbletown, between the hours of nine and ten at night, playing on his bagpipes, before the town bell was set up, about a century ago. ... He went various times to Edinburgh in order to compete for the prize awarded to the best piper, but always returned unsuccessful, in consequence of getting intoxicated on the day of competition. At last his wife accompanied him, and, by her great influence, kept him from strong drink, when he was successful, gaining a very valuable of silver-mounted pipes, with the following inscription:- "Ioin Mac Alastair ard Phiobaire na h-alba," John McAlister, high-piper of Scotland."
>
> From Peter MacIntosh. History of Kintyre [1870:50]

2. Concerning Finlay MacLeod, Glen Moriston, winner of the 1813 Edinburgh prize pipe. (A story very similar to the above.)

> "MacPhàdruig [James Grant of Glenmoriston] put Finlay forward one year to compete at the Inverness Northern Meeting Games (sic). When, however, Finlay's turn to appear came round he did not find himself, it would seem, in the best condition to play for a prize. Grant was much annoyed. "Is this your treatment of me, now, Finlay?" said he. "James, my man," replied Finlay, "get you the pipes on my shoulder, and I will do my best for you." This was done and he played so well as to win the prize. This was in the year 1813, when Finlay's name appears in the list of prize-takers at the Inverness Games."
>
> From Alex. MacDonald [1914:110]

3. Concerning Charles MacArthur, piper and valet to Lord Eglinton, winner of the 2nd prize in Falkirk, 1781.

> "During the journey to Edinburgh a great dispute arose among the chiefs regarding the talents of their respective pipers, and a large bet was made among them as to which piper would prove the best, - each chief upholding his own piper, and betting that he would prove the best in the competition. The pipers were assembled shoulder to shoulder at the foot of a hill in Edinburgh, and a hat of Gold was placed at the top of the hill. The pipers were then told that the piper who would go up the hill again piping all the time, three times, would get the hatful of Gold for himself. Now, all the pipers knew in their own

hearts that MacArthur was the best piper among them, and some of them were so full of jealousy that they stabbed the bag of his pipes, but despite this handicap MacArthur was the one among them who went all the time piping up and down the hill three times, and when he was passing the hat in his third round, he gave it a kick, and itself and its precious contents rolled down the hill."

Tale recorded by Seton Gordon from William MacInnes, Henbaster, Skye. [Seton Gordon Papers. NLS Acc 7451, Box 19, File 2.]

4. Pierced-bag stories are a common piping theme. The most famous of all is the following collected by Osgood MacKenzie concerning Angus Mackay, piper to MacKenzie of Gairloch, (who is not known to have actually competed in Edinburgh).

"Angus, the only son of Iain Dall, succeeded his illustrious father as piper to the lairds of Gairloch. He was born about 1725. He was piper to Sir Alexander, tenth laird of Gairloch, and when Sir Alexander visited France as a young man he left Angus in Edinburgh for tuition. When in Edinburgh he attended a competition, and the other pipers, jealous of his talents, made a plot to destroy his chances. The day before the competition they got possession of his pipes and pierced the bag in several places. But Angus had a fair friend called Mary, who found him a sheep-skin which, undressed as it was, formed a new bag for his beloved pipes. With this crude bag he succeeded next day in carrying off the coveted prize. He composed the well-known piobaireachd, 'Moladh Màiri', or 'The Praise of Mary', in honour of his kind helper. Angus lived to a good old age, and he was succeeded by his son, John Roy."

[MacKenzie O. 1921:243]

5. Remarkably, JG Dalyell recorded the following anecdote concerning the 1825 competition:

"It was on the same occasion I have heard, that some malicious miscreant stuck his knife into a bag of one of the instruments, at the entrance of the theatre, to disappoint the prospects of an intending competitor."

[Dalyell 1849:102; Gen 355D:15]

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