

The devil's instrument revisited: Prince Edward Island as a case study

Ken Perlman

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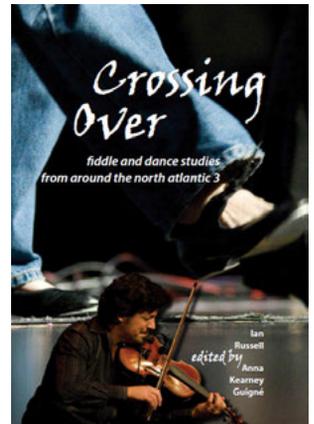
Crossing Over

Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3

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About the author:

Ken Perlman is a professional musician who conducts independent research related to the fields of folklore and ethnomusicology. He has spent two decades collecting tunes and oral histories from traditional fiddle players on Prince Edward Island, Canada. He has produced three anthologies devoted to field recordings of traditional PEI fiddlers, and published a collection of over 400 tunes called *The Fiddle Music of Prince Edward Island*. He is now working with the Canadian Museum of Civilization on the production of a website which will be focused on traditional PEI fiddling.

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The devil's instrument revisited: Prince Edward Island as a case study

KEN PERLMAN

During the heyday of community dance-fiddling, elaborate stereotypes depicting fiddlers as lazy, drunken 'ne'er do wells' grew up in many Celtic and North American fiddling cultures. And yet, according both to first-hand accounts and the secondary literature, these same fiddlers provided a service that was essential to the social and material lives of their communities. Using Prince Edward Island (PEI) in eastern Canada as a case-study, I will explore the contradiction between these two disparate images.¹

Prior to the 1960s and 1970s, when twentieth-century technology and social organization became established in rural PEI, people had a pretty clear set of ideas concerning the fiddler's role in the community, or district. Dances were the most common expression of district social life. And whenever there was a dance in the offing, it was the fiddler's duty to make himself available to play.

The most common community dance was the house party, as described by Neil MacCannell of Lorne Valley:

The house parties were usually during the winter in the slacker times. And people usually travelled from up to a distance of three or four miles, in horses and sleighs, in snowstorms, usually. The fiddler usually came in a horse and sleigh, too, and his fiddle would be so cold and full of frost, he'd have to warm it up over the old kitchen stove before he could even play it. He'd start playing, and the people would get up and dance. Pick their partner. The men would be on the floor first and when the music started, then the ladies would come up and join their partners. They were all ages, even from teenage up to eighties, some of them.²

When house parties were held during the growing season they were often associated with a frolic, or bee: a family needing to plough the fields, dig potatoes, or carry out some other labour-intensive activity would invite all able-bodied members of the community in to help. Once the task was completed, as Archie Stewart of Milltown

Cross observes, 'They'd have a little shakedown in the evening, any excuse to have a dance back then'.³

Then there were the old-time weddings, where guests could look forward to generous meals, plentiful drink, and an opportunity to engage in virtually continuous square-dancing from afternoon until at least the early hours of the morning. Many such occasions were notoriously long-lasting. As Emmett Hughes of Dromore points out, 'A wedding was anywhere from the afternoon to daylight in the morning. They went clean through the night and sometimes the second day along with it'.⁴

In lieu of collecting taxes or tithes, most churches or districts would appoint a committee to organize various benefit events. As a result, there would be church or school picnics in summer, indoor socials in winter, and schoolhouse or hall dances year-round. At nearly all such events, the opportunity to dance square sets was offered as a major incentive for attending. Local fiddlers were expected to be on hand for all such dances and to donate their services free of charge.

In addition to providing the music for dances, many fiddlers were also on call whenever their neighbours simply felt the urge to hear music. For example, households with a number of fiddlers in residence often served both as local gathering places and as informal community centres. Similarly, fiddlers going about their daily routines would often be accosted by neighbours looking to be entertained. As fiddler Wilfred Gotell of Georgetown describes it:

They used to call our old place the halfway house. A couple guys together, and have a bottle, then 'Let's go up to Wilfred's!' Of course they'd come in and have a few drinks, and they'd want to hear the music and the fiddle. So it would end up to be a party there that night. And many's the time that happened.⁵

The fiddler's crucial role in community life is put into perspective by Archie Stewart:

One thing boy, you were always welcome. I heard an old fellow saying one time, the three most important people in the district. The minister was first, the school teacher was next, and the fiddler was next. That was the three most important people in the town. The minister or the clergyman whichever it happened to be, and the school teacher, and the fiddler. Couldn't have a wedding without the fiddler!⁶

Although it would be reasonable to assume from their centrality in community life that fiddlers as a class would generally have basked in the high esteem of their neighbours, paradoxically this was often far from the case. In fact, the same individuals, whose talents were quickly sought out when a house party was in the offing, might otherwise be regarded as persons of dubious character, who were prone to neglect such real community duties as farm chores and child-rearing

in favour of an activity regarded by most as merely an amusement. John Cousins of Bloomfield puts it this way:

There was a belief here that if a man ever became a fiddler, in order to be a good fiddler, you couldn't be any good for anything else. First of all, it implied an addiction to the instrument. And young fellows, once they started playing it they'd spend all their time playing the fiddle, and do nothing else. You were done for. You would never be a success in life; that was it. That was a strongly held belief.⁷

Stories abound, which Islanders take much glee in recounting, focusing on the lack of responsibility to home and hearth shown by fiddlers intent on playing their instruments. The following two stories, for example, involve a fiddler from the western PEI district of Milburn named Guy Boulter. The first is from Ervan Sonier of Summerside:

This was a true story, I think. I remember Guy Boulter, a terrific fiddler from up west. And they were going to get Guy. So this afternoon somebody's there with some 'shine. 'Come on Guy, we're goin' to have a party.' So he takes off. Now the woman's at the door and she yells, 'Guy,' she said, 'You're leaving with the fiddle again?' 'Yes.' And she said, 'You know there's not a stick of wood cut about the place?' 'Christ, woman!' he said, 'I'm taking the fiddle, not the axe.' So it was a bad instrument. I'd have to say it was a bad instrument.⁸

John Cousins, on the other hand, tells this story:

Guy would go to cut grain. Now, in order to cut grain, you had to haul a binder. A binder was the heaviest piece of machinery that was on the farm for horses to haul. Anyway, Guy Boulter would be out cuttin' grain, and a tune would be goin' through his head. He'd be thinking of this tune. It'd get to him so bad, that he'd get off the binder, he would drive to the barn, he would unhitch the horses, and he would put them in the barn. And he would sit down and play that tune on the fiddle. He couldn't stop himself.⁹

Cousins also tells another story that goes so far as to blame the decline and disappearance of an entire community on fiddling:

Rock Barra is now a deserted community. There's nobody there. You drive along and I don't know if there's a farm there or not. But someone attributed the demise of this community to the fact that there was too many good fiddlers. They just never did anything else but play the fiddle, and they were useless.¹⁰

Although there was much evidence of a superficial nature that supports such stereotypes, they effectively conceal an unfortunate set of social arrangements. In essence, powerful pressures and demands placed on fiddlers by both church

and community often guided them inexorably along the path to work-neglect and alcoholism.

One major component of fiddling's negative image is the notion that an obsession with playing drains a person's energies and distracts him from real work. If a fiddler's energies were often drained, however, the real culprit was not so much an obsession with fiddling as it was the virtually continual demands for fiddling services placed on him by church and community. In turn, this burden was supported by a tightly knit web of beliefs and attitudes. For example, not only did fiddlers have to provide music on demand, but there was a strong implication that they had to keep on playing as long as the neighbours wished to go on dancing or listening. As Rita Morrison notes, 'If they came, they'd play all night, and everybody kind of expected that, that they'd play all night; they'd never get tired of playing, they'd just play.'¹¹ What's more, fiddlers were generally expected to offer their music without demanding recompense. There were two basic principles at work here: one secular, the other religious.

Firstly, playing for a district dance was seen as an expression of neighbourliness. If one farmer had to harvest potatoes, the neighbours dropped everything and helped out. If someone took sick, the neighbours helped with the chores; if someone wanted to put up a new barn, the neighbours pitched in, and so on. In the same vein, local fiddlers were relied upon to provide music whenever it was required, and regardless of how they might have felt about the matter.

Secondly, musical talent was viewed as a gift from God, and all those so gifted were said to have a distinct duty to share that talent with both church and community. Reverend Faber MacDonald (b. 1932, Little Pond, King County), for example, describes how this last idea was central to many an Island sermon.

I used to talk about the social nature of the gift. See, the gifts, God's gifts, are given to us not for ourselves. They're entrusted to us for everybody. And the human person, when he engages himself or herself in the delivering or the giving of himself through his gift, he matures and grows.¹²

In practice, all too often this notion of sharing was also taken a step further, to the point where this gift was to be shared without hesitation, without recompense, and with little regard for the fiddler's own welfare.

Fiddlers played for house parties, frolics, showers, weddings and other community dances. They appeared at fund-raisers that financed church, school, and other local projects. They were also continually on call whenever neighbours simply had the whim to hear music. Fiddlers had to fulfil these musical responsibilities day in and day out, often in disregard of their own needs, interests, state of mind, and general health. In other words, the role of community fiddler on PEI had many aspects in common with what is generally regarded as an occupation in Western culture.

As far as Island church and community were concerned, however, fiddling was not a job, but merely an amusement, deserving of neither special recognition nor financial returns. The fiddler may have been the third most important person in the district, but he generally went unpaid unless the neighbours out of the kindness of their hearts tossed him a few coins after an hours-long dance. The upshot here was that most fiddlers were essentially working two jobs, but getting economic returns for only one.

Even more problematic in this regard was that the aforementioned network of sharing and community obligations went only one way. In other words, the fiddler had numerous obligations to church and community, but they acknowledged none toward him that stemmed from his music making. The neighbours did not see it as their duty to help a fiddler with chores on the day following a late-night house party, nor did local clergymen send along representatives to lighten a fiddler's burden on the days following a benefit dance. As far as the neighbours were concerned, if the fiddler's work was done poorly or not at all, it was his laziness or poor moral character that was at fault, not the system. Reverend MacDonald sums up the basic problem as follows:

That brings up another consideration in terms of the gift, you see. Like [with] everything else, a certain perversion can set in and did set in. In a lot of instances the community began to think they owned the fiddler. So, just as the individual fiddler himself can lose sight of the fact that his gift is not exclusively for himself, the community can have the same kind of possessiveness. And the community has a responsibility to insure that the gift remains a gift and not a possession. Maybe the church and community would use the fiddler to promote their cause, whatever the cause might be. He was key to an event that was going to raise money to build something, a church building or some social building. And maybe the Church, and maybe society could certainly bear some responsibility for a lack of awareness, of not cultivating an awareness of who this guy was for us.¹³

Indeed, as Archie Stewart implies, many fiddlers found themselves chafing under the pressures generated by their neighbours' unrelenting stream of demands:

If you played the first four nights of the week, and a good friend come along and said, 'Look, I'm having a house party Friday night, will you come and play?' Now what are you gonna say? You can't just say, 'No, I won't do it for you.' And that was another thing. If you played for one fellow, then the other fellow'd say, 'Well you played for him, why aren't you playin' for me?' You kind o' get trapped into the thing you know. It got pretty tiresome at times.¹⁴

If under these conditions fiddlers began systematically to neglect their farming or fishing, who could blame them? Reverend MacDonald describes the dynamic as follows:

He's worn out. It took a lot of stamina. Some of them had to travel long distances to play at a place, you know – the horse and sleigh in the winter, the horse and wagon in the summer – in the summer times they'd have to travel eight or ten miles to play, play all night, drive back, and then to have to do their work next day. So there was quite a price to pay from their part. People expected a lot from this man, you know. And any individual who feels used and exploited will feel a lot of pain after a while, and degraded, no matter who he is. And then eventually he has to get some way to still that pain, or he has to find ways to continue to be able to produce when he doesn't even feel like producing anymore. And so then you get into the more rum for the fiddler syndrome, see? That was the expression, 'more rum for the fiddler,' and many of them got trapped in that. That's the shadow side of the story.¹⁵

To sum up, in their image of him as lazy 'no-gooder', many Islanders failed to understand that the fiddler was actually very busy indeed helping to entertain his neighbours. And if these same neighbours truly believed that providing music was indeed pastime and not work, they conveniently ignored their own complicity in both creating music-events, and in demanding that fiddlers play for them.

It may well be asked how such a lop-sided social role could evolve in a society whose prime principle was reciprocity. Just why was fiddling not considered work, and why did the act of fiddling not serve as a unit of currency in the exchange of obligations? At least part of the answer here may well lie in certain church teachings that have in various eras placed fiddling and social dancing in league with the devil, or otherwise beyond the moral pale.

There were two major currents of thought behind church opposition to dance-playing in general and fiddling in particular. The first is an offshoot of the belief that musical talent, music memory, and even music composition can derive in whole or part from denizens of the spirit world, such as sprites or fairies. All too often, such relatively benign pagan relics were literally demonized by the Church in an effort to enforce religious hegemony. The second principle, stated in secular terms, is as follows: by transporting participants to an emotional plane that transcends ordinary social and psychological restrictions, activities such as fiddling and dancing place themselves in league with the dark forces of human nature, personified in the figure of the devil. In turn, both these notions fed off a variant of the secular stereotype described above, that both dancing and playing dance music are not only distracting and addictive, but also inherently subversive to the social fabric.¹⁶

In the mid-nineteenth century a current of religious revivalism coursed through Great Britain, Ireland, and North America, bringing with it a powerful climate of repression directed towards both dance musicians and social dancing. Since the fiddle was the dominant dance-accompaniment instrument in these regions, most anti-music proscriptions were aimed squarely at fiddlers and their instruments. In Scotland, for example, as David Johnson observes, 'There are many horrifying stories from this period of ministers ordering public bonfires of fiddles, excommunicating farmers for holding barn-dances on their premises, and so reducing the demand for

fiddles that the instruments had to be sold off at auctions at nominal prices'.¹⁷ As Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin notes, in Ireland, a number of parishes banned dancing of all kinds, thereby sending many local fiddlers and pipers to the workhouse, while some priests 'scoured the countryside hunting for courting couples and purging fiddlers from crossroads dances'.¹⁸ As Ian McKinnon also points out, on Cape Breton Island, a number of Catholic and Protestant clergymen 'held to the puritanical view that pipes and fiddles were instruments of the devil'.¹⁹ The most notorious of these was Father Kenneth MacDonald, priest of the Mabou-West Lake Ainslie Parish from 1865 to 1894, who at one point 'had all the pipes and fiddles [in the area] gathered up and burned'.²⁰ Similar stories of fiddles abandoned or broken up as proof of religious conversion, fiddlers caught up by religious fervour cutting off their own fingertips, and fiddlers expelled from congregations or ostracized from local social life if they refused to give up their art, also emanate from nearly all regions of the American South.²¹

Prince Edward Island also experienced its own Christian revival during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and there too zealots among the clergy spread the message connecting fiddling, dance, and the infernal. That these teachings bore at least some fruit is evidenced by one Kings County man, who notes in his memoirs that he 'got the impression that a fiddle was a wicked instrument, that it had as many devils as the man of Gadara'.²² Similarly, a Queens County woman was so sure of the connection between fiddling and the devil that several pranksters during a house party convinced her that an infernal visitation was in progress by merely stopping the flue and directing smoke into the kitchen. According to one account, an exorcism had to be performed before she would once again consent to enter that dwelling.²³

Dancing of any kind was forbidden in certain communities, and in some cases, the destruction of a musical instrument served as a rite of passage for those who wished to declare a newfound piety. The following two accounts of this phenomenon both originate from south-eastern Queens County. The 'Mr Macdonald' cited below is Reverend Donald McDonald (1783–1867), the Scottish-born founder of the McDonaldites congregations and probably the most prominent exponent of Christian Revival on the Island.

When Angus Joiner (McLeod) [...] became a convert of Mr Macdonald [sic], he was admonished by him to put aside the violin he loved to play 'as belonging to the flesh'. Angus took it out and destroyed it with an axe.²⁴

Sir Andrew MacPhail relates the following incident:

Musical instruments were not held in favour. One young man who performed very well on the bagpipes abandoned the practice at the time of his conversion: and to prove his sincerity destroyed the instrument which he had made with his own hands.²⁵

This crusade against musicians and musical instruments had for the most part subsided on the Island by the end of the nineteenth century, but remnants persisted for generations. Eddy Arsenault of St Chrysostom, Prince County, for example, recalls that local priests spoke out against music and dance when he was a boy in the 1920s, and that when he took up the instrument at age fifteen on some level he felt himself 'the worst sinner'.²⁶ Similarly, Archie Stewart reports that during the same period, 'there'd [still] be a certain amount of old ladies in the district who didn't believe in dancin' and drinkin' and they'd be kickin' up a row'.²⁷ On the other hand, although strictures against music-playing eventually relaxed in south-eastern Queens County, those aimed at dancing remained in force for the devout for decades longer. Danny MacLean of Eldon notes, for example, that his grandfather Lauchy MacLean was a good fiddler but 'he wouldn't play at no [dance] parties; he just didn't believe in parties because we were kind o' religious people'.²⁸

As the years passed, the grip of the church on Island music and dance continued to weaken. In some Acadian districts in Prince County, for example, square dancing would still be forbidden on Sundays, but even that stricture could sometimes be relaxed with permission from the curé.²⁹ Similarly, Margaret Ross MacKinnon (b. Flat River) reports that although secular music-playing was still banned on Sundays in south-eastern Queens County until well into the 1960s, Angus Leslie MacLean 'used to go down to the [music] room and devise schemes to play his tunes [so] that nobody would hear'.³⁰

Although the complex of attitudes painting fiddling as evil had lost much of its virulence on the Island by the lifetimes of the fiddlers interviewed for this project, vestiges were undoubtedly lurking in the background, ready to amplify any negative impressions about the art and its practitioners that the public might otherwise entertain. In this atmosphere, the sharing of musical gifts was probably regarded as an opportunity by which fiddlers might partially redeem themselves from the sin of playing. Such an opportunity would then be seen as its own reward, making further recognition or recompense unnecessary.

As an aside, by the 1920s, the Catholic Church in general and most mainstream Protestant denominations in Ireland and elsewhere began to view fiddle music and dance as potential buffers against the spread of new, far more dangerous musical threats such as jazz, blues, and the sexually provocative styles of dancing that came in their wake.³¹ This may explain why the same institutions that branded the fiddle as the devil's instrument and fiddlers as the devil's minions, have in more recent generations stressed the notion of fiddling as God's gift. It certainly explains why after 1930 so many clergymen became involved as leaders of fiddling revival movements.

The tales of all-too-universal human foibles cited earlier may bring a knowing smile to the lips today, but it is nevertheless true that on PEI, many fiddlers suffered severely because of their generally disreputable image. If, in the long run, a fiddler faltered in his economic tasks, the neighbours – completely oblivious to their own role in the matter – merely nodded sagely and pointed to yet another example of

the pitfalls attached to fiddle-addiction. Even when a fiddler's fortunes were clearly declining, the neighbours would continue to ply him with liquor at house parties while ridiculing his drunkenness, keep him up late providing music while deriding his irresponsibility, and get to brawling over trifles while assuming that he was somehow to blame for this, as well. As Prince Edward Island began to modernize, and communities discovered alternative forms of entertainment and fund-raising, most locals were all too ready to cast the fiddler off like an old shoe, and to brand him, among his other faults, as being completely irrelevant in the modern era.

To sum up, those Prince Edward Islanders who once dismissed district fiddlers as lazy good-for-nothings were completely missing the point. After all, most fiddlers worked full time at fishing or farming, and then worked still more to entertain their neighbours during the latter's leisure hours. And, due to a peculiar blind-spot in an otherwise smooth-working system of reciprocity, fiddlers got little credit and virtually nothing in return for their extra efforts. The upshot was that by middle age the average fiddler on Prince Edward Island was very likely struggling to muster sufficient energy to fulfil his varied obligations. As is often the case with pernicious stereotyping, it was all too easy for the fiddlers' neighbours to ignore both the dynamics of this dysfunctional system and their own role in setting those dynamics in motion.

Notes

¹ Most of the Prince Edward Islanders quoted in this paper are fiddlers, accompanists, or traditional-music enthusiasts who were interviewed by the author as part of a project conducted during the summers of 1991 and 1992 for the Earthwatch Organization of Watertown, Massachusetts. Follow-up interviewing projects were conducted in August 1999 (self-financed) and in October – December 2006 (sponsored by the Canadian Museum of Civilization of Gatineau, Québec). In 2007, all audio and visual materials were donated to the CMC, where they are housed alongside the 2006 collection under accession AV2007-33. Since 2008, I have been working with the museum to create a website devoted to audio and video excerpts from these various projects. This website, whose working title is 'Bowling Down Home: Traditional Fiddling on Prince Edward Island' is scheduled to go on line in 2011.

² Neil MacCannell, personal interview, 5 August 1991, Prince Edward Island Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007s33, interview #AIII-07, Canadian Museum of Civilization.

³ Archie Stewart, personal interview, 8 August 1999.

⁴ Emmett Hughes, personal interview, 8 August 1991, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #AIII-09, CMC.

⁵ Wilfred Gotell, personal interview, 3 August 1992, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #A92III-07, CMC.

⁶ Archie Stewart, personal interview, 9 August 1991, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #AIII-10, CMC.

⁷ John Cousins, personal interview, 19 August 1991, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #AIV-05, CMC.

⁸ Ervan Sonier, personal interview, 25 August 1991, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #AIV-16, CMC.

⁹ John Cousins, personal interview, 19 August 1991.

¹⁰ John Cousins, personal interview, 19 August 1991.

¹¹ Rita Morrison, personal interview, 20 August 1991, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #A92IV-07, CMC.

¹² Reverend Faber MacDonald, personal interview, 20 July 1992, PEI Fiddling Project, Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #AII-08, CMC.

¹³ Reverend Faber MacDonald, personal interview, 20 July 1992.

¹⁴ Archie Stewart, personal interview, 9 August 1991.

¹⁵ Reverend Faber MacDonald, personal interview, 20 July 1992.

¹⁶ For a thorough discussion of both principles, see Colin Quigley, *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler* (Athens, Ga; London: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 46–58. Clerical proscriptions against dancing among the common folk go back at least as far as the early Middle Ages, although the message gained new strength following the Reformation (1517–c.1590). Calvinist sects in particular – such as Presbyterianism and its offshoots – stressed avoiding aspects of life that might serve to stimulate the senses, and thereby distract the individual from establishing a personal relationship with God.

¹⁷ David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), p. 213.

¹⁸ Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, *A Pocket History of Traditional Irish Music* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1998), p. 78. See also Nicolas Carolan, *A Harvest Saved: Francis O'Neill and Irish Music in Chicago* (Cork: Ossian, 1997), pp. 24–25.

¹⁹ Ian Francis McKinnon, 'Fiddling to Fortune: The Role of Commercial Recordings Made by Cape Breton Fiddlers in the Fiddle Music Tradition of Cape Breton Island' (unpublished master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1989), pp. 24–25.

²⁰ McKinnon, pp. 24–25. See also Charles W. Dunn, *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953, repr. edn 1968), p. 54. According to some scholars, the current flowering of Cape Breton fiddling began just after Father MacDonald departed this mortal valed.

²¹ See, for example, A.W. Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee* (quoted in 'The First Tennessee State Champion Fiddler,' *Tennessee Valley Old Time Fiddle Association Newsletter*, 2 December 1968), pp. 465–66; Gerald Milnes, *Play of a Fiddle: Traditional Music, Dance, and Folklore in West Virginia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), pp. 69–72; Joyce Cauthen, *With Fiddle and Well Rosined Bow: Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), pp. 204, 210; and Richard Nevell, *A Time to Dance: American Country Dancing from Hornpipes to Hash* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1977), p. 73.

²² [Harry Mellick], *Timothy's Boyhood: or, Pioneer Country Life on PEI* (Kentville, NS: Kentville Publishing, 1933), p. 90. Copy in Roberts Library Archive (University of PEI).

²³ Dan Casey, 'A P. E. I. Hallowe'en Story,' *Prince Edward Island Magazine*, December 1900, pp. 316–21 (pp. 320–21).

²⁴ Malcolm A. MacQueen, *Skye Pioneers and The Island* (Winnipeg: Stovel, 1929), p. 84. For an overview of MacDonald's career, see David Weale, 'The Time is Come!: Millenarianism in Colonial PEI,' *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*, 7, no. 1 (1977), 35–39.

²⁵ Sir Andrew MacPhail, *The Master's Wife* (Montreal, 1939; Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), p. 149.

²⁶ Eddy Arseneault, personal interview, 5 August 1999.

²⁷ Archie Stewart, personal interview, 8 August 1999.

²⁸ Danny MacLean, personal interview, 21 August 1992, PEI Fiddling Project: Accession #AV2007-33, Interview #A92-IV-10, CMC.

²⁹ Georges Arsenault, personal interview, 13 August 1999.

³⁰ Margaret Ross MacKinnon, personal interview, 10 August 1999.

³¹ See, for example, Ó hAllmhuráin, pp. 111–13. There is another precedent here, described in Simonne Voyer, *La Danse Traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1986), pp. 38–39. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Catholic Church in Québec, concerned about the effects of waltzes and other couple dances, began to actively encourage longways country-dances and quadrilles among the rural population (which they had hitherto bitterly opposed).