

Cape Breton 'crossroads': cultural tourism,
and the nature of 'traditional'

Janine Randall

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Ón gCos go Cluas

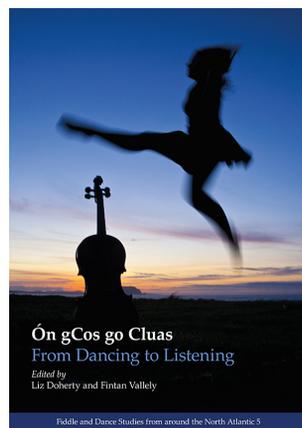
From Dancing to Listening

Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 5

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About the author:

Janine Muise Randall is a first generation descendant from two musical parents – her father from Inverness, Cape Breton Island, and her mother (and grandmother) from Margaree. Janine grew up with house parties as a common occurrence because of her mother's aunt's involvement as pianist for the Inverness Serenaders (the first group from Cape Breton Island to be recorded – Decca, 1930). A step dancer as a young girl, she grew up with fiddlers Angus Chisholm, Alec Gillis, Alcide Aucoin always at the home. Later, fiddlers Bill Lamey, Joe Cormier and John Campbell were regulars, with Mary Muise playing accompaniment. Janine became piano accompanist to fiddlers in the area and for visiting musicians playing for dances. She went on to create and found the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music in Inverside, Cape Breton Island in 1995 and continued the legacy of traditional, acoustic Cape Breton fiddle, piano, guitar and step dancing in structured learning and live daily performance. She has six recordings as accompanist to Cape Breton fiddle music, including a Grammy nomination, and has performed with most of today's Cape Breton fiddlers including its legendary players Buddy MacMaster, Jerry Holland and Brenda Stubbert.

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Cape Breton ‘crossroads’: cultural tourism and the nature of ‘traditional’

JANINE RANDALL

The last few decades have seen the emergence of Cape Breton style Scottish Music make huge advances in the world arena of ‘Celtic’ music. Scholars can debate whether or not the fiddle music was exactly the same as it had been played in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; but what is certainly true is that the adoption of the piano following the earlier pump organs was what perhaps brought Cape Breton music its distinctiveness from other ‘Celtic’ music genres and its rising audience appeal. Unlike the traditional use of a variety of other instruments in both Ireland and Scotland, Cape Breton predominantly favoured the fiddle and piano (see Figure 1). This strong music combo had two traditional venues, dances and house parties. Concerts as such, or ‘paid’ venues other than dances, were mainly local, parish-sponsored and were held out of doors. More recently, stage concerts (and smaller, paid house concerts) have tended to replace the dances as these dwindle in Cape Breton and are close to ceasing in Boston and Detroit (two cities that swelled with Cape Breton emigrants in the twentieth century).

The emergence of cultural tourism and professionally-trained fiddlers who choose performance as a career have created many new fiddle duos and bands both inside and touring outside of Cape Breton Island. Although we no longer worry about *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*¹ there may nevertheless be cause for concern for vanishing Cape Breton fiddle music. This concern is not based so much on the number of fiddlers *per se*, but more on the lack of dancers; in particular, dancers for the Cape Breton Square Set which because of the nature of Cape Breton traditional dance music depends on the actual dance itself. Cape Breton is not a country unto itself as are Ireland and Scotland, but is a small sub-culture without the kind of institutional guardians of traditional music that those countries have (such as Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Fleadh Cheoil in Ireland, and the Traditional Music and Song Association and Fèisean nan Gàidheal in Scotland).² As this music moves more towards the concert stage, and is found less in the dance halls and at house parties of former times, how does it survive as a truly ‘traditional’ music? This paper explores how that move has been affecting the music, traditional dancing, and the musicians.



Figure 1 Mom (Mary Cameron Edmonds Muise) accompanying Cape Breton fiddler Cameron Chisholm at our home in Dorchester, MA. (1962).

In 1972 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) aired the documentary *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, a half-hour program which explained a worry that the preference of the young generation of the 1960s and 1970s for modern music was leading to the decline of learning and playing the tunes traditional to Cape Breton. This turned out to be more myth than reality, as there were actually many young and old players continuing the tradition – including the remarkable John Morris Rankin, Kinnon Beaton, Jerry Holland, Howie MacDonald, and Brenda Stubbert – to name a few. Most of these were playing quietly at home, however, or, if together, at house parties, kitchen ceilidhs, and Church fairs, and so were not visibly recognised as the sizeable body of practice that they were. Yet the documentary did help to raise concern for the fiddle, sparking (through Fr. John Angus Rankin) the first Festival of Scottish Fiddling which was held in the town of Glendale shortly after. The Cape Breton Fiddlers' Association was created too, in July of 1973, to teach traditional Cape Breton fiddling and piano accompaniment and make it more available to young and old.

Fast-forward to 1996 when I founded the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music along the western shores of Cape Breton Island in my father's hometown of Inverness to promote the learning of traditional Cape Breton fiddling, piping, piano and guitar accompaniment, and step-dancing in the traditional ways as I had known them all of my own life, from the many older and now-deceased fiddlers and pianists I knew, growing up in our home. Our school was based on information I had gleaned from reading of the founding of the Glencolmille cultural initiative in County Donegal, Ireland, and how such an endeavour could create economic development for a marginalised area through promotion of indigenous

skills.³ Inverness being a once-thriving coal-mining region with local fishing and farming had seen much better days before the last of the coal mines was closed in 1958. The craft that Western Cape Breton Island was best at was traditional fiddle music and dancing, which never seemed to cease even if the towns had long since ceased to thrive.

Although many of the traditional dances that were once widespread in Cape Breton had ceased, ‘The Ceilidh Trail’ (Route 19 on the western side of the island) was vibrant with fiddle and piano players and step-dancers for much longer. Square dances were held nightly all along the trail at one parish hall or another, an amazing musical mecca that was for many years privy only to the locals and to those who descended from families in that area. Even the Gaelic College would bus its students over to the Ceilidh Trail side of the island to take in dances at Glencoe and West Mabou, and to experience the Broad Cove concert. For eleven summers we hosted top musicians and dancers from Cape Breton and also, for the first couple of years, from Scotland and Ireland too. I recall criticisms in written and vocal form – everything from the ‘worry’ of bringing ‘Irish’ fiddlers onto the Island and concerns about whether or not we would truly be teaching ‘Highland Gaelic’ music, to the fear that ‘sessions’ that we held in local taverns would destroy the music culture since these were not indigenous to the area; they might not have worried on the latter count, for, as our Irish musician guests were soon to be exclaiming: ‘Where are the pubs?’ We didn’t have any by their standards.

So it is with a sense of irony and bemusement that I observe some of the ever-so-slow changes that seem to have been taking hold since *c.* 2002. Conversations with older musicians living in Cape Breton and away also confirmed some of my thoughts about these changes I have witnessed. When I spoke of my concerns with other colleagues of Cape Breton descent I would be challenged by the comment that ‘There will *always* be Cape Breton music as we know it!’ Although these people could not prove their point, and I myself couldn’t prove the contrary, I started making mental notes of changes that might be troublesome in years to come. First it would be important for me to preface this discussion with my understanding for the *need* for change in everything – especially in music. Traditional music was the ‘pop’ music of its time, and music always reflects the taste of a particular group at a particular time. So surely the music I heard and appreciated at the age of three would not be to the liking of young music-lovers today? I myself had a need to disengage from what I thought to be just my parents’ music. But with adulthood I could already see a changing of the guard, and with that I found that this music held a place for myself also. It was a music that indeed belonged to everyone. This was also the time of musicians in my own age group – Jerry Holland, David MacIsaac, and Hilda Chiasson – and soon it would be the years of the Barra MacNeils, Natalie MacMaster, Ashley MacIsaac, and the Rankin Family.

The natural tendency of musicians is to expand their repertoire and continue to learn and grow with their music. Looking at the last few decades of contemporary Cape Breton musicians this expansion has included new ways to present traditional Cape Breton music to its audiences, and so step-dancing has always been included in the shows of Natalie MacMaster, the Rankins, the Barra MacNeils, and Ashley MacIsaac. Fiddle and piano were the major instruments, but others were brought in to form a larger ‘band’ sound. Jerry Holland remarked in 2003 on such changes he had seen in the music:

In recent years there has developed a considerably better understanding for what Cape Breton music is in the outside world, better than I would have ever expected. Coming here to Cape Breton even just once will cause people to go home with a different view and understanding of our music. I've known people who come here with the idea in their mind that everything Natalie plays is Cape Breton or that everything Ashley plays is Cape Breton, but then they'll go to a house party session with just two or three fiddlers and an accompanist and change their old ideas about everything. Sure, you'll have the odd one that isn't satisfied with what they hear [...] but they're really the exception.⁴

In 2012 our cultural tourism thinking is quite different, with the belief that tourists would not be as happy with the traditional fiddle playing and music as we have known it. There is a tendency towards a more visual performance with eye-pleasing acts and virtuosity with multi-instrumentalists and various forms of step-dancing. Today, Cape Breton fiddlers in particular – and musicians in general – are able to travel globally in a way not possible or even thinkable in previous decades. When Buddy MacMaster was asked by fiddler Frank Ferrell if he would come to the town of Port Townsend in the state of Washington to participate in a new fiddle camp called *The American Festival of Fiddle Tunes* back in the summer of 1986, Buddy asked if Ferrell thought anyone outside of Cape Breton would really want to hear his music? Cape Breton musicians were asked to teach their style of bowing, and other aspects of the style of Cape Breton fiddle-playing, but few, if any, of these musicians really knew how to describe what they were doing in order to teach others. Today, many Cape Breton fiddlers are technically trained in music theory in university as well as being taught in fiddle camps and workshops, so bringing an ease of transition in styles to the table that was not possible before. Celtic Colours International Festival⁵ in particular has brought large numbers of musicians from around the world to the island, lending itself to natural musical collaborations and the sharing of genres and styles. Today, one is likely to hear any number of collaborations when attending a Cape Breton house concert: French guitar accompaniment, jazz via Stefan Grappelli, Irish flutes, Norwegian tunes, and repertoire from other provinces of Canada such as the Ottawa Valley, Alberta, and Western Canada. The past couple of decades have seen such a resurgence of Cape Breton fiddle music that there are now more fiddlers, more concerts, and more music than ever. At the same time, however, we are also seeing some decline in the outdoor summer festivals and the square set-dancing that was the hallmark of Cape Breton music (see Figure 2), with fewer dancers at the halls on the island, and the closing of dance halls in both Detroit and Boston (the two areas of substantial Cape Breton emigration to the United States).

Detroit was a thriving area for Cape Breton emigrants in the late 1950s and 1960s as the major car manufacturers there absorbed large numbers of migrant workers. Dances thrived in the city, with fiddle and piano players and large numbers of dancers looking forward to coming together to shed the stress of the working week. Players included fiddle greats Sandy MacIntyre and Gordon MacQuarrie as well as pianist Barbara MacDonald (Magone). In addition, young and old players living in Cape Breton Island were continually being invited to Detroit to play for these dances, so continuing the link of traditional music in that area. Boston too, and its Canadian American Club in Watertown in particular, was

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a similar economic and cultural heartland. Dances in both Detroit and Boston were not put on by parishes, but by fiddlers themselves as an extra source of revenue. Bill Lamey started dances in the Boston area, and later the Canadian American Club was formed (1960s). By the early 1970s the dance halls were packed, and musicians who had emigrated to the United States would play weekly. Often fiddlers and pianists were asked to come and play at these dances for more variety in tunes and styles; carloads of dancers from Cape Breton Island would often drive down just for the weekend to enjoy and experience the great music. Both cities are now in decline in this regard, as both membership and dance attendances have fallen off. Long the bastion of Cape Breton emigrants, 'The Boston States' saw its numbers of emigrants decline as the USA restricted the number of emigrants allowed into the country. Additionally, as younger people left Cape Breton and went on to college, more stayed within Canada and worked in the larger cities there.



Figure 2 Dad (Johnny 'Walker' Muise) on the 'clappers' (1959).

Fast forward to the present, with the children of many Cape Breton emigrants married into families of other nationalities, and the culture of music and dancing in particular, have become more difficult to maintain. Fewer descendants took up learning the fiddle or piano as their culture became more americanised. Of all first-generation descendants who came from Cape Breton to the Boston area not one was taught or learned to play Cape Breton fiddle, and only a few learned Cape Breton piano accompaniment. Older fiddlers retired back to Cape Breton Island or passed away with no replacement; surviving older dancers now might only come to a dance if the weather is good and then may only be able to dance one set.

Unlike Ireland, whose descendants in the United States outnumber by a factor of eight the five-million population of the island of Ireland, Cape Breton is neither a 'country' nor a 'culture'; it is a 'sub-culture'. Those of us of Cape Breton descent, who grew up in a strong Cape Breton music culture do know exactly what that culture is, but trying to recreate this today seems not only impractical but impossible, at least in the United States. The Canadian American Club of Boston is, however, valiantly trying to revitalise itself with step-dance and square-dancing lessons for free and even offers free, regular fiddle lessons. But our Cape Breton community suffers from too many years of its natural tendency to clannishness: in dances where everyone knew everyone else there would be a *caller* for the dance, but never any instruction beforehand (as one would find in *Contra dancing* throughout New England); it was assumed that all participants knew the dances. Thus, many people not from Cape Breton who took part said they felt 'unwelcome'. Again looking at 'Irishness', it can be seen that there are generations calling themselves Irish who will search back four generations or more in order to link to a relative born in Ireland, but I have known many first-generation Cape Bretoners who have never or rarely stepped into the one institution in the Boston area that was initially formed for them. Since it was not a Cape Breton tradition to share its music publicly, there was no outlet for people from 'away' to hear the traditional music of Cape Breton; when it came to Boston for instance, there was just one venue (Joe MacPherson's); contrast that to the plethora of venues which showcased talented Irish musicians in the same city.

What of the dances on Cape Breton Island itself? Only one dance remains year-round on the western side of the Island, at West Mabou Hall, a parish-run dance. During the Ceilidh Trail School of Music's summer programme (1996–2006), we would send our students to the nightly dances in the area as a way to enable them to absorb more Cape Breton style music, fiddle techniques and tunes: Monday nights (Brook Village); Tuesday (ceilidh/concert in Mabou); Wednesday (Normaway Barn, Margaree); Thursday (Glencoe Hall); Friday (Southwest Margaree Parish Hall); Saturday (West Mabou Hall); Sunday always had outdoor festivals in the summer in each of the towns. From all accounts the premier venue for serious dancers is at Brook Village on Monday nights, where 100 to 200 can be found square-dancing and step-dancing. Although the other dances have good attendances, there are complaints about 'people not knowing the dance, ruining it for others that do', and the proverbial 'young people horsing around on the dance floor' making it 'dangerous' for some! Some dances have closed due to competition from other events, usually concerts. This suggests that there is a need for communication and cooperation among venues, or that organisers should try not to compete for valuable tourist dollars on the same evening.

Since today there is less square-dancing, what of the Cape Breton style being called a predominantly 'dance music'? This is probably because when it comes to slow airs and marches one might not find a lot of difference between the playing of a Scottish violinist and a Cape Breton violinist. But where the true differences come out is in the playing of 'Gaelic style' repertoire that is mostly heard in the strathspeys, jigs, and reels. Here is where you will hear the difference that defines a traditional Cape Breton style of playing, whether or not the tune was composed in Scotland, Ireland, or Cape Breton. This style's syncopation reflects the staccato articulation of the Gaelic language, something not heard in other fiddle

styles. Almost the same difference as one would hear in the differences between Irish and Scottish Gaelic languages is found in their playing, Irish Gaelic being more ‘flowing’, and Scottish Gaelic a bit more ‘edgy’, perfected in the fiddle through the use of cuts in the bowing. At the same time that there are fewer dances we also have more musicians playing professionally. Up until quite recently our older Cape Breton players were dance musicians who had full time jobs of other descriptions: Angus Chisholm (teacher), Buddy MacMaster (railroad worker), Joe Cormier (electrician), John Campbell (heating engineer); even Jerry Holland was a carpenter until his later years. Following the professional leads of Natalie MacMaster and the Rankin Family more and more young musicians are trying to make their living from performance. In a small place like Cape Breton Island this is significant; especially considering that it pretty much shuts down for nine months of the year, especially along its western side. A hotbed for summer tourism, after October inclement weather makes travelling to and around the Island less inviting.

Young Cape Breton musicians now travel throughout the United States, Canada and around the world, often playing in small, paid ‘house concerts’. The latter is a new phenomenon aided by the internet, through which social media can set up an entire tour of the homes of people who enjoy having these musicians, giving all or most of the door fees to them. This is both advantageous and detrimental to traditional music. The benefits are obvious in that more people are hearing traditional music live in small venues, musicians have more venues to perform in, and such tours are usually more lucrative than playing for dances. The downside could be that it represents the nail in the coffin for traditional dancing as dance halls cannot compete with home venues for two reasons. Firstly traditional dance halls and venues sponsoring dance have to concern themselves with the economic realities of preserving and maintaining the dance hall (light, structural maintenance and heat being the biggest costs). This necessitates taking a percentage of the door revenue or bear the liabilities intrinsic in a fixed fee; especially if there is poor weather or for other reasons poor turnout. Secondly traditional musicians have noticed the benefits of the short-duration house concert, typically two sets of 45 or 50 minutes, compared to a three- or four-hour dance of continual playing at the faster tempo of jigs and reels. In honest conversation, traditional musicians (both Irish and Cape Breton) state a preference for a session, concert, or house concert rather than a traditional set or square dance.

What does this change mean for our traditional Cape Breton musicians? Here I speak of those who travel solo or in duets abroad making their living professionally from playing Cape Breton traditional fiddle music. Rarely do we now see what might be regarded as a solely ‘traditional’ performance by them, such as one might see at the Beaton Ceilidh on a Tuesday night in Mabou. More often than not it is a collaboration of different music styles with performers of different genres and different instruments. And although there is always a smattering of traditional Cape Breton fiddle in the performance, this may be without Cape Breton’s second most notable contribution to ‘Celtic’ music, Cape Breton style piano accompaniment. Scholars might debate whether or not the fiddle of Cape Breton carries a ‘true’ sound of the Highlands of Scotland, but there is little debate about the unique style of piano accompaniment which may or may not have started as a Scott Joplin style but

nevertheless has come to emulate more and more the percussion of the dancers' feet, and perhaps, like the fiddle, even the staccato rhythms of the Scottish Gaelic.

Larger bands might include lots of non-traditional Cape Breton instruments too, including drum sets and accordions, all of which are fine, for it is still traditional Cape Breton music. Yet over the years there has been a *cachet* to being a fiddler who plays Cape Breton music. Imagine the disappointment when one doesn't hear any or very little of this at a gig? Perhaps therefore there should be full disclosure in advertising for 'Cape Breton' music events? When I started the Ceilidh Trail School it was beyond question that a Cape Breton fiddler had to be *born* in Cape Breton. It is ironic today however to have the inverse – 'Cape Breton fiddlers' who may indeed have been born in Cape Breton, but who do not play traditional Cape Breton music but advertise themselves as 'Cape Breton' fiddlers. Jerry Holland, who somewhat revolutionised the promotion of Cape Breton music in the 1970s with his CD *The Master Cape Breton Fiddler*, addressed this:

But in anything I do, I try to explain that this is an Irish tune; that this is a French tune and so forth, so that's there's no misconception about what I'm offering. So if I say, 'That was an Irish tune, played in the Cape Breton style', I hope that they'll understand that it is not full of the Irish rolls or embellishments but that there are more bow cuts in it than in the Irish style. Through discussions like that I try to define the differences that the Cape Breton music offers.⁶

In speaking with Cape Breton fiddlers of every age they will tell you that they will forget how to play for a dance if they don't keep it up. Those that play only concerts with a rehearsed show will find that they have a difficult time getting back into the swing of knowing the multitude of tunes needed for one Cape Breton Square-set. So now we have a situation where we have fewer dancers at the dances, fewer dances being held, more professional fiddlers/pianists looking for venues to make a living, more musicians playing concerts than dances, and more genres being played in the concerts. More people knowing about Cape Breton music is a good thing. But while we have concerts and Cape Breton musicians showcasing different styles and genres is there a way that we can always continue the more traditional presence of fiddle music? Can a place as small as Cape Breton Island maintain its connection to the older Highland Style of bowing and playing? Can it continue its education of younger players in older tunes? Will younger 'hot players' who come along also know the repertoire of great tunes which allow them to play for dance halls?

Fiddlers once learned their repertoire by listening to someone else, and each individual's repertoire was diverse; tunes were held close to the vest as a fiddler's tunes could be what got him hired for a dance or invited to a home to stay for a while. In the absence of this, organisations step in today to teach, and publishers provide the repertoire. Although there are plenty of arguments to be made about how larger organised institutions – such as Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the TMSA – might discourage inventiveness and standardise tunes, these have become the modern way to maintain traditional tune-playing in their respective traditional styles; even though certain performers do experiment with all types of collaborations. We do have the Cape Breton Fiddlers' Association, but it is only one organisation and only in Cape Breton. There are no competitions, and there is a fierce pride

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that this is the case, for it is seen as another way to assure the continuation of tunes being played ‘correctly’. The Gaelic College too does a wonderful job of teaching traditional Cape Breton fiddle by fine teachers,⁷ and fiddle as well as Gaelic is being taught in some of the schools with good music programmes. These are wonderful advances in efforts to maintain ‘the tradition’ (which is basically learning a style on fiddle and piano) and to learn the legacy of traditional tunes.



Figure 3 Janine Randall and Jerry Holland.

The success of establishments like the Ceilidh Trail School of Music, and the ongoing world success of groups such as the Rankin Family and the Barra MacNeils, and soloists such as Natalie MacMaster and Ashley MacIsaac, have led to the institution of more government-sponsored organisations and the development of annual events notably Celtic Colours and facilities such as the Judique Celtic Interpretative Center⁸ and the Father John Angus Rankin Cultural Center in Glendale.⁹ Millions of dollars in development of these cultural tourism sites were largely attributed to the then Minister of Tourism Rodney MacDonald who had been a popular local fiddler and step-dancer in the Mabou area; his eventual rise to become Premier of Nova Scotia is seen as key to the awarding of government recognition and funding to Cape Breton’s music culture. But now, instead of local parish-sponsored dances and festivals we have more professional venues displaying traditional Cape Breton music – a stage-scene of an old kitchen stove and table for the ‘kitchen ceilidhs’, allied to more modern attributes like gift shops and restaurants. The outdoor festivals themselves have changed somewhat too. The parish of St Margaret’s of Scotland in Broad Cove still

runs the oldest outdoor cultural festival on the Island. But this now hosts 'big' bands, such as the Barra MacNeils, or a 'big' name, such as Natalie MacMaster. The summer months are no longer packed with parish-run concerts, and the Big Pond outdoor concert, once one of the Island's largest, had to be discontinued owing to dwindling attendance; this also happened to the once-thriving Glendale Ceilidh in Glendale. There is a 'Big Pond Event' during Celtic Colours in October, but it features multi-national talent playing for pre-reserved audiences at \$30 a seat in the updated Fire Hall, rather than being, as in the past, a day-long event with local fiddlers, Gaelic singers, step dancers, and piano players that one could enjoy outdoors for a nominal \$6.



Figure 4 Great Aunt 'Liz' (Betty Maillet) and piper Malcolm Gillis of the Inverness Serenaders (1952).

Following the showing of the film *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler* in 1972 we saw a change from 'partner' to 'solo' dance styles, setting up problems for future 'partner' social dancing such as square dancing. Perhaps the next warning call should be to ensure the preservation of Cape Breton square dancing so that the plethora of future fiddlers can maintain what is perhaps the best in traditional Cape Breton fiddle music? I conclude with Jerry Holland's words (see Figure 3):

There's a connection that's made through the music and dance that I think is maybe more pleasing than any other style of playing. Having been both a step dancer and a square dancer, I know just how I felt when the fiddler played the right tune: if it put you right in that groove, if it had the right drive and made you respond to it because it tickled and enthused you. If you ever have the opportunity to attend one of the dances

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at West Mabou or Glencoe, go outside where you're out of sight and where nothing will take your attention away from what you hear. Now in that region you'll find the best dancers who will step dance even during the square dance part of the set. Just put your head against the wall while they're in the midst of the jigs or the reels aspect of the dance. If things are really working dead on, you'll hear this amazing connection between the fiddler and the dancers – it'll sound like it's just one thing happening – that one person is creating it all: the dance, the music, the atmosphere, all of it. There's a wicked chemistry in dance playing that's like nothing else that I've experienced and I don't think there's anything finer than encountering that kind of communication back and forth. I mean, I do love playing for people that will sit down and listen in a concert and I thrive off that kind of energy as well, but it's really special when you've got all the people answering you in their dancing and you can hear their enthusiasm coming back at you: letting you know it's worth it; letting you know that your music is tickling their funny bone or good spot.¹⁰

Notes

¹ *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, written and narrated by Ron MacInnes, CBC, 6 January 1972. In 2017 MacInnes released a sequel *The Return of the Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, see <https://ronmacinnis.com/> [accessed June 2018].

² Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Fleadh Cheoil in Ireland, and the Traditional Music and Song Association (TMSA) and Fèisean nan Gàidheal in Scotland

³ See Cairdeas na bhFidiléirí <http://www.gleanncholmcille.ie/fiddle.htm> [accessed June 2018].

⁴ Mark Wilson, interview, *Rounder Records*, 2003. See North American Traditions Collection, 1967–2007, <https://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/20503/#> [accessed June 2018].

⁵ Celtic Colours International Festival <https://celtic-colours.com/> [accessed June 2018].

⁶ Mark Wilson, interview, *Rounder Records*, 2003.

⁷ See <http://gaeliccollege.edu/study-with-us/summer-school/course-descriptions/fiddle/> [accessed June 2018].

⁸ See, for example the Celtic Music Interpretive Center's Buddy MacMaster Fiddle Camp, <http://www.celticmusiccentre.com/education/camp/> [accessed June 2018].

⁹ See <http://glendalecommunitycentre.blogspot.com/> [accessed June 2018].

¹⁰ Mark Wilson, interview, *Rounder Records*, 2003.