

**IDENTIFYING EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
SCOTTISH FOLK MUSIC AND ITS ELEMENTS
IN EARLY COLONIAL AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC
OF THE CAPE FEAR VALLEY IN NORTH CAROLINA**

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(NOTE: This document is an incomplete draft of the research to date. Much of this material serves as placeholders for my further research.)

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INTRODUCTION

The Context of this Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the proposition that Scottish traditional folk tunes (from now on referred to as "Scotunes") carried by emigrants from Scotland to America 1750–1800 survived to influence American folk music of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The writer believes that melodic forms, fragments, and tendencies from these Scotunes also survived to influence today's contemporary popular music and produce what modern listeners recognize as fragments or forms that "sound Scottish." That will be the foundation for further study.

This study will conclude with following these tunes into the Early American Period just after the Revolutionary War at the end of the 18th Century. Two principal methods, justified later in the thesis, will underpin the study.

This part of the study is more like a crime investigation. Therefore, though not the principal method used, the concept of MMO, or motive, method, and opportunity does serve as the foundation for proving that the 18th century, colonial Carolina folk tune composers committed the "crime" of "stealing" 18th century Scottish folk tune elements when creating new music in Carolina. They were motivated by their need to create music, had the tools to create that music both as musicians and specifically as either Scottish musicians or musicians who learned Scottish music, and this also provided the opportunity as did the fact that 18th century Scottish folk tunes immigrated to Colonial Carolina and were actively present in the geographical area under study.

First, in order to document such a musical migration and show evidence of the manifestation of the Scottish tunes in newly created "American" music, it will be necessary to develop a catalog of Scotunes common to Scotland and America during this period. Second, it will also be necessary to develop a system of analysis and classification of melodies and melodic fragments and phrases for identification and comparison, and to trace the Scottish elements into the American tunes.

It is hoped that these systems will aid in further investigation, beyond this dissertation, following these melodies and melodic fragments as they evolve through American popular and folk music through the 19th and 20th centuries up to present time.

Additional benefits of this study will be to better understand how folk composers composed tunes or melodies. Much attention has been given to the evolutionary and participative "community" process of "composing" folk songs. But, much of this research uses the term "composing" almost entirely to describe the developing and varying the text of these songs. Very little attention has been given to the composing and evolution of the melodies. Almost all variations of folk songs are text variations. The melodies remain amazingly intact or, perhaps it is better to say, the variations of the tunes for each song are much less dramatic and dynamic than the variations of the words.

The writer believes that this is because almost all people are able to speak and to create stories, but very few can create melodies or document their creations for others to hear and play. Therefore, it is easy to surmise that there are very few melodies compared to stories, and that for each composed tune, there can be several sets of texts applied to it.

Accepting that proposition, we can see the possibility that many tunes, phrases, and smaller tune fragments may have deep roots into humanity's distant musical past. Through this investigation, it is hoped that by developing a system tracing motifs forward from just 200 years ago, we may be able to use that information to go back 200, 400, 600 years or more to identify the spawning grounds of today's English, Celtic, and American melodies.

Folk musics of each culture have always accepted "foreign" music into their creations of new music. However, until recent times, cultures were far more isolated and the mixing of folk musics took place slowly and in seemingly small increments.

Today, pop and folk composers in our pluralistic Western society borrow freely from several folk musics to compose a single song. In 1999, British composer Sting combined American, British, African, and Algerian musical elements in his song *Desert Rose* [Brand New Day, Interscope Records, Santa Monica, California; 1999]. Shakira, in her album "Laundry Service" (Epic Records 2001) combines Brazilian, American, African, English, and Middle Eastern musical elements. Loreena McKennitt frequently combines American, British, Celtic, African, and Middle Eastern elements in most of her music. There are genres called Afro-Celt, Cajun Bluegrass, Tex Mex, and so on. Songs are composed with phrases, sections, and influences of more than one isolated culture or music.

Two Paths to Creating "New" Scottish Traditional Music

Most contemporary American popular music consists of musical elements and influences that have been passed on to us from generation to generation. Often, this transmission has either occurred orally, directly or indirectly, the distinction of which seems to have little bearing on the final product. Occasionally, a composer or performer (often the same individual) has made a change or changes in the original elements of the music. It is the writer's opinion, based on his own compositional experience, that these changes may not have been passed on to this composer from his or her indigenous culture but through contact with or influence of a "foreign" music. Sometimes, new music results through seemingly spontaneous creation, unrelated to anything the composer has heard before, but this appears to be rare (though the composer him or herself probably feels the composition is not recreation). So, it seems that composers create new music by utilizing their own aural experiences influenced by foreign music heard (or read) and perhaps by exposure through travel, recordings, or contact with "foreign" musicians.

This particular study will deal with Colonial Carolina to set the foundation for further study of the contemporary composer. Therefore, while focusing on the colonial, we will need to keep the contemporary in our analysis. Now, in colonial Carolina, there were no recordings, and scant few written folk music documents. One may assume the process of creating new music came from exposure to one's own culture as well as the influences of the immigrant and indigenous cultures in one's geographical area with occasional influences from traveling foreigners.

As a composer himself, the writer believes there are two prevalent ways through which a contemporary composer derives his or her foundation for creating new popular songs that sound "Scottish" in nature:

- 1) Exposure through hearing. This could be obtained through a direct oral-to-aural transmission of Scotunes or an indirect by hearing contemporary recordings or live performances of "revived" Scotunes where the listener/composer has not had the experience of the Scotune being passed to him or her directly from the original 18th century sources. This may manifest itself as an oral/aural trail, from generation to generation, from 18th century Scotland to current time. Though filtering and variation of the tunes would probably occur in this method of transmission, it is also likely that the nuances of performance, which have been historically difficult to capture in written transcription, would have a greater likelihood of survival. Nuances such as time bending, note bending, subtle or sudden changes in volume, accents, and "ornamentations."
- 2) Exposure through seeing. This transmission is gained by reading written materials such as broadsheets, songbooks, lead sheets, and so forth. The assumption here is that, when music is transcribed from the performer to the written document, usually the tune is normalized or "straightened out." Western music notation systems used in the past five hundred years do not lend themselves well toward capturing many of the subtle nuances that characterize folk performance; nuances such as time and note bending, odd meters as well as mixed meters that do not necessarily repeat with each repetition of the phrase, subtle or sudden volume changes or intonations, even unusual ornamentations).

It is therefore an assumption of the writer, if one relies on performing from or analyzing written Scotunes, it is probable that it was not possible to capture the original nuances and other elements the tune in the written material. Further, it is assumed that many of these nuances have been lost forever due to these transcription and notation limitations.

Nonetheless, we are left with these two paths. Either path could yield a set of rules through which the composer creates new music in the Scotune idiom, even if such a set of rules is not totally accurate in capturing 18th century Scotunes. We may be able to at least capture the most recognizable, characteristic, and defining elements of those Scotunes.

If a contemporary composer were aware of the rules derived from or present in 18th century Scotunes, he or she could recreate 18th century Scotunes via strict adherence to those rules. The composer could gain awareness either through study of a written document containing the rules or by aural assimilation after being exposed to recreations of 18th Scotunes.

Let us explore these two paths.

Exposure through hearing — Direct Transmission

This path is perhaps the most common path for most all folk musics. In direct transmission, a mother sings a lullaby to her daughter, who, in turn, sings the same lullaby to her daughter. A father teaches a fiddle tune to his son, a fiddler, who then teaches it to his friends, and so on. Many complete Scotunes immigrated to Colonial North Carolina and were passed on pretty much intact via oral and written transmission. Hundreds of school and other published songbooks from the 18th century to present date can be found that have Scotunes within them (Boni 1952, Brown 1952, Brown 1962, Dann 1935, Hudson 1962, Ives 1953; McConathy 1910). Ergo, the writer assumes, and intends to prove, that whole Scotunes and fragments of Scotunes that are uniquely identifiable as “Scottish” in sound can be traced from 18th century Scotland through Colonial America and up to the present generation.

Exposure through Hearing — Indirect Transmission

Today, a composer in Nairobi, Kenya can immerse himself or herself in 18th century Scotunes simply by obtaining a library of Scotunes from recordings or through downloading them from the Internet; never having left Nairobi nor hearing live Scotunes performed. Then this composer can compose new tunes that sound like Scotunes via intuition and matching his or her composition to the “rules” he or she heard implied by these recordings. Also, one can attend concerts of contemporary bands that play tunes they also learned indirectly (as just described). Scotune collectors such as John and Alan Lomax and Hamish Henderson (Lomax 1998) have had their collections and recordings published several times and these have helped to revive Scotunes from the 18th century. The folksong revivals of America and Britain of the past sixty years have also brought Scotunes into the awareness of the composers of the past half-century. These composers have not received Scotunes in a direct manner; however, the effect on their composition as compared to direct transmission may be the same.

Exposure through Seeing

We need not talk much about this method, as it is readily apparent how it works. As described above, Scotunes are either transcribed from performance or recording and documented in music notation. These tunes may be performed from or analyzed using these documents. Given that recording of music was not realized on a practical and public scale until the early 20th century, it stands to reason that contemporary composers can only gain aural exposure to the original 18th century Scotunes through direct or indirect oral transmission. These composers have access to thousands of written

Scotunes. The majority of our analysis will rely on written Scotunes. However, as we shall see, since the study is attempting to identify the larger phrasal elements of Scotunes, the assumption of the “lost” nuances will probably not have a debilitating impact on isolating those elements which have survived; both in 18th century colonial Carolina as well as the future studies into survival in 20th and 21st century popular music.

The Limits or “Rules” of the Music

Folk composers have always composed within the limits set by their audience. What are those limits? Where is the center, the “safe” place? Where are the edges, the gateway to the uncharted territory? How far can the composer go away from the accepted center and still be composing music of his or her folk audience? What tools does the composer need to compose music that fits the accepted idiom?

And the rhetoric of questioning continues when we consider the focus of the present study. What would be the rules for 18th century Scotunes found in the Highlands? What would be the rules for late 20th century pop and folk music in America that audiences declare “sounds” like it came from Scotland? Are there connections between the two? Can evidence of these “rules” be found in new music of Colonial America that can be traced to Scotunes? Can these rules be traced through the evolution of American popular music even up to the late 20th Century? What would be included in a set of rules for use by today’s composers who wish to create music sounding like 18th century Scotunes?

Also, music technology has changed the music. It has always been an interesting study to identify where the instrument has dictated the music, and vice versa. If a flute had five holes, did the number and distance dictate limitations for the composer or were the number and distance dictated by the music heard in the mind’s ear of the composer? Just as the introduction of the guitar or the piano has “straightened out” many ethnic musics that came to America, what other new instruments and technologies altered the music? Guitars create harmonic progressions for tunes that either had no harmony or perhaps implied a harmony that was not picked up by the arranger who used the guitar. The tempering of the piano’s scale also “fixed” notes that perhaps were always meant to be in the cracks.

A clear example is found in the evolution of the blues in America. Principally starting as a West African vocal music, the music changed slightly when songsters started using one-chord guitar accompaniment. Later, more Western European harmony influence affected the music and the composers started using typical harmonic progressions such as tonic-dominant-tonic. Eventually, the marriage of West African song and Western European harmony yielded the classic blues progression I-IV-I-V-IV-I (Bethune, 1989). (This is not to say that, until this meeting between Western European music and West African songs, the West African songs had no harmony or harmonic motion between sounds that Western music would call tonic, subdominant, or dominant.)

Melodically, the “blues” notes and the bending and melismatic motifs were a strong characteristic of the blues. Not hampered by the limitations of an instrument with set

tones, the singer had all frequencies available and could easily “slide” between target notes and create smooth movements within their tunes and interpretations. But, adding the guitar created the need to straighten out some melodies to fit the tuning of the guitar. Going from a solo vocal blues to a group of musicians made it necessary to define and agree upon the form of tunes and even agree upon the scale and other elements that would be used, further restricting the free improvisation of the singer.

When the blues “moved to the city,” even more technological restrictions occurred. One could “bend” a note with one’s voice. The guitar could bend notes. Sliding around all the frequencies between the natural and flatted third of the scale was a staple of vocal blues. But, the piano could not bend the notes. So we started hearing the piano’s attempt to duplicate the idiom through playing both the flatted and natural third degree at the same time, or making quick grace notes of the flatted third moving to the natural third.

It is interesting to note that a similar evolution or dialectic process happened to Gaelic vocal music. It, too, displayed melodies that allowed the singer to slide around and bend notes and sing “in the cracks.” It is possible that when this music met African music in Colonial Carolina, songsters from both cultures found a common ground. There may be connections there worth exploring. But, the Gaelic songs also slowly became assimilated and dominated by a stronger culture in Colonial Carolina. Slowly, the Gaelic language moved to become English language. The free movement of the melodies, both in pitch and in meter, became corralled and tempered, resembling more and more its English cousin.

In some cases, the English and the Scottish melodic elements were the same. In others, where they were different, which of the Scottish survived the dialectic to become part of the new Colonial American music?

Today, we have instruments that can replicate instruments such as bagpipes, but without the technical limits of the pipes. A synthesizer can sound like pipes; even using the “sampled” sound of actual pipes. It can play the same scale as the pipes, yet play all the notes in between and have greater range. It could even harmonize in four parts. Ergo, it sounds like pipes...but not really. The audience knows something is not right. We have reached the edge and beyond of established territory for sounding like bagpipes. So, what are the elements beyond timbre and the other qualities of sound that define what sounds like bagpipe music? This is the same territory for folk song that we wish to explore.

So, we begin our investigation by attempting to establish that the opportunity for transmission existed in colonial Carolina. That composers and performers had opportunity to be exposed to and influenced by those rules drawn from tunes carried to colonial Carolina from Scotland

SCOTS TO COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA BEFORE 1775

Society and Culture in Colonial Cape Fear Valley

If one wants to trace Scottish folk song melodies from Scotland into Colonial North America, it seems logical to locate the largest concentrations of immigrant Scottish populations and to attempt to understand their culture, the cultures in which they found themselves, how they interacted with those culture and musics, and how this synthesis affected the newly created melodies.

Approximately 1.5 million Scots have immigrated to America (Gormley, 2000). Today, the state of North Carolina has more citizens of Scottish ancestry than any other state or country, including Scotland (Highlander, 2000). Where did those early immigrant Scots settle in North America, and when? How many were there? Why did they leave Scotland for such treacherous, wilderness territory?

The main thrust of this section of the study is to follow Scottish Highlanders and their music into the North American colonies. But, it is also necessary to trace Lowlanders and Scotch-Irish, as many musical characteristics of their folk songs will be found to be similar to the Highland. True, there are differences, but, together, they all form a “Celtic” influence on the new American music of the late 18th century.

Brief History of the Founding of North Carolina

Giovanni da Verrazano was the first European explorer of North Carolina in 1524. The territory was named Carolana after King Charles I of England. (Carolus means Charles in Latin.) In 1663, King Charles changed the spelling of the name to Carolina

In 1729, King George II took Carolina over and split it into North Carolina and South Carolina. Farmers from Virginia migrated to settle in North Carolina because it had a warm climate and good soil. Most of North Carolina became plantations.

Colonial North Carolina had three geographic regions: the Coastal Plain, the Appalachian Piedmont, and the Appalachian Mountains. These regions still exist, today.

The Immigrants of Colonial North Carolina

In addition to the Highlanders, there were several other ethnic groups who had migrated to colonial North Carolina from Europe and Africa including English, Lowlanders, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh, Swiss, and Africans. While there seem to be no accurate records of the exact numbers of each group, it does appear that the English made up the vast majority of European immigrants, followed by the Scottish (Scotch-Irish, Lowlanders, and Highlanders), and far fewer Irish, Germans, Africans, Swiss, French, and Welsh (United States Historic Census Data Base 2002).

There is a lot of confusion in early American history regarding the similarities or differences of the Scots. This makes it difficult to get a clear picture of "Scottish" immigration, though there are many clues that can help unravel the mess. Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Scotch-Irish are often grouped together as "Scots." Sometimes the Irish and Scotch-Irish also get mistakenly mixed. A great number of Scotch-Irish (also often called Ulster-Scots), migrated to North America. The Scotch-Irish, Highland Scots, and Lowland Scots became a dominant ethnic group in the Colonies.

The largest influx of Irish into North Carolina was in the form of Protestants -- largely Presbyterian but also Anglican -- who became known as "Scotch-Irish" or "Scots Irish," since their ancestors originated in Scotland. (Powell, 1999) The term "Scotch-Irish" is an Americanism, generally unknown in Scotland and Ireland, and rarely used by British historians. In American usage, it refers to people of Scottish descent who, having lived for a time in the north of Ireland, migrated in considerable numbers to the American colonies in the eighteenth century.

According to the United States Historical Census Data Base (USHCDB) (2002), the ethnic populations in the American Colonies of 1775 were:

- English 48.7 %
- African 20.0 %
- Scot-Irish 7.8 %
- German 6.9 %
- Scottish 6.6 %
- Dutch 2.7 %
- French 1.4 %
- Swedish 0.6 %
- Other 5.3 %
-

(NOTE: Combined, the total of Scots and Scot-Irish in this census is 14.4%).)

The following sections give some information about the major ethnic groups in colonial North Carolina (all the ones in the list above except Dutch and Swedish).

English and Welsh

The main English immigration to North America began in the early seventeenth century. From this time until the Revolution, the English were the largest group in the colonies and certainly in North Carolina. Due to industrialization and less religious persecution there had been an improvement in living standards in England and this led to a relative decline in the English emigration the eighteenth century.

There were English immigrants in all the North American colonies and in the West Indies. In the seventeenth century they mainly settled the East seaboard areas in the colonies. In the New England colony all the states had ninety percent or more population of English and Welsh origin. In 1790 the state of Massachusetts had the largest number

of people, 93%, of English and Welsh ethnic background. In Pennsylvania, English and Welsh inhabitants made up about 58% of the total population. In the southern colonies, the British and Welsh immigrants were the majority, and in North Carolina they were 56% of the total population.

Though the governing of the colonies was mainly in English hands, there were several British government leaders from Scotland and Ulster. The culture of North Carolina was decidedly British, mainly English. The other ethnic groups maintained strong cultures within their own contained communities, but had marginal influence, at first, on English-dominated rule and society. However, little by little, the influence of the Scotch-Irish and Highland Scots in particular became evident, as we shall see later in this paper.

Scottish Lowlanders

There were Lowlanders in this area before 1700. Tracing Lowlanders is more difficult than tracing Highlanders because the Lowlanders were much more willing to disperse themselves within the various communities than were the clansmen. However, there are clear records of Lowlanders in North Carolina before 1700. Lowlander names appear in pre-1700 Carolina records and the first governor of the colony, William Drummond, was a Lowlander (Myer, 1957).

Scotch-Irish and Irish

To the west and east of these Highland settlements were large settlements of Scotch-Irish. One area directly to the west of the Cape Fear settlements was even called “Scotch-Irish Mesopotamia.” Most of the Scotch-Irish landed at Philadelphia and came south into North Carolina as early as 1740. After 1750, a steady stream flowed into the Colony. In 1751 Governor Gabriel Johnston of North Carolina reported to the Board of Trade that “Inhabitants flock in here daily, mostly from Pennsylvania and other parts of America . . . and some directly from Europe, they commonly seat themselves toward the West and have got near the mountains” (Saunders, 1886–90).

The Scotch-Irish were Protestant, as compared to the smaller number of Irish in Carolina, who were Catholic. In the seventeenth century a large amount of the Irish immigrants were situated in the West Indies, but in the eighteenth century there were Irish settlements in North America. Pennsylvania was in 1790 the colony that had most persons of Irish nationality, but it was mainly in the nineteenth century that the mass immigration of Irish Catholics to North America started.

Germans

The German immigrants came mainly from the areas of the river Rhine, the pre industrial southwest parts of Germany, but also from the German speaking areas of Switzerland. The constant warfare in these parts of Europe made immigrants drawn towards the North Atlantic colonies.

The Germans settled mainly in Pennsylvania and by 1790, they represented more than one fourth of the total population. There were also some German settlements in Maryland, North and South Carolina and New York, but these numbers were small compared to the German population in Pennsylvania.

The following information explaining German immigration to North Carolina is from historian Guion Griffis Johnson (Johnson, 1937):

Following the same route traveled by the Scotch-Irish, several thousand Germans also came into North Carolina between 1745 and 1775. Like the Scotch-Irish, they were thrifty and fervently religious, but instead of representing one communion as in the case of the Scotch, they were members of three different branches of the Protestant church: the Lutheran, the German Reformed, and the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church...Both the Scotch and the Germans preserved their native customs for several generations

Africans

There were also in this area enslaved Africans who worked in the houses and plantations of the European settlers. According to the Federal Census of 1790, one of four Highland families had slaves and, of those who owned slaves, the average was almost 5 slaves per family (Myer, 1957). In North Carolina, enslaved Africans were also about one out of every four persons (regardless of ethnicity):

North Carolina Census Data

- Total 393,751
- Free white persons 288,204 (72%)
- All other free persons 4,975 (12%)
- Slaves 100,572 (26%)

It is also interesting to note that by 1775, Africans were the second largest ethnic group (20.0%) in the United States, behind the English (48.7%), and there were three times as many Africans as Scots (6.6%). (If you combine the Scots and Scot-Irish of this census, the total would be 14.4%.) Most all Africans were enslaved and the vast majority were in the south in states like North Carolina (Meyer 1957).

French (Huguenots)

French immigrants, who were called the Huguenots, also found their way to colonial North Carolina. These French Protestants had to migrate because French king Louis XIV persecuted them. French Huguenots immigrated mainly to New York and South Carolina, but some found their way into North Carolina. They assimilated easily by learning English and integrating with the other groups in the community (Meyer 1957).

Scottish Highlanders in Carolina

At the time of the first federal census in the United States, (1790) people of Scottish (including the Scotch-Irish) origins made up more than six percent of the population, numbering about 260,000. According to this census, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina had the highest proportion of Scottish stock among their populations. The settlements of the Highlanders were the Cape Fear River and its tributaries in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. A number of other Scots made their homes in the Mohawk Valley of New York, New Jersey, and the Caribbean islands such as Barbados. And, smaller numbers of Scots were found in all the 13 states.

The migration of Scottish Highlanders, in particular, to North Carolina began in about 1729 (Conner, 1919) and grew steadily until the outbreak of the American Revolution. The first few Highlanders appear to have settled in the Cape Fear area in 1732. The first large group of Highlanders settled here in 1739, numbered 350, and was from Argyllshire (Myer, 1957).

The fastest growth appears to have been just before the Revolution in the early 1770s. According to the Earl of Selkirk, by the end of the 18th century, the settlement of Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina was the largest on the North American Continent (Myer, 1957). Thomas Garnett, in his Tour, published in 1800, estimated in 1800 that 30,000 Highlanders had immigrated to America between 1773 and 1775, alone (Adams, 1919). My research uncovered estimates anywhere from 6,000 to over 50,000. The writer believes the number of 30,000 by Garnett is most accurate, if not slightly overstated. Lower estimates seem to leave out departures that list no departure port, but clearly left Scotland, or left Ireland or England as a last port and were populated with mostly Scottish surnames. The highest estimates seem to accidentally have combined two estimates for the same period.

The Highlanders settled in the sand hills area near the upper Cape Fear River of the Coastal Plain, which ran inland to about 100 miles from the ocean. Since the vast majority of Highlanders that settled in this area had come from an agricultural society, and because the land was plentiful and fertile, most became farmers.

The main trading town in the sand hills area at this time was Cross Creek. It was established in 1746 (Ashe, 1908) about 90 miles up the Cape Fear River, close to the merge of the Cape Fear River and the Cross Creek. In 1762, Campbellton was established near Cross Creek. In 1778, the towns were combined. After the Revolution, in 1783, the name Cross Creek was changed to Fayetteville, after the French general, Lafayette who assisted the Americans in defeating the British.

The Highlanders preferred to live among those who spoke their language and shared their customs, and usually settled in groups (Myer, 1957). Yet, almost immediately, Scotch-Irish slowly mixed in to the Highland settlements and continued to do so over the last half of the 18th century.

There were so many MacDonalds in the Cape Fear region that, during the American Revolution, the MacDonalds, who were loyal to the Crown of England, attempted a march to the sea, but were defeated at Moore's Creek. This was known for generations as "The Insurrection of the Clan MacDonald" (Graham, 1956)

When Samuel Johnson made his famous journey through the Highlands with James Boswell in 1773, he remarked in his journal that there was an "epidemick of desire of wandering which spreads from valley to valley" (Johnson, 1924). Also in his journal, Johnson states that, wherever he went in the Highlands, people were contemplating emigration to America. The Reverend Alexander Pope in 1774 wrote that half the population of Caithness would have left for America if they could have obtained the shipping (Myer, 1957). James Boswell tells of people on the Isle of Skye on October 2, 1774 who were performing a dance called "America."

Each of the couples...successively whirls round in a circle, till all are in motion; and the dance seems intended to show how emigration catches, till a whole neighborhood is set afloat. (Johnson & Boswell 1961, p346)

Many historical sources state that a good number of the Highlanders came to North Carolina after the 1745 defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden by the British government troops. It is true that many defeated Scots were banished to the colonies, but very few seem to have showed up in North Carolina, and it seems these reports of Highlanders leaving directly due to the defeat at Culloden is exaggerated.

It appears that the main cause of most of the emigration from Scotland during this period was due to the rapidly deteriorating economy and standard of living in the Highlands and the lure of economic relief and the promise of a golden future in America as communicated through letters from America to Scotland. Letters written from North Carolina to friends and relatives in the Highlands spurred an almost continuous flow of newcomers until the movement stopped by the Revolutionary War (Lefler & Powell, 1973).

An examination of ships' records shows that most Highlanders reported leaving Scotland because of high rents on their land and "oppression" or "high rents & Better Encouragement" (Graham, 1956).

The writer's family was part of this mass exodus of the 1770's. The Bethunes came from Skye to Kintyre in the mid-1600s and then emigrated from the port of Greenock on August 26, 1774. They arrived in Wilmington, North Carolina on the ship Ulysses on October 17, 1774 and settled in the Cape Fear area known as the Argyll Colony (Bethune Family records).

The Highlanders did not mix easily with the other groups in the area such as the English, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Germans, or the smaller groups of Huguenots, Welsh, and Swiss. As explained in Ian Charles Cargill Graham's Colonists from Scotland: emigration to North America, 1707-1783:

They [the Highlanders] were then as much a race apart as the Germans, less amenable to assimilation than the Lowland Scots, and far less so than the Scotch-Irish with their hostile attitude to the British government. Like the Germans, they spoke a strange tongue, but unlike them, they respected the authority of the Crown...they were clearly distinguished from other colonial peoples by their dress and demeanor. (Graham, p. 107)

Though the Highlanders spoke Gaelic, they did begin to use English more and more in order to conduct business with the majority English population and the Lowlanders and Scotch-Irish. But, in the Highland households that had slaves, the enslaved Africans even spoke Gaelic. The following excerpt tells the story of a Highland lady in Colonial North Carolina:

As she disembarked at the wharf, she was delighted to hear two men conversing in Gaelic. Assuming by their speech that they must inevitably be fellow Highlanders, she came nearer, only to discover that their skin was black. (Myer, 1957, p. 119)

Gaelic and German were rapidly giving way to English by 1825 (Gehrke, 1847). However, there are several documented reports of Gaelic still spoken in areas around the Cape Fear as late as 1886. The writer's great-great grandparents spoke Gaelic until that time (Bethune Family History).

After the Revolution, interaction among these peoples was still not frequent. There existed a division between the eastern and western counties. They did not grow the same crops or market their produce at the same towns. The English chiefly settled the eastern counties, while in the west there was a large proportion of Scotch and German settlers who still retained many of their native customs. For many years after the War, poor roads and the lack of good transportation kept the two regions apart. It would be a long time before these different people would come to know one another.

Because the Highlanders were adventurous, didn't mix well with the other populations, preferred to speak Gaelic, and were seen as supporters of the now-defeated Crown of Britain, many sought to "escape" unfriendly territory and struck out to tame the western frontier. Many became famous pioneers in Kentucky, Tennessee, and as far west as Texas. However, at the same time, Highlanders who had settled in the northern states started migrating south to North Carolina because it was seen as a land with better farming and a close-knit Highland community. Ergo, the Scottish population continued to grow in Carolina, despite the exodus of the Highland western pioneers.

Most of the Scottish (Highland and Lowland) settlers who came prior to 1854 came from the region of Glasgow, Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr (21.7%) or Argyll (13.9%). Others came from Edinburgh and Lothians (10.6%), Inverness (9.3%), Southwest (8.9%), and Perth (8.7%) (Gormley, 2000). Many, if not most of the Highlanders in Cape Fear were from Argyllshire, which was overwhelmingly Presbyterian by 1750 (4,000 Catholics and 62,000 Presbyterians).

Further, there is no evidence of any churches other than Presbyterian in this area and time (Myer, 1957). The importance of this religious distinction will be explained later in the paper where the music of the Cape Fear region will be discussed.

Myra Vanderpool Gormley (2000) explains that Scots were generally well educated and the newly immigrated Scots worked to bring even more Scots to the new land.

It was said in 1773 that the Virginians imported all their tutors and schoolmasters from Scotland. Education was widespread in Scotland and you will find most of your Scot ancestors were literate. As early as the 17th Century the immigrants were writing letters home telling of their success and prosperity and describing the beauty and richness of their settlements. Many successful settlers sent funds back to the old country to enable family members to follow -- wife or sweetheart, brothers and sisters, and sometimes ultimately the parents as well. The Scots tended to immigrate as families rather than individuals.

Scottish immigration had a fair chance of finding fellow Scots when they arrived and frequently obtained assistance from some of the Scottish societies that had been formed here to assist newcomers. Knowledge that such societies existed may well have helped to focus the minds of emigrants on certain areas. The Scots Charitable Society of Boston, founded in 1657, was the forerunner of associations whose purpose was partly charitable. These associations helped to smooth the path of emigrants from Scotland. Others were located at Philadelphia, New York and Savannah, Ga. The first St. Andrew's Society is believed to have been founded in New York in 1763. (Gormley, 2000, p. 1)

The steady flow of Highlanders into North Carolina (and into the new United States) ended with the onset of the Revolutionary War. Almost all Highlanders in North Carolina were Loyalists, supporting the Crown of Britain. During and after the War, most Highlanders emigrating from Scotland went to Canada, which was still part of the British Empire. After the War, the Whigs in North Carolina (anti-British) confiscated estates of Loyalists and many Scottish Highlanders migrated from North Carolina to Canada, Alabama, Georgia, and Texas (even though, as tensions lessened over the next generation, many Scots in Canada did make their way to the United States). Still, North Carolina maintained the greatest number of Highlanders and Scots of all the states and Canada.

SCOTUNES: INTO THE CRUCIBLE

Scotunes Migrate to the Crucible

What Scotunes survived the journey from Scotland to Colonial North Carolina and were established and took root in the new land? We must remember that a primary objective of further study is to eventually arrive at identifying those musical elements that are recognized by the modern listener as being "Scottish." Ergo, it is less important that we absolutely prove that the elements existed in Scotunes in Scotland, since elements may sound Scottish or be recognized as and pronounced "Scottish," yet have originated in Ireland, England, Scandinavia, or even Phoenicia. Nonetheless, by determining what

Scotunes came from Scotland—at least were established enough in Scotland to be considered Scottish by the Scots of the 18th Century—and survived the journey to Colonial North Carolina to take root there, we may be able to track the elements of the Scotunes that evolved into Early American music and eventually up to contemporary popular music.

Before we begin to establish the rules for the Scotunes of Colonial North Carolina, we will follow the path of direct transmission of these Scotunes from the people of Scotland to the new colonists in North Carolina.

Having firmly established that Highland, Lowland, and Ulster Scots migrated from 18th Century Scotland to Colonial North Carolina, and that they became established as one of the largest, if not the largest, populations of Colonial North Carolina, we next turn our attention to establishing whether or not they carried with them the popular Scotunes of Scotland and whether these tunes took root in their new “ground.”

As we have established, just as all of Colonial America quickly became a mixed garden of European cultures, along with African and Native American cultures, this Cape Fear Valley area became a virtual crucible for the mixing and transformation of cultures and, therefore, the music of these cultures. As we have seen, some cultures mixed more than others, some resisted assimilation, and some dominated. Perhaps their musics followed similar paths and dynamics.

Scotunes Widely Known in 18th Century Scotland

What were the Scotunes that were likely in the popular music of the areas of Scotland from which came the immigrant Scots of Cape Fear? Was the music of each area, including the Highland and island areas from which many Cape Fear folks emigrated, isolated and common only to those folks or did music travel the from one area to another? In other words, if a Gael came to Cape Fear, would he have had Lowland and Irish tunes in his repertoire? Did Highlanders sing Lowlander songs, and vice versa? Irish songs? Not to mention German songs, Spanish songs, Arabic songs.

While the writer will not delve into the fascinating genealogy of tunes that were in existence in 18th Century Scotland, he has no doubt that some or many of those elements we consider so characteristic of those Scotunes in fact originated in some other culture and were adopted over the centuries by the Scottish tunesmiths. Just as the Scottish nation itself is made up of several intermingled peoples such as Scots, Picts, Irish, Norwegians, French, Flemish, Italians, and so on (Bond 1993), so too the music is formed and reformed by the influences of the music from these peoples. Further, Scotland, though perhaps more isolated inland and in the Highlands than around the ports, was always involved in trade with far off distant lands as well as her neighbors of England, Wales, and Ireland. Even in Prehistoric and Biblical times, such international commerce has been noted.

One can find a plethora of references to the travels among the peoples of Scotland and the British Isles and beyond. Even though literature often paints pictures of isolated clans and peoples of Scotland, the truth is that, while perhaps not nomadic, there is ample evidence of trade and discourse as well as relocation all over what is now called Scotland. In the period we are exploring, Scots carried tunes from place to place within Scotland and between Scotland and Ireland, England and Wales. Certainly, there must have been Scotunes that were local and did not travel and were perhaps not even popular, but there is evidence that the tunes did travel. From the “Songs of Craig and Ben by Arthur Geddes (1951), one finds the following representative example of such movement around the country:

This great tradition of song revolutionized the poetry and music of Europe from the publication, a few years after 1745, of James MacPherson’s free prose renderings of the lays of Ossian, the legendary Homer of the Gael. As a lad, MacPherson had heard these traditionally sung in his native Strath Spey where his Chief was hiding among his clan folk with a price upon his head...later, he listened to these in the Hebrides, where you may still hear them magnificently chanted by unwritten tradition. (Geddes, 1951, p. viii)

The Lowlanders also borrowed many tunes from the Highlanders, as is evidenced in this passage from Brown (1877):

The Highlanders borrowed none of their melodies from the Lowlanders, but the Lowlanders borrowed so many from the Highlanders that perhaps as many as one half of the Scottish tunes now current in the world had their origins among the Gael. (p.iv) Examination of ships’ logs (Tepper 1979) shows that many of the Highlanders who migrated from Argyll Scotland to the Cape Fear area of North Carolina came from Kintyre, just north of Kintyre, and the islands in close proximity of Kintyre (Jura et al.). The peninsula of Kintyre is just across from County Antrim in Ireland. This seaway has been in heavy use between Kintyre and Antrim since prehistoric times (Henderson 1979). The writer feels one can assume that the tunes must have traveled this seaway as well.

While we are mainly exploring a music that the “folk” performed, as compared to professional tunesmiths, singers and musicians, there were trained or highly skilled poets and tunesmiths who came to Carolina from Scotland, as well. To be sure, most songs were passed from common folk to common folk—weavers, farmers, and so on—but there were extant in the Carolina Scottish population well-respected and well-known quasi-professional poets, singers, and musicians. One such songwriter is John MacRae (1719-1782), who was a bard of considerable merit and great popularity before he emigrated from Kintail (Argyll) to North Carolina in 1774. MacRae wrote several songs while in America (MacDonell 1982).

In Songs of the Charter Colonists (Hudson 1962), Arthur Palmer Hudson sets out to ascertain what songs the Carolina Colonists may have sung. He finds some evidence in the printed records of the times and in collections of folksongs extant. His research concludes:

The existence of a song in Scotland or England during 1663-1763 may be taken as establishing the possibility that some of the colonists could have known and sung it. The fact that a song originating in the century or earlier is still sung in the Carolinas may suggest that people who brought it to America and handed it down to their posterity knew it. (p. vii)

Ergo, as the Scottish population of Colonial North Carolina included thousands of Highlanders and Lowlanders as well as Scots-Irish, the writer's assumption is that many tunes present in Carolina would have included both the widely popular tunes of 18th Century Scotland and the locally popular tunes of each area. Further, it seems reasonable to assume that, to a lesser or greater, each influenced the other. As the writer shall document later in this work, there is evidence of complete tunes and variants of tunes directly linked to the same tunes in 18th Century Scotland that were to be found in the same period in Carolina.

Which Scotunes Journeyed to the Crucible?

In order to begin to develop a catalog of tunes from Scotland that could be found in Colonial Carolina, one may use four excellent sources: Bertrand Harris Bronson's *The Ballad as Song* (1969), Francis James Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (2001), and Arthur Palmer Hudson's *The Songs of the Charter Colonists 1663-1763* (1962), Newman Ivey White's (Ed.) *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore Volumes II, IV, and V* (1952, 1957, 1962), and Arthur Palmer Hudson's *The Songs of the Charter Colonists 1663-1763* (1962).

Childs collection contains 305 distinct ballads and about 50 tunes. Hudson discerns that, of the 305 ballads, 125 were definitely in America. North Carolina, Maine, and Virginia each had over 50 of the collection in oral tradition, and Child's collection, all 55 from North Carolina existed before 1663. Frank C. Brown's various collections have more than 300 British songs and more than 800 songs; some from British background but most newly composed in America with some or many (*yet to be determined*) based on Scottish or English songs and tunes.

From these songs, the writer chose (*yet to be determined*) to be included in this study, all of which either are proven to have existed in Scotland during this period or before or can be reasonably assumed to have existed and emigrated to Colonial North Carolina. In both cases, fact or assumption will be so noted.

SCOTUNES: BEYOND THE CRUCIBLE

Scotunes Migrate throughout America

The focus of this particularly phase of the study is on the "crucible" of the Scottish areas of Colonial North Carolina during the 18th century. However, it may be enlightening to take a diversion to note the spread of Scotunes through the rest of 18th century Colonial America and get a brief glimpse of Scotunes' impact on contemporary songwriters.

While Scotunes may have entered through the east coast ports of Colonial America, many of the tune carriers traveled west in search of new lands. Some, who were English supporters—and many Highlanders did support and fight for the King during the American Revolution (Meyer 1957)—went west and north to escape ridicule and persecution from their new “American” neighbors. This migration spread Scotunes throughout those territories west and north of Carolina, Philadelphia, and New York where the Scots first landed.

While the Scotunes’ musical influence on the music of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia in Canada and on the “Country” music of areas such as Nashville, Tennessee has been well documented, there have been far fewer studies of the influence on the music of the “Wild West” known as Cowboy music. This genre is the traditional music of the American and Canadian west.

In the Early American period, just after the Revolutionary War, Scottish-Americans moved westward from North Carolina to all the states between Carolina and the Texas Territory. Cowboys began singing new songs around the campfires of the western plains combining Gaelic melodies with new English words and stories about the cowboy life (Gibson 1993). Irish and Scottish tunes evolved into popular songs, many of which are still sung today. One of the most popular cowboy songs “The Streets of Laredo,” written by a cowboy and still sung in the United States is based on the melody of an old Irish ballad called “The Bard of Armagh” also known as ‘The Unfortunate Rake” (Gibson 1993). The Aberdeenshire whaling ballad “Fareweel tae Tarwathie” became “The Railroad Coral” (Gibson 1993).

As late as 1910, cowboy songs based on Scotunes were being composed, even in Gaelic. The song “Mo shoraidh leis aiCo’gach” (Farewell to Coigach) was written in 1910 by a Scots emigrant to Montana, Murdoch MacLean.

As stated earlier, the influence of Scotunes into the genre known as Country music in America has been well documented in several studies (Campbell & Collinson 1977, Gilmore 1999, Lomax 1998, MacDonnell 1982, Sawyer 1994). This genre is still current and vibrant in America. Even to listeners of today, the influence of Scotunes may be heard. When asked if he observed any connections between Scotunes and Country music, Dougie MacLean, a currently popular Scottish songwriter, states:

Yes, there are connections; because so many Scottish and Irish people went to America, the older country music has many origins in Scottish and Irish music. They naturally took their music with them and mixed it with the music of all the people there; so country music is a mixture of everything. ... when you look...at the old kind of country music, Hank Williams, the origins of country music you recognise more the Scottish and Irish ballad... it's the same song that keeps singing and singing. [MacLean 2001]

Many contemporary Country, Western, and “Folk” singers have Scottish roots and influences. Johnny Cash, one of the most recognized Country songwriters and singers is of Scottish background (O’Toole 2001). In an interview of Billy Bragg, Bragg talks

about Woody Guthrie, one of the pioneers of twentieth century folk and protest songs:

I came across something that (Guthrie) wrote in the 1940s about songs that he'd learned when he was a child from his mother and his grandmother, who had come out of Scottish stock, apparently. And one of the songs that he'd learned was a song called Gypsy Davy, which he later recorded. [Slater 1998]

Contemporary songwriter Rita Coolidge's father was of Cherokee Indian descent and her mother was Scottish. Both had influences on her music.

...from those two streams comes ethereal voices floating above gospel, folk, traditional Cherokee, contemporary sound, and other influences. ... [her] version of "Amazing Grace," for instance, gives home to both Cherokee lyrics and the wail of Scottish pipes. [McGreevy 2001]

One of the most popular and well-known American folk singers of the late twentieth century, Joan Baez, has displayed a rich multiethnic tradition in her music which she gained from her Scottish mother and her Mexican father [Baez 2001].

In the 1940s, a new kind of music called "Bluegrass" emerged from the Celtic and English fiddle music and songs that were nurtured from Colonial Carolina up through the twentieth century.

Many of the musicians associated with bluegrass music in its beginnings came from or formed their musical careers in the Piedmont. ... the Piedmont lies on the plateau east of the Appalachians and includes portions of the states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina [Rosenberg 1985]

SCOTUNES: THE RULES OF MUSICS

Scotunes and their Musical-Unique-Scottish-Identifiable-and-Characteristic elements

This section is devoted to documenting the observations and "rules" of the elements of Scotunes. Most of these rules have been well established by folk song musicologists such as Francis Collinson, Bertrand Bronson, and Cecil Sharpe. An attempt will be made to use these established rules, as they relate to Scotunes, to establish their continuance into the Scotunes surviving into North Carolina by identifying the rules in the tunes of Carolina as set forth in the Frank C. Brown Collection and the Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists. Finally, we will make a start at identifying melodic and rhythmic phrases that are observed as MUSICs in these 18th century Scotunes.

All of these rules, and observations made by examining both the Scotunes from Scotland and those surviving into Carolina will be used as a foundation for future research identifying MUSICs in 20th and 21st century contemporary American folk, pop, and rock music.

Until recent times, the nuances of the performance of Scotunes could not be easily documented. Literate musicians attempted to transcribe those nuances, such as vocal ornamentations, could not easily nor very accurately be notated (some Scottish musicians have argued, fairly convincingly, that “ornamentations” is an incorrect concept, as these melodic and rhythmic devices are so important to defining Gaelic music that to view them as ornaments is inaccurate and belittles their importance to the music).

Now, with recordings, we can hear the music exactly as it had been performed. However, we are left with what has survived the centuries of filtering. As when one pans for gold, the smallest nuggets slip through the screen and we are left with large nuggets and common stones. One wonders what gems have been lost forever. However, this study is not seeking the beautiful but the survivors. One may opine that, had these nuggets been important to the music or popular to the listeners and performers, they may have survived in spite of their “size.”

Certainly, if one does not just search for the smallest fragments but steps back to view the shimmering whole, one may see the sparkling beauty in the manner of the performing rather than the fragments of the melody. The emotional bending of time and notes is often characteristic of mature performers. But, it is the writer’s quest to focus on the surviving fragments elements that help define the “Scottishness” of the Scotunes, and sadly leave the manner of performing these tunes to another researcher, as the manner and styles fall outside the scope of this study.

Traditional performers and historical writers cannot inform us about the technical factors of folk songs in early America. They lack the vocabulary, analytical skills, and systems necessary to inform us. In musical matters, we cannot learn from the performer or the historical text what is or was meaningful to their esthetic point of view. We must base our appraisal of traditional idioms on continued observation and stylistic phenomena.

Those characteristics which occur and recur in traditional tunes must be accepted as meaningful and gratifying to the traditional performer's esthetic sense. It is upon these characteristics that the technical study of folk tunes must be based. "Folksong has developed orally, without consciousness of the aesthetic principles according to which it is moulded; but the principles are there." (Gerould, Gordon Hall; *The Ballad of Tradition*; Oxford U. Press, Inc., Oxford, England; 1932

ESTABLISHED OBSERVATIONS AND RULES OF SCOTUNES

Here are the principal rules and observations of Scotunes before they immigrated to America.

Regarding scales and modes:

There has been much written on pentatonic, hexatonic, heptatonic scales, modes, and church modes. One prevalent view of pentatonic and hexatonic scales is that they should be seen as “gapped” scales. This makes them a subcategory of heptatonic scales. It is

argued that these scales are not complete; the assumption being that heptatonic is complete.

But, this writer believes this nomenclature is a disservice to the importance and obvious (to the writer) stature of pentatonic and hexatonic scales. As a composer and one who has immersed himself in the music of 18th century Scotland, especially Gaelic music of the Highlands, the writer hears these scales not as incomplete heptatonic scales. Without getting into a detailed treatise on the relationship of the harmonic series to the creation of scalic theory and practice, one can observe that the series is gapped and, only by reordering the tones or overtones does one produce a heptatonic scale in one octave. Convenient, but seems to miss the main point: the harmonic series, the basis of the music, is naturally gapped. This does not even add in the fact that there are many more tones, perhaps even pleasing tones or at least emotionally effective tones, found between the standard 12-note chromatic scale of Western music.

Continuing with this line of reasoning, one might then call the heptatonic scales as “swollen” or “cluttered” scales. It has been well established by leading theorists that “gapped” scales preceded heptatonic (Bronson 1969) thus supporting the contention that pentatonic should be thought of as foundational rather than incomplete.

Pentatonic and hexatonic scales are so important that they need a proper nomenclature of their own. Perhaps this is nit picking, but this writer finds current systems as inaccurate and deceptive by not recognizing both the importance of these scales to the music as well as that these scales are not second cousins carved out of complete scales but are foundational scales to which more notes were added. Much as the beautiful members, proportions, and ornaments of Grecian Corinthian columns were not truly improved by the enhancements the Romans made by combining the Corinthian with the Ionic. Sometimes, adding is not improving. When measuring these improved swollen scales to their impact on Scotunes, one may apply Henry David Thoreau’s conclusion on such improvements, “They are but improved means to an unimproved end...” (Thoreau (1854).

In many ways, the pentatonic scale may be seen as a perfect scale, a foundational scale, and a natural scale. It is the basis of many folk songs of many cultures (Sharp, 1954). This writer deems these scales as the scales of comfort, rest, peace, agreement, and devoid of the stresses and tension of the swollen scales. Later in this study, the writer will advance fore consideration a suggested system of nomenclature for pentatonic and hexatonic scales which through which he intends to recognize their special position in Scotunes that does not hold them subservient to the swollen scales.

For now, let us look at some of the observations regarding MUSICs, as seen made by noted musicologists.

Regarding scales and modes:

1. English tunes are more modal unlike Scottish which are mainly pentatonic and hexatonic (Sharp, Cecil J., 1954)
2. Scottish tunes have evolved into sounding more like English tunes because of the increasing use of the seven-note scale especially when older pentatonic and hexatonic tunes have been improved by adding notes into the “gaps.” (Collinson, 1966/1970)
3. May tend to be pentatonic, hexatonic, or modal, while English tend towards heptatonic and major. (Bronson 1969) (Note: Bronson analyzed several version of the air to Barbara Allen [according to Bronson, probably the most widely sung folk song in America] and found English versions to be major and heptatonic, Scottish to be dark and modal, tendency toward dotted rhythms, and a typical final cadence of 5 up to 1 or b7 up to 1; and American to be pentatonic with a chaconne-like rhythm. Interesting that the American versions seem to be closer in sound to the Scottish than the English.)
4. Lydian tunes are Irish and Scottish but extremely rare in English tunes (Sharp, Cecil J., 1954)
5. Often begin in one key and end in another, especially from a major tonality to a minor tonality (Collinson, 1966/1970)

The writer notes a small disagreement with this notion that such tonality change is to be seen as what he feels is a more contemporary explanation, that of moving from major to relative minor. Often, the tendency of Scotunes to end a phrase on the 6th degree rather than the tonic does sound to modern ears as introducing the relative minor. But, could that be because we have heard so much music where that was the device that we can no longer hear this as a simple deceptive cadence, used for effect to give a more plaintive ending to a phrase, one that creates an expectation of continued story? Further in future research, we must analyze those tunes where it has been felt there has been a major to relative minor transition to see if the better explanation is that a phrase ending on 6 of the key is not introducing the relative minor but is a common melodic device in a music that did not intend to have harmonic implications beyond the single statement of a deceptive ending on the 6th degree; a sort of turn around note, as it were, or one lacking finality.

Regarding melodic movement:

1. Flat-7 approached by a leap from 5 is very German and English (Sharp, Cecil J., 1954)
2. The three-note phrase rising, 5-6-1, is especially Celtic (Sharp, Cecil J., 1954)

3. Grace notes are common to many folk musics, but the downward, large leap of Scottish vocal music appears to be unique and characteristic. (Collinson, 1966/1970)
4. In review of several pentatonic tunes by Bronson, the 6th degree of the scale (or “la” in fixed do system) was a commonly accented note in melodic phrases on the level with 1, 4, or 5 of the key (Bronson 1969). In heptatonic tunes, the 6th degree was the second least accented tone after the 7th degree.
5. The harmonic progression I-bVII-I, sometimes called a double tonic progression, was a common pipe tune progression; when viewed melodically, we hear arpeggios or phrases outlining the progression such as a phrase centered on the tonic and the phrase repeated centered on the flat seven of the key. Collinson feels this is rare in vocal music and more common in instrumental. (Collinson, 1964/1970). (The writer’s observation is that this pattern can be found in British/Scottish sea chanties as well as contemporary folk and pop.)

Regarding rhythms:

Scot’s Snap (Ex.: sixteenth note on the beat immediately followed by a dotted eighth); “Scot’s snap is the very life-blood of Scots musical rhythm.” This is particularly true in Gaelic music. (Collinson, 1966/1970). This is one of the staple rhythms of the Strathspey. According to Collinson, it appears in every form of Scottish music. He also points out that in some Gaelic music, it is even more exaggerated with the rhythm being closer to a thirty-second note followed by a double-dotted eighth. He also mentions that William Matheson (lecturer in Celtic, Edinburgh University) points out that the snap is only typical in Gaelic music if it follows the natural flow of the language and does not result in an unnatural shortening or lengthening of syllabic values).

SCOTUNES: SEEKING EVIDENCE OF THE RULES OF MUSICS IN CAROLINA

In this section, we will first establish the body of tunes for analysis and then search these tunes for evidence that the observations and rules established in the previous section survived the sea crossing from Scotland to Carolina and took root in America.

Establishing the catalog of Scotunes in Colonial Carolina

We will draw our tunes from two major collections. The first group of tunes comes from a collection of folk songs called the Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists 1663-1763 (Hudson 1962). This collection is useful in many ways because it shows what tunes existed in oral tradition in colonial Carolina and were still in the tradition throughout the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. It also documents what songs were available in written or printed form during in colonial times. And while it does not necessarily prove that these written materials were available in the area of Carolina under study, it does

surmise that most, if not all, did exist in Carolina, for those who would learn tunes in this manner. However, the fact that the collection verifies that these songs were sung or existed in writing in Carolina supports the argument that the tunes safely migrated from Scotland and survived the journey to take root in colonial Carolina.

According to Hudson, several of the collections used were popular in the eighteenth century. The core of Thomas Percy's Reliques was the Percy Folio Manuscript (c. 1650) and the forty-five ballads he took from this were much earlier than 1650. Allan Ramsay's The Ever Green (c. 1724) and The Tea-Table Miscellany (c. 1727) were widely known and used in Scotland. Hudson makes an interesting statement regarding his assumptions as to the use of The Tea Table Miscellany in Carolina:

The Tea-Table Miscellany went through at least nineteen editions. It is an interesting coincidence that the nineteenth edition, published at Dublin in 1794, a copy of which is in the University [x] of North Carolina Library, appeared in the same year in which Old East Building, on the campus of the first state university, was completed. How the Library obtained this copy is not known, but it may well have been brought to North Carolina by an English or a Scottish emigrant, just as the earlier editions were probably brought over by the first settlers. We can be certain that Colonists who brought any books of a popular nature had one or both of Ramsay's songbooks in their luggage, and that if so those brought over were used much more frequently than we in the days of paperbacks use particular books today. True, the music was not included in these two. But the tunes to songs, often referred to after the titles, were known to everybody. (Hudson, 1962, p. ix)

Also used in the Hudson collection was Francis J. Child's collection of old English and Scottish traditional songs. The Child collection is thought by many to be the standard reference for English and Scottish ballads. It contains 305 distinct ballads in about 1,100 versions and variants, with about 50 tunes. Just less than half the ballads, about 125 of the 305, have been found in oral circulation in the United States. The area in this study, North Carolina, accounts for 55 ballads, and Hudson states that evidence shows these ballads existed before 1663, some of them from two to three centuries earlier. We will use most but not all of these tunes, because some of the hymns and other songs were clearly identified as Scottish but of English or some other origin. Those that have been identified as possibly English or Scottish may have been included if there was some indication in Hudson or another source that the ballad could have been Scottish. Of course, even under the best of circumstances, national origin is questionable. The writer will opt for those most likely sounding Scottish, which is, after, the objective of this research.

The second collection we will look at is the Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore. We will use some but not all of these tunes from these collections, because some of the hymns and other songs were clearly identified as Scottish but of English or some other origin. Those that have been identified as possibly English or Scottish may have been included if there was some indication in Hudson or another source that the ballad could have been Scottish. Of course, even under the best of circumstances,

national origin is questionable. The writer will opt for those most likely sounding Scottish, which is, after, the objective of this research.

First, we will list those ballads that are believed (by Hudson and his sources) to be Scottish, preceded by the key for identifying the original sources.

BCNCF: The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore,
BMCB: Bertrand E. Bronson. The Music of the Child Ballads
BABS: Peter Buchan. Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland Hitherto Unpublished.
CESPB: Francis James Child. The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. 5 vols. Boston, 1882-1898.
HJRS: James Hogg. The Jacobite Relics of Scotland.... Edinburgh, 1821.
HFC: The Arthur Palmer Hudson Folklore Collection
HFM: Arthur Palmer Hudson. Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background.
JSMM: James Johnson. The Scot's Musical Museum.
MJSB: G. S. Macquoid. Jacobite Songs and Ballads. London, n.d.
NCF: North Carolina Folklore, journal of the North Carolina Folklore Society, vol. I (1948); II-X (1954-1962).
REG: Allan Ramsay. The Ever Green.... Edinburgh, ca. 1724-1737.
RTTM: Allan Ramsay. The Tea-Table Miscellany ... nineteenth edition. Dublin, 1794.
SEFSA: Cecil J. Sharp. English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians,

From Hudson, just over 100 ballads were chosen that were either noted as Scottish, mixed Scottish with English or some other origin, or some other indication of Scottish influence. The list below was then reduced to a clearer group of most likely Scottish ballad; meaning either clearly from Scotland or so popular in Scotland that many assumed them to be and heard them as Scottish.

BABYLON; OR, THE BONNY BANKS O FORDY: CESPB 14 (from Scotland, latter part of 18th c., but much older); BMCB.I.248-252 (with tune); BCNCF.II.44-46
THE BANKS OF CLAUDIE (CLOUDY): Not in BCNCF but well known in the South
BOBBY SHAFTO: Northumberland song known in North Carolina and most other states
BONNY BARBARA ALLAN: CESPB 84 "...especially her little Scotch song of 'Barbary Allen'"; BCNCF.II.111-131 (31 versions and variants), IV.57-69 (with tune)
THE BONNY EARL OF MURRAY: CESPB 181 (referring to troubles at the Scottish court in December 1591); RTTM, 1750 ed.; BCNCF.II.160-161, IV.83 (with tune)
THE BROWN GIRL: CESPB 295 (1788, related to older ballad)
CAPTAIN KIDD (KIDD'S LAMENT): BCNCF II.350-351
CAPTAIN WEDDERBURN'S COURTSHIP: CESPB 45 (a very old story, first appearing in recorded ballads of the 18th c.); BMCB I.362-375 (with tune); BCNCF II.48-49, IV.25-27 (with tune)
CAROLINE OF EDINBURGH TOWN: BCNCF II.358-359; Widely known in America.
CHARLIE IS MY DARLING: HJRS 92-93. So popular in the South that it has gone over into a play-party or dance song. [with tune on page 30]
THE CHERRY TREE CAROL: BCNCF II.61-63

COCK ROBIN: BCNCF IV.330-331 (with tune)

CORN RIGS ARE BONNY: RTTM 119

THE CRAFTY FARMER (THE YORKSHIRE BITE): BCNCF II.188-190, IV.119-120 (with tune)

THE CRUEL BROTHER: (earliest text 1776, but ballad much older); BCNCF II.35-38

THE CRUEL MOTHER

THE DEATH OF QUEEN JANE: Not in BCNCF, but recorded in NC

DOWN AMONG THE DEAD MEN: RTTM 260; an old drinking song.

DROP THE HANDKERCHIEF: BCNCF I. 81-82.

EARL BRAND (THE DOUGLAS TRAGEDY): BCNCF II.27-32, IV.8-13 (with tune)

EDWARD: BCNCF II.41-44, IV. 23-24 (with tune)

THE ELFIN KNIGHT: BCNCF II.12-15, IV.3-4 (with tune); Usually known as "The Cambric Shirt."

FAIR MARGARET AND SWEET WILLIAM: BCNCF II.79-84, IV.40-43 (with tune)

THE FALSE KNIGHT UPON THE ROAD: not in BCNCF but well-known in N. C

FLORA'S LAMENT: MJSB, pp. 266-267

FROGGIE WENT A-COURTIN' (THE FROG'S COURTSHIP): BCNCF III.154-166, V. 85-96 First mentioned in The Complaynt of Scotland, 1548, under the name "The Frog came to the my door." DUNT, DUNT, PITTIE PATTIE (Tune, "Yellow-hair'd Laddie"): RTTM 382

GEORDIE: BCNF II.168-169, IV.91-95 (with tune)

GET UP AND BAR THE DOOR: BCNCF II.183-185, IV.112 (with tune)

GREEN GRAVEL: BCNCF I. 56-57

GREEN GROW THE RASHES O: Words by Robert Burns to an old Scottish air

THE GREY COCK: Not in BCNCF, was recorded in Hot Springs, N. C

THE GYPSY LADDIE: BCNCF II. 161-169, IV.84-91 (with tune)

HOG DROVERS: B. A. Botkin, The American Play-Party (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1937), pp. 205-206.

HUL GUL: BCNCF

IT WAS A' FOR OUR RIGHTFU' KING: HJSR 26. [with tune on page 36]

JAMES HARRIS (THE DAEMON LOVER, THE HOUSE CARPENTER): BCNCF II.171-180, IV.95-101 (with tune)

THE JOLLY MILLER (THE MILLER BOY): BCNCF III. 108-109, V. 54-55 (with tune)

KATHARINE JAFFRAY: BCNCF II.169-171

KILLIECRANKIE: known in the Middle West, Kentucky, and Tennessee, as "Kila Ma Cranky"

KILLIECRANKIE: HJSB 40-41 (one version pub. in JSMM); not in BCNCF, but it has been in oral tradition in North Carolina by emigrants from the Highland Scots. [with tune page 37]

KING HENRY FIFTH'S CONQUEST OF FRANCE: not in BCNCF, but in Folksongs from the Southern Highlands

KING WILLIAM WAS KING JAMES'S SONG: BCNCF V. 522-524 (with tune)

KNIGHT AND SHEPHERD'S DAUGHTER: BCNCF II.149-151

LADY ALICE: BCNCF II.131-140, IV.69-74 (with tune)

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF KNIGHT: BCNCF II.15-26, IV.2-8 (with tune)

LAMKIN: BCNCF II.140-143, IV.74-76 (with tune)

THE LASS OF LOCH ROYAL: BCNCF II.88-92, IV.47-48 (with tune)

LASSIE, LIE NEAR ME: HJRS 211-212. [with tune on page 38]

LEAVE OFF YOUR FOOLISH PRATING: RTTM 220-221

“LET’S GO A-HUNTING,” SAYS RICHARD TO ROBERT (THE HUNTING OF THE WREN). (An old nursery song long known in England and Scotland): BCNCF II. 215-216

LITTLE MUSGRAVE AND LADY BARNARD (LITTLE MATTIE GROVES): BCNCF II.101-111, IV.53-57 (with tune)

LOGIE O’ BUCHANS JSMM (1781-1803, from oral tradition in Mississippi, which drew a considerable percentage of its population from North Carolina.

LORD LOVEL: BCNCF II.84-88, IV.43-47 (with tune)

LORD RANDAL: BCNCF II.39-41, IV.19-24 (with tune)

LORD THOMAS AND FAIR ANNET (ELEANOR): BCNCF II.69-79, IV.30-43 (with tune)

LOVE WILL FIND OUT THE WAY: RTTM 146-147

THE MERMAID: BCNCF II.195-198, IV.124-125 (with tune)

THE MILLER OF THE DEE:

O DEAR, WHAT CAN THE MATTER BE?

O’ER THE SEAS AND FAR AWA: HJSB 51. [with tune on page 40]

OLD WITCH (CHICK-O-MY-CRANEY-CROW):

OVER THE HILLS AND FAR AWAY (Tune, “Over the Hills and Far Away”): RTTM 372

OUR GOODMAN: BCNCF II.181-183, IV.103-111 (with tune)

PRETTY FAIR MAID: BCNCF II.304-305, IV.169-178 (with tune)

PRINCE CHARLES AND FLORA MACDONALD’S WELCOME TO SKYE: MJSB 241

QUEEN ELEANOR’S CONFESSION: BCNCF II.160

RIDDLES WISELY EXPOUNDED: Known in North Carolina as “The Devil’s Nine Questions.”

ROBIN HOOD AND GUY OF GISBORNE: BCNCF II.151-152

ROBIN HOOD RESCUING THREE SQUIRES (WIDOW’S THREE SONS): BCNCF II.152-155, IV.81-82

ROGER’S COURTSHIP: RTTM 329-330:

SALLY IN OUR ALLEY: RTTM 204-205; by Henry Carey (1696-1743)

SHULE ARON: BCNCF II. 362-365: an old Jacobite song; Gaelic version in Journal of American Folklore XXII. 387-388

THE SILK MERCHANT’S DAUGHTER: BCNCF 331-334

SIR HUGH; OR, THE JEW’S DAUGHTER: BCNCF II.155-160, IV 82-83 (with tune)

SIR LIONEL (OLD BANGUM): “Old Bangum,” as it is known in North Carolina

SIR PATRICK SPENS: BCNCF II.63-65, IV.29 (with tune)

SKYE BOAT SONG: A Book of Scotland (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1959), p. 137

THE SUFFOLK MIRACLE: BCNCF II.180-181, IV. 102-103 (with tune)

THE SWEET TRINITY (THE GOLDEN VANITY, OR THE LOWLANDS LOW): BCNCF II.191-195, IV.120 (with tune)

SWEET WILLIAM’S FAREWELL TO BLACK-EYED SUSAN: RTTM 198-199. By

John Gay
SWEET WILLIAM'S GHOST; BCNCF. II.92-94, IV.48 (with tune)
THOMAS RYMER: BCNCF II.46-47
THREE DUKES: BCNCF I. 89-93.
THE THREE RAVENS: BCNCF II.46
TROOPER AND MAID: BCNCF II.198-199, IV. 124-125
THE TRUE LOVER'S FAREWELL: Not in BCNCF but it is well known in the South
THE TWA SISTERS: II.32-41, IV.13-18
THE TWA BROTHERS: BCNCF II.48-49, IV. 25-27
THE UNQUIET GRAVE: BCNCF II.94-95
VILLIKINS AND DINAH: BCNCF II.482-484, IV.203-204 (with tune)
WALY, WALY, GIN LOVE BE BONNY: RTTM 153-154. traditionally sung in North
THE WEE WEE MAN: BCNCF II.47-48
WEEVILY WHEAT: BCNCF V. 521. Described by Botkin (The American Play-Party Song, 345) as "A Virginia reel related to the Scotch Weaving Game.... Based on a Jacobite song of Bonnie Prince Charles Stuart, the Pretender." Compare "Come Boat Me O'er" and "Over the Water to Charlie."
THE WIFE OF USHER'S WELL: BCNCF II.95-101, IV.48-53
THE WIFE WRAPPT IN WETHER'S SKIN: BCNCF II.185-188, IV.113-116 (with tune)
WILLIAM HALL: BCNCF IV.348-350 (with tune)
YOUNG BEICHAN: BCNCF II.50-61, IV.27-30 (with tune)
YOUNG HUNTING: BCNCF IV.29-30 (with tune)
YOUNG WATERS: BCNCF II.65-69, IV.29

The Frank C. Brown Collection.....[duplicate those above but able to match a tune; show all duplicates and then choose.]

From these two lists, the following tunes were chosen (*yet to be determined*):

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