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

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

Awards made were as follows:

TABLE II/9 EXTRA AWARDS 1819-1824

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

Expense Payments

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

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

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

Table II/10

EXPENSE PAYMENTS TO COMPETITORS

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

Source: Annual Competition Data.

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

(10) THE INSTRUMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HSS Sd. Bk. 6: 341].

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

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

Notes for Chapter II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III

THE PIPERS

(1) Competition Data

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

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

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

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

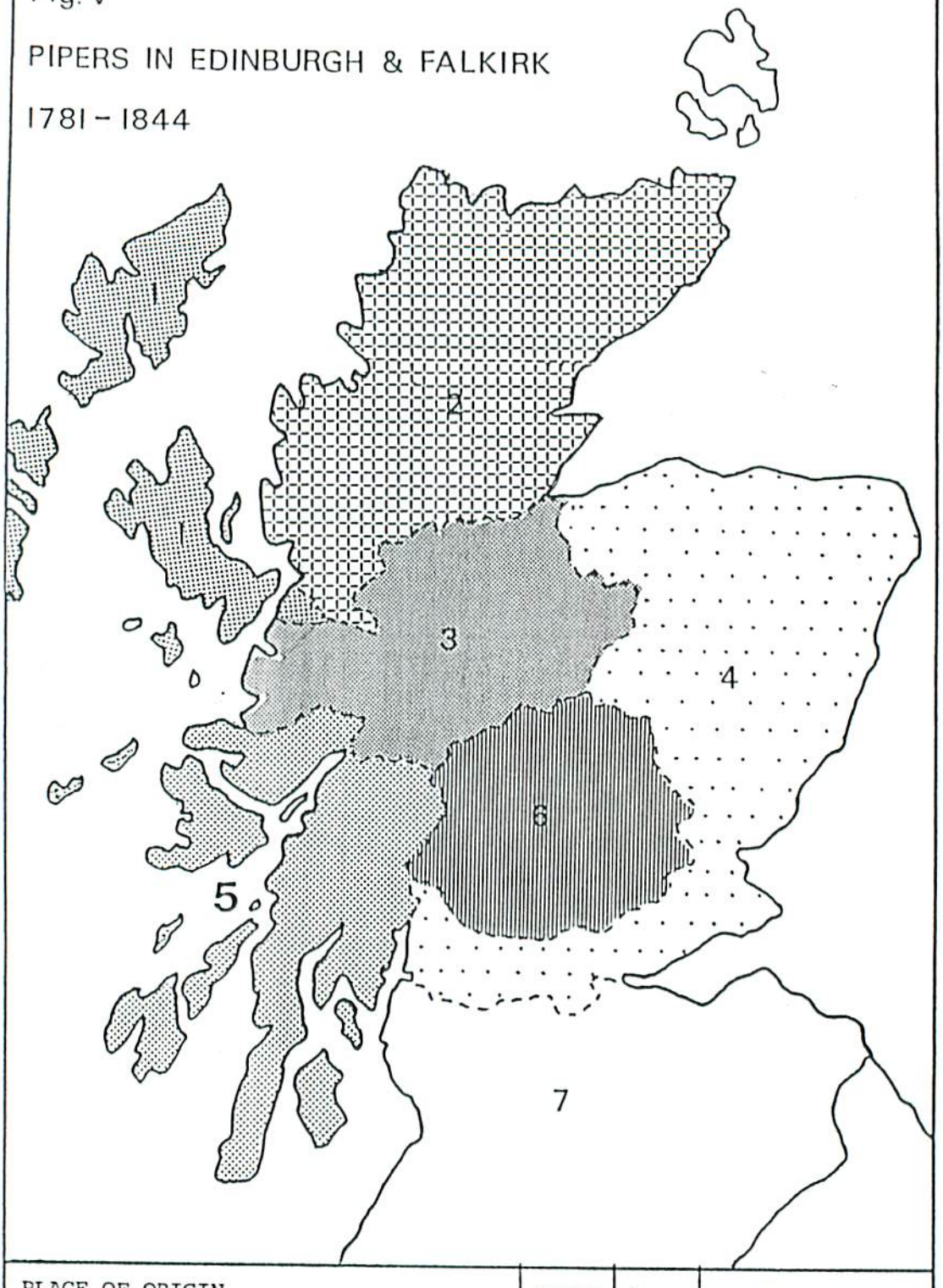
Pitlochry, and one from Eglinton in Ayrshire [E.E.C. 15/10/1781]; in 1782 we have information on seven competitors, three of whom were from Fortingall, one from Mentieth in South-West Perthshire, and two from Kintail [E.E.C. 19/10/1782]; and in 1783, the last year in which the event was held at Falkirk,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

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

Fig. V

PIPERS IN EDINBURGH & FALKIRK

1781 - 1844



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Estate Pipers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An estate piper with rather more unusual duties was

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

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

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

Breadalbane

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

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

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

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

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