Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series

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The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance

Susan H. Motherway

THE GLOBALIZATION OF IRISH TRADITIONAL SONG PERFORMANCE

Dedicated to my loving family

The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance

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ASHGATE

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List of Abbreviations

2RN	'To Erin' – Irish National Radio
ACA	Army Comrades Association (the 'Blueshirts')
AOH	Ancient Order of the Hibernians
CCÉ	Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann
CIC	Cló Iar Chonnachta
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
GAA	Gaelic Athletics Association
ICA	Irish Citizens' Army
IMRO	Irish Music Rights Organisation
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
NICRA	Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association
RnaG	Radio na Gaeltachta
RTÉ	Radio Telefís Éireann
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SCT	Scúdú Ceol Tíre
TG4	Teilifis Gaeilge 4
USFO	Ulster-Scots Folk Orchestra

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General Editor's Preface

The upheaval that occurred in musicology during the last two decades of the twentieth century has created a new urgency for the study of popular music alongside the development of new critical and theoretical models. A relativistic outlook has replaced the universal perspective of modernism (the international ambitions of the 12-note style); the grand narrative of the evolution and dissolution of tonality has been challenged, and emphasis has shifted to cultural context, reception and subject position. Together, these have conspired to eat away at the status of canonical composers and categories of high and low in music. A need has arisen, also, to recognize and address the emergence of crossovers, mixed and new genres, to engage in debates concerning the vexed problem of what constitutes authenticity in music and to offer a critique of musical practice as the product of free, individual expression.

Popular musicology is now a vital and exciting area of scholarship, and the *Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series* presents some of the best research in the field. Authors are concerned with locating musical practices, values and meanings in cultural context, and may draw upon methodologies and theories developed in cultural studies, semiotics, poststructuralism, psychology and sociology. The series focuses on popular musics of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is designed to embrace the world's popular musics from Acid Jazz to Zydeco, whether high tech or low tech, commercial or non-commercial, contemporary or traditional.

Professor Derek B. Scott,
Professor of Critical Musicology,
University of Leeds, UK

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Sites and Locations

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Introduction
Mediating the Local and Global through Song

> Hear my cry, in my hungering search for you. Taste my breath on the wind. See the sky, as it mirrors my colours, hints and whispers begin. I am living to nourish you, cherish you. I am pulsing the blood in your veins. Feel the magic and power of surrender, to life. Uisce Beatha.
>
> (Extract from *Cloudsong, Riverdance*, by Bill Whelan)

In April 1994, Ireland hosted the Eurovision Song Contest in Dublin, Ireland. The national television company, Radio Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ), recruited Abhann Productions to devise a seven-minute intermission piece for the event. As part of her overall production, Moya Doherty invited Bill Whelan to write the music for an interval music and dance performance. The resulting spectacle contrasted the ethereal sounds of Anúna, with the pulsating rhythms of Irish dance accompanied by a hybrid dance music scored for traditional instruments and orchestra. The immediate success of *Riverdance* prompted the creation of a full-length production. *Riverdance: The Show*, opened in the Point Theatre, Dublin on 9 February 1995[1] and sold out the 8,500-seat venue for five weeks. In Britain, the *Riverdance* video maintained second position in the charts for seven months. When the show crossed the Atlantic in 1996, the *Riverdance* CD topped the Billboard World Music Charts.[2] The insatiable global demand for this product led Abhann Productions to organize several troupes to travel the world with their show. The success of this Irish dance phenomenon invigorated Irish culture both nationally and internationally, and accelerated the globalization of Irish music, dance and culture.

This was not Ireland's first exposure to the phenomenon of globalization. Evidence of globalizing processes are present throughout Irish cultural history, namely in relation to the spread of Christianity, British colonization, and mass emigration. However, the extent and level of this phenomenon became apparent in the 1990s when Ireland's ideals shifted considerably. The goals of nationalism and religion continued to be honoured but there was a new and rigorous emphasis on economic, political and social advancement. Ireland was divesting itself of De Valera's restrictive policies of self-sufficiency, removing the Catholic Church's grip on its economic and political activity, and reducing Ireland's dependency on

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[1] The music of *Riverdance* was released in Ireland in April 1994. It held the no.1 position for 18 weeks.

[2] See www.riverdance.com.

the British market by adopting the principles of American economics. Economic change had its roots in the foundation of the Industrial Development Authority (1949), the Whitaker 'Programme for Economic and Social Development' (1958), and its membership of the European Union (1973). These actions led to the liberalization of the Irish market, the development of an economic infrastructure through European Economic Community (EEC)[3] structural funds, and the attraction of foreign direct investment to Ireland through tax incentives and a skilled labour force.

Changes in the economic sphere prompted a metamorphosis in other elements of national life. The Investment in Education Report (1965) voiced the need to build a knowledge-based society, with particular strengths in science and technology, by liberalizing, extending and increasing funding to education. The shift from the Nationalist agenda was evidenced in the Good Friday Agreement (1998), which ended civil war in Northern Ireland and advocated the devolution of the North. The national referenda on abortion (1992) and divorce (1995) highlighted changes in the status of Catholicism in Irish society. Further social change was witnessed through the integration of asylum seekers (1993),[4] migrant workers (1993)[5] and the diaspora into Irish society. Indeed, by 2001 Ireland featured as one of the most globalized countries in the world in relation to economic activity, travel and tourism, communications and technology.[6]

The *Riverdance* phenomenon (1994) stands as a pivotal point within Irish history in that it captured the essence of globalization, along with the energy and drive of a nation on the cusp of an economic boom. It presented a new Irish identity which was dynamic, optimistic, modern and integrative to the world. According to Abhann Productions, *Riverdance* exemplified that 'we are one kind. We are one people now, our voices blended, our music a great world in which we can feel everywhere at home, "Ní neart go chur le chéile", together we are strong' (www.riverdance.com).[7] This book investigates globalizing processes that have been identified as significant factors in musical change. These factors include the representation of Irish music in a global context; the contribution of technology to musical change; the commodification of traditional music; and the professionalization and institutionalization of performance practice. It also uncovers the multiplicity of expressions evident in modern traditional song performance by looking at what Mark Slobin (1993) describes as code layering and William P. Malm (1996) suggests is polystylistic polyphony. The mechanism of codeswitching used by traditional musicians to establish, cross or destroy group

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[3] The former name of the European Union.

[4] In 1993 the number of refugees entering Ireland exploded. See Foster; 2007: 34, for further discussion on this topic.

[5] The EU ratified the free mobility of European workers in 1993.

[6] Discussed in Foster; 2007: 27.

[7] The arrangement of two Chinese melodies for the group's third tour of China (2010) reaffirms this viewpoint.

boundaries and to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations in the global market (Slobin; 1993: 35) will also be reviewed.

Globalization

The sociologist Manfred Steger (2003: 7) defines globalization holistically as a process, a condition, a force and an age. The globalization process involves increased global connectivity and integration in economic, political, technological, ecological, social and cultural spheres. The complexity and scale at which these processes interact demonstrate the force of globalization. This momentum has led to the creation and multiplication of social networks and activities that have overcome traditional political, economic, cultural and geographical boundaries. A person's increased interaction with and knowledge of different world cultures have nurtured a global condition or consciousness. While the use of the term globalization to describe an age is tentative given that globalization is not an entirely new phenomenon,[8] it has become apparent that the breadth and intensity of global exchanges has accelerated since the 1970s leading to a concentration of discourse about this phenomenon.

One of the most significant developments of this age has been the global shift in power from territorial sovereignty to economic dominance. The collapse of the Bretton Woods international economic system (1971) prompted the need for a new global economic order. A neo-liberal[9] model emerged and was adopted. This model advocated free trade and eliminated (or reduced) trade barriers amongst nations. Globalization, as a form of global economic integration, increased the socio-economic relations of distant communities, expanded power relations and declined the territorial principle. The advent of free trade has increased consumer choice, led to an increase in global wealth, spread new technologies and ensured peaceful international relations. On the flip side, the constant movement within world markets has had negative social consequences, resulting in unforeseen unemployment and emigration. The desire of Western corporations to benefit from the poorer economies exposes globalization as another form of imperialism (Helm and McGrew; 2004, Pieterse; 2004) and highlights a shift in focus in world trade towards Asia.

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[8] Many examples have been cited to show earlier evidence of globalizing processes, including the settlement of all five continents, the establishment of trade routes, the Enlightenment and the discovery of America.

[9] A system of international capital movement controlled by the state and supported by the establishment of a stable money exchange system (the international monetary fund), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The discourse on globalization centres on the concept of hybridity.[10] The cultural theorist Marwan Kraidy (2005: vii) suggests that hybridity is in fact the cultural logic of globalization, mediating the divide between anti- and pro-globalization camps and feeding into both cultural imperialist and cultural globalization arguments. The cultural imperialist position reaffirms the term's historical associations with racial and cultural mixture from the nineteenth century onward. This association includes the biological phenomena of creolization, *mestizaje* and *métissage*. Used in its modern context, hybridity confirms the fact that globalization is a process of cultural imperialism which will result in the homogenization of world cultures. Alternatively, the cultural globalization debate acknowledges Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) and Homi Bhabha's (1994) appropriation of the term from its biological roots to language and culture. In this respect hybridity is seen as something natural, desirable and commonplace. It is a vibrant cultural phenomenon that supports the emergence of global cultural diversity, local cultural resistance and cross-cultural fusion, thus moving beyond the terms associations with integration and control to ideals of pluralism and empowerment.

The various forms of interaction between the local and the global have led to a wide discourse with a myriad of terms which exhibit different forms of hybridization. In relation to music these include hybridization, the mixing of different cultural forms and styles; appropriation, a form of cultural borrowing in which the actor uses material from the local to their own end; assimilation, the internalization of alternative practices (normally Western practices); and syncreticism, a form of assimilation in which global practices are internalized and re-interpreted according to local values. Apart from syncreticism most of these terms reaffirm hegemonic practices. While hybridization is seen as an equal expression, this is not always the case. In most circumstances, there is an unequal ratio of expression, normally swayed in favour of the Western artist. Appropriation and assimilation are both seen as processes that are detrimental to local cultures as they are exploitative and conclusive.

Cultural Globalization

The phenomenon of cultural globalization and the shift in cultural boundaries creates a chasm between music, place and identity. In older societies local culture was mainly contained within a defined geographical area, and cultural exchange rarely occurred between classes. While world religions and empires carried ideas and beliefs across frontiers their effect on local cultures varied. The efforts of assimilation were fragmented by rurality and social order, often leaving cultures unchanged. The rise of the state system in the eighteenth century brought an interaction between government and the people leading to the realization of an imagined national community (Anderson; 1983). The charging of Nationalist

[10] The unification of heterogeneous elements.

identities led to the organization of culture along national or territorial lines. According to David Helm (Helm and McGrew; 2002: 27), 'many nations were built up on the basis of pre-modern ethnic cores whose myths and memories, values and symbols shaped the culture and boundaries of the nation that modern elites managed to forge'. They sought to highlight their ethno-history and the distinctiveness of their culture.

Cultural globalization entails the global flow of culture from the local, to the regional, to the national, international and virtual fields. On its journey, local culture collides with other global cultures and spheres. Appadurai provides a framework for examining this phenomenon by looking at the disjunctures in the relationship between the five dimensions of global cultural flows that are termed ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes (Appadurai; 1996: 33). He also discusses the probabilities of creating the local in the face of erosion, dispersal and implosion of neighbourhoods (1996: 199). In Appadurai's analysis there are many dimensions to this struggle: (1) the steady increase in the efforts of the modern nation-state to define all neighbourhoods under the sign of its forms of allegiance and affiliation; (2) the growing disjuncture between territory subjectivity, and collective social movement; and (3) the steady erosion, principally due to the force and form of electronic mediation, of the relationship between spatial and virtual neighbourhoods. To make things yet more complex, these three dimensions are seen to be interactive (1996: 189).

Many theorists have attempted to develop taxonomies which will help us to understand musical expression in the global age. While Appadurai suggests three types of music, including local, regional and transregional musics, Mark Slobin (1993) believes that cultural expressions are formed as a result of conjunctures and disjunctures within subcultural, intercultural and supercultural fields. On a simpler level one could contend that the artist chooses between the local or the particular, the global or the popular, or enters into what Homi Bhabha (1994) determines as the third space, a non-localized place where mediation occurs, whether in the form of assimilation, syncreticism or fusion. The interaction of the local and the global subsequently leads to the development of new cultural products; products which emphasize the local and the global to various degrees or the development of entirely new expressions. These mediations entail the localization of the global and the globalization of the local, respectively known as 'logalization' and 'glocalization' (Langlois: 1996).

The obvious impact of globalization in our daily lives prompts questions about the future of world musics. Some believe that globalization will act as a death knell to world musics, leading to their demise or homogenization (Cooke: 1997). Others believe that globalization will realize plural societies that reflect the diversity of the world's existing cultures (Mott: 2004). The cultural theorist Roland Robertson (1992) supports the theory of cultural diversity, contending that global cultural flows will invigorate local cultural niches through processes of glocalization, and will lead to the development of several local cultural constellations (cited in Steger; 2003: 75). Others believe that globalization will lead to new expressions

of culture within the local that will be influenced by global trends. Steger (2003: 75) proposes that cultural globalization will lead to a loss of traditional meanings and the creation of new symbolic expressions which reflect the global age. The result will be unbalanced and even contradictory as each culture reacts in its own way. This will lead to a myriad of results as 'these flows might change traditional manifestations of national identity in the direction of a popular culture characterised by sameness; in others they might foster new expressions of cultural particularism; in still others they might encourage forms of cultural hybridity' (Steger; 2003: 76).

Developments in technology have been a catalyst for change by providing new ways of accessing, experiencing and producing music. This has resulted in the democratization of music, and the development of transnational and virtual music communities. The search for difference in the cultural commodities market has led to the increased commodification of music and the exoticization of local cultural products. The competitive nature of modern markets has in turn raised fears in regards the abandonment of non-popular cultures and the trivialization of local culture. The dissolution of boundaries and the disruption of continuities in local cultures have resulted in a loss of stability in cultural production and social systems. This phenomenon has raised fears in relation to the loss of particular cultural identities. According to Appadurai the globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but 'globalization involves a variety of instruments of homogenization (advertising techniques, language hegemonies, and clothing styles) that are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise and fundamentalism in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role: too much openness to global flows, and the nation-state is threatened by revolt, as in the China syndrome; too little, and the state exits the international stage, as Burma, Albania, and North Korea in various ways have done' (1996: 42).

Globalization in an Irish Context

The globalization of Irish traditional music is not a recent phenomenon, but one that can be traced through Irish musical history. For instance, the many waves of emigration have led to local cultures being absorbed into the global, and then in turn re-assimilated into the local in modified forms. The popularity of *Moore's Melodies* within the global prompted the development of a commercial brand of Irish song that was later assimilated back in Ireland. The US recordings of Michael Coleman, Packie Dolan and Jim Morrison provide a similar picture for Irish fiddle music as does Jean Butler and Michael Flatley's diasporic contribution to Irish dance. The recognized magnitude of musical activity amongst the Irish both at home and abroad has established Ireland as a musical nation. Indeed, the Irish have a long-established history as entertainers within Victorian theatre, vaudeville and mid-twentieth-century Hollywood. The developments in technology and communications, the rising popularity of Irishness in the latter part of the twentieth

century, and the short-lived confidence of the Celtic Tiger strengthened Ireland's cultural influence in the global era. According to Paddy Logue (2000: xvii), 'this process has been called the hibernicization of Europe, but it is fair now to talk about the hibernicisation of the world. Our [Ireland's] music, dance, films, pubs, literature, theatre, and athletes are everywhere.'

Political, social and economic events at home, which have often been influenced by global trends, brought about cultural change in Ireland. For instance, the loss of the 'Lay' vocal form and a large corpus of religious song can be attributed to the penal laws (1670–1800) that were enacted by the colonizer. However, Ireland's history must also acknowledge that migrations, cultural diffusion and acculturation may have influenced the tradition prior to British occupation. Ireland attained independence from Britain in 1922, after 400 years of British domination. Britain's colonization of Ireland and its imperialist rule left the country in a poor economic position. According to R.F. Foster (2007: 27), 'Britain's evil empire had stunted Ireland's economic growth, drained its resources and imposed degrading cultural standards on a dependent population'. Post-Independence Ireland avidly set about the de-Anglicization of Ireland in respect to language, culture and politics. As Declan Kilberd (1995: 151) puts it, 'anything English was ipso facto not for the Irish, as it might appear to weaken the claim to separate nationhood, but any valued cultural possessions of the English were shown to have their Gaelic equivalents'. This viewpoint led to the rejection of classical music by the Irish, in favour of the music of its former Gaelic civilization. Ireland's nativist agenda was supported by the regular play of Irish traditional music on national radio (est. 1926); the production of ethnic recordings in Dublin by EMI (est. 1936); and the establishment of the Fleadh Cheoil traditional music festival (1951). National organizations proliferated at the beginning of the Irish state to strengthen and define Irish identity. These included the Feis Cheoil, Oireachtas na Gaeilge, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the National Theatre, the National Library of Ireland, Conradh na Gaeilge, and Radio Éireann.

Between 1929 and 1959, Ireland embraced De Valera's vision of a self-contained, self-sufficient nation which idealized a non-material, spiritual way of life. While his policies supported Nativist aspirations and reinforced the Catholic Church's social code, they prevented economic development[11] and maintained low standards of living. De Valera applied draconian measures in 1930s Ireland in an attempt to control public morality by moderating access to cinema, jazz music, art and literature. The Dance Halls Act of 1935 was one such attempt to prevent all-night jazz dancing in unlicensed halls (Ó hAllmhuráin; 1998: 111). The popularity of the music of Irish female harpists such as Mary O'Hara reaffirmed this De Valerian ethos. Trained by Catholic nuns, these demure artists performed Gaelic airs with a classically trained voice and harp accompaniment. In so doing, their

[11] The withheld payment of land annuities to Britain and the abolition of the Oath of Loyalty to the British crown brought Ireland into an economic war against Ireland. Consequently, Ireland suffered substantial losses.

music merged the ideals of a civilized society, as deemed fit for ladies by the Irish Church, with the female iconicity of Gaelic Nationalism.

Ireland's attempts to enter the industrial world brought the country into a boom–bust period. During this time Ireland became polarized between British and American industrial principles. For five decades following Independence, Ireland's economy relied heavily on its relationship with Britain. In the 1960s Ireland gradually opened up its economy through its Free Trade Agreement with Britain (1965), and its removal of all tariffs (1975). In the 1970s a gradual shift towards the American model became noticeable following Ireland's freer use of capital and its attempts to attract foreign investment to its shores. In the process of modernization, the connection between religious belief and economic and political activity became fractured. Seán Ó Riada's work with Ceoltóiri Chualainn (1960) signifies a reinterpretation of Irish culture for a modern, outward-looking Ireland. This was achieved, firstly, through the hybridization of Irish music, by applying the principles and practices of classical and jazz idioms to the native music of Ireland; secondly, through the presentation of Irish traditional music within the formal concert setting, thus raising the status of Ireland's native music in line with the art music traditions of other European countries. This work set the foundation of ensemble playing within the tradition, which remains the global sound for Irish traditional music today.

The opening up of the Irish economy in the 1960s led to a decade of prosperity. This was mirrored by a rise in consumerism, the return of emigrants, an increase in exposure to outside media, and a rising standard of living. The movement of people to urban centres impacted upon traditional music practices. Now disconnected from their local communities many performers sought out music sessions or joined clubs and societies in the cities. This led to the establishment of many institutions and performance groups including Na Píobairí Uilleann, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, An tOireachtas, Ceoltóirí Chualainn, the Chieftains and the Dubliners. The reification of rural life developed in reaction to musical developments in urban centres. Subsequently, Seán Ó Riada led a national discussion on regional styles on radio: a process which enabled the unification of local identities within the national.

Professional status for musicians gradually emerged as a result of music entertainment being required for the upgraded lounge bars, as well as the increased exposure of traditional musicians within the recording industry (e.g. Gael Linn, HMV), and on television. While technology helped to maintain the tradition through programmes such as *Mo Cheol Thú*, *Come West Along the Road* and *The Pure Drop*, it also enabled fusion and exchange. The influence of American culture on musicians was recognized in the addition of jives, quick steps, waltzes and American pop ballads to musicians' pub repertoire. The influence of the British music scene in Ireland was exhibited through the emergence of the folk rock bands such as the Horslips. While Ó Riada raised the status of Irish traditional music for a modernizing nation at home, the Clancy Brothers reinterpreted Irish ballads in a time of civil rights and social movements to place the political history of Ireland

onto an international stage. By adapting the performance practice of the American Folk Movement, the Clancy Brothers presented a form of global conjuncture with Irish politics and international minority rights.

From the 1970s onwards, artists based at home addressed a global audience that was supported by the diaspora and enabled by the communications revolution. In this respect Irish musical identity moved beyond the vision projected through education and national media by incorporating non-traditional instruments such as the guitar and the piano and creating fusions of musical styles. For instance, Clannad merged Irish traditional music with jazz and contemporary folk, while Planxty looked towards American and British folk, as well as Eastern European styles. Irish composers such as Mícheál O'Súilleabháin, Shaun Davey and Charlie Lennon integrated local traditional music into classical music forms. Ireland's entry to the European Union (EU) opened up a new market for cultural capital. European visitors embraced Irish culture and Irish musicians performed widely within Europe. Musical exchanges were established with Brittany, and Irish interest communities evolved abroad.[12] The Irish popular music scene was invigorated by the presence of second-generation Irish in the English media including Shane MacGowan, John (Rotten) Lydon and Elvis Costello. This resulted in the Celticization of popular music by artists such as Phil Lynott, Bob Geldof and the Pogues.

By the 1980s traditional musicians were being used as marketing tools for the Irish tourist industry as well as the drinks industry. The pub rather than the kitchen became the home of Irish traditional music: a wise move by the drinks industry, given that 80 per cent of visitors to Ireland came for the music (Foster; 2007: 155). The increased commercialization of traditional music by corporate sponsors, media production companies and festival circuits supported the development of professional practice. Ireland witnessed an economic crisis in the 1980s that resulted in high emigration, high unemployment, high trade-union activity, polarizing farm incomes, spiralling inflation and increased government spending. Bob Geldof and Bono voiced the call for change in 1986 through their Self-Aid Concert. By the late 1980s the Industrial Development Authority achieved self-aid by attracting foreign industry, thus laying the foundations for a dramatic shift from a largely agrarian society to a post-industrial, neo-liberal one. This move along with the boom in the construction industry led to a period of rapid economic growth in Ireland (1990–2001) commonly referred to as the *Celtic Tiger.*[13]

The success of the Irish economy in the early 1990s created a new sense of confidence and prompted a Celtic revival. Irish identity underwent a change that resulted in a shift from Nationalist aspirations to global opportunity and from Catholic observation to spirituality. A series of dialectics subsequently evolved

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[12] The Irish community in Paris provides one such example. See Inglis; 2008: 139.

[13] The original term 'Asian Tiger' represented a resistance to the West: an imperialist term which undermined the achievements of these countries through their imagery of the other.

between the local and the global, as witnessed in *Riverdance*, including the old and new; the traditional and the modern; community and society; as well as collectivist and individualist worldviews. In this respect 'Celtic' became a metaphor for the traditional aspects of Irish society including its collective approach, its passive, rural, utopian freedom, and its steadfast moral values. The metaphor of the 'tiger' represented global or modern individualist values: consumerist oppression, and non-Irish, dynamic, urban, transcendental and non-moral aspects. The juxtaposition of these two primal images reconciled the East and the West, to coin a universal trope that plays on the idea of the strength and force of the tiger. The media adopted this term in 1994 to mirror Ireland's capability as a player in the global market economy.

Celticism was exploited to promote Irish music in the global market. Music of this genre became increasing hybridized, focusing on the composition or elaboration of melodies rather than authentic performances. Irish music also entered the world music market in the 1990s and thrived as people searched for both hybridized and authentic forms.[14] Irish musicians continued to explore links with the musics of other countries, while Nuala O'Connor's TV series *Bringing it All Back Home* (1991)[15] reaffirmed links with the United States. Finally, the dilution of the tradition through the assimilation of popular music practices into Celtic music and the creation of divergent links with world music, which had no connections to Irish music, prompted a debate in regards to innovation and tradition within the Irish music community. While no winners were acknowledged, Irish music returned to a regional rather than global focus. While Irish music entered the global flow it also asserted its individuality and exotic otherness within Western culture. This was witnessed in the representation of Irish music as an ethnic folk culture within Europe in contrast to European high art music, the projection of a romanticized primitivism articulated through its Celtic heritage, the suggestion of an oriental relationship between *sean-nós* song performance practices and the practices of Eastern vocalists, the shared oral traditions of the Irish bard and the *griot* of Africa, and Ireland's diasporic expressions derived from the interaction of Ireland's diaspora with other cultures.

Riverdance: the Show synthesized Ireland's global consciousness and search for individuality. *Riverdance*'s focus on Ireland's Celtic origins attempted to reclaim the pure identity of the Irish race in a modern Ireland, which is post-Nationalist and post-Catholic. The musical production represented a myriad of production styles from ethnic spectacle, to folk theatre, to classical ballet character dances, to Broadway musicals. It represented the global flow of Ireland's own music which emerged from Bill Whelan's experimental merging of Irish and Balkan music on East Wind, the National Folk Theatre's experiments in merging Irish dance with

[14] The Celtic music artist Enya is the most played musician in muzak situations around the world.

[15] This relationship was reaffirmed through films such as *Far and Away*, *The Gangs of New York* and *Titanic*.

Spanish and Baltic dance styles, and the development and interplay of cultures in the Irish diaspora. The original production featured many experimenters, including Eileen Ivers, Davy Spillane, Spanish dancer Maria Pages and Michael Flatley. The show presents an eclectic mix of music and dance styles.

By advocating a multicultural society, it prompted Irish people to recognize Ireland's historical links with the United States and embrace its integration with Europe. 'Since fusion represents the totality of human experience and expression which is greater even than the sum of its many diverse parts' (www.riverdance.com). The presentation attempted to place Ireland within a European context by showing the relationships of Irish dance with the dance traditions of the Baltic States and Spanish Flamenco. The series of ethnic dance showcases replicated the process of character dances used in classical ballet. It exhibited the Irish diaspora's influence on the evolution of American culture through the interplay of jazz dance with Irish step-dancing. The flamboyance of the production, its pace, the use of dramatic climaxes, the prominence of a male and female lead, the large orchestration and cast all pointed towards Broadway practices. However, throughout the production Irish culture remained dominant, embracing and virtuosic. This form of presentation made people reconsider their local traditions and created a resurgence of interest in the local.

The fall of the banking sector in Ireland in 2009 forced Ireland into recession and damaged its international standing. As the country faced high levels of unemployment, personal debt and emigration, the government decided to harness the potential of the arts to strengthen commercial relations with America. A thousand artists from all arts disciplines were sent as ambassadors to forty states at a cost to the Irish tax-payer of four million euros. This highlighted Irish traditional music's status as a domestic product which could be used to promote an imagined Ireland and act as a catalyst for trade in cultural, business and heritage sectors, within the global age. The outlook for the tradition is not bleak; rather, commentary suggests that the tradition is benefiting from people re-engaging with active music-making. This is reflected in the purchase of instruments and increased participation in pub sessions and festivals.

The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance

The primary concern of the book is musical change. It begins with a definition of Irish traditional song from a local perspective and then explores alternative definitions that have developed at a global level. It examines the synchronic and diachronic development of Irish traditional song to illustrate the changes that have occurred in performance practice. It discusses the interaction between Irish traditional song and global music culture, looking at the ways in which this interaction has led to the fusion of traditional song with other ethnic genres and/or popular music styles and acquired global standards in the realm of music production. It investigates significant globalizing processes that have impacted

on the representation of Irish traditional song performance in a global context, the contribution of technology to musical change, the commodification of Irish traditional song, and the professionalization and institutionalization of performance practice.

This book also examines the strategies of localization used by performers to project their cultural identity within the global domain. In so doing, it defines Irish identity from a national perspective and explores how this is translated into the global domain. It examines the concept of national identity from synchronic and diachronic perspectives to illustrate the disparity between national identity and Ireland's cultural history. It determines how hybrid and diasporic identities entangle language, traditions, places and ethnicities in coercive and creative ways to articulate particular understandings of cultural history. It also investigates the use of particular universal concepts in order to engage with specific audiences globally.

Chapter 1 will define Irish traditional song performance in respect to its repertoire, performance style, performance practice and its cultural and social contexts. It will also assess the disparity that exists between local, national and global definitions of traditional song. Chapter 2 will explore the temporal dimension of Irish traditional song performance by looking at the ways in which performers rearticulate the past within contemporary performance practices. In this respect it looks at the socio-historical context of Irish traditional song performance subgenres, the impetus for re-presenting music from specific temporal locations within local experience to the global, and the new meanings assigned to these musical phenomena today. This chapter looks at four alternative expressions of Irish song, which have evolved from the tradition as a result of the interaction between the local and the global. These include Anglo-Irish song, country 'n' Irish, Celtic music, and world music. Rather than pitting the past against the present, the orthodox against the heterodox, it recognizes the the traditions capacity for growth and change by, as Bohlman (1988: 3) suggests, superimposing the present on the past.

In Ireland, the term Irish traditional singing has become synonymous with traditional singing in the Irish language. Essentialist definitions of Irish traditional song, which fail to acknowledge the effects of British colonization and other hybridizing influences on Irish culture, have reinforced this perception. Consequently, discourse about traditional song has become polarized in respect to Irish-language and English-language song. However, this discourse fails to acknowledge Ireland's other languages and their respective song traditions. These languages include Ulster-Scots, Shelta, Yola and Loxian. Chapter 3 explores vernacular song in Ireland, it examines the symbolic use of language as a marker of ethnic identity amongst minority and majority communities on the island of Ireland, and it discusses the representation of national identity through vernacular song in local and global markets. This chapter also investigates the implications for language choice in music production and consumption in the global market, and the use of language as a mode of resistance against cultural imperialism.

Finally, it looks at how linguistic incomprehensibility informs the marketing and promotion of music products in the world music market.

Chapter 4, the ethnic divide, examines Irish traditional song performance amongst indigenous ethnic minority groups on the island of Ireland, including the Traveller and Ulster-Scots communities. Both communities have been chosen for discussion in this thesis on the basis that their members can claim an Irish identity (since they were born on the island of Ireland), and the songs of these communities have been assimilated into the Irish traditional song repertoire. This chapter defines the ethnic characteristics of these distinct groups, it examines the expressive cultures of these two communities, and it illustrates how members of these communities attempt to negotiate their ethnic identity and minority group status, through traditional song performance within the global music market. In this respect it looks at the struggle of the margins to be represented within the national and the global, and the powerful force of marginality.

The geographical divide, Chapter 5, looks at the global dispersal of Irish traditional song performance through the diaspora and the resultant expression of this transnational experience in their performance practice. This chapter looks at the interactions of these groups within the global and the impact of this conjuncture on Irish traditional song performance in the homeland, Ireland. It looks specifically at the maintenance of Irish identity through song in Newfoundland and the place of Irish identity within a Canadian province. Finally it looks at the Irish diaspora as a global community that views Ireland as home or 'centre'. Consequently, it looks at the integration of diasporic experience into national identity.

Chapter 6, the political divide, examines the use of political song in Ireland as a means of forging social unity, maintaining ethnic division and fighting social injustice. It looks at the projection of political song into the global music market as a means of contesting local politics and civil-rights abuses. In this respect, it discusses the political divide in Northern Ireland in respect to 'Green' and 'Orange' song, looking at the ways in which competing ethnic, religious and political identities are projected into the global arena through song for validation. It also discusses the attempts by contemporary performers to use song as a form of political protest in order to bring about social change, and as a tool of mediation between opposing communities. This chapter will also document the influence of global movements including socialism, the civil rights movement, and the American and British folk movements on political song in Ireland, looking particularly at the political activism of the singer-songwriter Christy Moore in his work with the traditional music bands Planxty and Moving Hearts.

The perceived threat of globalization prompts the involvement of official organizations to support traditional song practices. Chapter 7, the institutional divide, looks at the formalized structure developed for Irish traditional song performance within local and national agencies including government bodies, educational bodies, voluntary organizations and interest groups, and the service industry. This chapter explores the ways in which Irish traditional song performers utilize the conventions of the music industry to achieve global recognition. It will

also investigate the globalizing processes that have been identified as significant factors in musical change, including the professionalization of performance practice; the contribution of technology to musical change; the commodification of traditional music; and the representation of Irish music in a global context.

The conclusion synthesizes the discussion on localization in relation to the ethnic branding of Irish traditional song performance, the repackaging of Irishness for a global market, the disjuncture between Irish national and Irish cultural identity, and the repatriation of Irish music. The implications of musical change are synthesized in relation to centring the periphery, standardization and essential marginalization. This book repeatedly provides evidence of both fragmentation and homogenization within Irish traditional song performance, thus illustrating how globalization has empowered local artists to extend the national canon for a global audience. In so doing it provides a 'structure of conjuncture … to describe how performers, audiences and musical sounds are linked to processes of global circulation and commodification, while also establishing how people negotiate their way through social forces that are both fragmentary and totalising' (Monson; 1999: 47).

Chapter 1
Defining the Local within the Global

Many academic publications analyse and discuss Irish traditional song performance explicitly in terms of Irish vernacular song (Breathnach; 1971, O'Boyle; 1976, Ó Canainn; 1978, Mac Mathúna; 1977, Vallely; 1999). Broader definitions place an emphasis on two musical traditions within this genre, namely *sean-nós* or traditional singing in the Irish language, and traditional singing in the English language. A hierarchy exists within this bi-lingual definition of Irish traditional song, which elevates the status of Irish-language song over English-language song. This is attested in the writings of O'Boyle (1976), and McCann and Ó Laoire (2003). This viewpoint reiterates the Nationalist definition of Irish traditional song held by the Gaelic League, which affirms the old Gaelic song tradition found in rural Gaeltacht[1] areas to be the true expression of the Irish people. The ethnomusicologist and *sean-nós* singer Lillis Ó Laoire (2000: 162) elaborates on this point by stating that the Gaelic League's conception of Irish traditional song was solidified amongst singers, musicians and enthusiasts when Gaelic league members reached a consensus in 1911 that the Oireachtas' traditional singing competition should only permit *sean-nós* singing competitors.

This language-based hierarchy has established a paradigm of centre and periphery within Irish traditional song performance which fails to provide a parity of esteem to alternative expressions of Irishness in song that have been established on the island of Ireland as a result of colonization, emigration and global commercial trends. On occasion this restrictive definition has been challenged. Hugh Shields' collection of song in Northern Ireland *Shamrock, Rose, and Thistle: Folk Singing in North Derry* (1981) does this by bringing together the repertoire of English, Scottish and Irish ethnic groups living in the region and highlighting the active exchange of repertoire between these communities. Len Graham's recording of Northern Irish songs entitled *One Tradition* further emphasizes this synthesis. In attempting to provide a holistic analysis of Irish traditional song performance, this study will recognize essentialist definitions of Irish traditional song performance while also embracing the cultural expressions of Ireland's indigenous others, including the Ulster-Scots and Traveller cultures, and the Irish diaspora. By recognizing that cultures are constantly undergoing change, as a result of outside influences and musical exchange (both local–local and local–global), it will accommodate urban and contemporary expressions of Irish traditional song performance.

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[1] Irish-speaking areas.

An inclusive classification of Irish traditional song performance should therefore comprise five different performance genres. These include: Irish traditional singing in the local vernacular (including Irish, Hiberno-English, Ulster-Scots, Yola and Shelta languages), Anglo-Irish song (often referred to as parlour music), ballad singing (as associated with the Folk Revival), country 'n' Irish, and contemporary hybrid forms. The category of contemporary hybrid forms includes: contemporary folk singing, Celtic, world and folk rock genres, as well as performances of traditional song by popular music artists. On review one will find particular canons within these genres and a mainstream canon which is shared across them. The Anglo-Irish category includes not alone performances of Anglo-Irish 'parlour' songs, but also 'Irish' songs from the vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley repertory, and traditional song and ballad arrangements sung in a classical style. The category of Country 'n' Irish is included due to the proliferation of Irish traditional songs and ballads within the Irish country music repertoire.[2] It is understood that this approach to defining Irish traditional song performance within the global will inevitably lead to a sharing of repertoire amongst the performance genres. While providing an inclusive definition of Irish traditional song performance within the global, it is also believed that this categorization facilitates the study of song performance from synchronic and diachronic perspectives, thus providing a means of analysing the impact of globalization.

Irish Traditional Song Repertoire

Songs in Gaelic are believed to have emerged from the bardic tradition (AD 1200–1600). At banquets and other gatherings presided over by the chief, the poetry of the court poet was recited by the *reacaire* (bard) and accompanied by the harper. It is believed that these poems were often chanted or sung. 'The bards having first had the composition from him [the poet], got it well by heart, and now pronounc'd it orderly, keeping Pace with a Harp, touch'd upon that Occasion; no other musical Instrument being allow'd of for the said purpose than this alone, as being Masculin, much sweeter, and fuller than any other' (Breathnach; 1971: 20). However, given the syllabic nature of the bardic tradition, evidence to support the existence of repertoire dating from this period within contemporary practice has yet to be authenticated.[3] Vallely (1999: 336) believes that folk songs from this period existing outside of the bardic system did not survive, as trained bards did not

[2] As attested by Margo, the Irish country performer's latest album *Two Sides Of*. This album provides two CDs, one featuring Irish songs including ballads and Anglo-Irish songs and a second CD featuring Country songs. The author also wishes to note that in the diaspora the categorization of Country and Irish suggests the alternation of mainstream country songs and Irish ballads.

[3] This view has been formed through comments made by Breathnach (1971: 18) and comments made by Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin in private communication.

hold them in high esteem. Indeed, most Gaelic songs in the Irish traditional song repertoire date from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the greater number most likely to date from the latter half of the eighteenth and opening decades of the nineteenth century (Breathnach; 1971: 18). The fall of the old Irish aristocracy in the seventeenth century, following the conquest of Ireland by Britain, left the poet, bard and harper redundant. The growing popularity of European Baroque music and the diatonic scale ensured that this art form was not integrated into the customs of the new British aristocracy. However, the oppressed poets are credited for maintaining and passing on the tradition of Gaelic verse.

While O'Boyle's analysis of the Gaelic song repertoire (1976: 20–28) suggests a bardic heritage for songs exhibiting the classical metres *Rannaíocht Mór* (seven syllables, ending in a monosyllable; fits into $\frac{6}{8}$) and *Amhránaíocht* (five stresses in each line; fits into $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{9}{8}$), and the Middle Irish metres *Ochtfhoclach* (three lines of five syllables and one line of four) and *Ochtfhoclach Mór* (three lines of six syllables and one line of five),[4] Vallely (1999: 353) and Mac Mathúna (1977: 9) re-contextualize the appearance of these poetic metres within 'hedge schoolmaster song' dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[5] Vallely (1999: 352) adds that, rather than rhyming line-ends, Gaelic song characteristically uses internal rhyming. While the poetry was set to specific metres, a strict metre is not always adhered to in performance. Mac Mathúna (1977: 13) categorizes the Gaelic song repertoire into three styles of performance that include: those that maintain a strict pulse and metre, those that adhere to a rubato style where a pulse is evident but not constant, and those that employ a free style where no pulse is felt. Circular structural forms such as AABA and ABBA are generally employed[6] (O'Boyle; 1976: 28–9). O'Boyle (1976: 31) states that these songs are typically set in one of four modes – Ionian, Dorian, Mixolydian or Aeolian – and that the flattened seventh is frequently used. The music does not change key during the verse and the repetition of the final note of the verse is characteristic. The song *Aisling Gheal* (Example 1.1) is in the Ionian mode and is structured in AABA form.

The Plantation of Ireland by the British brought about a language shift. The Irish vernacular slowly gave way to Hiberno-English, the language of law, government and social elite. This was reflected in the song tradition through the translation of Gaelic song into English,[7] the composition of songs in Hiberno-English, and the advent of macaronic song.[8] Much disparity exists in the categorization of traditional

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[4] O'Boyle also notes that the metres $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{9}{8}$ and $\frac{4}{4}$ became popular later on.

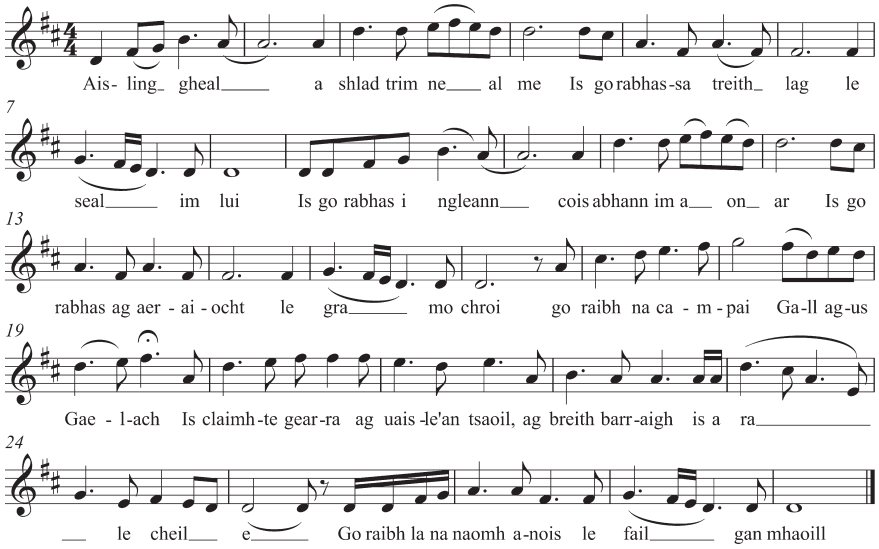
[5] A 'hedge schoolmaster' was a teacher at secret informal schools found throughout Ireland during the penal laws, when education for Catholics was forbidden.

[6] The combinations of ABAB and ABCD are found but are rare.

[7] Breathnach (1971: 29) states that English-language versions of *An Draighneán Donn*, *Connla*, *Jimmy mo Mhíle Stór* and *Bean Dubh an Gleanna* can be found in the tradition. The traditional singer Peggy Sweeney also noted to the author that *Ar Éireann Ní nÍosfainn Cé Hí* has also been translated and continues to be performed in this form.

[8] Songs that alternate between Irish and Hiberno-English texts.

Example 1.1 *Aisling Gheal* (traditional song)



song in the English language. While Vallely (1999: 352) discusses the genre in respect to two categories based on their writing style which includes fictional ballads and documentary 'Come-All-Yes', Breathnach (1971: 30) recognizes the cultural changes brought about by colonization in his categorization of English language within the groupings of English and Scots songs, and Anglo-Irish songs.

While Mac Mathúna (1977: 10) applies a more comprehensive approach which takes historical, linguistic and commercial factors into account to categorize traditional song into four groups. The first of these succinct categories is song of the Gaelic era, written in English using the metres and internal vowel rhyming feature of Gaelic poetry. The second category refers to the commercial songs of the street singers (also referred to as broadsides). These songs set English texts to old Irish airs, employed the rhyming schemes of ABCB, ABAB or AABB, and often attempted to use internal vowel rhyming.[9] The third category, songs of the post-Gaelic era, concern English song texts set to traditional tunes, and sung in an indigenous style. According to Mac Mathúna they have a definitive Irish character, though they lack the rhythms of Gaelic poetry. The fourth category relates to songs appropriated from outside the tradition. The majority of these songs were assimilated into the tradition as a result of musical exchanges between the Irish,

[9] Often the rhythm did not fit the tune, as there were extra syllables that were not accommodated in the melody. Ornamentation was used in these cases to unite the text and the melody.

English and Scottish.[10] The presence of the Child ballads[11] *Barbara Allen* and *The Dark-Eyed Gypsies* in the Irish repertoire exposes this appropriation process. *Lord Randal*, *Lady Margaret* and *Willie Taylor* provide examples of English songs that have been nativized. *Lord Randal* appears in a Gaelic version *Táim Breoite go leor.* In other instances English texts have been appropriated and set to Irish melodies. *My Boy Willie* (Example 1.2a) is one such example. Its melody is more popularly known in relation to the Irish political ballad *The Croppy Boy* (Example 1.2b).

While the language used in traditional song changed to English, the majority of the melodies remained Irish in origin. Hence, the melodies of these songs remained modal and circular in structure. Songs assimilated from the Scottish tradition exhibit a greater use of the pentatonic scale,[12] while songs from England[13] favoured the heptatonic scale and particularly the Ionian mode (Shields; 1981: 28). This category binds a large corpus of song including lyrical songs and narrative ballads. Ballads are strophic songs with a strong narrative element. The short rhythmic stanzas normally have four lines but are sometimes extended to five, six or eight lines on adding a refrain. The songs of the street singers may not always be synonymous with ballads. Songs published on broadsides occasionally originated from the oral tradition, the English broadside tradition, theatre and music hall, and included lyrical songs, comic songs, alphabet songs and propaganda songs (Shields; 1981, Vallely; 1999, Zimmerman; 1967). According to Mac Mathúna (1977: 14) these songs can be further categorized according to pulse and rhythm. Class A has a definite pulse and rhythm. Class B exhibits a weak sense of pulse; the tune is fairly measured, with ornamentation and variation used to cancel this irregularity. In class C the pulse is entirely subdued; the singer's embellishment and interaction with the melody carries the performance. Class A adheres to the performance of ballads, while class C is appropriate to the performance of lyrical songs. Mac Mathúna also notes that the intonation of the singers of songs in class C is closer to that of the *sean-nós*.

Thomas Moore's settings of his poetry to the music of O'Carolan (1808, 1834) established a new form of expression within Irish song that appealed to an Anglo-Irish and middle-class Irish audience. Intended for drawing room entertainment, the musical style of Anglo-Irish song merged the sensibilities of the romantic nationalist movement (evident in the lieder tradition) with the indigenous harp music of Ireland. However, the music presented in these settings has undergone change. Moore sourced his melodies from the Bunting collection, which in turn

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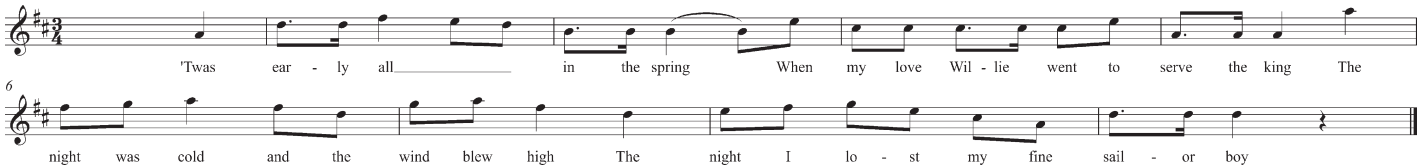
[10] The context for this activity includes the colonization of Ireland by British and Scottish settlers, the setting-up of military barracks manned by British officers, seasonal migration of the Irish to Britain, and the movement of the travelling community between Ireland and Britain.

[11] An international ballad repertoire collected by Francis J. Child. It contains the classics of the oral tradition.

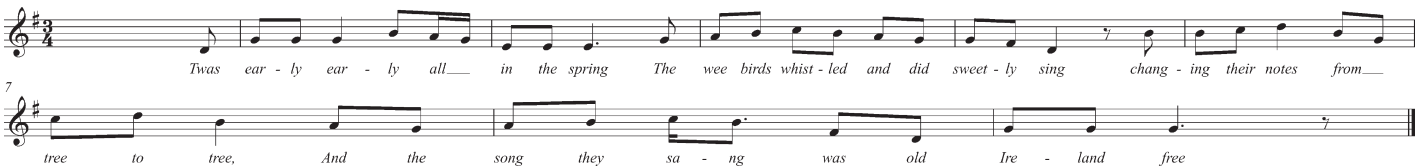
[12] *The Farmer's Daughter* (Shields; 1981: 79) is one such example.

[13] *A Lady Walked in her Father's Garden* (Shields; 1981: 110–11) is one such example.

Example 1.2a *My Boy Willie* (traditional song)



Example 1.2b *The Croppy Boy* (traditional song)



had been transcribed by Bunting from the harpers at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1798. Having a firm foundation in Western art music, Bunting often modified these transcriptions to fit conventional Western scales and structures.[14] Moore then used these melodies as the basis for his songs, again modifying them to fit his text or melodic intention. These songs were then arranged for pianoforte with romantic bravura passages not too distant from the Italian style.

The popularity of Moore's literary ballads in America, established them as the ideal 'Irish' song abroad. They provided a model for aspiring songwriters within the American commercial market to produce an 'Irish' parlour song. This formula required textual reference to the themes of romantic poetry, as well as particularly Irish thematic elements. Williams (1996: 29) describes these themes as 'Erin as the female persona of Ireland, the cause of liberty, the longing for home and childhood, the mixture of joy and sadness, the harp and shamrock as important national symbols, the beauty of the Irish landscape, and the exile's ineradicable love of the native land'. Traditional dance tunes, such as the jig and the hornpipe, provided the melodic foundation for new songs or the stylistic characteristics for Irish-styled music. Composers often adhered to the octave leap used by Moore[15] and looked to his use of cadences. Songwriters did not necessarily have to be of Irish descent to write an 'Irish' song; American and British composers wrote many popular ballads.[16] The commercial stature of Irish song was witnessed further through its prevalence in vaudeville[17] and Tin Pan Alley.[18] In time composers often added a key change to the relative minor in the central section of songs in ternary form. Tin Pan Alley imprinted its own style on Irish song by setting internal rhymes to catchy melodies with syncopated rhythms, and adding sudden shifts from major to minor modes. The use of Hiberno-English lyrics added another layer of 'Irishness' to these songs.

Contemporary folk singers merge traditional and popular music aesthetics in the arrangement of traditional songs and the writing of new material. Traditional songs are routinely arranged using instrumentation and harmonies associated with popular music. Stylistic approaches including rock, techno and trance are evident. Song lyrics are typically curtailed to four verses to accommodate modern listening practices. Newly composed songs centre on contemporary as well as universal themes, especially themes of love. Simple metres are employed, while melodies

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[14] The ethnomusicologist Micheál Ó Súilleabháin notes that this modification process often only applied to printed versions of his transcriptions, and that his manuscripts sometimes provided alternative reasons for this manifestation.

[15] *The Last Rose of Summer* provides one such example.

[16] *Come Back to Erin* was written by the English composer and poet Charlotte Alington Barnard (published under her pseudonym Claribel). Ernest R. Ball, the writer of many vaudeville and sentimental Irish ballads, was born in Cleveland, Ohio. Famous songs included *Mother Machree* and *When Irish Eyes are Smiling*.

[17] The song *Daisy Bell* recorded by the McNulty Family is an example of this song style.

[18] *When Irish Eyes are Smiling* is an example of this song style.

are built on basic chord progressions and adhere to popular music structures (AABA, ABBA and occasionally AABC). Syncopation is often employed in the rhythm of the song and/or in harmonic accompaniment. Many performers look to older writing styles when writing songs. While Christy Moore looks towards broadsides, and the folk music of England and the United States, Cara Dillon often looks towards the texts and tune structures of traditional songs for her inspiration while adding harmony notes to instrumental sections. Songwriters may also diverge into more experimental forms of writing. Iarla Ó Lionáird's writing style varies from songs in strophic form, the building of song melodies based on riff structures, the use of elisions and extensions in the development of motifs, the use of ad-lib sections and the juxtaposition of musical styles.

Taxonomies for Categorizing Irish Traditional Song

The multiplicity of terms in use and the overlap in their meaning questions the accuracy of classifying Irish song into distinct categories. Terms such as 'Irish', 'national', 'folk' and 'traditional' have surfaced over time in relation to Irish traditional song. While the substance of their meaning must be established, it is also necessary to position the use of these terms within their social and cultural context. The concepts of an 'Irish race' and an 'Irish music' were well established by the British in the sixteenth century, as a means of differentiating between the native Irish and the loyal British settlers. The term 'Irish' became synonymous with the imagery of savages and barbarians by the mid-sixteenth century. While the characterization of the 'wild Irish' legitimated colonization for the British and provided them with a means of repressing the native people, it instilled fear in its armies, who often faced this enemy. When English theatres re-opened after the Commonwealth and Protectorate periods, the Irish stereotype lost its political and religious bitterness and focused on the Irish as a defeated people. Indeed, as Hayton claims, the dread of the Irish was now replaced with contempt (quoted in Williams; 1996: 59). The terms 'Irish' and 'native' are found in collections such as those produced by John and William Neal (1724), Edward Bunting[19] (1796) and George Petrie (1858). Collectors often designated these terms to collections of music they had created within the context of Celtic Nationalism and the Antiquarian movement. In this respect the terms 'Irish' and 'native' are not used in a derogatory sense, but signify the outsider's position in defining the Irish repertory.

The French Revolution (1798) reinvigorated the ideal of 'nationalism' in Ireland and inspired the patriotic activities of the United Irishmen, which culminated in the 1798 Uprising. Within this context, the middle classes adopted the term 'national', to exert a form of group identity amongst the lower classes. Song became a vehicle for disseminating such propaganda. The existence of Moore's *Melodies* (1818),

[19] Bunting also used the term 'ancient'.

Nationalist broadsides, and the patriotic songs of Thomas Davis support this tenet. The term was also attributed to song and tune repertoires that provided evidence of a national culture, but were not composed to instil Nationalist agendas. This is exhibited in the collections of Patrick O'Farrell (1804), and Michael Conran (1846). Song described as national had little relevance to the insider, but more to the outsider who attempted to perpetuate the Anglo-Irish ideologies of the Nativist movement.

According to Vallely (1999: 142) the term 'folk song' was derived from the term 'folklore', which was first proposed by the British antiquarian W.J. Thomas, in 1846. Folk song was subsequently used to describe a body of song created by and for the people, which was orally transmitted. Nationalists originally invented the term 'folk' at the turn of the eighteenth century to signify a return to roots, in reaction to the outburst of nationalism in Europe and an adverse reaction to industrialization. The term 'folk' was associated with peasant culture in rural communities in contrast to art music, which was associated with the culture of the higher classes in the city. Consequently, a dialectic between the concepts of folk and art music emerged. Classical music was deemed to be an art form, while folk music was functional music. Seán Corcoran (1992: 5) elaborates on this disjuncture, by claiming that singers were viewed as passive transmitters rather than re-creators of the musical idiom. Fintan Vallely (1999: 401) believes that this designation suggested 'an inferiority for folk music – an "undevelopment", socially and intellectually speaking – a notion which has come to be embedded in the term'. The categorization of Ireland's native 'art music' as folk music by the Anglo-Irish ascendancy made this a pejorative term, which represented British Imperialism. While O'Neill uses the term in 1910, he notes that it is was replaced by 'traditional' in 1913.

Traditional song refers to the singing of older or 'traditional' songs rather than newly composed songs. Traditional refers to the act of handing down practices, beliefs, ideas or values from generation to generation. According to Gross (1992: 8) 'it is not the assumption that an act was previously performed that makes it traditional; rather, it becomes traditional when it is replicated precisely *because* it was performed before'. The performance and transmission of a tradition honours the past through the imitation or repetition of previous actions. Ó Canainn (1978: 41) substantiates the prescriptive element of performance by stating that the Irish tradition 'implies a selection by the performer of certain traditional patterns or clichés of the tradition in his improvisation'. The 'tradition' is regarded as belonging to a whole community rather than to an individual or interest groups. It depends on a dynamic socio-cultural base that facilitates the performance and transmission of song for existence. Indeed, the process of receiving, preserving and passing on a valuable tradition provides social cohesion within the community through the establishing of a framework of meaning and purpose that is in harmony with the world. 'Oral' tradition specifies the verbal or non-written basis of the transmission process. The term 'tradition' gradually emerged in W. Christie's *Traditional Ballad Airs* (1876). Donal Lunny (quoted in O'Toole; 2006: 67)

states that even in the 1960s the terms 'folk music' and 'ballad singer' prevailed over traditional music. Indeed, insiders to the tradition have only begun to define themselves as traditional singers since they have only recently recognized the need to categorize their performance style within the taxonomies of academia and the commercial market.

Further difficulties arise within the tradition in relation to the designation of singers and repertoire in terms of *sean-nós* versus 'traditional' singing, and 'folk' versus 'traditional' singing. The term *sean-nós* literally means 'old style', which may erroneously suggest a break with tradition or, even, the emergence of a new musical style. This is not substantiated by field research, for, as Vallely states (1996: 336), 'as the line of singing has never been broken the style is as modern as it is old'. Donncha Ó Súilleabháin, in his history of the *Oireachtas* claims that the term was first used in 1904. It was not an indigenous term, but one applied by English-speaking enthusiasts to indicate traditional singing in the old style. It was believed that this term would differentiate the traditional 'old' singing style of Irish-speaking rural Ireland from the parlour-room singing style of the modern, English-speaking urban Ireland. Since the parlour-room style did not become the new traditional singing style, and since the 'old' traditional singing style still exists without distinct temporal shifts in performance practice, this label is deficient. Further, the term fails to acknowledge the advent of traditional song in Hiberno-English and macaronic song as a result of the language shift. However, the label is significant in that it symbolizes the recognition of outside cultural influences and musical change within the minds of the (English speaking) people of Ireland. Consequently, Irish-language song and Anglo-Irish parlour songs (and to a lesser degree traditional singing in Hiberno-English) represent two different cultures, one authentic and one hybrid, one Gaelic and one Anglo-Irish, one agrarian and one commercial. While this perception of *sean-nós* is not true in modern Ireland, its relationship with the Nationalist agenda of the Gaelic League has contributed to its marginal status.

A folk song (in an Irish context) is a modern song, arranged using a range of accompanying instruments, while the designation 'ballad singer' refers to artists associated with the ballad boom of the 1960s, such as the Clancy Brothers or the Dubliners. These groups include Irish street ballads, traditional ballads and more contemporary folk songs with a more international repertoire of English, Scottish and some American folk songs. Modern compositions by Dominic Behan, Ewan Mac Coll and Cyril Tawney are often included in this repertoire. Due to the association of ballad singing with the American Folk Revival of the 1950s and 1960s the term 'folk music' is occasionally used to denote ballad singing in commercial settings. Hence ballad groups are also referred to as folk singers. The term 'traditional' provided artists an alternative term in the 1960s to differentiate their more authentic performances of traditional repertoire from the commercialized 'folk song' of Irish ballad groups.

Irish traditional song was defined from a national perspective by the middle-class Anglo-Irish, through their antiquarian interest in Irish culture and the Nativist

movement, as evidenced in the work of Bunting, Petrie, Patrick Joyce and Douglas Hyde. The philosophy of the Gaelic League and the founding of the language and literary festival An tOireachtas, 1897, cemented the relationship between the Irish language, traditional singing in the Irish language (by native speakers) and Irish identity. Consequently, *sean-nós* became synonymous with a projected Irish national culture. The promotion of national language in post-Independence Ireland, and by association national song, reinforced the centrality of traditional singing in the Irish language to national identity. While school curricula included Irish language songs, these were taught using techniques associated with classical music.

The essentialist definition of Irish traditional song, as traditional singing in Irish in the *sean-nós* style, remains central to national identity and pushes alternative definitions of Irish culture to the periphery. By looking at the performance of traditional singing on the island of Ireland, it becomes apparent that there are multiple Irelands and multiple versions of Irish identity that are not addressed within the essentialist definition of Irish traditional song. These include the expressive cultures of indigenous ethnic communities, including the Travellers and the Protestant community. The essentialist definition also fails to address alternative definitions of Irish culture that emerge in urban communities and amongst different class groups. Urban middle-class definitions focus on contemporary expressions of Irish traditional song, while urban working-class definitions centre on ballad singers and songs related to the folk movement.

The expression of Irish traditional song within the diaspora is one representation of the local within the global. This repertoire includes traditional Irish songs, songs that are perceived to be Irish but have been assimilated from the English or Scottish traditions, and commercial Irish songs. In the United States the concept of an 'Irish Song' was well established within vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley, and through ethnic recordings. This perception remains strong today amongst diaspora communities in the United States and Canada. The transposition of Irish traditional song to the United States also contributed to the development of country music.

The international success of the Clancy Brothers and the Dubliners redefined Irish traditional song within the practices of ballad groups. The rousing nature of this style of performance reaffirmed the Irish stereotype and revived the historical legacy of Irish rebel songs, which had been used as propaganda to gain financial assistance for an Irish revolution in the United States in the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that these alternative expressions of Irishness have been assimilated back into the local as well as to other diasporic communities within the global, thereby creating a transnational expression of Irishness. The emergence of Celtic music in the 1980s provided another facet of Irish identity to the commercial market that appealed to the diaspora's vision of an ancient Ireland swamped in mysticism and spirituality. Consequently, performances of popularized versions of Irish songs overlaid with synthesizers and vocal harmonies satisfy yet another version of Irish traditional song within the global.

Throughout Irish history, attempts have been made to claim and reclaim Irish culture in reaction to change or hybridization. While the Anglo-Norman Conquest

(1169) had no impact on Irish culture, since the Anglo-Normans 'became more Irish than the Irish themselves', British colonization brought about two phases of a Celtic revival. These movements focused on defining and rearticulating native difference in relation to the colonial power. Within a modern context, globalization and the threat of homogenization provide an impetus to rearticulate difference within the global. The anxiety created as a result of impending destruction or death of the tradition at different times throughout Irish history has resulted in different forms of resistance and preservation. This is evidenced through song collection, the development of institutions to regulate and sustain traditional practices, and the establishment of forums to debate values inherent in the tradition.

This activity evokes tension within the music community, as tradition bearers align themselves in the opposing camps of orthodox and heterodox performers, and prepare for audience decisions in relation to the essentialist recognition rejection axis. The question as to whether an essentialist form of musical practice is fulfilling or frustrating to the artist is an individual question that leads to concepts of innovation and the challenging of essentialist codes (Negus; 1999: 182). Hybridity often becomes a template for a culture of resistance. Irish artists may reject both national and global definitions of Irish song, choosing to explore narratives on the periphery. Rather than imbuing the nationalist ideal of an island with its own distinct culture, they choose to express alternative expressions of Irishness at the edge of Europe,[20] within the Celtic fringe,[21] or within the diaspora.[22] Thus, they choose to present an expression of culture which embraces the liminal space between the local and the global.

World music provides a means of redefining the local. The opening-up of markets has provided access for local music into the world music market. Changes in economic markets are not only threatening the dominant world powers but are threatening the position of the world's dominant music cultures in the global music market. This phenomenon opens up possibilities for other cultures and leads to an ethnicization of cultures. Developments in technology and communications facilitate increased interaction between local cultures, prompting these societies to embrace all cultures and accept difference. Irish music like other expressive cultures must take its place within this market. 'More than a struggle for new musical relationships and sounds, it can also involve a desire for new social relationships and harmonies. Crossing genre worlds and bringing new genre cultures into being is not only an act of musical creation, it is also an act of social creation, of making connections, of creating solidarities' (Negus; 1999: 183). In so doing, world music releases local energies and local cultures, and enables the local artist to mediate both musical and cultural disparities in Irish culture, to

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[20] The White Raven, Siansaí and The Voice Squad.

[21] Afrocelts, Clannad, Anam and Cran.

[22] The Clancy Brothers, Shane McGowan and the Pogues, Equation, The Waterboys and Mosaic.

present local definitions of culture within the global and provides a forum for the articulation of difference within the global.

Irish Traditional Song Performance Style

The primary function of the song is to tell a story. In *sean-nós* performance, the performer is immersed completely into the story, visualizing its evolvement and feeling the emotions of the situation or characters. This act of visualization and empathy leads the singer to 'hold on to' or ornament certain notes. Only then does this ritualistic performance become a personal interpretation of the story. The Connemara singer Joe Heaney stated in an interview with James Chowdery (1990: 40–41): 'without the story, the song is lost, and without putting the story over in the song, the song is lost on an audience, or whoever is listening to you … There's some places you want to hold on more than other places, that's when you put the grace notes there, you know. So that takes out the full depth and meaning of the song, you know, and you hold on to that particular place'. Séan Ó Riada (1982: 24) referred to the process of interacting and embellishing a tune as the variation principle, stating in a series of lectures on the Irish music tradition for radio that 'a *sean-nós* singer [does not] sing any two verses of a song in the same way. There must be a variation of the actual notes in each verse, as well as a variation of rhythm. What makes one *sean-nós* singer better than another, more than anything else, is his ability to do this better. The variations must not interfere with the basic structure of the song. They must occur where they would give most point and effect'. Mac Mathúna (1977: 15) expands on this explanation, stating the performers employs both 'inherited set of ideas, values etc. which have crystallized into what we generally call a style, and .. the singer's own personal interpretation of those ideas'.

Ornamentation employed in *sean-nós* singing is described by Ó Canainn (1978: 41) as melismatic or intervallic. Melismatic ornamentation involves the extension of a syllable through the alternation of the main melody notes with the adjacent notes above and below. Results can often be described as grace notes, double grace notes, short runs, rolls and turns.[23] Intervallic ornamentation occurs when an interval between two notes is linked by a note within the interval or replaced by another interval. In some cases an interval may be filled with an extended run of notes. The structure of the song may restrict or enable the use of intervallic ornamentation. Melodies which move by step or within small intervals may not permit the use of intervallic ornamentation.[24] Tempo inevitably restricts or

[23] Bodley has generalized melismatic ornaments into three grouping: grace notes, the turn and a series of tonal inflections (Bodley, 1973: 51).

[24] This type of tune structure is associated with the Connacht region. This is in contrast to the 'big' songs of Munster, which have an extended range of nearly two octaves incorporating large leaps. This song structure leads itself to the use of intervallic ornamentation.

facilitates the ornamentation of a song: a fast tempo will mean less ornamentation while a slow song will lend itself to the addition of ornaments. Melismatic and intervallic ornamentation involves the variation of ornaments within the verse and in successive verses. Rhythmic variation occurs in the extension of a note's length to emphasize or ornament it, or the use of breaks and pauses in the phrase or between phrases. Melodic variation involves the variation of the basic melody itself; however, Ó Canainn (1978: 72) recognizes the employment of melismatic and intervallic ornaments as a forms of melodic variation.

The glottal stop is a common stylistic technique. It refers to the abrupt ending of a note as a result of suddenly stopping the flow of air in the throat. This device emphasizes the note sung or the note immediately following the glottal stop. The length of the pause decides the point of emphasis. A long pause emphasizes the preceding note, while a short pause emphasizes the following note. It is not a breathing technique since no breath is taken during the pause. Some singers employ the technique of sliding. This term describes the microtonal movement either upwards or downwards in pitch through an interval greater or less than a semitone. This is used especially on the seventh degree of the scale. However, upward sliding is more prevalent than downward sliding.

The singer maintains the sense of continuity in the song through the manipulation of the natural phrasing. Instead of ending the phrase at the end of the line of verse the singer will run the musical phrase into the next line. Sometimes singers will only pause for a breath after the linking word 'agus' (and) or 'ach' (but) in the text has been sung. This leaves the listener in anticipation of the next verse. Nasalization also provides a drone throughout the song and a sense of continuity at the end of a line. It is the recognizable 'm' sound' which is produced through the direction of air flow to back of the palate, also described as 'singing through your nose'. This is emphasized also on similar consonants such as l, n and r. The result of this technique is the production of a drone-like effect, which according to Ó Canainn (1978) supports the ornate melody line. Joe Heaney develops this further stating that the pitching of the 'nyahh' or 'm' sound provides the fundamental pitch of the tune; it is referred to throughout the tune in an attempt to keep on pitch (cited in Chowdery; 1990: 37).

Seán Ó Riada (1982: 25) summarized the qualities of a *sean-nós* performer by stating that 'not only must a *sean-nós* singer have a good deal of compositional talent, [for improvisation and ornamentation] … but he must also have a vocal technique above and beyond that of the average European singer. The *sean-nós* singer must be able, in fact, to use his voice with the flexibility and precision of an instrument.' The tone quality of the singer is regarded as secondary to their performance ability and therefore may vary from chest tone, to nasal tone, to a relaxed open tone. The voice must be flexible to enable the singer to embellish the melody melismatically and manage large leaps and intervals. 'The higher pitch of the female voice allows greater flexibility and speed of execution … the higher the pitch of the music, the faster the speed' (O'Boyle, 1976: 46). The singer is expected to have a wide vocal range to accommodate the range of the song repertoire. Good

breathing technique is also essential to support long phrases. The emphasis placed on self-expression and interaction with the fundamental melody means that the use of accompaniment is avoided. While instances of duet and group singing in unison have been documented, it is primarily a personalized, solo art form.

The analysis of individual style generally focuses on the interaction of the singer with the song and highlights the performance techniques employed, tempo and repertoire. When a number of performers in a particular area show similar stylistic techniques, a regional style may become evident. Since the *sean-nós* singing tradition is entwined with the Irish language tradition, the survival of *sean-nós* is believed to be synchronous with the Gaeltacht areas, thus establishing three regional styles referred to as Donegal, Connacht and Munster. These regional styles are summarized by Ó Canainn (1978) and Ó Riada (1982) as follows. The Donegal style emphasizes the rhythm of the melody and uses very little ornamentation in comparison to the styles of the other Gaeltacht areas. The open-tone style of singing is found in Donegal, whereas Connemara and Muster are recognized for their use of nasalization. The Connemara style is recognized as being very ornamented. Melismatic ornamentation predominates while intervallic ornamentation and rhythmic variation are rarely employed. The Munster style (see Example 1.3) is regarded as using more ornamentation than Donegal, but less than Connemara.[25] Melismatic ornamentation, intervallic ornamentation and rhythmic variation are employed. A noted feature is the use of dynamics.[26] However, as Vallely rightly states (1999: 353), a deeper definition of regional styles is required since the above definitions of regional style are too broad and over-emphasize the aspect of melodic ornamentation.

Traditional singing in the English language embraces a wide gamut of performance styles, ranging from the employment of *sean-nós* performance techniques, to a more declamatory style of performance. In general, it is maintained that performers of traditional songs in the English language employ less ornamentation and nasal tone than traditional singers in the Irish vernacular. Seámus Mac Mathúna (1977: 13) purports that performance styles in this category can be broadly determined by province. He states that

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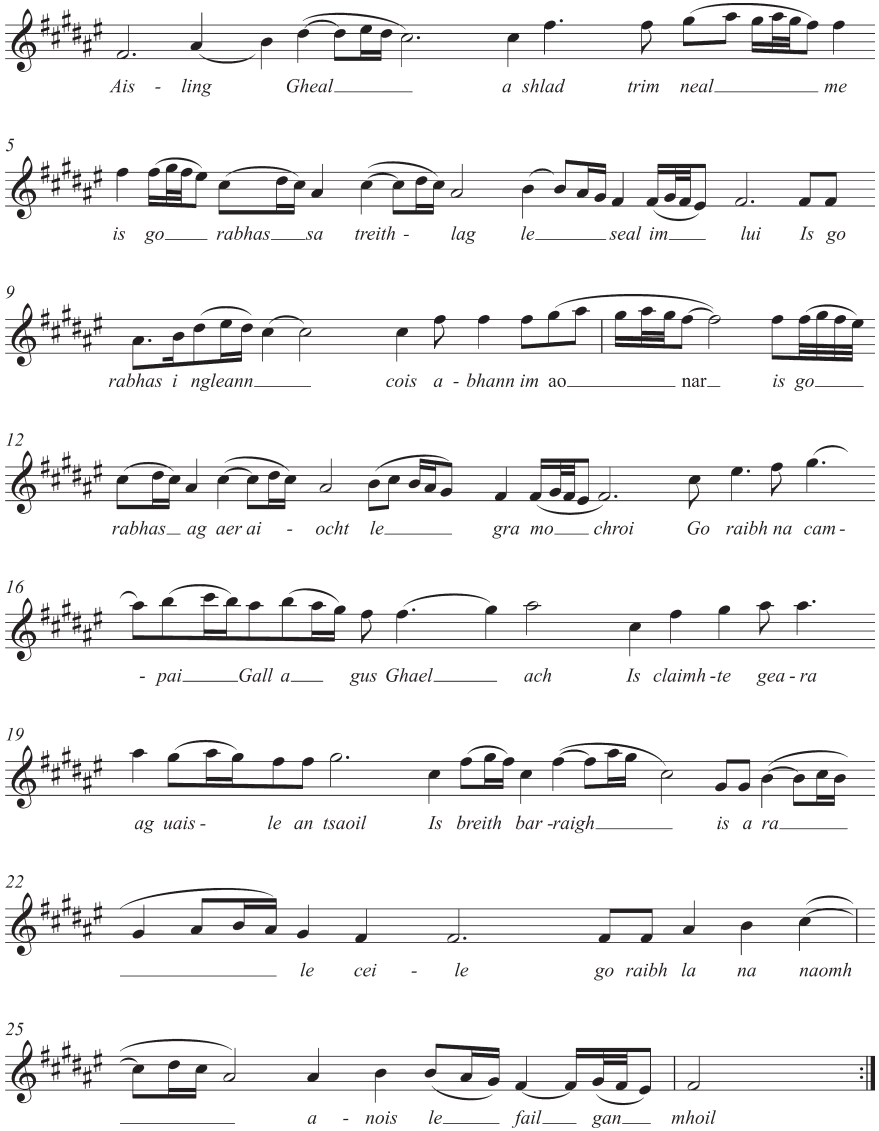
[25] Seán Ó Riada's study of regional style is limited to Connemara and Munster. This work provides evidence of further subdivisions within Munster. First he envisages a difference between East Munster (An Déise) and West Munster. He then identifies West Kerry and West Cork as two distinct areas (styles) within West Munster. He also provides evidence of musical change in the performance of *sean-nós* singing. In reference to West Kerry, he noted the disappearance of the variation principle, the use of uncontrolled nasalization and the slowing down of the tempo to extraordinarily slow rates.

[26] Most traditional literature states that dynamics are not employed in Irish traditional music. However, Seán Ó Riada noted its use in West Munster, especially the area of Baile Mhuirne.

Example 1.3 *Aisling Gheal* (transcription of performance by Eilís Ní Shúilleabháin, a *sean-nós* singer from Baile Mhuirne, Co. Cork. The transcription records a performance of *Aisling Gheal* heard on her recording *Cois Abhainn na Sead*, *Traditional Songs from Muskerry*)



> Western styles are elaborately embellished; Southern styles are well ornamented and use variations of rhythm and phrasing for effective storytelling. Northern and Eastern styles borrow more from the narrative storytelling style of England. The style in Northern Ireland is said to have an accented style and occasional use of grace notes while the Eastern styles are seen to be direct with the minimum use of decoration.

However, this generalization is often contradicted. The style of performance associated with English-language song is also implicit to discussion of traditional performances in other vernacular languages that have ceased or are presently being reconstructed, such as Yola, Shelta and Ulster-Scots. The appropriation of traditional song repertoire by classical and popular music performers leads to adoption of the performance aesthetics of these genres.

Changing Performance Contexts

From a diachronic perspective the performance of traditional song was part of everyday life, being practised while work was being carried out and for entertainment in the evenings at house gatherings. Patrick W. Joyce (cited in Madagain; 1985: 130) suggests almost constant use of song and lilting while working. 'A home of music and song: they were in the air of the valley; you heard them everywhere – sung, played, whistled; and they were mixed up with people's pastimes, occupation and daily life.' However, traditional song was not always functional and was performed as part of an evening's entertainment. In more formal house gatherings, performers were not placed apart from the listening group, but sat amongst them. Performers distanced themselves mentally from the performance context by closing their eyes, pulling a hat over their eyes, singing with the head raised, or sitting in the corner. This process enabled them to re-live the song and identify with the main characters. Gatherings were usually small and therefore volume was not a requirement for the singer. Some singers cupped one hand round the ear (the heel of the hand pointing towards the mouth), to hear themselves better. The act of singing in the corner also provided better acoustics. The performer introduced the song, giving the narrative background, even if the audience was familiar with the story. The final line of the song might be spoken to indicate the conclusion. There was an intimate relationship between the singer and their audience. The audience often provided vocal encouragement during the performance of a song such as 'good, ye girl ye!' or helped the singer by joining in on a verse or line of a song. The audience might also interact with the singer in *sean-nós* performance through the rhythmic weaving of hands (winding). While the practice of house gatherings continues it is no longer as prevalent as has been the case in the past.

The presence of the Irish stereotype in Victorian theatre and later in vaudeville established a path for the performance of traditional song in concert and theatre

venues. John McCormack and Seán Ó Riada's performances with Seán Ó Sé and Ceoltóirí Chualainn elevated the status of traditional song, by putting it on the concert platform. Modern practice continues to favour live performances within large music venues and theatres, and on festival stages. The majority of performers active in these contexts have adopted popular music aesthetics. Their programme is predetermined, they perform with an ensemble and they use modern sound systems to enhance their performance. The rise of music performance in public houses proved more acceptable to instrumental traditional performance rather than vocal. Popularized expressions of traditional songs found a home more easily than authentic traditional performances. The folk boom particularly increased the commercial value of traditional song for the publican. However, this interest focused on ballad groups rather than on traditional singers. Local singers' clubs have attempted to address this imbalance by organizing quiet venues for traditional singing sessions.

The advent of the Feis Cheoil, An tOireachtas, and the Fleadh Cheoil shifted traditional song performance into a formal competitive environment. Competing singers stand alone on a large stage during performance and project their song towards the adjudicators and a large audience. Oireachtas competitors are aware that their performances are being broadcast throughout the country and streamed on the Internet. This puts extreme pressure on the performer and lessens the improvisatory nature of the performance. The growth in traditional bands as a result of Seán Ó Riada's work with Ceoltóiri Chulainn has provided another outlet for traditional song performance. These bands typically feature one traditional singer, normally a woman, to provide variety to the performance. While Dé Danann founder Frankie Gavin has claimed that through his group singers have gone on to achieve international success; singers are also known to help establish a band, as is the case with John Spillane and Nomos, and Karen Casey with Solas. The explosion of media has brought traditional song performance onto radio, television and the Internet. Performers selected for these media tend to have an established profile and recognized standard within the traditional music community. The CD and other digital storage formats facilitate the distribution of these artists' performances to an international audience.

Conclusion

The definitions of repertoire, performance practice, performance context and level of musical change provide parameters for developing a model of traditional practice that defines centre and periphery. In this respect, traditional singing in the Irish language (*sean-nós*) remains central to the definition of Irish traditional song. Traditional song performance in English-language song and song in the local vernacular provides the next level of authenticity when account is taken for the language shift, the assimilation of foreign repertoire, and the reduced use of the variation principle. Contemporary folk singing and world music follow, due to

their adoption of traditional repertoire to popular ensemble playing. Hybrid genres that expose a different performance style remain on the periphery. These include ballad singing, Anglo-Irish song, Celtic music, folk-rock and Country 'n' Irish.

While we recognize the multiplicity of performance genres vying for recognition within the global music market, the question remains as to whether Ireland wishes to celebrate cultural difference through the performance of a recognized national canon, succumb to the expectant demands of an international audience, or, as McLaughlin and McLoone (2000: 196) suggest, 'critique, interrogate or extend the local/national in a manner that is sensitive to both local specificity and global context'. By mediating the divide between the local and the global, the centre and the periphery, Irish traditional song performance can resist 'self-defeatist' essentialism and 'self-abusing' dominant cultures (McLaughlin and McLoone; 2000: 196). Current practice has shown that by re-articulating the tradition within contemporary practice, performers provide an entry point to the tradition for the modern audience. In this respect the voice at the periphery provides an introduction to the music at the centre of the tradition.

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Chapter 2
The Temporal Divide

An article prepared for the *Journal of Music in Ireland* (2001: 1), by the folklore collector Tom Munnelly bemoaned the passing of Irish traditional song performance in the social circumstances from which it evolved. He noted that 'a song tradition, which came as naturally as the air they breathed to some people born into certain geographic areas and particular dynasties, has now to be searched for by even these people. An active tradition has now become a passive one with very few exceptions.' Like many others, Munnelly sounded the death knell of the tradition. He also noted that Irish traditional song was becoming a derivative of its previous existence. This viewpoint failed to recognize a tradition in flux and encountering change, as it has always done. Indeed, the ideal of aesthetic purity is ultimately unrealizable in modern society since it requires the performer to remain in a rural setting and social environment untouched by global processes.

Music is shaped not only by ideas generated within its own cultural sphere but also by the musician's response to their own environment or habitus (Bourdieu: 1977). This results in the formation of a reciprocal relationship between music and culture, which is constituted by the fact that music is shaped by culture, and music influences culture (Blacking: 1987). An attempt by the performer to mediate the music–culture dialectic brings about changes in style, repertory, use and function. Nketia states (1984: 32): 'a musical culture must therefore be regarded as something dynamic and capable of growth or change in relation to the social and the musical or their juncture and as something that develops its own characteristic modes of expression and behaviour'. However, the invention of new rules or the utilization of new strategies for the realization of conceptual rules is restricted by the traditional community. The community evaluates original concepts in the performance, and subsequently accepts or rejects them. This evaluation is undertaken by identifying the orthodox and heterodox, and extended by discerning the level of deviance. In this respect deviations from the norm, which are regarded as unacceptable or destructive to the tradition, remain on the periphery of musical practice. Indeed, Merriam (1964) notes that change can be internal and/or external; with internal change referring to minor changes within the music and external change referring to processes of acculturation.

The reception of the tradition by subsequent generations is dependent on the extent of social and cultural change. Where little change occurs in society, there is no contestation to the reception of the tradition. When a greater extent of change is felt this may call for a revamp of the musical tradition in lieu of social and political realities. The folk-song collector Hugh Shields (1993: 181) attests that change in social and cultural structures may lead to the replacement, transformation and

depletion of the tradition in certain areas. Where this is recognized to be the case, attempts are made to salvage or re-invigorate the tradition. Indeed, the distancing of modern society from traditional society brings the concept of authenticity into focus. In order to remain faithful to the tradition, institutions advocate the return to the source or urtext. Subsequently, the concept of authenticity establishes a temporal framework for the analysis of change within the tradition. Bohlman (1988: 13) states that 'tradition is fashioned from both an authenticity that clings to the past and a process of change that continuously reshapes the present'. Consequently, folk music must be seen as both a product of the past and a process of the present, which together provide the substance and dynamism of oral tradition.

The fact that society is conscious of such changes provokes the articulation of resistance, rejecting modernism in preference for an idealized society. Hence, the dialectic emerges between traditionalists aiming to preserve the tradition, and innovators who explore and refashion the tradition. The dialectical concepts of authenticity and change become focal points in debating the stability of the tradition within a temporal framework. Communities that reject change place their beliefs on idealized models of tradition that contradict modern realities and insist on relegating folk music to the past. This viewpoint sees the traditional singer as a culture bearer whose role is to receive and transmit the tradition in its authentic form to subsequent generations. While this viewpoint serves to purify the tradition, it also runs the risk of leading the tradition to stagnation and possible decline. On the other hand, performers attempting to be innovative are seen to favour the individual over the communal, and creativity over representation. The contemporary performer is also conscious of consumer interests and may feel the pressure to popularize their music. This phenomenon has positive implications. According to Bohlman (1988: 133), 'popularisation expands social contexts and creates more inclusive, rather than exclusive, audiences for folk music'.

The globalization of Irish culture has blurred the distinctions between traditional and modern society, leading to the assimilation of outside influences, the fusion of musical styles and the development of syncretic genres. Contrary to theories of cultural grey-out (Cooke: 1997), modernization does not necessarily homogenize world musics. Rather, as Bohlman (1988: 124) states, it 'creates a bazaar from the confluence of music repertories and the exchange of musical concepts, and it creates the choice of an appropriate technology to give these repertories and concepts a new voice'. This phenomenon is reflected in modern Irish society in the genres of crossover classical, country 'n' Irish, Celtic and world music genres. This phenomenon suggests that Ireland recognizes a global Irish consciousness that is no longer bounded by geography. In the search for a modern Irish identity, the 'commercial success [of Irish traditional music] provides the perfect cultural accoutrement, an illustration of how modern Ireland has managed the balance between past, present and future', Toner Quinn suggests (2006: 11).

The Classical Episode

The Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement of Ireland (1169–72) imposed little change on Irish culture. Indeed, Anglo-Norman sympathies with the Irish led to the Hibernization of this ethnic group. While the transposition of English tastes and sensibilities slowly became evident within the Pale, outside the politics and culture of the *Tuath*[1] continued. The Tudor re-conquest of Ireland in the seventeenth century changed this situation. The confiscation of Irish land and successive waves of plantations led to the establishment of an Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, and initiated a broader Anglicization of Irish society. During this period, differing musical tastes between the 'New English' and the Irish became representative of the cultural divide between Ireland and Britain and accentuated the polarities between self and other, the colonizer and the colonized. While the Ascendancy tradition celebrated the artistry and complexity of English[2] and European art music, it denigrated the native tradition.[3] Stability in Ireland after the Jacobite war (1689–91) enabled European art music to flourish in Dublin and all areas of Anglo-Irish settlement. Dublin became a very active centre within Europe attracting many esteemed composers such as Handel,[4] Arne, Giordini and Geminiani.

A revival of interest in folk music across Europe prompted Anglo-Irish interest in the music of Ireland's ancient civilization from 1792 onwards. This led to its systematic collection and preservation by antiquarians and folklorists. The emergence of romantic nationalism in Europe and the political aspirations of the United Irishmen prompted the development of an Anglo-Irish art music that would exhibit an individual voice for Ireland. However, the lack of an established Irish art-music tradition, and the antiquarian interest in developing an Anglo-Irish music from the ethnic repertory, hindered this process. According to the musicologist Harry White (1998: 32), the indigenous Irish music repertoire represented an Irish culture (or indeed music in Irish), and as such 'established a terrifying stumbling block, or more exactly a Cul de Sac, in which creative enterprise was doomed to endless variation of one air after another'.

The poet and lyricist Thomas Moore (1779–1852), mediated the cultural divide between British and Irish culture by setting Hiberno-English verses to the harp tunes of the bardic tradition, and providing arrangements of this setting for voice and pianoforte by contemporary art musicians. This endeavour built

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[1] A social unit within ancient Irish society which typically claimed and defended a relatively small territory. Each *Tuath* would be led by a chieftain.

[2] English composers such as Purcell, Boyce, Dubourg and Mudge were also celebrated in Dublin.

[3] English rulers considered the travelling harpers to be politically subversive. This opinion made Queen Elizabeth I decree to 'hang the harpers' and Cromwell to enact a harp-breaking policy.

[4] Handel premiered the *Messiah* in Ireland (13 April 1742). Proceeds aided three Dublin charities.

upon the commercial success of Burns' 'Scots Musical Museum' (1793–1818), a collection of classically arranged Scottish songs and airs set to Lallans verse. In so doing, it exposes the commercial motivation of publishers to rationalize and homogenize the local for an international audience. By using the Hiberno-English term 'Erin' to signify a romantic Ireland, Moore transposed the national idea to an imagined place with which both English and Irish audiences could identify. Moore's reading of an Irish past, from a British perspective, recounted a glorious civilization that had fallen to British control.[5] From an Irish perspective, Moore's melodies articulated the Irish sense of dispossession and loss, repression and penal tyranny suffered under English rule.[6] Within the political backdrop of the United Irishmen, the Act of Union (1801), and Catholic Emancipation (1829) these melodies expressed a nationalistic self-determination and influenced the English view of Irish politics.

Moore's extensive use of Bunting's harp music collection *Ancient Irish Music* (1797) as a source of melodies extends a process of musical change which had already occurred. Bunting transcribed Irish melodies in a metered, tonal form and arranged them for pianoforte, German flute and violin. Harry White (1998: 39) concludes that this activity 'involved an act of translation into the style and vocabulary of his own day', thus making them suitable for Anglo-Irish and English consumption. Bunting also included the compositions of the renowned blind harper Turlough O'Carolan (1670–1738) in his collection, thus including the music of a composer who was also attempting to bridge the divide between the Gaelic tradition and the music of the Baroque. The interaction between the indigenous repertory (as represented in Bunting's collection) and Western art-music practices in Moore's Melodies further illustrates a process of musical change. While Moore maintained Bunting's key signatures, time signatures and tempo, he adapted the music to suit his verse, modified the shape of the melodies to suit his creative intentions, removed the directed ornaments, and employed the composer Sir John Andrew Stevenson to provide piano accompaniments and arrangements for the melodies.

Stevenson attempted to express the mood of the verses by adding preludes and postludes in keeping with the style of the European lieder tradition, thus attempting to re-imagine a civilized Ireland for British society. The melodies achieved great success in drawing-room entertainments and amongst circles that were sympathetic to political reform. However, Bunting and Moore's translations of Irish music for piano, and more particularly for parlour entertainments, established an association between the Irish nation, the feminine and the domestic. This female resonance was further embedded through Moore's sentimental lyrics and languid romantic melodies, thus reinforcing a gendered colonial approach to Irish song.

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[5] In songs such as *The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls*, *Let Erin Remember* and *Remember the Glories of Brian the Brave*.

[6] These sentiments are explicit in *Captain Rock* (1824) and *Intolerance* (1808).

Moore's Irish Melodies, published between 1808 and 1834, were acclaimed at home, in England and in America. The songs found particular resonance with Irish emigrants in the United States who longed to return to their homeland. They also remained popular amongst genteel sections of society throughout the century. The ethnomusicologist Mick Moloney (2002: 32), stated that 'throughout the century Moore's *Last Rose of Summer* was second in sales only to Stephen Foster's *Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair*'. The universal popularity of this song and its ilk resulted in them being recognized as typical Irish ballads. Indeed, it is generally understood that Moore provided the template on which aspiring songwriters could produce an 'Irish' song.

The popularity of Irish acts in American variety theatre productions and Vaudeville (c. 1840–1920) prompted a demand for comic 'Irish' songs that played upon the stereotype of the working-class Irish emigrant. This caricature, which had been supplanted from English theatre, portrayed the Irish as drunken, quarrelsome yet fun-loving characters, who firmly upheld their patriotic beliefs. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the raised economic and social status of Irish-Americans was reflected in Vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley songs (1890s). The Irish were now portrayed as loyal, hard-working, educated, moral and sentimental people who were dedicated to family life and their community (Moloney; 2002: 35). The Irish diaspora's connection with the mythical Emerald Isle, alluded to in Moore's Melodies, was once more reinforced. With the aid of publishing houses the 'Irish' song became a commercial product that songwriters would produce for the American popular music industry. The printing of broadsides, songsters, sheet music and the pressing of records also facilitated the spread of variety / vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley songs to Ireland. However, by 1920 the popularity of Irish acts on vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley had waned.

The performance of Irish ballads by John McCormack (1884–1945) at the beginning of the twentieth century also raised the status of Irish song and provided it with an international profile. The affirmation of McCormack as an 'Irish tenor' within the international music scene established a new performance idiom that would be maintained by Irish performers such as Robert White, Frank Patterson, Dennis Day, John MacNally, Joseph Locke and Cavan O'Connor. This idiom prescribed that Irish ballads should be sung in a bel canto style and use an appropriate 'Irish' accent. Anglo-Irish, vaudeville and Tin Pan Alley songs came to be regarded as an 'Irish' genre internationally. According to Williams (1996: 215) 'to the extent that the Irish tenor produced an "ethnic" sound, it was based on ethnicity defined by popular culture on both sides of the Atlantic, … it had little to do with traditional singing in Ireland'.

Moore's Melodies continued to embody Irish song at home in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century. By this time urban middle-class Catholic families had embraced European aesthetics, combining arias, parlour songs, patriotic ballads and folk songs in performance. Aidan O'Carroll, musical director of the Kerry Tenors, agrees that participation in classical music-making was seen as a means of social advancement, particularly in garrison towns, cities and within

the Pale. He also contends that classical music's mainstream international status aided its assimilation. Tom Munnelly (2001: 2) supports this claim, stating that 'the songs they chose would frequently fit into the ethos of the local tradition, if not immediately, then by a process of musical evolution'. He also states that, while Moore's music diffused through drawing rooms and coffee houses, in the rural areas people continued to sing and play traditional music unaware that Irish identify was being reconstructed. However, O'Carroll argues that the delineation of areas of musical diffusion cannot be so strictly determined.

Two traditions continued to exist, supported by the separatist agendas of the Young Irelanders and cultural nationalists, as well as the urban–rural divide. Thomas Davis composed his *Songs of the Nation* based on the structure and style of the street ballad with the sole intention of communicating propaganda. According to Harry White (1998: 30), Davis saw political expression as the functional role for music in the new nation and was indifferent, if not hostile, to the idea of music for art's sake. This expression was also to be inclusive of the Catholic and non-Catholic lower and middle classes, thus removing the effeminate sway of elite culture (as exposed by Moore). The development of the Gaelic League (1893) strove for cultural absolutism with its member Douglas Hyde advocating *The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland* (1892). Indeed, the ethnomusicologist Ó Laoire states (2000: 275) that the nativist touting of *sean-nós* at the expense of choral arrangements of Gaelic verse provided aesthetic opposition to British culture but alienated urban singers from the tradition. These persuasions ultimately led to the reaffirmation of two traditions and cultural stasis.

Catholic Emancipation and the ideals of cultural nationalism informed the broadening of music education to include Irish traditional music (and more particularly Irish-language songs), Catholic hymns and plainchant. According to Marie McCarthy, after Independence 'the ethos of national schools was permeated by the ideals of Catholicism. Music served as a religious socializer in the context of nationalist ideology, serving locally to create a Catholic ethos in the schools and to improve church music, and serving nationally to reinforce Catholicism as a marker of Irish identity' (cited in Pine; 1998: 70). Indeed, John McCormack's performance of *Panis angelicus* at the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin (1932) was seen to endorse the Church's involvement in music education.[7] In time, the relationship between the church and music education slowly dissipated. However, given the lack of formal music education provided by the state, it must also be acknowledged that the religious order and particularly nuns provided access to music when no other channel to classical music was available. The emergence of classically trained singers and harpists such as Mary O'Hara from convent schools in the 1950s and 1960s is a by-product of this trend. This fitting image of highly civilized female harpists was commercialized for tourists through performances at Bunratty Castle, the Jury's Hotel cabaret and hotels throughout the country.

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[7] A High Mass attended by the Papal Nuncio, in which 2,700 school children performed the ordinary and proper of the mass along with hymns in Irish.

Seán Ó Riada's attempts to merge the disparate aesthetics of the two traditions prompted him to look beyond European music to the circularity and variation qualities of Indian music. According to Ó Laoire (1998: 279), 'by invoking a more global context, Ó Riada's orientalizing imagining of Irish music succeeded in making traditional culture interesting to many who had previously rejected it'. His vocal arrangements for Seán Ó Sé within the context of Ceoltóirí Chualainn facilitated the variation principle by refraining from standardizing the melodies, metre, tonality or performance style. Accompaniment was sparse, being provided at pivotal points of the melody in a style similar to recitative accompaniment. The addition of other melody instruments to the arrangement entailed the playing of the melody line sometimes in heterophony to the vocalist, never in harmony and never metred.

Ó Riada's choral approach to traditional singing through Cór Chúil Aodha was paradoxical to the variation principle. As Ó Lionáird comments, '20 or more voices grappling with songs, each drawn to their own suite of stylistic variations, their own sound … and suddenly they are expected to sing as one voice' (2003: 18). In this context traditional songs and their performance were standardized. Ó Lionáird agreed that 'there has been a standardization of ornamental approach, a regularization of rhythmic structure and even the deployment of such heretofore unpredictable effects such as the glottal stop to strategic, agreed upon instances to maximise a song's impact' (2003: 18). This experimentation also placed *seannós* performance within a sacred context and reinforced the relationship between religion, traditional song, language and identity.

John McCormack's accomplishments popularized the Irish tenor and enabled others to achieve international success. The 1990s witnessed a burgeoning of this genre with ensembles such as The Irish Tenors, The Three Irish Tenors, The Celtic Tenors and even The Twelve Irish Tenors! Irish female vocalists, such as Celtic Women, also adapted the genre to international acclaim. Anglo-Irish song continues to depend on the support of the 'bourgeois centre'[8] (Vallely; 1997: 109) to extend its influence and propagate this style of performance in Ireland today. Many aspiring Irish tenors, such as the Celtic Tenors,[9] include this Anglo-Irish repertoire in their concert programmes in recognition of its international status as Irish music, thus exhibiting a niche area of performance within the classical idiom.

The Celtic Tenors ensemble is a by-product of this and other commercial phenomena, including The Three Tenors and the *Riverdance* show. The Three Tenors[10] entered popular mainstream culture in 1991 by presenting opera classics in a more accessible Broadway style. The virtuosity of the three performers and the inter-group rivalry enlivened their performance of opera arias and art songs to the level of spectacle. It also rejuvenated this musical genre by providing increased

[8] Vallely (1997) defines the 'bourgeois centre' as the educational system, television, advertising and film.

[9] Matthew Gilsenan, James Nelson and Niall Morris.

[10] Luciano Pavarotti, Placido Domingo and José Carreras.

musical contrast in a less formal setting, thus bringing high art culture into the popular realm. *Riverdance* provided another wave of interest in all things Irish and rejuvenated the Irish music tradition. The Irish Tenors[11] combined the 'Irish' and the Three Tenors branding to produce an immediately recognizable commercial product that was reminiscent of the legendary 'Irish Tenor' and achieved global success. The 'Celtic' title provided an alternative means of presenting the same concept to an international audience.

The phenomenon of the Celtic Tenors takes this idiom into a new dimension by establishing a clear commercial sensibility in the group's repertoire choice and presentation. In comparison to the Three Irish Tenors, who had individually built a reputation from classical music performances in Ireland and abroad, the Celtic Tenors were not internationally recognized artists in their own right.[12] The media established this group by facilitating a debut performance by James Nelson, Niall Morris and Paul Hennessey on RTÉ's *Theatre Nights* programme in October 1995. The success of this performance launched their career. In 1998, Matthew Gilsenan replaced Paul Hennessey. The group attended an audition for EMI in London in 2000 and were signed immediately. The three (young) Irish tenors were renamed the Celtic Tenors by their label and gained an international profile.

The Celtic Tenors' debut album presented classics from the Anglo-Irish repertoire, including songs from vaudeville, Tin Pan Alley and Percy French. It also embraced the expressions of Ireland in the modern age through the inclusion of Nationalist songs, Catholic hymns, and traditional Irish melodies popularized by Seán Ó Riada. The follow-up album 'So Strong' shows the ensemble's commercial interest in extending their audience base, by including a more diverse repertoire of light operetta, Irish traditional songs and street ballads, and folk and popular songs. The inclusion of the German song *Dein ist mein ganzes Herz* indicates the direction of their next album. Building on the success of their albums in Germany, the ensemble teamed up with the internationally renowned ballad group the Dubliners for their third album and subsequently toured Germany with them. This repertoire focuses on popular street ballads, songs from the Dubliners's repertoire, and re-presents songs from their previous album including *Ag Críost an Síol* and *Fionnghuala*. The fact that no new Irish language repertoire was included on this album highlights a lack of initiative on the part of the ensemble to develop repertoire in this area. This may be related to the commercial accessibility of universal English or suggest that the use of the Celtic label proved more challenging than initially anticipated. Indeed, their Celtic repertoire is essentially limited to Irish material.

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[11] Finbar Wright, Anthony Kearns and John McDermott

[12] Matthew Gilsenan has successful undertaken oratorio performances; James Nelson, a graduate of University College Dublin, had started an international opera career; Niall Morris, a graduate of Guildhall and the National Opera Studio, had performed in the Almeida Theatre in London and the D'Oyly Carte Opera.

While the Celtic Tenors attempt to emulate the bel canto style of John McCormack in their performance, they do not rival his vocal capabilities in terms of vocal strength, range, flexibility and expression. It becomes apparent that the group's focus is placed on the act of performance rather than expressing the music being sung. The level of Irish brogue used is dependent on the performer and the song being performed. In some instances it is more contrived than in others. Their Irish-language repertoire lacks a natural flow. Variation in performance is provided by contrasting solo and chorus performances with duets and trios. Musical arrangements on their albums are commercial in their use of musical effects to enhance and build on the dramatic elements of the texts.

The commercial success of this ensemble within the global has been phenomenal. Their debut album reached No. 1 in the UK classical music charts. This was followed by three No. 1 albums in Ireland, three double platinums in Ireland, the 2002 Echo Award (Germany) for *So Strong*, a Grammy for Best Classical Crossover Album, and a No. 9 rating on Billboard for Best Classical Crossover Album in 2002. According to the Celtic Tenors' website they have sold over one million albums (including compilations) and produced their own TV special, which was broadcast across Germany and the USA. This information illustrates the commerciality of 'Irish Music' within the global music market and highlights the global audience's perception of Celtic and Irish music. The popularity and accessibility of this genre amongst Irish-American and Irish Canadian diaspora communities begs recognition of alternative approaches to Irish traditional song performance on the island of Ireland and abroad.

The Country Episode

Country 'n' Irish is a transnational music genre that reaffirms the strong relationship between Ireland and the United States, as a result of Irish emigration to the Southern States and Irish participation in the Confederate War (1861–65). A large community of English, Irish, Scots-Irish, Scots and Welsh settled in the Appalachian Mountains in around 1835. These ethnic groups maintained and exchanged their musical traditions internally without interference from outside influences. According to Fred Hill (1980: 5), 'mountain families protected their music and lifestyle, resisting flatlanders and their city ways. In a kind of cultural quarantine the "old world" music continued in the "new world".' According to the folk-song collector Alan Lomax (cited in Patterson; 1995: 30), the mountain singers of Appalachia retained the singing style of English folk-singers (meaning singers of the British Isles) by singing 'in the same straight forward, direct manner, without any conscious effort at expression and with an even tone and clarity of enunciation with which all folksong collectors are familiar'. He also noted their tendency to tense the throat and employ a nasal 'womanish' tone, performance practices also notable in the Irish tradition. The mountain songs exhibited a strong Scots-Irish flavour in tonality and musical texture. This was exhibited through

the use of pentatonic and hexatonic scales, the focus on mixolydian and minor tonalities, and the use of the fifth string on the banjo to create a drone effect reminiscent of the Scottish fiddle and bagpipe traditions.

This ballad tradition was soon influenced by religious hymns sung at American church services and camp meetings. In the eighteenth century the printing of songbooks revitalized church singing amongst all denominations in the United States (Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodists), creating a music industry around White gospel music. Books slowly expanded this repertoire to include sacred songs for divine worship and secular songs for concerts and general singing. Gradually, psalm singing, or old-time singing, moved from a sacred to a secular environment. The singing style maintained the harmonic structure of religious song arrangements[13] and incorporated instrumental accompaniment. Instrumentation also exhibited hybridization in the use of banjo (introduced by African slaves via the minstrel shows), bass (European settlers), fiddle (European settlers), guitar (Spanish settlers) and mandolin (European settlers). The role of these instruments was rhythmic rather than melodic, given that no percussion instruments were used.

Collections of cowboy songs were published at the beginning of the twentieth century.[14] In 1922, the gramophone industry began to cultivate a country music genre. The immediate popularity of artists such as Jimmie Rodgers and The Carter Family prompted the recording industry to divide popular music into race music (Black music) and hillbilly music (White music). The rise of interest in the roaming cowboy led to the broadening of the genre to 'country and western', thus denoting all White southern music.[15] The image of the singing cowboy was established by Hollywood in 1925, when Carl T. Sprague of Texas recorded the first cowboy song 'When the Work's All Done This Fall.' Half of the cowboy B-movies (1930–1960) featured a hero who sang or yodelled, or had singing co-stars or singing ranch hands to provide country and western music. Cowboy songs were perceived as authentic American folk songs that had evolved from the exchange of Irish airs, English, Scots and Scots-Irish ballads. While the melodies represented a hybrid past, the themes of the songs were recognized as being truly American. The civil rights movement, feminism and the Vietnam War brought an end to the 'country and western' movie. However, country music continued to evolve, with musical production centres in Nashville and Missouri.

Irish songs that were assimilated into the country music repertoire often incurred change. For instance, the melody of the *The Spailpín Fánach* (The Rambling Labourer) was reset to form the well-known country song *The Girl I Left Behind.*[16] Often this process exposed a deeper relationship between Irish culture and the

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[13] Part singing transgressed into secular practice with the tenor a third above the melody, the baritone a fifth below and the bass an octave below.

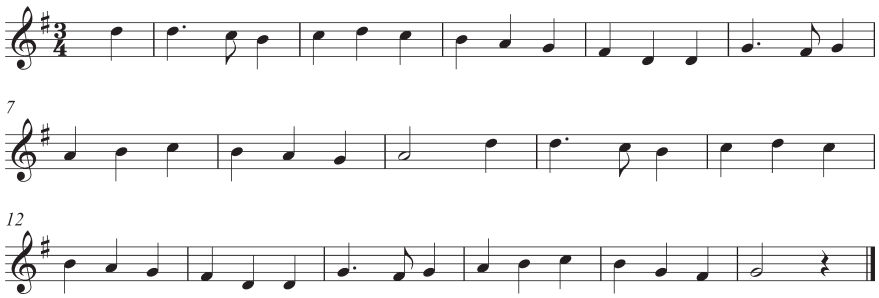
[14] John Lomax published *Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads* in 1910.

[15] The wider settlement of the Irish in southern cities such as Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans led to the further representation an Irish repertoire in this genre.

[16] The tune was also set to the song lyrics of *Waxies Dargle.*

Wild West, through the recasting of the Irish soldier in the role of the American cowboy. This is illustrated in the musical evolution of the country song *The Streets of Laredo*, which is set to the melody of *The Bard of Armagh* (Example 2.1). By tracing its history to the Irish song *The Lock Hospital* we note that it previously recounted the death of a young soldier due to syphilis. Subsequent variations of this song relocated the soldier's demise to the American West. *St James Infirmary Blues* and *When I Was on Horseback* are examples of this process of change, before the song finally emerged as the cowboy lament in *The Streets of Laredo*.

Example 2.1 *The Bard of Armagh* (traditional)



Text 2.1(a) *Lock Hospital* (Verse 1)

As I was a-walking down by the Lock hospital
Cold was the morning and dark was the day
I spied a young squaddie wrapped up in old linen
Wrapped up in white linen and cold as the day
(Moore; 2003: 362)

Text 2.1(b) *The Streets of Laredo* (Verse 1)

As I walked out in the streets of Laredo,
As I walked in to old Laredo town,
I spied a poor cowboy all wrapped in white linen,
All wrapped in white linen for they had gunned him down.
(http://sniff.numachi.com/pages/tiLAREDS15.html)

Country music had an established presence in Ireland through cowboy movies from the 1930s. The inclusion of Irish songs in the soundtracks of these movies reinforced the relationship between Ireland and the American West. Examples include the song *Garryowen* in *They Died with their Boots on* (1941), and *Down by the Glenside* in *Rio Grande* (1950). In the 1950s access to Atlantic Long Wave Radio enabled the Irish to hear *Grand Ole Opry* performers. The dance bands of the 1940s and 1950s paved the way for country music by establishing the waltz, foxtrot and quick-step dance metres, and adapting traditional songs to $\frac{3}{4}$ time. In the 1960s changing musical tastes forced showbands to reinvent themselves as pop

or country-music bands. Jim Reeves is recognized as the father of Irish country music, since he inspired Larry Cunningham to appropriate the genre for an Irish audience.[17] Cunningham's repertoire included Jim Reeves covers, original country songs, and Irish traditional songs, thus establishing the idea of country 'n' Irish. The 1960s proved to be country music's golden age in Ireland, with local country artists charting over international stars[18] and dominating the ballrooms. In the 1970s the country-music scene in Ireland fell into decline with the rise of disco, the rise of the Irish folk-music scene in pubs, the passing of Article 31 of the Irish Constitution, which banned controversial song lyrics from the Irish airwaves, and a general perception that country music was old fashioned. In the 1980s, rock-music enthusiasts took an interest in country music and re-established it as an underground movement.

The development of an Irish country sound led to the inclusion of the accordion, most often the piano accordion, in the instrumental line-up. Traditional dance music is often included or arranged to fit into the characteristic long pauses at the end of each vocal phrase. The accordion also provides introductory and coda passages, harmonies, and improvised solo passages. The use of a tense throat and nasal tone quality of traditional singing has merged easily with the high lonesome sound of hillbilly music. However, in more recent times smooth vocals akin to popular music have been favoured by Irish artists such as Daniel O'Donnell. The general themes of country music have been assimilated into the Irish country repertoire. These include the sentimental themes of mothers, children, emigration and home. In the 1970s the themes of country music became more personal and reflected social issues and the hardships of life expressed in relation to prison, hard work, divorce, separation, heartbreak and more suggestive lyrics. This development resulted in a split between traditional country and modern country repertoire, with modern repertoire being recognized as a form of resistance against conservative values dominating the American music scene.

The commercial success of American country music gave rural life and rural musical expressions an international profile. The Irish could identify with the stories of rural life and particularly the cattle and horse culture expressed in this genre. The Irish roots of country music cemented Ireland's link with America, building on a shared past acknowledged through Ireland's rebel heritage, Irish participation in the Confederate War, and through the Irish people's identification with dispossessed ethnic groups, such as the Afro-Americans, who were suffering from colonial oppression. The success of Irish Americans and the recognition of

[17] The journalist John O'Regan recalled Larry Cunningham stepping in when Jim cut his performance (1963) short in Castlebar. The similarity between Larry and Jim's deep smooth bass vocals made him a star overnight. Larry went on to form the first country and western band in Ireland, called the Mighty Avons. He then entered the top 10 charts in Ireland and charted in Britain with his tribute to Jim Reeves in 1964.

[18] John O'Regan also noted that managers often exploited the delayed release of US country music hits in Ireland by releasing covers of the same song by Irish artists.

the part played by the Irish in building America gave the Irish a sense of pride at a time of economic instability. The theme of home found in country songs had a particular resonance in Ireland's history, especially during the 1970s, when it was suffering from a high level of emigration. The family values and religious belief expressed in country music found a resonance in De Valera's Catholic Ireland; indeed, cowboy music followers are associated with rural, conservative living, and the ideals of Fianna Fail traditional Nationalist politics. However, the American West depicted in the movies contradicted De Valera's frugal Ireland.

Seán Keane mediates the divide between Irish traditional song performance and country music by integrating songs from both traditions in his repertoire. While not a composer of songs, Keane chooses material that identifies with the themes of country music including the hardships of life, loneliness, rural life, home and emigration. His arrangements contrast a cappella tracks with lush orchestrations, and acoustic band accompaniments featuring a prominent bass line, the rhythmic drive of guitars, and the accordion's improvisatory passages. The aesthetics of Keane's performance remain far from mainstream through his use of a distinct Hiberno-English pronunciation of words, and his internalization (rather than projection) of the vocal line. Keane's background in traditional singing resonates in his performance style, by maintaining his nasal tone and employing ornamentation (grace notes and sliding) in up-tempo song, against vocal and accordion harmonies, melody and rhythm guitars, and bass. His performance represents the process of localizing the global, or logalization.

Keane attempts to build a country repertoire and style by working with country music bands in England. Having achieved international recognition as an Irish traditional song performer he now works with American artists and producers such as Nanci Griffith and Nashville producer Jim Rooney in order to achieve crossover status. Keane is not recognized as country 'n' Irish by Irish country artists due to the extent of his traditional influences. In fact, Keane is billed internationally as an Irish traditional music artist, and sometimes as a Celtic music artist who commands both vocal and instrumental knowledge of the tradition. Keane continues to carve a position on the periphery of traditional practice with his crossover country style, reflecting the popularity of *ceol tíre* (country music) in rural Ireland and the Connemara Gaeltacht.[19] Since Keane does not emulate the performance style of American country music performers, his interpretation of the genre will not achieve success within the mainstream market, but provide an alternative voice within the local.

Country music remains a subordinate culture in Ireland, due to the perception that it is an imitation of American culture, and in recognition of the fact that Irish artists have not been recognized as international stars within this genre. This practice is seen as inferior to other forms of music that have exhibited originality

[19] Ríonach Uí Ogáin affirmed that modern songs in Connemara emulate county and western music by describing problems in the local community and expressing personal experience. They also employ highly rhythmic accompaniment.

through the development of a distinct Irish voice. These artists include U2, Sinéad O'Connor and Enya. Country music provides an impression of Ireland that is disjoint with modern sentiments, being old fashioned, backward, rural and associated with the working class. According to Timothy Taylor (2007: 173), such a position is not new. From its outset, country music was defined by the music industry as lowbrow and inferior. The lack of academic focus and publications in this area shows a level of snobbery that confirms Timothy Taylor's assumptions that country music followers are perceived to have little 'educational capital'. The 'de-countrification' of the country artist in Ireland could be seen as an attempt to widen the audience base to include middle-class views and enable local artists to achieve international success. However, the claim that country music represents the ethnic heritage of the Ulster-Scots community continues to re-imagine country music's perception at home.

The Celtic Episode

> If Celtic Music has proved one thing during its long and eventful history, it is that it is cultural survivor. Its ability to recapture the imagination of successive generations has again been comprehensively demonstrated in record sales, audience share, or the quantity and quality of new acts and recordings. (Wilson; 2001: 176)

The term 'Celtic music' is used as a marketing tool to categorize traditional music from the Celtic countries, the Irish and Scottish diaspora, and other areas where Celtic culture exists. These Celtic countries include Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Spanish regions of Asturias and Galicia. The genre also represents musical hybrids, which have emerged from the synthesizing of regional musics with jazz and other western popular musics such as rock, techno and trance. While 'Celtic' music proposes a transnational representation of the Celtic countries, it is not perceived by the global audience in this respect. Due to the popularity of Irish music, Celtic music and Irish music have become synonymous. Conversely, Irish musicians tend to see the term 'Celtic' as being too vague. They fail to see close connections between the cultures and prefer to identify themselves as Irish, rather than Celtic. The term Celtic music has been increasingly employed to refer to easy-listening music or mood music that exposes a Celtic soul or consciousness. Indeed, its mystical and emotive qualities have led to its appropriation by the New Age movement.

The origin of the Celts dates back to the Iron Age, when the people lived across a wide range of lands, from the Iberian Peninsula to Anatolia (Turkey). Their predominance in Europe was overshadowed by the expansions of the Roman Empire and Germanic tribes. Today, the term has become restricted to cultures on the Atlantic coast of Western Europe otherwise referred to as the Celtic Fringe, including Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Brittany. Celticity

refers to cultural commonalities between these Celtic nations based on language, material artefacts, social organization and mythological factors. According to McDonald (1989: 97) 'the definition of certain languages as "Celtic" [was] widely taken to imply a distinct category of people, the Celts, who share a common origin in language, culture, and flesh and blood'. However, theories of common racial origin have been debunked, placing the focus of commonalities on culture and language. The adjective Celtic is often ascribed to regions of continental Europe where the use of the Celtic language has ceased, but the Celtic heritage remains. These areas include the northern Iberian Peninsula (northern Portugal, and the Spanish historical regions of Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria).

Since the 1970s there has been a rise in the number of pan-Celtic organizations and festivals that have evolved to promote and strengthen the connection between Celtic cultures, as well as to forge inter-Celtic tourism, trade and commerce. The successful commercialization of Celtic ethnicity has provided a renewed sense of cultural identity and political self-determination to nations that seek cultural recognition within larger states such as Brittany, Wales and Scotland.[20]

Scepticism still pervades 'Celtic' ethnicity. Bob Quinn (2005) has disparaged the history of the Celts in favour of his own theory of a maritime connection between Ireland, Spain and North Africa.[21] Chapman (1994) discusses how the 'Celtic' identity has been constructed in order to differentiate between the people of the 'Celtic' countries and mainstream Europeans. He purports that Celtic cultural practices may not be inherited from the Celts; rather, they are the remnants of cultural practices that have become peripheral in these 'Celtic' countries. He recognizes the degeneration in authentic reproductions of these cultures as the result of modern interpretation and the temporal divide. He recognizes the romanticizing of Celtic music as a means of reintegrating peripheral cultural practices into mainstream culture. Festivals such as Celtic Connections (Glasgow), Celtic Colors (Nova Scotia), Festival Interceltique (Lorient) and the Pan Celtic Festival (Ireland)[22] support this effort. While certain links between cultures can be found such as the singing traditions of Scotland and Ireland or the harping traditions of Wales and Ireland, there is a lack of a coherent commonality between the music-making of these areas. This disjuncture, fuelled by the inclusion of diverse musical expressions, has hindered the unification of this transnational music genre.

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[20] The strength of the Celtic branding hinders the attempts of the British Folk Revival movement to attain equality of cultural status for English culture within the global music market.

[21] Bob Quinn claims an Arabic and Tartar song relationship with *sean-nós* song based on aural experience only.

[22] The first Pan Celtic Festival was held in Killarney in 1971. It aimed to promote and strengthen Celtic languages, culture, music, song and sport, and to encourage inter-Celtic tourism, trade and commerce, and exchange of information.

The Celtic category emerged in the consumer market in 1995[23] when the Narada label released *Celtic Legacy: A Global Celtic Journey*. This album debuted in the Billboard World Music Chart at No. 2 but never reached No. 1. However, it did remain in the charts for 52 weeks and was listed in Billboard's Top 10 Albums for that year. Consequently, a new trend in labelling music emerged. According to Timothy Taylor (1997: 6) 'this success was quickly followed … by more releases of albums with "Celtic" in the title, 13 of which charted by August 1996'. Subsequently, the Atlantic label decided to produce a new line called Celtic Heartbeat that featured artists such as Clannad. According to Taylor (1997: 7), the reason for the surge in interest in 'Celtic' music was due to the increasing consciousness of ethnicity in contemporary American society, the commodification of ethnicity in music, and the openness of the term to interpretation by White Americans seeking an ethnicity. Kenny Mathieson (2001: 7) states that 'the blanket "Celtic" terminology seems to strike a particularly strong chord in the United States, where the immediate local connections are inevitably more distant, and the diluting influences more marked, thus perhaps giving additional weight to a notion of a more generalized Celtic inheritance'. The explosion of Celtic music festivals and the branding of goods as Celtic have been recognized by these musicians as commercial marketing strategies that do not hold any musical value. While performers may allow individual tracks to be included on compilation albums for selling purposes they are not willing to label their solo albums as Celtic.

Enya's music is grounded in the traditional music of Gweedore, in her classical piano training, in her music-making at home, and in the music of her siblings' band Clannad. An embryonic Enya sound can be heard on Clannad's album *Fuaim* (1982) and in the theme they composed for the television programme *Harry's Game* (1982). Indeed, the music historian Sean Campbell signals *Harry's Game* as the point of origin of the Celtic music sound. The synthesis of roots rock and synth pop underpinning Máire's *sean-nós* style vocal line on this track launched Clannad into the No. 5 position in the UK charts. Their performance on Top of the Pops proved another first for the Irish language. This success led Clannad to an international audience, first within Europe and later in the US, when the theme was used as background music for the Volkwagen Passat commercial. This ad propelled the band's album *Anam* into the world music charts, where they stayed for 55 weeks and became one of the top-selling world-music bands of 1993 on Billboard.

Eithne Ní Bhraoináin, known as 'Enya', decided to go solo in 1982 with the support of Clannad's ex-manager Nicky Ryan and his wife Roma. The trio became a creative team with Enya composing and performing the music, Roma writing the lyrics and Nicky contributing to the arrangement and production of the recordings. Over the course of her career, Enya's music has become synonymous with Celtic

[23] In 1760 a schoolteacher by the name of Macpherson brought the world of the Celts to the European consciousness, and led to a rise in antiquarian interest in the Celtic music of Ireland by the Anglo-Irish settlers; the term re-emerged in the late 1850s but fell into disuse.

music, and continues to define the idiom through her sound, her lyrics and her image. The choice of Enya's track *Only Time* as the soundtrack behind media reports on the 9/11 attacks confirms the contemplative and calming effect of her music, and reaffirms the perceived rootedness and innocence of Celtic music at a time of terror and bewilderment. By creating a form of Irish traditional music with mainstream appeal she has achieved global success, brought Irish music into the global arena and has projected herself as the trademark of Celtic music. As a result she is one of the most successful Irish artists, with global sales, over 70 million albums worldwide, second only to U2. This success continued into the new millennium with *A Day Without Rain* included in six national top 10 album charts in 2000, yielding sales in excess of 13.5 million, and with *Amarantine* charting at No. 6 on Billboard album charts, yielding 4.5m in sales.

Enya has identified the characteristics of Celticism and manifested them in her music, her lyrics and her image. An overview of Enya's recordings reveals that the majority of her repertoire is self-composed, with the remainder being sourced from the Irish song tradition. Enya's music is therefore not an authentic representation of Celtic music, but an interpretation of a pre-modern song tradition for a modern marketplace. The majority of the song melodies are classically constructed, with a strong chordal underpinning, symmetrical phrasing and fluidity in the vocal line. Enya states that her 'melodies have the feel of traditional Irish music. They're the real strength of my music-the real backbone. It almost doesn't matter what the lyrics sound like' (http://enya.org/p_trans3/to47.htm).

Arrangements encompass a large soundscape with layers of multi-tracking being utilized. Enya's website states that her tracks take a long time to produce due to this process. Indeed, it is quoted that there can be up to 500 parts in a track. As a result, these arrangements cannot be performed live. Instrumentation is dominated by the use of synthesizers and vocal layering. Instruments such as the harp are simulated to provide an aural reference to Celtic culture, and bells and tubular bells are simulated to provide an aural reference to Celtic paganism[24] in the *Celts* arrangement. All arrangements have a strong sense of repetition on a larger structural level and in the use of ostinatos. Dynamic swells are used to enhance the sustained notes. The approach to musical arrangement is homophonic with the melody line on top of all other layers. The voice is occasionally used as an instrument within the arrangement, providing accompaniment and rhythmic drive to the melodic line. The text of the songs and vocal lines are often deliberately incomprehensible. *The Celts* features mainly nonsense syllables centred on the hard breathy 'h' sound; the setting of the lyrics within the countermelody of the A and B themes, and the use of the Irish language makes this incomprehensible to a global audience.[25] In this respect, the text acts as another textural layer within the

[24] As for instance in *The Celts* (track 6 on *The Best of Enya*).

[25] The track *The Celts* track can be heard on YouTube or on the album *Paint the Sky with Stars, The Best of Enya* (1997).

music. Ornamentation is not featured in the vocal line; rather fluid running vocal lines simulates this effect on occasion.

Music and sound become tools in the construction of a sense of place in Enya's music. Enya's music creates a sense of loneliness and isolation in her music to portray the landscape of Donegal. This is also represented through the use of dark textures, her breathy vocal quality and the recording effects of echo and reverb. The imagery of nature and the presentation of Enya as a solitary figure on her album covers reinforce the association with the pre-modern world of the Celts that attracts the New Age consumer.[26] However, the Celt's associations with the other world suggest that the music must also represent an imagined place, an ethereal world.

Enya's lyrics idealize the Celts by presenting them as a voice of spirituality, of nature and of virtue. Lyrics refer to aspects of nature, to spiritual journeys and to human deeds. The use of intertextuality between the image, text and music increases the impact of this symbolism of place. Enya also uses studio techniques to create a sense of distanciation in her music which is intended to simulate the mystic other world. Enya's breathy vocal timbre adds a form of resonance to the voice. Other techniques used to portray this distance include the use of reverb and layering of instruments above the vocal line to give a sense of a division between the real world and the other world. This latter effect also provides a reference to the primitive practice of keening in Irish history. The use of a fading echo evokes the distortion of the other world. The imagery used on Enya's CD booklets and promotional material reinforces the mythical aura that surrounds her music.

The construction of a Celtic music in which the female voice is dominant reinforces the Nationalist representation of Ireland as a woman in Irish history and as mother earth in Celtic spirituality. In an interview the ethnomusicologist Anna Maria Dore noted that Enya evoked the matriarchal social structure of the pre-Christian era, with women being regarded as superior to men due to their ability to give birth. Consequently, the bardic orders held female and male bards in equal esteem. Enya's mystical status also draws on the imagery of the women created in the Gaelic romantic poetry of the *Aisling*. The *Aisling* tells of a beautiful woman or *spéirbhean* (woman of the other world) who speaks to the poet and tells him that she is Ireland. It also creates a link to the imagery of the Celtic revival movement, which depicted Ireland as the oppressed female, and England as the male oppressor. Enya's ethereal image – seductive yet pure, frail and distant – reaffirms this relationship. This intertextuality has given rise to women performers being prioritized within the Celtic music genre.

In recent years, Enya's Celtic music has gained a wider audience through the New Age movement[27] and the commercial market. Enya's music is identified as New Age music due to its characteristically melodic expression of different moods,

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[26] *And Winter Came* (2008) and *Only Time* (2001) are two examples of such album images.

[27] Enya received Grammy's for Best New Age Album for *A Day without Rain* (2001), *The Memory of Trees* (1996) and *Shepherd Moons* (1992).

its synthesis of music genres and its association with a pre-modern civilization. In this respect Enya's music fulfils the New Age quest for an alternative lifestyle, an authentic other, through her music's evocation of Celtic spirituality and primal world view. In so doing, she represents Ireland to the New Age movement as a site of mysticism and Celtic mythology (Davis; 2006: 226). In creating the film music for *The Lord of the Rings* Enya has broadened her music's remit beyond Celtic spirituality to the fictional world of Tolkien. Enya has also allowed her music to serve the global music industry through her provision of soundtracks for advertisements. In this context her music becomes a signifier of cosmopolitanism through its sonic signification of the Celtic in the female's soaring voice, the non-Western world through the use of drums, flute and other primitive sounds, and the Western world through the use of popular music techniques and harmonies. Consequently, one may state that her music manipulates ethnicity to fit the commercial strategies of modern society.

The World Music Episode

The term 'world music' emerged in ethnomusicology during the 1970s where it was specifically used to define the music of the world and implicitly employed to signify the music of non-Western cultures. By the late 1980s the term had been appropriated by the music industry in order to categorize and market roots music.[28] Since then 'world music' has gradually evolved into an umbrella category which signifies the grouping of traditional and folk musics of the world with contemporary pop and rock music from outside Europe and North America. The music industry's unification of these musical styles within one category has made a clear distinction between the music worlds of the West and the rest. While the construction of a world-music industry empowered local music bases (Feld and Keil; 1994) and enabled them gain entry to the global music industry, it also highlighted the ethnocentrism of the global music industry.

World music can be viewed as a by-product of globalization, especially in terms of accessibility and the growth in syncretic music production. The gradual saturation of global discourse within the local has led communities to identify themselves with a transnational cultural society rather than that of the 'nation'. Hence, consumers and producers of world music readily identify themselves with musical regions and musical cultures outside that in which they live (Baumann; 2001). The deterritorialization of borders has also prompted traditional societies to accept pluralism in cultural and social spheres. As Baumann (2001) states, the increased interaction of musical cultures leads to the development of transcultural

[28] The term 'world music' was adopted in 1987 when a group of British record companies convened in London. The term was suggested as a panacea for retailers who simply didn't know how to classify diverse international products in stores (www.indyweek.com/durham/2000–11–15/cover7.html).

as well as intracultural, intercultural and multicultural musical constructs. Globalization thus creates a confluence of musical repertoires and musical concepts, and provides channels for the exchange and transmission of musical ideas both at home and away.

Many world-music recordings intentionally mix styles and repertoires in an attempt to broaden the aesthetic appeal and marketability of the recorded music product. In other cases, the record producer has reviewed the market and reached the conclusion that traditional music recordings are not in themselves adequate. In order to customize local musics for the global market, producers favour arrangements incorporating Western harmonies, a regular beat, and an assortment of musical instruments. The widespread dissemination and marketing of Western popular culture has made glocal pop available to a mass market (Langlois: 1996) where local musics vie for recognition within the global market. Consequently, pop music produced outside of Western culture is not recognized for its creativity but regarded as a symbol of banal difference. At its most extreme, this phenomenon is believed to bring about cultural grey-out (Cooke; 1997), a term that signifies the obliteration of regional, ethnic and national distinctiveness. On this basis the world-music category has become a derogatory term that represents a diverse range of musical styles and relegates performers to the category of arrangers rather than innovators.

World music is implicated in issues of identity construction for commercial gain. In the modern world, where globalization has made the defining of the local a preoccupation, an individual's identity has become a bricolage of pathways (Finnegan; 1992) experienced over time. For the local performer trying to access the global market, musical identity becomes a multifarious construction shaped by exposure and choice, and determined by the needs and demands of the music industry. The marketing of local uniqueness within the global is dependent on the creation of false needs (Marcuse: 1972) and the promotion of consumer fetishism (Adorno: 1991). The world music industry is implicated in the use of these strategies when musical styles and celebrity performers are constructed in order to satisfy the consumer market. Music producers who employ the commercial strategies of standardization and schematization (Adorno: 1991) are also implicated in the construction of a cultural product that is deemed acceptable to the global market. The construction of music identity is therefore similar to commodity production in that it can be controlled and modified on demand.

Real World Records is a world-music label which enables the performer to transcend the chasm that separates being at home and being away from home, in the context of the world-music industry. Womad and Peter Gabriel founded it in 1989, following the success of the Womad festivals and Peter Gabriel's recordings of musicians from all over the world. Real World aims to provide talented artists from diverse cultural backgrounds access to state-of-the-art recording facilities and audiences beyond their geographic region. This philosophy was exemplified through the invitation of 75 international artists and producers from over 20 countries to Real World Studios for a recording week in 1991, resulting in the

signing of several artists to the record label and the initiation of musical dialogues between many musical cultures, Western and non-Western. Real World insists that the focus of their recording projects is musical creativity rather than profit-making concerns. While this pledge liberates the artist and provides scope for experimentation, it is Real World who determines the final product that will be released.

The Afrocelts are renowned worldwide for their fusion of urban dance music with the ethnic musical styles of Africa and the Celtic countries. Simon Emmerson first envisaged this band in 1992, following a trip to West Africa to record the Senegalese performer Baaba Maal. On this trip Emmerson realized several connections between African and Celtic cultures. These included commercial trade routes, druidism and their respective bardic traditions. Emmerson was also influenced by Shamanic beliefs in the return of the ancestors and the spirit of place. Subsequently, Emmerson wanted to explore these ideas in his own environment (England) by creating urban dance music that provided a voice for older music traditions. However, this vision did not come to fruition until Realworld Records decided to take on the project in 1996, having provided the band with an incubatory period at Realworld Record's International Recording Week. Since then the Afrocelts have gone on to record five albums and perform internationally. The fusion of ethnic and popular music has inevitably led to the classification of the Afrocelts under the world-music category. However, they are also classified as New Age due to the hypnotic and sometimes tribal nature of their sound. While the Afrocelts recognize the need for categorization within the commercial market they do not envisage their music within these categories and often articulate the restrictive nature of the market niche in the development of the band.

The size of the band and their individual geographic locations make the recording of a track a sequential process, which is dependent on the implementation of a preconceived musical plan by the producers.[29] The recording becomes a bricolage of individual tracks, often recorded in various locations, which are mixed and mastered by the producers to achieve the desired effect. Having a core group within the Afrocelts who predetermine the musical material to be developed by the band facilitates the creative process. Indeed, improvisation is fundamental to the formation and re-creation of the musical material. According to Iarla Ó Lionáird there was a suggested track 'written by James, Simon and Martin and I would respond to it, [I would] come up with the top line of what I'm singing and the words that I am singing. Then they would interact with what I was doing and then they would mend it, fix it and decide on it. That sort of process.'

The Afrocelts core group consists of Simon Emmerson, James McNally, Iarla Ó Lionáird and Martin Russell. It is interesting to note that Real World Records invited James, Iarla and Martin to participate in the recording week and subsequently felt that they would be suitable candidates for Simon Emmerson's

[29] There are three producers in the Afrocelts: Simon Emmerson, James McNally and Martin Russell.

project. Indeed, these are the only members of the band who are signed to the record label. It is also interesting to note that the musical background of this core group is essentially Western music based, while performers who are integrated into the band are the non-Western voices. This formation is also reflected in the band's music-making. The Afrocelts create transcultural music, where various ethnic music traditions are assimilated into the popular music idiom. Indeed, this can be seen from colonial perspectives as the dominance of one music tradition over others. This fact also queries the very foundation of the group, in that they are called the Afrocelts yet there is no African representative in this core group. Iarla Ó Lionáird states that this imbalance is rectified through the front-lining of African musicians on several tracks. He also claims that African artists prefer payment in kind rather than to enter into contracts. On this basis the publishers and recording company make every effort to protect the African artists in respect to copyright and remuneration.

Subsequently, issues of representation and the ideology of the Black Atlantic come to the fore. According to Paul Gilroy (1993), the Black Atlantic culture transcends ethnicity and nationality by embracing African, American, Caribbean and British cultures all at once. Indeed, the Afrocelts share this consciousness. According to Ó Lionáird, Simon Emmerson has explained the concept to him as the migration of the mind through the sharing out of music. However, Ó Lionáird personally believes this to be a naïve and idealistic stance that facilitates their free representation of the other.

Ó Lionáird's adaptation of local tradition for the global market has not only transformed the practice of Irish traditional song but has also reconfigured the aesthetic expectations. The Afrocelts and consequently Iarla Ó Lionáird adhere to principles of originality within Western music practices, which complements musical creativity, rather than the perpetuation of a particular canon of traditional music. Within the context of the Afrocelts the traditional performer is required to respond to creative ideas based in the popular music idiom. They must search for a means of expression that acknowledges their cultural roots and fits into the popular music idiom. This entails a conscious conflict with consciousness on the part of the performer in resolving the divide between tradition and modernity. While the resulting product contains elements of their tradition it is seen to cross the border into popular music, assimilating its characteristic influences.

Generally speaking, the assimilation of local styles into an essentially Western medium has worked for the band members. However, the unmetred, ornamented and communicative basis of the *sean-nós* style is less amenable to the crossover. Attempts at its inclusion include the interweaving of elongated phrases over rhythmic ostinatos, the performance of popular style melodies sung in Gaelic with sparse ornamentation and *sean-nós* inflections, and traditional renditions of Irish songs accompanied by synthesizer. However, the traditional Irish songs such as *Allíliu na nGamhna* are the least interactive. They stand alone at the beginning and end of live performances, presented in a mystical manner heralding the audience back in time. According to Iarla Ó Lionáird, the assimilation of the *sean-*

nós style into popular music 'is an incomplete and inconclusive project because the knit is constantly having to be mended and reactivated and re-defined'. The limiting nature of this pure style and the emergence of N'Faly as a singer have led Ó Lionáird to explore more mainstream styles of songwriting and performance. On this basis the Afrocelts song repertoire has slowly digressed from a distinct *sean-nós* style to include African, rap and popular music influences. The elements remaining from the tradition within the Afrocelt music symbolically evoke the lost totality of which it was once a part and to which it still indirectly refers.

Ó Lionáird has adapted his performance style to contemporary dance music venues, a performance space many worlds away from the traditional context of *sean-nós* performance. In its local context *sean-nós* performance does not take centre stage and engage with the audience to the same extent as popular music. On the contrary, the audience engages with the performer through the understanding of the technicalities of *sean-nós* performance and the text of the song. Being away from home, Ó Lionáird found himself in a performance space where music aims to reinforce and hypnotize rather than engage and reveal. To counteract this Ó Lionáird creates a ritualized space for the performance of *sean-nós* through the immersive act of dreaming. In accordance with Gaston Bachelard's *Poetics of Reverie* (1971), memory and imagination co-join their re-constitutive powers to create the extra-temporal moment: And by the reverie of living within sound, in song, this transports the performer back to their cultural matrix (O'Lionáird; 2003). For Ó Lionáird this cultural matrix upholds the traditional values of home in Cúil Aodha, County Cork which are laden with religiosity, nationalist consciousness, and linguistic and cultural insularity. Ó Lionáird then invites the audience to join him in the space that he has created, thereby connecting with the audience on an empathic rather than sympathetic level.

Conclusion

The national status of Irish traditional song performance heightens the intensity of debate around authenticity and innovation. The essentialist definition of Irish culture is regarded as a fixed entity, which withstands change. The nationalist revisionist strategies employed in the definition of Irish traditional song, cleansed of any influence from the colonizer, promotes a particular reading of Irish history rather than the 'totalisation of cultural memory up to that point' (Tomlinson; 1991: 91). A reading of modern Irish identity must therefore readdress this issue in order to recognize the hybridity of national culture and its outside influences. The examination of the four genres in this chapter has highlighted the modern phenomenon of inventing traditions (Hobsbawn and Ranger: 1983) by exhibiting how the construction of links between contemporary and traditional cultures establishes the legitimacy of non-traditional practices. It also highlights the change that emerges in our collective imaginings of a culturally defined past when Western and other non-Western practices are assimilated into Irish traditional

music. In addition, it exposes the broader readings of national identity maintained in the diaspora and in the global marketplace in comparison to the local.

As Davis suggests (2006: 226), 'more and more Irish traditional music is being altered in the process of being consumed internationally'. The adoption of capitalist culture and the practices of the global music industry have meant that 'commercially viable' types of music are being selected for recording and hybrid forms are being created to make Irish traditional music accessible to a global audience, which in turn will broaden the audience base by opening up other markets. Market success has shown how hybrid forms have proven commercially successfully within the global market, particularly when the performance practice is standardized in line with mainstream practices. Alternative attempts to present logalized forms within the global market fail to gain recognition, thus highlighting the ethnocentrism of the global market. Finally, it points out that what may be perceived as cultural imperialism may be seen as an acceptable import or even emancipation by traditional artists. In most cases the agents for change have been local artists rather than global corporations.

Chapter 3
The Language Divide

‘“No language, no nation,”’ says the Dutch proverb. “The care of the national language is a sacred trust,” says Schlegel.[1] “A people without a language of its own,” says Davis,[2] “is only half a nation”’ (O’Hickey; 1918: 8) The linguist Reverend O’Hickey explores the relationship between language and geographical space in the imagining of the nation state in his book *Language and Nationality* (1918). His thesis affirms the romantic ideal that language is a characteristic element of nationalist rhetoric, which provides grounds for the setting up of independent states. The linguist O’Reilly (2001: 8) recognizes this general trend, stating that ‘language came to be seen as a significant marker of the boundaries between societies and between states, which, according to the emerging nationalist ideal, should be co-terminus’. By equating language and geographical divisions, language became a means of claiming political independence. The practical application of this ideal has proven more difficult as it depends on the existence of easily identifiable areas of common language use. It does not facilitate complex modern societies, such as states that share a language with other states but define themselves as being ethnically different, or, multicultural communities within nation states that have formed their own unique hybrid languages.

In Ireland, the Gaelic League was established in 1893 to champion the revival of Gaelic language, culture and sports. While the organization intended to maintain a non-political position amidst a climate of growing unrest and fervent national desire for independence, its activities supported nationalist activism by re-affirming a distinct Gaelic culture in Ireland and highlighting ethnic difference from Britain. In promoting the relationship between the geographical region and the Irish ethnicity, this movement cemented the idea in the Irish psyche that ‘Irish traditional singing’ referred to traditional singing in the Irish language. This essentialist definition did not acknowledge the effects of British colonization and other hybridizing influences on Irish culture. Consequently, discourse around traditional song performance in Ireland has failed to acknowledge the wider gamut of vernacular song in Ireland including Ulster-Scots, Shelta, Yola and Loxian.

‘The development of global communication networks has resulted in the creation of a competition for international linguistic order’ (Maurais; 2003: 2), as well as the demise and disappearance of local languages. While English and French are the main languages of the European Union (EU), English has achieved a greater

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[1] Leader of Romantic poetry and literature in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[2] Revolutionary Irish writer and leader of the nationalist Young Ireland Movement.

impact in world communications. The prominence of English may be seen in respect to the colonization of countries by Britain, the prioritization of its use in the EU, and the global dominance of American corporations and culture. While the *The Future of English?* (a 1997 report commissioned by the British Council and written by researcher David Graddol) states that the reordering of the world's major languages will see English lose its monopoly, the EU parliament has recognized the need to promote multilingualism amongst EU countries, and provides a forum for minority language groups to voice their demands and concerns. The most significant development was the *Council of Europe's Charter on Regional or Minority Languages* (1992), which aims to protect regional and minority languages through non-discrimination and promotion. However, since the mandate of the EU is a common economic market rather than a cultural institution, the extent of the EU's involvement in language development is curtailed and any development of a policy in relation to cultural integration is regarded as controversial.

This chapter will discuss the status of minority languages in Ireland, and their use by Irish artists in the global music market. In so doing, it will explore the symbolic use of language as a marker of ethnic identity amongst minority and majority communities on the island of Ireland and discuss the representation of vernacular song in local and global markets. This chapter also investigates the implications for language choice in music production and consumption in the global market, and the use of language as a mode of resistance against cultural imperialism. Finally, it looks at how linguistic incomprehensibility informs the marketing and promotion of exotic music products in the world music market.

Irish, the Gaelic Language of Ireland

Irish, a regional dialect of Gaelic, is recognized by Article Four of the Irish Constitution as the native language of Ireland. Linguistic research has categorized it as one of the Celtic sub-groups of the Indo-European language family. According to the linguist Gordon McCoy (McCoy and Scott; 2000: 2), archaeological evidence suggests that a Celtic language arrived in Ireland in the last millennium BC. The Ogham stones provide further archaeological evidence that Gaelic was present in Ireland in the fifth century AD. From the fourth century AD onwards, the Irish settlers began migrating eastwards, settling in the Isle of Man, western Scotland, the coast of southwest England, and the coasts of north and south Wales. This movement aided the dissemination of the Irish language. By AD 1000 Irish was spoken throughout Ireland and most of Scotland; indeed, Irish was the language of the state, learning and the church, in both countries. The subsequent Norse invasions led to the division and marginalization of the Gaelic-speaking

populations. This subsequently led to the divergence of Gaelic into three regional languages: Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic.[3]

The Anglo-Norman Invasion (1169) laid the groundwork for the Anglicization of Ireland, since English, French and Latin were used commonly in law, business and in specific professions. However, the new landowners soon intermarried with the native families and a process of integration began. Soon the Norman settlers were recognized as being 'more Irish than the Irish themselves', though attempts were made to curtail the use of Irish through legislation. One example of this is found in the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), which states 'also it is ordained and established that every Englishman shall use the English language and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish ... and if any English or Irish living amongst the English use the Irish language amongst themselves contrary to this ordinance and thereof be attaint, that his lands and tenements, if he have any, be seized into the hands of his immediate lord' (cited in Bliss; 1979: 13).

The Plantation of Ireland by the British (1556–1660) made English the language of government, law, commerce, all the churches and the social elite. English-speakers soon dominated positions of power in the military, politics, business and the upper strata of society. Consequently, 'English was recognized as the language of progress and material advancement, while Irish was stigmatised for being the language of poverty, backwardness, punishment, and fear' (Ní Uallacháin: 2003: 29). The linguist Hindley (1990: 13) noted the swing in popularity of the languages from the early seventeenth century, stating that 'parents came to see it [Irish] as a hindrance to the prospects of their children and deliberately excluded it from their homes, likewise wherever possible seeking to ensure exclusively English-language education'. The advent of the Industrial Age and, with it the possibilities of expanding trade with other countries through the use of English, confirmed the financial benefits of that language.

The Church and educational institutions championed the use of the English language. The Catholic Church, except for the use of Latin in the liturgy, accepted English as its language of mission. The Irish Societies' proselytizing of the Irish people through the teaching of Irish led to clerical opposition to the Irish language and 'instilled in the ordinary people a fear of their own culture, learning and religion' (Ní Uallacháin; 2003: 28). The educationalist Séamus Ó Buachalla (1981), disparaged the Irish national education system established by the British Government in 1831 as a mechanism for cultivating the English language with little or no provision made for the teaching of Irish, or the teaching of children who spoke only Irish.

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[3] The Proto-Celtic languages are divided into four families including Gaulish, Celticiberian, Goidelic and Brythonic. Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic are Goidelic languages. These families are further categorized as P Celtic and Q Celtic, based on the change in the pronunciation of the proto-celtic k^w which became P in the P Celtic languages and K in Goidelic. Subsequently Irish is recognized as Q Celtic.

The growing popularity of Celtic romanticism in the 1760s had inspired an antiquarian interest in the Irish language and legitimized the identification of the Irish language with that of the Irish nation. According to M Coy (2000: 7) this also allowed 'the essential qualities of this 'Celtic' language to be idealized as exotic, ancient, pure sensitive, spiritual, feminine, imaginative, poetic, passionate and impartible'. The Great Famine (1845) and the resulting mass emigration[4] lent a further blow to the demise of the Irish language. By the end of the nineteenth century the overwhelming downward trend in Irish language use was unquestionable. Irish was now on the periphery of society and expected to cease. The census report of 1871 stated that 'the disappearance of this ancient member of the Celtic family of tongues from living speech may be somewhat delayed or somewhat accelerated by circumstances beyond calculation or conjecture, but there can be no error in the belief that within relatively a few years Irish will have taken its place among the languages that have ceased to exist' (cited in Hindley; 1990: 20).

A renewed interest in Celticism exploded at the latter end of the nineteenth century. The ethnomusicologist Lillis Ó Laoire (2003: 274) notes that this movement coincided with the nativist agenda and 'a crisis in Irish culture, exacerbated by emigration, a precarious economy and the demise of the great mass of rural poor'. This led to the establishment of societies to promote Irish culture, including the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (1876), the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), and the Gaelic League (1893). 'The declared aims of the Gaelic League … were the preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland and the extension of its use as a spoken tongue, together with the promotion of historic Gaelic literature and the cultivation of a modern literature in Irish' (Hindley; 1990: 24). Douglas Hyde linked the study of folklore with the learning of Irish, while his work in the folk-song movement provided a way of linking both these interests further. However, the Gaelic League became drawn into the rising tide of cultural nationalism. The Irish language became one of the key justifications of an independent Ireland. By 1921, the Irish language had become a symbol of national identity.

With the advent of the Free State the goals of the Irish-language revival movement became policy for the Irish Government. Article Four of the Irish Constitution (1937) declared Irish to be the 'national' or the first official language of Ireland, and qualified English as the second official language. However, this statement is paradoxical since it does not reflect the status of English as the primary vernacular of the Irish people. According to the linguist Ó Riagáin (1997) the government advanced the language policy in respect to the maintenance of Irish in Irish-language communities; a revival of the language in English-speaking communities through education; the use of Irish within the public service; and the modernization and standardization of the language. Ó Riagáin also suggests

[4] English, the language of the New World, also posed problems for Irish-speaking emigrants. The Irish language became a signifier of Irish identity, which was stereotyped and led to social injustice.

that there have been three main eras of language policy in Ireland. These are the development of the language from 1922 to 1948; the era of stagnation and retreat from 1948 to 1970; and the era of benign neglect from 1970 to the present day. O'Reilly's summation on reports written about the status of the Irish language by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1973) and the Institiúid Teangeolaíocht Éireann (1983 and 1993) concludes that the relationship between language and ethnic identity no longer correlates to language usage. Indeed, a review of Irish entries to the Eurovision song contest reaffirms this point, since *Ceol an Grá* (1972) was the only Irish Eurovision song written in the Irish language.

The recognition of Irish as a minority language within the European Union has increased the status of the Irish language in Ireland. The EU's regional ideology and minority-language policy have given the Irish language an opportunity to shed its dead language status. Indeed, the regional policy of the EU places the Irish language in a European rather than national context. It is now one of many minority and regional languages within Europe that is valued and protected. In addition, the language is no longer realized in terms of a revival movement but in terms of the immediate provision of rights to minority communities. Further stability and status are provided to the language by providing channels for securing alternative direct funding from the EU for the development of Irish language programmes.

A debate entitled *The Vindication of the Irish Language* held at the Douglas Hyde Conference in Roscommon (2005) provided a healthy discussion on the possibilities for an increase in Irish-language usage. Speakers aired their grievances about having to vindicate the Irish language … yet again! Others called for people to discard the language's associations with the humdrum of schooling, the Nationalist cause, the fanatical *Gaelgoir*,[5] the economic disadvantages and its long envisaged demise. They championed the idea of the language being regarded as a live element of Irish society, a modern form of expression. They stated the need to restore a pride in their language and normalize its use. The Irish-language media broadcasters Radio na Gaeltachta (RnaG) and Teilifís Gaeilge 4 (TG4) were recognized for their input into the normalization of the language through the provision of general programming for the Irish-speaking community. Other positive movements included the rise in number of Irish-medium education schools at both primary and secondary levels, the facility of third-level education through Irish at University College Galway, and EU support for minority-language preservation. Much debate centred on the provision of basic services in the Irish language. Indeed, this was discussed as a fundamental civil and human right, one that was being supported by the EU. The public outcry against Fine Gael's proposal to make Irish (or Gaeilge) an optional subject in the State Leaving Certificate examination in the 2011 national election affirmed the country's wish to protect its language.

[5] Advocate of the Irish language.

Status of Irish in Northern Ireland and the Diaspora

Prior to the establishment of the Northern Ireland state in 1921, Irish was a recognized subject on the school curriculum and was also included under the more general definition of Celtic in some third-level institutions. Post-partition, Northern Ireland had a measure of devolved government (1921–72). During those years the dominating political group, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), was hostile to the Irish language and tried to restrict the teaching of the language, believing that it should be regarded with suspicion due to its association with Nationalists and Catholics. They reflected the attitude that Irish was a foreign language with no place in Northern Ireland. O'Reilly states that 'Irish was banned from BBC Northern Ireland for 50 years, even though Scots Gaelic and Welsh programmes had been broadcast by the BBC in Scotland and Wales respectively since the 1920s' (O'Reilly; 2001: 86). Irish remained the preserve of Catholic schools and a small voluntary body of educated Catholics, rather than the state.

Consequently, the Irish language became a symbol of resistance to British rule by Nationalists, and a means of highlighting social inequalities within Northern Ireland. Irish-language identification was therefore representative of an oppositional identity within colonization discourse. The use of the Irish language amongst the IRA hunger strikers (1981) gave the language a heightened, symbolic role of political resistance. The use of Irish amongst the Republican prisoners in Long Kesh prison gave the language a secretive almost cult-like status. Now it was entrenched in Nationalist politics, and there was a burgeoning of interest amongst working-class Nationalists. This association ensured a continued lack of support from the government for the language and prevented its development as a form of cultural expression amongst Protestants.

An Irish-language revival movement emerged in Belfast in the 1980s. This movement campaigned for the right to express an Irish political and cultural identity in Northern Ireland. The revival soon expanded to include social activities and entertainment, as well as Irish-language media (including a newspaper, a drama company, and pirate radio stations). Between 1972 and 1998, direct rule from Westminster brought changes to the status of the language in Northern Ireland. By the end of the 1980s the British Government had devised a strategy for centrally funding Irish language initiatives. Since then, central government has continued to support the Irish language movement. In 1998, the UK Government undertook to promote the Irish language under The Belfast Agreement. In Dec 1999, a reconstituted Bord na Gaeilge was founded to represent all of Ireland, rather than just the South. In 'March 2000 the government signed the European charter for Regional or Minority Language which aims to promote and protect linguistic minorities as an essential part of Europe's cultural heritage' (McCoy and Scott; 2000: 11). According to O'Reilly 'the most ironic consequence is that while EU membership has tended to loosen the connection between nationalism and the Irish language in the South, it has served to strengthen this association

in the North, as the Irish language becomes ever more firmly a part of Catholic/Nationalist political and cultural identity' (2001: 100).

The proposed development of a Gaeltacht, or Irish-speaking area, in Ontario, Canada by Captain Aralt Mac Giolla Chainnigh exposes the further internationalization of the Irish language. The development of the 60-acre site exposes the desire by the Irish diaspora to have their ethnic heritage and identity recognized within the host culture and their attempts to forge a distinct Irish-Canadian identity. Mac Giolla Chainnigh states 'it's not like America where there is a strong Irish American identity. We never really escaped the British Empire and there isn't a globally defined Irish-Canadian identity' (cited in O'Driscoll; 2007: 9). This Gaeltacht explores the concept of a transregional and transnational identity by embracing all dialects of Irish spoken throughout Canada and maintaining a strong link with the homeland by encouraging visiting tourists, lecturers and artists from Irish Gaeltachts. It is believed that the bi-lingual Canadian culture provides a healthy attitude for developing the Irish language internationally, and it is hoped that by gaining vitality it will ensure the preservation of the language.

Irish Traditional Song Performance

The binary oppositions of the English and Irish language throughout Irish history are reflected in the song tradition. In their paper 'Raising One Higher above the Other' Lillis Ó Laoire and Anthony McCann expose the hierarchical relationship between the two languages, stating that 'on the one hand, there is a Gaelic singing tradition – ancient in lineage, personal in character, lyrical in content, more ornamented in delivery, more authentic in essence. On the other lies an English-language tradition – more recent in origin, more practical in character, more literal in content, more plain in delivery, less Irish in essence' (2003: 234). Traditional song in the English language is defined by what it is not, by the non-Irish. The reasons for these differentiations may be discussed in relation to the language shift, anti-colonialism discourse, and cultural nationalism, ethnicity and identity construction.

The language shift has been recognized by academics such as O'Sullivan (1981) and O'Boyle (1976) as being averse to the song tradition. They attempt to revert to the principles of cultural imperialism by summating that the English-language tradition provides an expression, less poetic and lower in its standard of lyric than that of the Irish tradition. O'Boyle (1976: 14) states that English-language songs 'are of much less merit than the Gaelic songs. They represent the attempt of people to express themselves in a language they knew imperfectly and had only recently acquired'. In truth, the issue is not one of language acquisition but rather the fact that English-language song represents the colonization of Ireland and the foreigner, while Irish-language song represents a historical link to the native Gaelic culture. This romantic viewpoint is exaggerated further in the argument that Irish songs represent the ideal values of rural life while English-language song represents an urban industrialized society.

The reification of the Irish language by the Gaelic League and its subsequent appropriation as a symbol of the Irish nation has also influenced the song tradition. McCann (2003: 240) states that 'Gaelic song served as a powerful unifying symbol of language, literature and lore for Gaelic revivalists and Irish cultural nationalists at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the epitome of Ireland as non-England'. The establishment of the Oireachtas under the auspices of the Gaelic League (1897) provided a mechanism to promote the expression of Irish-language cultural traditions and also enabled the establishment of standards for *sean-nós* performance and repertoire choice in their competition structure. Indeed, adjudicators 'focused on aspects of language [in performance], so that rhyme and prosody were maintained in accordance with older literary conventions' (McCann; 2003: 243). The segregation of Irish- and English-language song performance advanced in this context as no provision was made for English-language song. It also segregated first- and second-language performers by restricting entry to the *sean-nós* competition to performers from the Gaeltachtaí (Irish-speaking areas). The Fleadh Cheoil and Scór competitions became associated with second-language speakers. This ethnocentric viewpoint established a hegemonic structure to language use and acquisition and risked the further demise of the language outside Gaeltacht areas.

Perceptions and representations of the differences between these two traditions prove inaccurate in performance, since a performer of an English-language song may apply the same principles to performance as a performer of Irish-language song. A general review of artists' performance repertoires reveals that a performer's repertoire may include Irish, English or macaronic song (a mixture of both languages). It suggests that the performance repertoire is determined not only by the performers' preference, but also by audience reception and expectation. Differences in performance programmes can be seen to differ on both local and global levels depending on language understanding and expectation. In order to facilitate social interaction at a local level a performance may include song repertoire that exhibits the primary language of the area, English in an English-speaking area, and Irish in a Gaeltacht area. At a global level the performer may choose to sing in English for optimal communication with their audience or maintain their Irish-language repertoire as a symbol of their national or Celtic identity.

Iarla Ó Lionáird's entry to the global music market exhibits how local performers deal with issues of language choice and cultural identity in the world music industry. The Afrocelts' initial focus on the *sean-nós* style of singing meant that songs were sung in Gaelic and therefore depended on the audience's acceptance of the aesthetics of incomprehensibility, where the text was not as significant as the process or style of music-making in performance. When an audience listens to a song sung in a language they do not understand their attention immediately moves from the lyrics to the melody, the arrangement and even the performer's behaviour on stage. Language in this context became a locus of significance, a symbol of cultural identity. In the context of the Afrocelts, it becomes a symbol of Celticism. Ó Lionáird also faced a lack of understanding among fellow band members.

According to Iarla Ó Lionáird (personal interview), 'they are not hearing what I'm saying in the same way they would if I was speaking a language they understood'. Indeed, the voice is seen as a layer within the musical mix that provides another point of interest other than the instrumental material. Traditional song therefore becomes a symbol of the other or the exotic within the modern.

Over time, Ó Lionáird deviated from *sean-nós* performance towards songs in the popular music style with English-language lyrics. While audience accessibility was a factor in this change, Ó Lionáird also had an interest in becoming a singer-songwriter and exploring the possibilities of English-language song. This choice was also influenced by the fact that the band had decided to include two radio tracks on each album in order to maximize public airplay in America. Ó Lionáird therefore needed to write and perform material that fulfilled this task and increase the band's audience. However, this code switching was a gradual process. According to Ó Lionáird, his individual identity as a performer was ingrained in the Irish language, rather than in the English, and so English singing was and is a completely acquired skill. For a certain amount of time Ó Lionáird left the English-language songs to guest artists such as Peter Gabriel and Robert Plant until he became confident that he had the right sound. In search of an answer, Ó Lionáird began experimenting with his voice. He soon concluded that by envisaging different sound worlds he could interpret songs in the English language. Indeed, Ó Lionáird strives to achieve a double consciousness (Gilroy: 1993), being home and being away from home.

Hiberno-English

Hiberno-English, a dialect of the English language spoken in Ireland, emerged due to the Norman Invasion of England (1066). After the Norman Invasion Latin and French became the languages of law, government and the royal courts, while English remained the language of the common people. The integration of the Normans into English culture influenced changes in the Old English vocabulary, grammar and spelling, resulting in the evolution of Middle English. The Norman Invasion of Ireland (1170) led to Latin, French and English being used in Irish governance, law and business. In time, the Hiberno-Norman or 'Old English'[6] lords outside the Pale[7] became 'Gaelicized' and integrated into Irish society. Although efforts were made to impose the English language, the strong relationship between the Normans and the Irish resulted in the maintenance of Irish as the primary language of the country.

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[6] Term used by Irish to refer to Norman settlers. Also used to identify them from the 'New English'.

[7] The Pale comprised a region on Ireland's east coast stretching from south Dublin, north to Drogheda. The inland boundary joined Leixlip, Trim and Kells. This region was governed by Britain.

The Great Plantations brought about the greatest language change in the history of Ireland. Within a short period of time the landowners in three out of the four provinces were Protestant and English speaking. These fresh settlements of English and Scottish brought newer forms of English to Ireland. According to the linguist Bliss (1979: 20), 'the English spoken in most parts of Ireland today is descended from the English of Cromwell's planters, and since the early part of the eighteenth century no other type of English has been spoken in any part of Ireland except in Ulster'. The perceived merits of learning English prompted the Irish to abandon their own language in favour of English. English-language schooling, bi-lingual families, seasonal migration and the establishment of English-speaking towns supported this language shift.

However, Irish attempts to practice Standard English did not prove successful. Rather, it produced a hybrid form of English-Irish that is now recognized as Hiberno-English. According to the linguist P.L. Henry, 'speech produced … in the course of the nineteenth century was a third language beside Irish and English, a new weave with mixed linguistic categories. These categories in phonology and syntax were mainly from Irish, in vocabulary, inflection and semantics from both Irish and English' (cited in Ó Muirithe; 2000: 12-13). Patrick W. Joyce (1979) extends this theory on the sources of the Hiberno-English language to include the dialect of the Scottish settlers and the natural development of expressions from the English-speaking people. Many of the characteristic features of Hiberno-English have been removed during the last century, through education and television, radio, newspapers and other forms of modern communication.

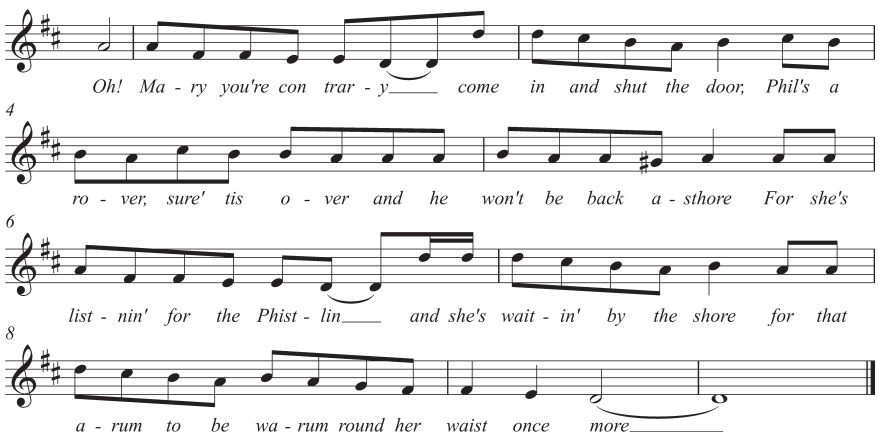
Hiberno-English vocabulary includes words and phrases from the Irish language, extinct words from Old English and Middle English, and words and phrases that have been Hibernized. Words such as *boithrín* (small road) and *flaithiúil* (generous) continue to be used today. First-generation Hiberno-English speakers, who were largely bi-lingual, often pronounced English words with their native Irish sounds and sound patterns. For instance the line 'her limbs were complete, she was neatly clothed in green' taken from the macaronic song *The Hide and Go Seek* quoted below would be pronounced 'her limbs were com-plate, she was nately clothed in green'. The use of the postponed stress (placing on second or third (final) syllable) is indicative of the Irish language. Examples (a) and (b) include or'chestra, recog'nize, edu'cate, and dis'cipline. In some cases Irish syntax is used in Hiberno-English sentence construction. These include the use of the prepositions 'in' and 'on' noted below. Other features include the making of assertions made by using the negative of the positive assertion. For example 'That drink will do you no harm' and the use of prepositions which are inherited from the Irish-language syntax.

(a) ***Use of preposition 'in'***
Irish: *Tá mé i mo sheasamh*
Direct translation: I am in my standing
English: I am standing
Hiberno-English sentence: The people came in their tens and thousands

(b) ***Use of the preposition 'on'***
Irish: *Cad é sin ort*
Direct translation: What is on you?
English: What are you wearing?
Hiberno-English sentence: She had a face on her that would frighten a ghost!

Hiberno-English verse features characteristics of Gaelic verse through its use of assonance, alliteration and internal rhyme. Hugh Shields (1974) notes the practice of using supplementary syllables in Gaelic as well as Hiberno-English songs. They are used in Hiberno-English verse to lengthen speech at the end of words and phrases, on nasal syllables including m, n, r and l, and as tools to link a chain of syllables. The use of these phonetic resources in song served to influence the melody as well as accommodate it, leading to the inclusion of ornamental variation, the subdivision of held notes and melodic phrases, or the accurate communication of the melodic rhythm. The use of Hiberno-English pronunciation in lyrics became fashionable for a certain period. It represented the Irish inability to pronounce English properly and in this respect shows a hint of stage Irishness. Many attempts were made by lyricists to note them phonetically as they heard them. Percy French is one such songwriter who attempted to incorporate Irish pronunciation in his songs. The song *Phistlin' Phil McHugh* (Whistling Phil) is one such example (Example 3.1). This practice was later seen to be offensive and fell from popularity.

Example 3.1 *Phistlin' Phil McHugh* (Chorus)



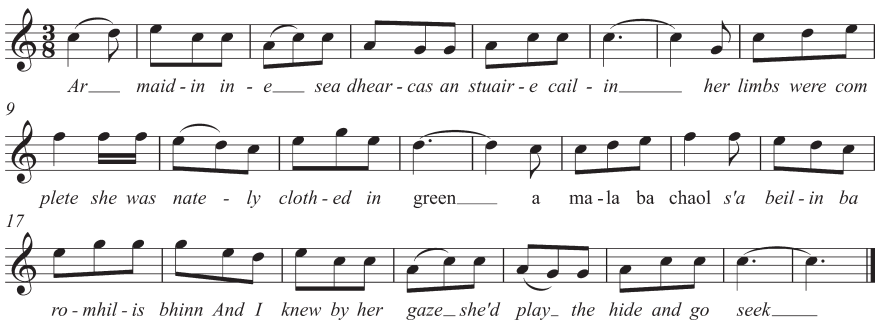
Text 3.1 *Phistlin' Phil McHugh* (Chorus)

Oh, Mary, you're contrary – come in and shut the door;
Phil's a rover, sure 'tis over, and he'll not come back, asthore.
But she's listnin' for the Phistlin', and she's waitin' by the shore,
For that arum to be warum round her waist once more
(Healy; 1966: 60)

English-Language Song

When one discusses traditional singing in the English language one is in fact referring to songs in English and Hiberno-English which have been extant in Ireland for over 400 years. A general understanding of the English language led to the cross-fertilization of songs between Britain and Ireland. Soon English words were being set to old Irish airs as well as new airs. The assimilation of English songs into the tradition would also have influenced the themes and structures employed in Hiberno-English songs. Songs were composed in a fast ballad style and in the style of the big *sean-nós* songs (while the composition of songs in the Irish language would have been dwindling). The bi-lingualism of the people during the language shift brought about the composition of songs in both Irish and English, otherwise referred to as macaronic song (Example 3.2).

Example 3.2 *An Hide and Go Seek* (traditional; Verse 1)



Text 3.2 *An Hide and Go Seek* (traditional; Verse 1)

Ar maidin inné sea dhearcas an stuaire cailín,
Her limbs were complete, she was neatly clothed in green,
A mala ba chaol ‘s a bheilín ba rómhilis bhinn
And I knew by her gaze she’d play the hide and go seek

While the proliferation of singing clubs, festivals and competitions for traditional song in English would suggest that the tradition is in a healthy state, its position as regards the essentialist definition of Irish traditional singing protracts its ambiguous status within the song tradition and affects the funding opportunities for this genre. Whereas Irish traditional song benefits from the subsidies provided to organizations for the preservation and promotion of the Irish language – such as Foras na Gaeilge, the Gaelic Athletic Association, TG4, and Radio na Gaeltachta – traditional song in the English language fails to be recognized.

The universality of the English language provides immediate access to the global market for songs that employ English-language dialects. In fact, the recent standardization of the Hiberno-English dialect increases its accessibility to a

global audience. Reports on the popular music industry including Shore (1983), Negus (1992), Laing (1996) and Clancy (Clancy and Twomey; 1997) have shown that while hit records in other languages in the charts of the Anglophone countries are almost non-existent, the charts in non-Anglophone countries are dominated by songs with English lyrics, thus exposing the universality of English. While this appears initially to be an enormous benefit, it soon became apparent that the tradition has entered into an immense world of English-language performance genres. In order to avoid misrepresentation within the global market, the performer must establish himself or herself as an English-speaking Irish person. This is achieved through the employment of marketing strategies, the incorporation of distinct Irish themes in the performance repertoire, and the utilization of characteristically Irish modes of performance and arrangement to separate the performer from the English, Scottish and other English song traditions within the global arena. In this respect, the language shift continues to evoke colonial discourse within contemporary practice.

Loxian

The Celtic songstress 'Enya' uses language to provide a texture to her arrangements that is aesthetically pleasing rather than comprehensible. She believes that the universal understanding of English undermines her musical intention. She stated 'I always feel [that] when the melody sounds right, with whatever language, I feel fine. We spend a lot of time looking for the right language for the melody … English can be too obtrusive' (cited in Battles; 2005: 4). Following many experiments with the use of English, Irish and Latin texts, Enya and her lyricist Roma Ryan decided to develop their own language. The upshot 'Loxian' is an eclectic mix of elements from Anglo-Saxon, Welsh and Siberian Yupik. According to Terry Dolan 'it is a very mixum–gatherum linguistically – it seems to have no form of grammar or word order which has very limited comprehensibility'.[8]

Enya's album *Amaratine* presented this language in both sonic and script forms. The audience was also provided with an English translation to outline the song's message in the album sleeve, and the English translation was also streamed on the music video. Phonetic transcriptions of the Loxian lyrics were also presented on the Enya website. The team recognized the relationship between language and ethnicity through the creation of a socio-historical background for the language. Enya states '[it is] a futuristic language from a distant planet …The Loxians live in space and are looking out at the stars wondering if there is anyone else out there or are they alone in the universe'. The impetus for the new language came from her work on the Hollywood movie *The Lord of the Rings*. For this film Enya worked with the texts the novelist Tolkien had written in an invented Elvish language. Taking inspiration from Tolkien's imagined world, Enya's language choice is not

[8] http://enya.sk/articles-archive/enya-sings-in-a-tongue-from-a-distant-planet.

grounded in Celtic authenticity but moves towards a fictional fantasy world that is dependent on intertextuality for meaning. The tribal language, the repetitive pulsating rhythm of the melody and the use of images from nature in her videos supports the primitive ideology of the music, thus establishing Enya as a New Age artist. The language has not featured on Enya's later releases and the artist has returned to the use of the universal language of English and songs in her native tongue.[9]

Ulster-Scots

Ulster-Scots speech, also known as 'Ullans', is a regional variant of 'Lallans' in Scotland.[10] Both languages can trace their origins to the Anglo-Saxons.[11] The close proximity of Scotland to Northern Ireland and the practice of seasonal migration facilitated the diffusion of Scottish linguistic features to Northern Ireland. In 1315, Bruce led a Scottish invasion into Ulster with professional soldiers from the western islands and highlands of Scotland. Many of these soldiers settled in Ulster but maintained their distinctive Gaelic-speaking Roman Catholic culture. Later, private planters began Scottish settlements in Antrim, Down and Monaghan. During the Ulster Plantation, James I offered generous grants to the Scottish to plant the designated areas. Ethnic integration was never attained between the three ethnic groups, Irish, English and Scottish. According to Kingsmore (1995: 11), 'the English and Scots participated in separate settlement patterns, establishing distinct cultural zones and traditions that persist until the present day'. The linguist Robinson (1997: 112) confirmed that 'Ulster-Scots has its own range of dialects, along with its own distinctive literary tradition, vocabulary, and grammar; all of which differ in some respects from Lallans. In simple terms, the relationship between Ulster-Scots and Lallans could be compared to the relative positions of Irish and Scottish Gaelic.'

Forms of the language from this time are still evident in the language today. The linguist Kingsmore (1995: 23) believes that Ulster-Scots is an 'off-shoot' of the Central Scots dialect spoken in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and still preserves the marks of its Scottish ancestry in most of the area in which it is spoken. Robinson (1997: 4) cites that 'at that time in Scotland Scots was taught as a written language, quite distinct from English, and used for legal and business purposes'. From 1650 onwards written forms of the language were discarded in preference for English. Today the language is perceived as an ignorant dialect amongst the population and has been marginalized to the status of a minority or

[9] The artist was not available for interview and permissions to reproduce texts, images or musical examples were not granted.

[10] Also referred to as Lowland Scots or Scots.

[11] It is believed that Anglo-Saxons in the north of Britain developed the Scots language (c. AD 8), while further south a different dialect of Anglo-Saxon developed into English. While both languages share similarities, Scots and English are recognized as distinct languages.

lesser-used language. 'It remains the preserve of "performances" in recitations, local drama, poetry, song etc. for many bilingual speakers, and it is notoriously difficult for professionals and academics to elicit' (Robinson; 1997: 4).

The proximity of Ulster to Scotland and the continued contact between the two communities helped maintain the Scots dialect of English in Ulster. Rural living maintained little contact with alternative influences. Life was deeply centred on the local Presbyterian Church. Many Scottish ministers moved to Ulster with their people during the plantation. As a result, they 'instilled discipline, order, stability, and a strong sense of community in the settlers' (Kingsmore; 1995: 13). Regular contact was also maintained with the Mother Church in Scotland. The existence of a literary tradition aided the preservation of a Scottish lifestyle and language that has changed little over the years.

Research undertaken by the Ulster-Scots agency has recognized that three dialects of Ulster-Scots exist, including Western Ulster-Scots in County Derry and Donegal, Central Ulster-Scots in County Antrim and Eastern Ulster-Scots in County Down and the Ards. The debate as to whether Scots is a dialect of English which includes a large amount of colloquialisms from Scotland or a fully fledged language remains. However, attempts are being made to reinforce the linguistic tradition. The Good Friday Agreement (1998) called for the setting up of a North/South Language Body[12] to ensure that an equality of treatment would be achieved for Irish Gaelic and Ulster-Scots. The recognition of Ulster-Scots as the exposition of Scots in Ulster by the UK committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-used Languages has also raised the status of the language. It now maintains a parity of esteem with other minority languages.[13] It is hoped that 'the debate on the linguistic status of Ulster-Scots will now shift towards a new search for consensus on the best methodology for language planning, and the best processes for standardization' (Cronin and O'Cuilleanain; 2003: 126).

Ulster-Scots Song

According to Robinson (1997: 113) there are approximately 100,000 speakers of Ullans in Northern Ireland. The preserve of the tradition was also maintained through prose[14] and song-writing. The Northern song repertoire include those from Scotland which include some Scottish texts, those written in Ulster including some of the Ullans language, the religious Presbyterian songs sung in the Ullans language, and songs sung in Ulster English. *Ballycarry Fair* is a poem written by

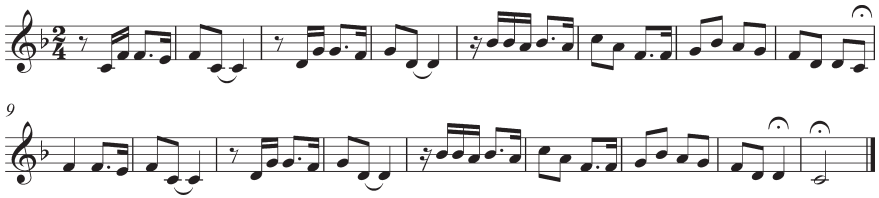
[12] This body comprises two agencies: the Ulster-Scots Agency and Foras na Gaeilge. The remit of the Ulster-Scots agency is to promote greater awareness and use of 'Ullans'. In addition, both agencies promote Ulster-Scots culture through performance and education policies throughout the island of Ireland.

[13] Scots in Ulster is now better funded than in Scotland (www.theulsterscots.com).

[14] James Fenton is one such author,

one of the famous Rhyming Weavers of Antrim, James Orr (Orr; 1992: 43) set to the tune 'Green Grow the Rushes, O' (Example 3.3).

Example 3.3 *Green Grow the Rushes O!* (traditional)



Text 3.3 *Ballycarry Fair* (Verse 1 and chorus)

SIN' sunrise drudgin' i' the moss,
I've dearly bought a shillin', O;
An' ho' to me a weighty loss,
To spen it I'm fu' willin' O:
Sae I'se refit and want my rest,
Tho' I'm bait wat an' weary, O;
For now the fair is at the best
In sportsome Ballycarry, O.
Chorus:
Hartsome is the Claughin, O,
Hartsome is the Claughin, O,
Where ev'ry hour I hae to spare
Is past in mirth and laughin', O.

The hillbilly gospel group 'Low Country Boys' include Ulster-Scots religious psalms in their repertoire. Translations are provided to mediate linguistic difference with English speakers; however, the communication divide remains impassable. In reviewing a recent concert they state 'when we did the Ulster-Scots stuff we may as well have been speaking Chinese, the poor folks in the audience hadn't a notion what we were talking/singing about – even with our lyric leaflets in their hands. Especially when I said "hoo can A dae ocht whun A hinnae got ocht tae dae ocht wae" … hmm…' (www.lowcountryboys.com). The political affiliation of Ulster-Scots identity with Unionist politics is regarded as being too contentious by Northern traditional singers to warrant any direct relationship with the performance genre. Consequently, the performance community remains too small for recording companies to have an interest in Ulster-Scots song. The revival of this repertoire is therefore dependent on aid from the language body The Boord o Ulster-Scotch. Attempts to revive the language through the composition of modern songs are seen as a path towards the revival of language interest and use. In this respect, the Panarts[15] group has promoted an inclusive song-writing

[15] Body set up in 1992 to promote cultural diversity in Northern Ireland.

competition with individual categories for Irish, Ulster-Scots and English love songs www.panarts.org.uk.

Shelta, the Language of the Travelling People

The language of the Travelling people is referred to as Shelta, but may also be described as Traveller Cant or Gammon. Shelta provided an internal means of communication and co-operation amongst the Travelling community in private matters such as dealing, scheming or undertaking their trades. The language academic Binchy (2002: 11) states: 'It was thought at that time [1880] that the only purpose of the language was a secret code to exclude outsiders, as other occupational groups, for example doctors and lawyers, have medical, legal or other jargons that exclude lay people.' On a more personal level, Shelta enabled the Travelling community a discrete means of talking about sensitive domestic issues. In time, the use of the Shelta language by the Travelling community became a means of defining themselves as a distinct ethnic group. The use of Shelta enabled the Traveller community to gain solidarity, protect Traveller identity, and maintain a barrier between Traveller and settled communities.

The Traveller known as 'The Pecker Dunne' provides an emic perspective of the various forms of Shelta in his biography (Dunne and O hAodha; 2004). These include the Romany language, Scottish Cant and Irish Traveller Cant dialects. While the language of the Romany Gypsies originated in India, they absorbed words from other countries as they migrated across Europe. These include Greek, Spanish, English and Irish Traveller Cant. The Travelling community in Scotland used two forms of Cant, Scottish Cant and *Béarla Reagaird* (Gaelic Sounding Cant). In Ireland, each trade had its own form of Cant. MacAlister (1937: 137) states that Shelta was referred to in Gaelic as *Cainnt Cheard* (craftsmen's speech) or *Laidionn Nan Ceard* (craftsmen's Latin). The Pecker Dunne remembers at least five occupational Cants being used during his childhood (2004: 50). These included the Tinker's Cant, the Tailor's Cant, the Circus' Cant, the Busker's Cant (otherwise called Parley) and the Stonesmith's Cant (called *Béarlagoir* or *Béarlagoir na Saor*). However, these strata are less defined today due to the loss of these trades in modern society. On a broader scale, Irish Cant and the Romany language have become more entwined due to the meetings of these groups at fairs in Ireland and the UK.[16] Binchy (2002: 16) explains the need to merge these languages in respect to the opening of communication channels between the two groups: 'When a situation exists where all the speakers are constantly using all languages available to them, they lessen the psychological load of having separate systems by allowing them to merge.'

[16] The Travelling community regularly travel between Ireland and the UK. The fair at Appleby is one such occasion that the Irish Traveller community attends.

The Pecker Dunne (2004: 50) states that 'there were so many of these languages, and the Travellers in times gone by could speak some of them fluently or bits of all of them. On top of that the older Travellers spoke Irish (Gaelic) and English in times gone by.' The trading nature of Traveller life called for the ability to speak to their customers in English and where necessary Gaeilge. Dunne (2004: 50) also stated: 'When you think about it the older Travellers were amazing people. They could speak Irish and English and a range of Cants. Some of them spoke French and German as well because, like a lot of Irishmen they fought in different wars with the British army.' However, the University College Dublin archivist Tom Munnelly did not find evidence of this multilingualism amongst Travellers in his fieldwork. Munnelly (1984: 11) believed that the majority of Travellers only spoke English. Indeed, 'an extreme rarity is the Irish speaking Traveller, if indeed they have been reported at all'.

Shelta shares its grammar and syntax with English rather than Gaelic. Shelta words are imbedded into an English syntax. For example, 'I will *chelp*' or 'I will cook'. Shelta words also take on the plurals, possessives, verb endings and auxiliaries of the English language. It is believed that this phenomenon developed since 'the members of [this ethnic group are] … only in intermittent contact with each other. In this way the vocabulary is well developed while the grammar is borrowed from the majority "settled" community. The development of a grammar requires a fixed stable community' (*Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community*; 1995: 73). Alice Binchey (2002:15) believes that this is not a unique phenomenon, stating that languages sharing grammar but distinct ethnically, such as Hindu and Urdu, can be called separate languages since 'the definition of what is and what is not a language has as much to do with social, historical and political factors as it has with linguistic ones'. In order to acknowledge Shelta as a distinct language, the Traveller community must therefore be recognized as belonging to a particular ethnic community.

Shelta words had a distinct Gaelic rather than Anglo-Saxon basis. The collector Padraic MacGrianna noted in a radio interview that when he started collecting Shelta in 1932 he dictated the language in Irish rather than in English due to its distinct relationship in sound to the Irish language. Much debate has occurred in relation to the scrambling theory for the development of Shelta (Kirk and O Baoill: 2002). However, the theory is generally regarded as fact. It becomes apparent when looking at the relationship between Shelta and Gaelic words that they are in fact a re-ordering of the series of letters or a manipulation of them (Table 3.1).

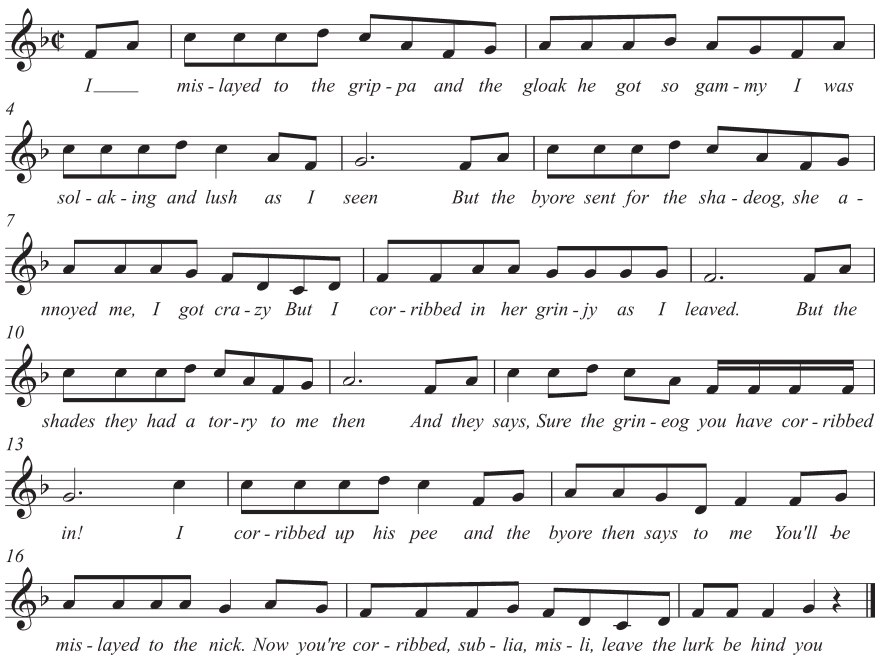
Table 3.1 Creation of Shelta vocabulary

English version	Irish version	Shelta version
Door	Doras	Rodas
Girl	Cailín	Laikin

Shelta Song

According to Tom Munnelly, songs were not composed in Shelta. He wrote (1984: 10): 'if they do exist I certainly have not found any. One encounters the odd word or phrase in the occasional song. But songs which contain sufficient gammon, to the extent that even the most uninformed outsider would not be able to understand the song's content, just do not seem to exist.' A month after making this statement Tom was fortunate to collect one song from a Traveller from Carrick-on Shannon, Co. Leitrim called Bernie Reilly (Example 3.4). This particular song was recorded in Slowey's pub, Kinscourt, Co. Cavan on 5 September 1975. Bernie was 50 at that time. The song is self-written about an incident he had experienced 17 years previously. The phenomenon of Shelta song in the Traveller song repertoire remains in the minority. Discussions with other collectors such as Jim Carroll in Miltown Malbay support Tom Munnelly's statement.

Example 3.4 *Bernie Reilly's Cant Song* (extract)



Text 3.4 *Bernie Reilly's Cant Song*

I mislayed to a grippa and the gloak he got so gammy
I was solaking and lush as I seen
But the byore sent for the shadeog, she annoyed me, I got crazy
But I corribed in her grinjy as I leaved.
But the shades they had a torry to me then

And they says, – Sure the grineog you have corribed in!
I corribed up his pee and the byore then says to me
– You'll be mislayed to the nick.
Now you're corribed, sublia, mislí, leave the lurk behind you

Translation
I went into a pub and the (bar) man got so abusive
I was drinking and drunk as I saw;
But the woman (owner's wife) sent for the police, she annoyed me, I got crazy,
But I broke her window as I left.
But the police had a talk with me then
And they said, – Sure the window you have broken in.
I hit him in the mouth and the woman said to me – You'll be taken to jail
Now you're beaten boy, go and leave the drink behind you

(Munnelly; 1983: 3–4)

Yola, the Dialect of Forth and Bargy, Co. Wexford

On the first of May, 1169, a small group of mercenaries landed in Baginbun, Co. Wexford on the invitation of the dethroned King of Leinster, Dermot McMurrogh. These mercenaries were soldiers of the Earl of Pembroke, known as Strongbow, who were in pursuit of wealth and land. The success of their invasion reinstated the Leinster King and led to their settlement in two of the Wexford baronies of Forth and Bargy. These mercenaries were of French, Flemish (from the Flemish settlements in the Gower Peninsula), Danish, English (from the counties adjacent to Bristol), and Welsh (Pembrokeshire) origin. The marriage of Strongbow to Dermot's daughter began a common trend of intermarriage between the invaders and the indigenous Irish. This subsequently led to the exchange and interchange of languages, laws and customs.

The intermingling of cultures in these baronies led to development of Yola language and culture. The language was essentially a branch of Middle English, which incorporated Flemish, Welsh, French and Irish words. 'In 1577 Richard Stanyhurst refers to the English of Forth and Fingall as 'preserving the dregs of the olde auncient Chaucer English', and he complains that the people of Forth 'in our days have so acquainted themselves with the Irish as they have made a mingle-mangle or gallamaulfrey of both languages and have in such medley or checkerwise so crabbedly jumbled both together as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort sleake neyther good English nor good Irish' (Ó Muirithe; 1979 :7). The Yola people retained the uniqueness of this language by curtailing their interaction with outside people. The Hill of Forth and the river Slaney acted as physical boundaries in this regard. According to Ó Muirithe, 'the people of Forth and Bargy were of a stay at home disposition and rarely married outside their territory. Not even Cromwell's incursion into Wexford and the introduction

of a new kind of English by Cromwellian Planters could kill the dialect' (1979: 1). However, no written literature emerged amongst the Yola people.

A decline in the language became recognizable in the eighteenth century. According to Ó Muirithe, 'when literacy became widespread the Yola people became ashamed of the ways of the older people; by 1870 they were speaking Hiberno-English' (1979: 1). The language was declared dead in 1850. However, some of the vocabulary is still in common use amongst the people of South Wexford today. The church contributed to this decline by ministering to the community in English, even when Yola was the only language in use. In 1688, the Bishop of Wadding and Father Devereaux decided to write the infamous Kilmore Carols. At that time the people of Forth and Bargy were facing great hardship and it was felt that these carols would cheer them up and keep them in touch with their faith. The carols became very popular and were sung all over Forth and Bargy, thus aiding the influence of English. Other reasons cited for the decline of the language include the participation of the Yola people in the 1798 Rebellion, the National School System, and the Yola people's eventual interaction with the outside world.

An account of this language has been recorded in a glossary collected by General George Vallency and published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1788.[17] The manuscript was edited by Rev. William Barnes in 1867. This more comprehensive glossary included six songs and a welcome address that was read in Yola to the Earl of Musgrave, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on his visit to Wexford in 1838. The third edition of this text was published by T.P. Dolan and Diarmuid Ó Muirithe in 1979. While a glossary has survived, academics still question the language's pronunciation. Consequently, a revival is unconceivable.

The opening of the Yola Farmstead Folk Park, Wexford in 1969 prompted RTÉ to produce a documentary. A local traditional singer, Paddy Berry, was asked to sing a Yola song in this production. Since folk memory could not recall any Yola songs, even those recorded in Poole's glossary, Paddy was asked to put a melody to four verses of *A Yola Zong* (Example 3.5). Two of the verses were to be learnt by heart. Paddy decided that the metre of the tune *Down by the Glenside* best suited the text, and developed a variation of this. Comparisons can be made between the intervallic structures of the opening phrases of both tunes (Example 3.6). Berry then builds on this phrase to develop his melody in AABA form. The characteristic leap of a sixth in the melody of *Down by the Glenside* is also found in Berry's composition (Example 3.7).

RTÉ's only guidance in respect to pronunciation was to stress the 'z's (which was regarded to be the Flemish influence) and widen the vowels. Paddy's performance incorporates occasional grace notes indicative of the Irish traditional style of performance. Hence the Yola song tradition was reinvented and Paddy Berry became the authority on its performance. What is more unusual is that Paddy did not choose to sing *The Bride's Portion*, which has a footnote to sing it to *Thugamar Féin a' Samhradh Linn* (Dolan; 1979: 62).

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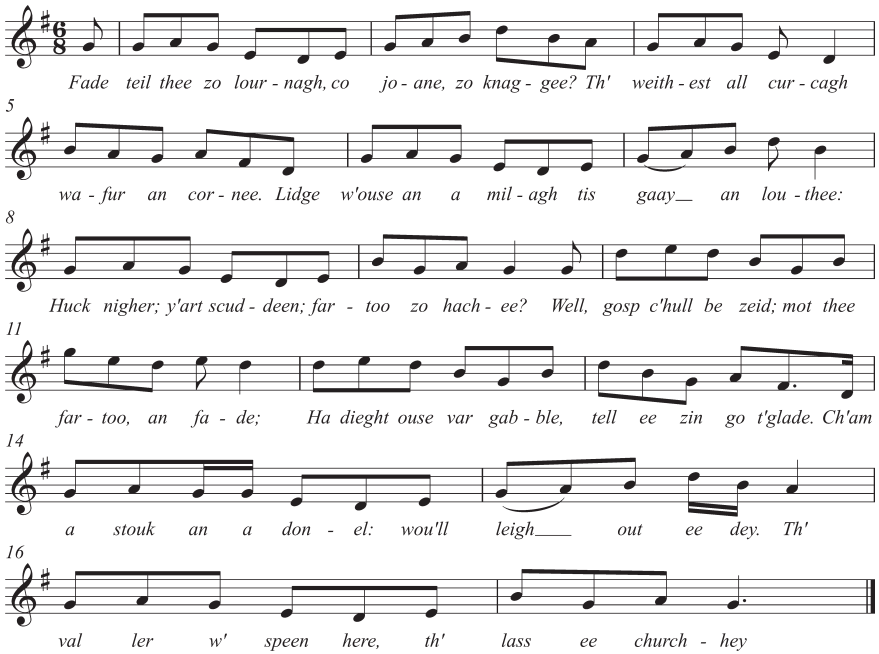
[17] Vallency is believed to have transcribed this glossary from a Quaker farmer called Jacob Poole of Growtown, Taghmon, who died in 1827.

Example 3.5 *A Yola Zong, Forth* (extract)



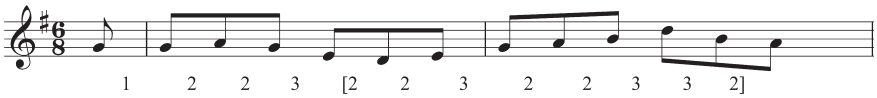
Text 3.5 *A Yola Zong, Forth* (Extract)

Fade teil thee zo lournagh, co Joane, zo knaggee?
Th' weithest all curcagh, wafur an cornee.
Lidge w'ouse an a milagh, tis gaay an louthee:
Huck nigher; y'art scuddeen; fartoo zo hachee?
Well, gosp, c'hull be zeid; mot thee fartoo, an fade;
Ha deight ouse var gabble, tell ee zin go t'glade.
Ch'am a stouk, an a donel; wou'll leigh out ee dey.
Th'valler w'speen here, th'lass ee church-hey.
Translation: An Old Song, English
What ails you so melancholy, quoth John, so cross?
You seem all snappish, uneasy and fretful.
Lie with us on the clover, 'tis fair and sheltered:
Come nearer; you're rubbing your back; why so ill tempered?
Well, gossip, it shall be told; you ask what ails me, and for what;
You have put us in talk, 'till the sun goes to set.
I am a fool and a dunce; we'll idle out the day.
The more we spend here, the less in the churchyard.

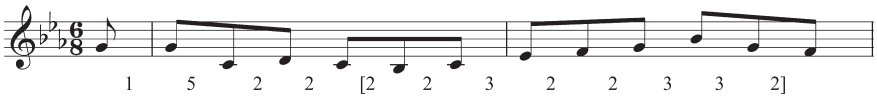
(Dolan and Muirithe; 1979: 52)

Example 3.6 Comparison of intervallic structures

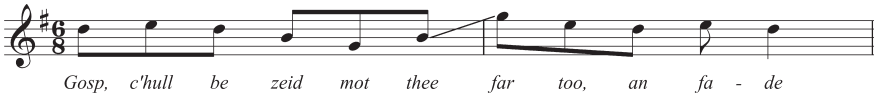
(a)



(b)



Example 3.7 Leap of a 6th



Conclusion

The multilingual dimension of Irish traditional song provides a broader reading of Ireland's cultural history. The use of Latin, French and English within the church, judiciary and commercial contexts signals an acceptance of multilingualism in Irish society. Indeed, a lot of Irish words can trace their roots to these languages. The settlement of international communities in Ireland, as mentioned in the above discussion and others such as the Huguenots in Cork (1685), the Palatines in Rathkeale (1709) or the Jewish community in Portobello Dublin (following World War Two) realizes a more plural society in Ireland's past than one might expect. This provides a very contradictory picture to the bi-polar history we have accepted. The recognition of these six languages in Ireland signals the need for a civil rather than nationalist approach to the nation state in order to protect its minority languages. It has recognized how the universality of English has made Irish traditional song performance in Hiberno-English accessible within the global market. It has also recognized how the relationship between languages, identity and ethnicity in Ireland has provided an exotic element to Irish identity within the global.

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Chapter 4
The Ethnic Divide

The quest for national and global cultures which are defined by shared characteristics that do not alter over time creates difficulties for alternative expressions of culture within the local. The validation of the homogeneous dominant culture often leads to the marginalization of internal ethnic groups. Consequences of this action can be illiberal and anti-democratic. According to Woodward (1997), identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis. This is reiterated by Govers (Govers and Vermeulen; 1997: 11) when she states that 'ethnic claims tend to be formulated by people who have already lost much of their own culture and who are often in frequent contact with the dominant culture'. Indeed, the blurring of identity boundaries as a result of displacement and increased global communications heightens the individual need for ethnic renewal. Identity construction becomes a search for a history of authentification, the search for a shared history that will legitimize a community's ethnic status or oneness.

The 'other' or the 'stranger' then becomes the corollary to identity construction, thus supporting non-essentialist definitions of ethnicity by focusing on the differences and shared characteristics between the dominant ethnic group and others. The other is defined by what the immediate group is not. More, it defines the boundaries of identification and interaction. According to Woodward (1997), it exposes limitations of shared understandings, the development of different criteria for judgement of value and performance, and the placement of restrictions on interaction in areas of previously common understanding and mutual interest. Identity and concepts of the other are maintained through social and material conditions. While the concept of the other can be veiled in intrigue and progress, a group can also be symbolically marked as the enemy or as taboo. The result of this perception can lead to social exclusion and material disadvantage for the group. This is further exaggerated in modern society with the increased bureaucratic rationalization of societies and the transnational corporate culture of globalization. Ethnicity in this scenario becomes an inescapable disability.

The Traveller and Ulster-Scots communities are indigenous ethnic minority groups on the island of Ireland. This chapter will examine the expressive cultures of these two communities, and it will illustrate how members of these communities attempt to negotiate their ethnic identity and minority group status through traditional song performance within the global music market. In respect to Traveller song it discusses the Pecker Dunne's attempts to negotiate societal prejudice by adapting American folk-song practices to the tradition. In terms of the Ulster-Scots tradition it discusses the implications of religious and political

attitudes on its revival and documents the significance of the Low Country Boys' performance of American roots gospel music.

The Traveller Community

The Irish Traveller community is an indigenous, traditionally nomadic minority group with distinct cultural practices. There are approximately 30,000 Travellers in the Republic of Ireland, 1,500 in Northern Ireland, 15,000 in Britain and 10,000 in the United States (http://paveepoint.ie/). According to the *Report of the Traveller People Review Body* (1983), the Traveller community are 'an identifiable group of people, identified both by themselves and by other members of the community (referred to for convenience as the 'settled community') as people with their own distinctive lifestyle, traditionally of a nomadic nature but not now habitual wanderers. They have needs, wants, and values which are different in some ways from those of the settled community' (*Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community*; 1995: 71).

The origin of the Traveller community in Ireland has not been officially documented; folk history has been relied upon to provide an insight into the origin of this distinct group. It is generally believed that Travellers are descendants of the Irish who were forced onto the roads when their lands were confiscated during the plantation of Ireland in the seventeenth century, or descendants of those who suffered hardship during the famine (c. 1850). Other sources suggest that the history of the Traveller community goes further back. According to Gmelch (Gmelch and Langan; 1975: 11) by 1175 'tinkler' and 'tynkere' begin appearing in written records as trade names or surnames, and were in common use by 1300. Pavee Point claims that Irish Travellers are descendents of ancient wandering bards of Pre-Christian Ireland. This is further supported by the claim that the surname Ward, which is common amongst Travellers, translates as 'the son of the poet'. Some Travellers are believed to be people who left their settled homes due to personal misfortune or indiscretion. Pavee Point rejects these claims on the basis that the Traveller community does not want to be perceived as a 'historical accident'.[1]

Travellers are often regarded to be descendants of the Roma.[2] This theory is refuted since the Traveller community regard themselves as being of Irish ancestry, and Roma migration to Ireland prior to the 1990s has been insignificant and of a temporary nature. Míchéal Ó hAodha (www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/ireland2.htm) states that in the 1940s a small number of English Romany families migrated to Ireland to avoid conscription and married into Irish Traveller families. He also notes that there was some intermarriage between English Romany and the Irish

[1] http://.paveepoint.ie./

[2] The Roma are an ethnic minority group who originated in India and migrated towards Eastern and Central Europe. Romania, Poland and the Czech Republic remain the central areas of Roma existence.

Traveller community in England. However, this level of interaction has had little to no effect on Traveller culture. This may not be the case in the future, since the numbers of Roma seeking asylum in Ireland from 1990 has risen sharply, with almost 1,700 currently living in Ireland (www.nccri.ie/cdsu-travellers.html#2).

Pavee Point (an Irish organization that works with Travellers to promote their human rights) has accepted three hypotheses proposed by the linguist Sinéad Ní Shuinéar. These claim that Travellers are the descendants of a pre-Celtic group who were relegated to inferior status by Celtic invaders; that Travellers are descended from one of the groups of Celtic invaders; or that Travellers are descended from indigenous, nomadic craftspeople who never became sedentary (Pavee Pack: 42). Regardless of their validity, all suggest that the Traveller community is an indigenous group. This summation has recently been supported by the testing of 40 Traveller DNA samples for the TV documentary *The Blood of the Travellers*.[3] It was suggested that the Travellers' historical origins in Ireland pre-dated the Celts and could be traced to Niall of the Nine Hostages, High King of Tara. The Traveller community's ethnic divergence from the host population was vaguely estimated to 1,000–2,000 years ago. The nomadic predisposition of the Irish was noted and proposed as a reason for the divergence from the settled community and development of a cultural group distinct from the settled community. As Barth (1969: 12) states: 'the same group of people, with unchanged values would surely pursue different patterns of life and institutionalise different forms of behaviour when faced with the different opportunities offered in different environments'.

In the past, the Traveller community maintained a mutual relationship with the settled community through economic interdependence. Traveller occupations such as seasonal farm labour and tinsmithing made specific contributions to Irish society. Today, this symbiotic relationship has broken down due to nationalism, urbanization and modernization. While some Travellers have managed to adapt, others have succumbed to the control of the welfare state. The Traveller community's inability to integrate and participate in capitalist society is perceived by the settled community as a burden on the state. Moreover, the Travellers' seemingly uncouth behaviour and association with criminality and violence warrants their exclusion from society. Indeed, charitable members and institutions of the dominant group set about civilizing and rehabilitating them 'for their own sakes' (Dare Magnum; 2000: 6). The political Geographer Jim Mac Laughlin (1995: 29) maintains that the bourgeois nationalist ideology of liberation was not liberating to all sectors of Irish society. The lack of a relationship with the land meant that Travellers were seen not to be part of the nation, and their nomadic way of life could not be facilitated within the new nationalist institutions. More, they were socially inferior, a threat to settled social order, an obstacle to modernization and national progress. The 1963 Report of the Lemass Commission on Itinerancy, the Caravan

[3] Analysis undertaken by Dr Gianpiero Cavelli (Royal College of Surgeons), Dr Jim Wilson (University of Edinburgh), and Ethnoancestory.com. Documentary produced by Scratch Film Productions.

Sites Act (1968) and the Anti-Trespass Bill (2002) reaffirm these viewpoints by trying to bring about absorption and integration rather than facilitate nomadism. Road improvement schemes removed traditional halting sites, thus facilitating the removal of a problem. This lack of tolerance and understanding on the part of the settled community has led to the Traveller community being treated as social outcasts. As such, the Traveller community experiences a form of internal exile in their own home country, often facing prejudice, discrimination and inequality. The mis-representation of Traveller culture by the media legitimizes this.[4]

The *Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community*, commissioned by the Irish Government in 1980, recognized the contribution of the Traveller community to Irish society by stating 'Traveller culture and language have formed part of the Irish communities' cultural and linguistic heritage for over 500 years' (*Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community*; 1995: 72). The report further highlights their cultural legacy within the Irish music tradition, stating that Travellers have contributed to music-making within the settled community by 'bringing tunes, songs, and dances from town to town; making and repairing instruments; [and by transmitting] their particular style of playing the uilleann pipes and the fiddle' (Task Report; 1980: 75). Apart from these statements, there is a relatively unspoken recognition of the influence and contribution of Traveller song on Irish traditional song performance. Few performers from the majority group, apart from Delia Murphy,[5] Liam Weldon,[6] Sean Garvey[7] and Christy Moore,[8] attribute their performance repertoire or style to the Traveller community. There is also a recognizable lack of representation of Traveller performers, performances and song within musical institutions. According to Vallely, 'work on the collection of the folklore of Travellers in Ireland has been minimal compared with the enormous body of lore and song recorded from Scottish Travellers by the

[4] The Channel 4 Series *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding* included Irish Travellers in their documentary. The sensationalization of courtship and wedding practices succeeded in attracting nearly nine million viewers. It also fuelled prejudice and led to racist jibes on Facebook and Twitter.

[5] Delia Murphy is a Mayo-born traditional singer who made a huge impact on the Irish entertainment scene in the 1930s. Delia included songs she had learnt from Travellers in her youth, and her singing style also reflected their influence. Delia's success helped re-established a national pride in folk music and influenced performers such as the Clancy Brothers.

[6] Liam Weldon was born in the Liberties, Dublin in 1933. Liam related to the poverty experienced by the Traveller community. He actively sought to help them attain their human rights and champion campaigns against injustice.

[7] Sean Garvey is a traditional singer from south Kerry who spent time living with the Keenan Traveller family in Dublin.

[8] Christy Moore is a folk singer from Kildare who highlights social injustices through his songs.

School of Scottish Studies, notably Hamish Henderson' (1999: 404).[9] By relating Ian Russell's views (2004: 1) to an Irish context, one can only presume that social distance, lifestyle and mutual distrust have led to this situation. Indeed, the banning of Travellers from many pubs blocked many from establishing performance as a profession.

The Traveller community's song repertoire is an eclectic mix of Traveller ballads,[10] ballads from the general Irish and English song traditions, and modified ballads (settings of new lyrics to popular song melodies[11]). Over time this repertoire has expanded to include non-traditional material such as country and western songs, parlour ballads and popular songs. Traveller ballads are often personalized and focus on a description of their way of life. According to the Pecker Dunne it was better to sing about yourself, rather than name someone else and get in trouble! The nomadic nature of the Traveller community has had a direct impact on their song repertoire. This movement added to the circulation of songs within the island of Ireland and the exchange of songs with English, Welsh and Scottish Travellers. Consequently, Irish songs are found in British Travellers' repertoire and vice versa.

Performers of the Traveller community generally tend towards high-pitched singing with a strong nasal tone. According to Tom Munnelly, this style of singing is 'more reminiscent of the street singer and broadsheet hawker … very different from the more intimate, heavily ornamental style fleuri common in the Irish language' (Munnelly; 1984: 6). In general, songs tend to be sparsely ornamented with accented grace notes, double grace notes and sliding. The filling in of intervals is also used to provide variation. The use of glottal stops at phrase endings is also a common feature of Traveller song. It is normally aided by the use of the syllable 'eh' at the end of phrases. One can also note the use of supplementary syllables in the stanza, which are used to make the text fit to the melody and emphasize the rhythm. However, the addition of syllables to emphasise the rhythm often causes problems with stanza rhyming patterns. An example of this is provided in the song *Donnybrook Fair* performed by Mick Conors and collected by Tom Munnelly (1976):

> For she promised to bring me back to Donnybrook Fair eh,
> To buy me some ribbons for to tie up my hair eh.
> To welcome my darlin'*t* when she'd *ah* come to town eh,
> It's that bunch of green rushes I will go and mow down eh.
> (Munnelly: 1976)

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[9] The work of Tom Munnelly in the University College Dublin Folklore Archive is a notable exception.

[10] Including *Cliffs of Dooneen*, *Valley of Knockanure*, *John Reilly* and *There Was a Lady in her Father's Garden*.

[11] *My Bonny Irish Boy* set to the melody of *Spancil Hill*, and *Come all you Local Travellers* set to *The Rocks of Bawn*.

Prior to 1970, music-making amongst the Traveller community occurred at private gatherings at campsites and in public locations such as pubs and fairs around the country. The public performance of song as well as the selling of broadside ballads[12] aided the assimilation of their songs amongst the settled people. The rural settled community of Ireland also learned a lot of Traveller songs from listening to them singing while they were at work: 'One farmer in the west of Ireland told us how, when they were in the area, he would go off with them for a week at a time 'just to pick up a few songs' (Carroll; 2004: 2). The well-known Irish traditional singer Séan Garvey stated in an interview that his family created work for members of the Traveller community in order to hear their songs while they worked. Séan learnt some of his song repertoire from Meme, a Traveller who used to do some mending for his family in Cahirciveen. It is therefore apparent that the Traveller song tradition and the Irish song tradition cannot be seen as two distinct traditions.

The Pecker Dunne (b. 1933)

Pádraig Dunne, otherwise referred to as 'The Pecker Dunne', grew up in a family renowned for their fiddle playing. In the past, each Traveller family had its own chosen occupation that it passed down through the generations. Music was one such occupation held by families such as the Dohertys, the Dorans, the Dunnes, the Fureys, the Keenans and the Raineys. The Dunne family tree can be traced back over 200 years to the famous Jack Dunne from Kilbeggan in County Westmeath, who busked on the fiddle for his living. This skill was passed down through generations (see family tree in Figure 4.1[13]). In his youth the Pecker Dunne was taught to play the fiddle by his father Stephan and his uncle Bernard (Briany). However, he opted for the banjo instead. The Pecker Dunne's mother sang and taught him his first song, *Green Grow the Rushes O*. Having mastered it, he then tried to accompany himself on the banjo. The Pecker Dunne tried it out in the local pub to ensure that the audience liked it and that it would provide an income for him. This early success started a long interest in learning songs and entertaining the public.

The Pecker Dunne is recognized today for his contribution to the Folk boom in Ireland during the 1970s. His popularity at this time led to recording contracts and performances at home and abroad, which provided him with iconic status amongst the Traveller community. In time he looked outside the tradition to popular forms of music-making in order to attract a modern audience. He soon developed a keen interest in country music, citing performers such as Jim Reeves,

[12] A broadside ballad refers to the printing of a song text(s) on one side of a single sheet of paper. Sometimes the texts were accompanied by an indication of the tune to which the words were set, although this was a rare occurrence.

[13] This diagram was created from interview information given by the Pecker Dunne and information noted in his book (Dunne; 2004).

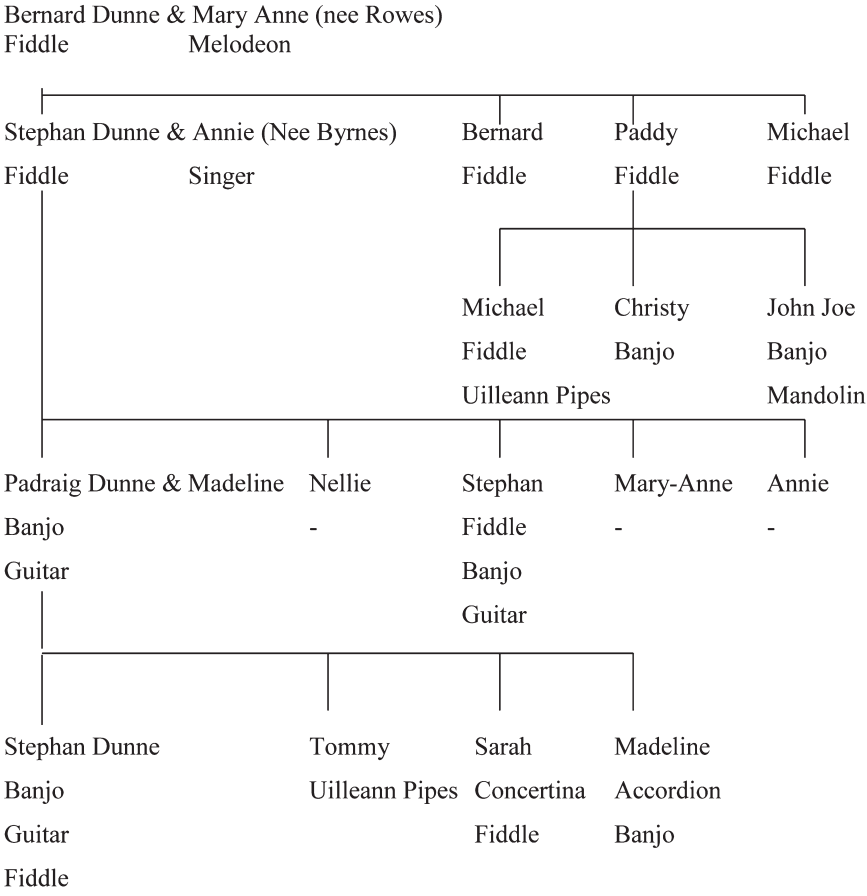


Figure 4.1 Dunne family musical activity

Johnny Cash, Kris Kristofferson and Willie Nelson as major influences. In fact, he even tried to imitate the voice of Jim Reeves in his performances.[14] The Pecker Dunne relates to the themes and sentiments of country music, since they focus on the hardships of life and the need for solidarity with family and the wider community, and championed the emancipation of the poor and the marginalized. The Pecker Dunne's identification with the underdog in country music is further exemplified through his interest in Johnny Cash, Kris Kristofferson and Willie Nelson. In the 1980s these performers became outcasts from the capital of country, Nashville, due to the uncouth nature of their lyrics. Indeed, these performers were writing intimate and personal lyrics about social issues of the time. For instance, Johnny Cash expressed his compassion for the marginalized and victimized in

[14] This can be heard on his recorded track of *Dirty Old Town* (COMCD 10).

his song *Man in Black*, while Kris Kristofferson expressed his solidarity with the Revolutionaries in El Salvador in his song *Third World Warrior*. Along with Waylon Jennings these performers chose to unite and rebel against the Nashville establishment and mainstream culture through the formation of a new group called the Highwaymen who, amongst other things, pioneered the outlaw subgenre in country music.

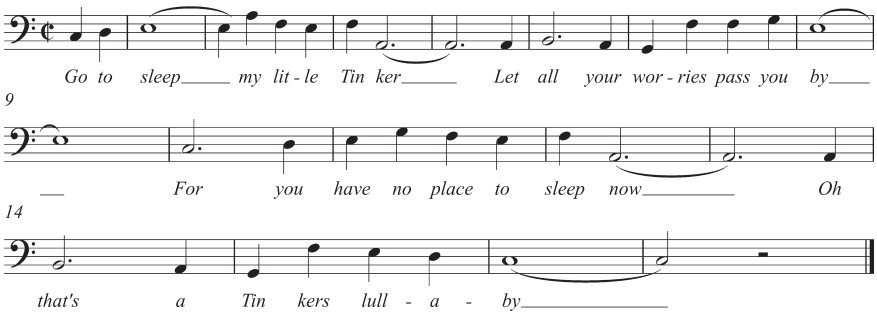
The popularity of country and western music was not uncommon amongst the Traveller people. Contact with this musical form came about as a result of watching singing cowboy films in cinemas around the country from the 1930s. The Traveller community felt a strong identification with both the cowboy and Indian characters in the films. They related to the individualism and determination of the cowboy and to the ethnic perceptions of the Indian as an uncivilized savage. According to the Pecker Dunne, 'There was prejudice there, however, make no mistake about it. It was simmering away under the surface and some settled people were worse than others when it came to expressing it. They hated to see us arriving in a town or a village. When they would see us coming it was like we were the Red Indians or something' (Dunne and O hAodha; 2004: 36). They also felt that they could relate easily to their songs, as they were derived from traditional Irish, Scottish and English ballads.

The Pecker Dunne soon focused his interest on the American folk musician Woody Guthrie. He felt that he could identify elements of his Traveller lifestyle in Ireland with Guthrie's background and lifestyle as a hobo in the mid-west farmlands of North America following the Great Depression and Great Dust Storm of 1935. According to Dunne, '[Guthrie's] time on the road and his history was very like my own. When I met him it felt like I was meeting one of my brothers' (2004: 26). Guthrie hitchhiked, rode freight trains, and even walked to California, developing a love for travelling on the open road. In this respect, 'he was the same as the Irish Traveller musicians [in Dunne's eyes] because he travelled by every available means of transport' (Dunne 2004: 27). He experienced a life of loneliness and isolation on the road, being often hungry and broke like the Irish Traveller community. Guthrie experienced the intense scorn, hatred and antagonism of resident Californians who were opposed to the influx of outsiders in 1937. Dunne could also relate this experience to that of Irish Travellers, stating: 'like the Travellers over here people often treated them like outsiders and resented them' (Dunne; 2004: 27). Guthrie expressed these sentiments in songs such as *I Ain't Got no Home* and *Goin' Down the Road Feelin' Bad*.

Dunne noted how Guthrie was able to use his music to stand up against injustice and challenge the status quo. He resolved to use his songs 'to challenge people in Ireland about the way Travellers are treated [and] to celebrate the richness of Traveller music and Traveller culture' (Dunne; 2004: 73). According to The Pecker Dunne, '[Guthrie] used the music to fight his way through the world. That was his weapon. Like myself, too, he wrote songs about the road, about the traveller life and what it was to be treated like an outsider and he wrote about this in his songs just as I wrote what Travellers experienced in this country' (Dunne; 2004: 27).

The Pecker Dunne's songs ask for social acceptance and warn of the possibility of losing this way of life (Example 4.1). While they do not present immediate solutions to the situation, the Pecker Dunne feels that they can influence people into accepting equality for the Traveller community.

Example 4.1 *The Tinker's Lullaby*

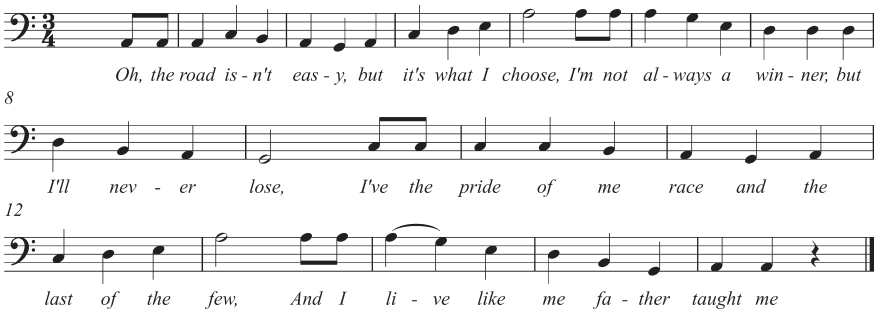


Guthrie and his songs influenced his contemporaries and provided a foundation for the 1960s folk revival. Indeed, 'Guthrie was something of a saint in the dingy folk clubs. There were few performers that did not toss in at least one "Hard Travellin" number from the Dust Bowl days (Denisoff; 1983: 119). The Clancy Brothers were the first Irish performers to enter the American folk revival scene. They adapted well-known Irish traditional songs and broadsides for the American folk audience. This was achieved by incorporating harmonies and the instrumental accompaniment of guitars and banjo. An appearance on the Ed Sullivan Show (1961) assured them international recognition as entertainers. Their success led to the universal copying of the Clancy format back in Ireland. The popularization of the street ballads and bawdy songs through the folk movement in the 1960s brought Traveller songs to an international audience and provided a path to professional performance for the Pecker Dunne if he appropriated the Clancy Brothers' idiom. He achieved this by integrating guitar and instrumental accompaniment[15] into his performance. In this respect the Pecker Dunne harnesses the Travellers' ability to entertain their audience and mediate the social divide in Ireland to become a recognized performer amongst the settled community (Example 4.2).

Traveller culture and identity are becoming more visible and confident following the development of organizations such as Pavee Point and the Travellers Women's Network. Indeed, Traveller culture was celebrated at a Traveller Culture Festival in Fitzgerald's Park, Cork (2009) and at the Dún Laoghaire Festival of World Cultures (2010). Many education initiatives have evolved, including the nomad programme at the University of Limerick. The universities access programme

[15] Indeed, the Pecker Dunne became a member of the Dubliners for a short period of time.

Example 4.2 *The Last of the Travelling People*



delivered to students in the Carlow Education and Training centre has facilitated Travellers through the application of blended learning approaches. Students Selina O'Leary and Liz Connors have benefited personally from this programme, the height of which involved a performance in Carnegie Hall at the invitation of Dr Donald De Vito, musical director of the Discovering Abilities workshop (2010). The publicity surrounding this event and the positivity of this experience have enabled the Traveller community to feel proud and confident about their identity in the modern age.

The Ulster-Scots Community

History provides evidence of migrations and settlements that link the northeast of Ireland with the west of Scotland, as far back as 6500 BC. Between 330 and 300 BC, the Greek geographer and voyager Pytheas made reference to the Pretani in both regions. Over time, these tribes were referred to as the 'Picts' in Scotland and the 'Cruthin' in Ireland. The Kings of Dalriada claimed sovereignty over territory on either side of the channel between AD 500 and AD 800. The crowning of Edward the Bruce, King of Ireland, in 1314 led to an influx of 6,000 mercenaries, called Gallowglasses, to the region. A constant trail of migration continued thereafter. The level of Irish settlement was climbing so high that in 1556 Queen Mary and King Philip of England decided that the flow of immigration by the Scottish to Ireland had to be brought under control. On this basis they brought in the Prohibition Act to prohibit Scots from taking and retaining lands in Ireland, and marrying the native Irish.

The Plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century brought another influx of Scottish settlers who differed from their predecessors in terms of religious belief and political ideas. This change was brought about as a result of the Scottish Revolution (1559–90), which invoked theological and ecclesiastical change, and championed the democratic ideals of individual responsibility and educational attainment (Holden; 2000: 6). The revolution also awakened a Scottish Nationalist

consciousness, which was strengthened by the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643. As a result, the settlers of the Ulster plantation practicsed the Calvinist faith and maintained a Scottish identity. More, they believed that they had been given land in Ireland to introduce Protestantism to the people and maintain order. For this reason, they felt that they had power in Ireland, but this fact did not hold true. According to the historian Holden (2000: 8) 'throughout much of the seventeenth century cross-fertilization of dissent was common as resolute non-conformists fled to Ulster or back to Scotland depending on the particular whereabouts of demands for religious conformity'. The succession of the Scottish King James VI to the English throne (to become James I of England) in 1603 proved favourable to the Scottish in Ireland, as he granted them denizen status in 1634.

It is estimated that over 80 per cent of the Protestant settlers in Ulster were Scots, the remainder being English, French Huguenot, Welsh, Manx, German, Dutch and Danish (www.theUlster-Scots.com). However, religious and political differences between the natives and the settlers meant that the new Scots settlers were never absorbed into Irish society. This situation led to a precarious sense of belonging for the Scottish. On the one hand they feared an Irish massacre and rebellion, and on the other they were dependent on England to preserve their identity and political position. Yet the Scottish felt antipathy towards the Irish because of the British persecution of Catholics and seizure of their lands.

The British regarded the Ulster-Scots as dissenters[16] due to their Presbyterian faith. As a result they experienced religious, social and economic discrimination at the hands of the Anglican establishment. The Ulster-Scots attempted to improve this situation by showing loyalty to England. They remained loyal to Charles I when he was dethroned, and they fought the Irish army in the battles of Derry and Enniskillen. However, the English did not recognize this loyalty and the Ulster-Scots grew disillusioned. Queen Anne's 'Test Act' (1704) heightened the situation further by defining the Ulster-Scots as outlaws. Under the Test Act, marriages undertaken by the Presbyterian clergy were deemed null and void, Presbyterians were not allowed to practise their faith, and their children were not recognized as beneficiaries of their family inheritance, unless they converted to the Church of England. Presbyterians, like Catholics, were stopped from attaining posts in the army, militia, civil service, municipal corporations, teaching and commission of the peace. Several economic factors also impinged on the Ulster-Scots. The 'Woollen Act' (1699) forbade the export of wool (a major industry in Ireland at that time); dry foot affected sheep stocks; drought affected crops and flax; and rack-renting (the charging of extortionate rents) meant that families found it difficult to sustain themselves. By 1717, there was mass emigration to America.

Due to their religious oppression, the Presbyterian community could relate to the plight of the Irish Catholic population. Presbyterians fought with the Irish in both the 1641 and 1798 rebellions. Though most Ulster-Scots were sympathetic to the Irish cause, many became members of the Orange Order to protect themselves

[16] Dissenters include Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers and Methodists.

against the Irish. Presbyterian interests realigned with the Anglicans in light of the proposed Home Rule Bill (1914). Both Protestant communities felt that under Home Rule the majority Catholic status would result in a state bound by the Catholic Church. The accord of the two groups on this issue led directly to the foundation of Unionism.[17] However, this form of Unionism was regional rather than inclusive of the island of Ireland. Further, the Ulster Unionists looked to Scotland during the Home Rule crisis to support their claim to a Scottish rather than Irish identity. By so doing, it was hoped that a claim of difference to the Irish would exclude them from a Home Rule Agreement. This form of Unionism therefore represented an Ulster-Scots identity rather than that of the Ulster Protestant. It is interesting to note that a number of publications addressing an Ulster-Scots ethnicity became available at this time. They include *The Scot in Ulster* (1888) by John Harrison, *The Scotch Irish* (1902) by Charles Hanna, *Scotch-Irish Pioneers* (1910) by Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Scot in America and the Ulster Scot* (1911) by Reid Whitelaw and *The Ulster Scot* (1914) by James Barkley Woodburn. However, Ulster Unionism also wished to maintain its link with Britain. This was acceptable under the premise that 'British' was a collective term for many traditional identities, of which Ulster-Scots was one.

The Partition of Ireland in 1921 removed Ulster Protestants from the threat of Catholic domination, and strengthened the Protestant position in Northern Ireland. The Good Friday Agreement (1998) readdressed this situation by rectifying the sectarian imbalance of power in Northern Ireland's government and providing the Republic of Ireland with a voice in Northern affairs. Consequently, Ulster Unionism underwent an identity crisis. Ulster Unionists now questioned Britain's stature and power. The collapse of the British Empire and the evolution of a secular state in the UK crushed the British foundations of Protestantism, empire, war and remembrance. Further, the devolution of Scotland and Wales dissolved the political union of the United Kingdom. In light of the Good Friday Agreement 'the need for the defence of the realm realistically disappeared [as did] … the raison d'etre for Protestant loyalty to Westminster' (Vallely; 2003: 1).

In the face of political transformation the Ulster Unionists felt the need to make a territorial claim to Northern Ireland. This would be achieved through the verification of a distinct ethnic group that lived in this region. As a result, the Ulster-Scots language and culture was revived in 1996. Unionist politicians also strove to define difference and promote devolution for Northern Ireland. A new face had appeared in Ulster Unionism, called the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).[18] Under their leadership it was hoped that the Ulster-Scots identity would evolve from a regional identity to that of a state. A communal consciousness is

[17] This alliance was softened by the relaxation of laws against Presbyterians. In 1867 the Church of Ireland was disestablished, allowing Presbyterians to practise their faith. Presbyterians were also allowed to enter third-level education at Queen's University Belfast, University College Galway and University College Cork, and trade relations were established.

[18] The DUP claims to have independent libertarian Presbyterian ideals

currently being raised amongst the Presbyterian community within Orange lodges and through the establishment of festivals[19] and institutions.[20] Ulster Unionist politics are played out in these institutions. In particular the Ulster-Scots Agency states that The Ulster-Scots Protestants wish to remain part of the United Kingdom in partnership with Scotland, England and Wales, and that Ulster Protestants generally feel they have more in common with their ancestral homeland of Scotland than they do with the Irish (www.Ulster-Scots.com). Media is also being used to substantiate this ethnic representation through the provision of newspaper articles, journals, books, websites[21] and social media networks.[22] The Institute of Ulster-Scots Studies has also been established at the University of Ulster. The centre promotes an understanding of the diverse heritages on the island of Ireland and recognizes the Ulster-Scots diaspora in America, Canada and Australia. While noting the loyalist agenda and the fact that this identity is arterially stimulated and maintained, the centre supports the development stating that the Ulster-Scots identity is meant to be inclusive and positive, a direct contrast to the turmoil and violence of Nationalist essentialism.

The Ulster-Scots see themselves as a diaspora community, who migrated from their Scottish homeland during the Plantation of Ulster to settle in Ireland. They believe that after settlement they evolved into a distinct ethnic group who share a common origin, descent, history, faith, language and culture. The mass exodus and emigration of Ulster-Scots to America from the seventeenth century broadens the diasporic element of this community.[23] The bilateral relationship of Ulster-Scots with Scotland and their community in the United States provides this community with a transnational identity. On another level the Ulster-Scots claim to a distinct ethnicity reflects an instrumentalist approach in which ethnicity is used as a political tool so that a group can pursue their own interests. Indeed, the association of the Ulster-Scots ethnicity with a political group limits its membership. Members need to be Unionist and Presbyterian, and to have Scottish ancestry. These criteria eliminate Ulster-Scots who are Catholic or Anglican Protestant, Ulster-Scots who are Nationalists and Northern Presbyterians who are not of Scottish origin but have assimilated other aspects of their identity. The association of this group with the issues of Ulster Unionism and devolution for Northern Ireland also fails to recognize settlers in the counties of Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan. If the term Ulster-Scots is maintained for this particular group how do we label descendants of

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[19] Cairncastle Ulster-Scots Folk Festival, Kingdom of Dalriada Ulster-Scots Fest and Schomberg Ulster-Scots Festival.

[20] The Ulster-Scots Heritage Council, The Ulster-Scots Language Society, The Ulster-Scots Academy and The Ulster-Scots Agency.

[21] Bushmills Ulster-Scots Heritage, Maine Ulster-Scots Project, Coleraine Ulster-Scots Resource Centre.

[22] Cairncastle Ulsterscots, Brian's Canadian Ulster-Scots, Scots Irish/Ulster Scots Facebook pages.

[23] In the USA this community is referred to as the Scots-Irish.

Scottish settlers prior to the Plantation of Ulster? And who are those descendants of Scots-Gaelic settlers?

The cultural traditions of the Ulster-Scots are closely bound to those of Scotland in respect to language, music, song and dance. The Arts Council of Northern Ireland describes the Ulster-Scots tradition as arts activities with mainly Scottish roots (i.e. arts activities relating to the Scots language in Ulster; distinctive non-linguistic arts originating in the Scottish tradition but which may have developed differently in Ulster), which would be recognized by those who define themselves as Ulster-Scots as part of their tradition, and arts activities (irrespective of their roots) common within Ulster-Scots communities by which the community defines itself. The Arts Council of Northern Ireland and the Ulster-Scots Academy are currently making efforts to revive Ulster-Scots literature and develop an Ulster-Scots expression in drama. The Ulster-Scots also practise Scottish country-dance[24] and highland dancing.[25]

The distinctiveness of the Ulster-Scots instrumental tradition is less apparent. It focuses on the playing of the highland pipes, the fiddle, the fife and the lambeg drum. Though these instrumental traditions are found in the Irish tradition, the Ulster-Scots believe that they introduced them to Ireland. The involvement of the Ulster-Scots community in the Orange Order led to their involvement in pipe bands as well as fife and drum bands. Though these bands are now seen as being representative of the Protestant Loyalist communities, the Ancient Order of the Hibernians also featured them in marches in the past. According to Gary Hastings (2002) in some instances bands from both communities shared lambeg drums, music tutors and music repertoire. Today, the pipe band remains a feature of St Patrick's Day parades in both North and South. The assimilation of Scottish tune types such as the reel, the strathspey, the schottische and the fling is apparent not alone in the north of Ireland, but on the island of Ireland, particularly in the Donegal tradition.

The Ulster-Scots song tradition purports to include Scottish songs, songs with texts added to schottische airs,[26] and the Nationalist songs of Robert Burns.[27] The songs of the Rhyming Weavers of County Antrim continue to be sung throughout the island of Ireland, although sometimes in an altered state.[28] The songs of 1798 relate to the activities of the Ulster-Scots as much as to the Irish Nationalist

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[24] As taught by the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society.

[25] As taught by the Ulster-Scots Dance Alliance (Highland Dancing).

[26] *Maggie Picken* is one such example found on Len Graham's recording *Wind and Water*.

[27] The weavers looked towards Robert Burns for their inspiration for an Ulster-Scots song style. Robert Burns appealed to a patriotic interest in Scotland's older music and song. In post-union Scotland unrest at their new political situation led to a renewed sense of nationalism in Scotland. Burns answered the sentiment of the time and created what is referred to as Nationalist song in Scotland.

[28] Examples include *The Grey Cock*, also referred to as *The Lovers Ghost* or *My Willie O*, *Lord Loval* and *St Williams Ghost*. Source: Len Graham.

community.[29] Orange 'party songs' are also recognized to be part of the Ulster-Scots tradition. Indeed, George Holmes, former director of the Ulster-Scots Agency and member of the Orange Order, stated in an interview that he thought it acceptable to sing Orange party songs at Ulster-Scots events if the environment was deemed suitable. The Northern Ireland Evangelical Revival (1859) introduced a new repertoire of hymns and gospel songs to this community. Some of this repertoire was delivered in the Ullans language to aid its assimilation.[30] This repertoire is currently being revived by the Low Country Boys.

While this song categorization has a particular resonance for the Ulster-Scots community, it is not appropriate to refer to these songs as an Ulster-Scots repertoire since a high percentage of these songs are part of a broader repertoire of songs sung by other communities on the island of Ireland and Scotland. Len Graham (1998: 7) states: 'I discovered much to my satisfaction that the songs and music were played and sung throughout the north of Ireland by all shades and classes of people – from both sides of what is called the "two" traditions'. A further problem arises in creating a unique category for these songs when one addresses the issues of song structure and performance style. According to Hugh Shields (1981), songs of Scottish origin tend towards the pentatonic while Irish and English songs tend towards heptatonic forms. In reviewing the song repertoire above one will note that the song structures take on both pentatonic and heptatonic forms, thus showing the assimilation of an Irish tradition. Hugh Shields further validates the hybridity of the tradition in his statement that the most prevalent musical forms are ABAB and ABBA, which are from British and Irish traditions respectively. The performance of these songs in Northern Ireland tends towards the traditional Northern style of singing rather than expose distinct Scottish characteristics.

The Nationalist community in Northern Ireland remains critical of a distinct Ulster-Scots tradition. They believe that the Scots migration to Ulster impacted on the whole island of Ireland and not just on the Ulster-Scots community. They have noted the lack of Ulster-Scot participation in this tradition for many generations due to religious restrictions and political prejudice. This phenomenon is recognized by the Nationalists as a rejection by the Ulster-Scots of their own traditions. More, they recognize the importation of master classes from Scotland to be non-conformist with the definition of Ulster-Scots arts as described by the Arts Council. Consequently, the Nationalists recognize the modern performance of these traditions by Ulster-Scots to be the first stages in a revival rather than an ongoing tradition.[31] According to Fintan Vallely it is the 'development or redevelopment of a Protestant "traditional" recreational music culture, one rooted in the imagined traditional culture of the neighbouring landmass, Scotland' (2003: 2).

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[29] Examples include Roddy McCorley (source: George Holmes) and Tom Archer (source: Bob Speers).

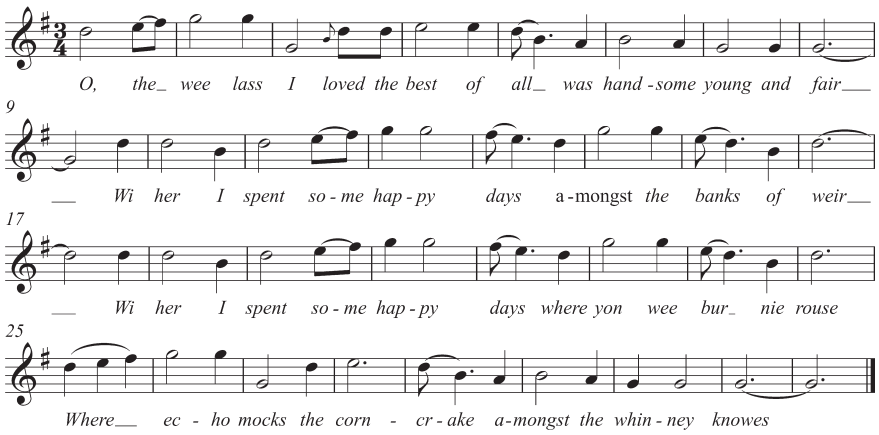
[30] Examples include *My Sins are Awa* and *Gran Time Comin*. Source: Low Country Boys.

[31] However, the ongoing tradition of the Orange hall dances, house ceilidhs and the Antrim and Derry fiddlers provides evidence of a recreational people.

Rather than segregating the traditional cultures of Northern Ireland, the Nationalists have proposed opening participation in the Ulster-Scots revival to everyone irrespective of political and religious views.

Folk-song performance predominates at Ulster-Scots festivals and performance events.[32] While it is believed that there are perhaps a number of traditional song performers within the Ulster-Scots community, there are few performers acknowledging their Ulster-Scots ethnicity presently, apart from Elizabeth McLeister of the Ulster-Scots Folk Orchestra (USFO) and John Kennedy. Elizabeth's performance of *Whinney Knowes* on the USFO recording *A Clatter o Fowk* is pitched high, with little to no melodic ornamentation beyond sliding and a double grace note (Example 4.3). Rhythmic variation is more liberal through the use of the Scotch snap. This variation is employed to reverse the minim, crotchet rhythm of the melody. Standard phrasing is normally employed. The hexatonic structure of the melody and the use of Scottish words signify the Scottish origin of this song.

Example 4.3 *Whinney Knowes* (traditional)



Indeed, *The Arts of Irish and Ulster-Scots*, consultation document developed for the Northern Ireland Arts Council, states that there is a lack of representation of the Ulster-Scots community in both quantity and capability (2005: 7). This trend is even more apparent when a review of current traditional song recordings in Northern Ireland is undertaken; no recordings of traditional song performers claiming Ulster-Scots heritage are presently available. The USFO and the Ulster-Scots eXperience have little support amongst the wider community. George Holmes, ex-chief executive of the Ulster-Scots Agency and Len Graham, a recognized collector and performer of traditional song in Northern Ireland, both discredited these groups on the basis that their material was selected from a

[32] Groups include the Grousebeaters, Risin Stour, and the John Trotter Folk Group.

Scottish repertoire and not from the indigenous tradition. It was further noted that the performance style did not differ from traditional ballad singing in Northern Ireland and therefore did not represent a unique identity for the Ulster-Scots. When requested to provide names of recognized performers in this community neither informant provided any further information. Indeed, Len Graham asked who would want to be an Ulster-Scot performer. Indeed, the overarching political and religious associations of an Ulster-Scots ethnicity were preventing people from participating in their institutions and undermining their own attempts at revival.

The search for Ulster-Scots performers led me to Len Graham. His surname 'Graham' is synonymous with the Border Reivers, who were settled in Northern Ireland during the plantation, thereby showing an Ulster-Scots lineage. Research highlighted that his family came from Co. Antrim, an Ulster-Scots enclave. His recorded song repertoire included traditional Scottish, English and Irish repertoire in the English language. However, personal communication elicited that Graham stakes no claim to an Ulster-Scots ethnicity. Alternatively, he talked of 'One Tradition' (also the title of his recent album) and the need to value traditional song performance in Northern Ireland on musical terms rather than on religious and political grounds. Roy Arbuckle, on the other hand, acknowledged his Ulster-Scots ethnicity through his participation in the Ulster Folk Orchestra's first album. Roy claimed that his involvement was based on a personal understanding that the Protestant community needed an identity after 400 years on the island. He saw his community as a lost people who were now in a precarious situation. He stated in an interview that the Scottish 'were brought by the English to colonise Northern Ireland but they could now be treated like the people of Hong Kong'. He recognized the opposing arguments surrounding an Ulster-Scots ethnicity and its exclusivity, yet he qualified its formation as a re-mythologizing of identity which was possible for ethnic groups but not for nations. Though initially involved with the performance group, he later recognized the political and sectarian association of the term, and has no further dealings with them.

Low Country Boys

The performance of Ulster-Scots music is a relatively new phenomenon in Northern Ireland, and as such remains a local rather than global phenomenon.[33] The development of this tradition bears heavily on the music traditions of Scotland, and the Scots-Irish community in America,[34] thus establishing a transnational

[33] This is currently being addressed by the Ulster-Scots community through the web presence of bands such as the USFO and the Ulster-Scots eXperience, as well as the representation of the Ulster-Scots music community in international representation of Northern Ireland as exposed through the promotional activities of the Northern Ireland Arts Council and international presentations such as the Smithsonian Folk Life Festival (2007).

[34] The Ulster-Scots or Scots-Irish first settled in New England. Over time they moved on to search for more favourable territories: first to Pennsylvania, then westward into

rather than regional music tradition. The Low Country Boys are an Ulster-Scots music ensemble, from the Ards Peninsula in Co. Down, who represent the music of the Ulster-Scots community through the performance of Ulster-Scots and Scottish Presbyterian hymnals, and Old Timey Hill Billy Gospel. In so doing, they establish an ethnic link based on religious practice, which unites Presbyterians from the Scottish homeland, Northern Ireland (the Ulster-Scot community), and American Scots-Irish diaspora. This ethnic identity is supplemented with claims to a shared descent, history, language and culture (religious/institutional). The group recognizes the hybridity of this form of music-making by stating on their sleeve notes that 'The Ulster singing style too, was a hybrid: the music would run to a more rhythmic line … you wouldn't have the same number of grace notes or decorations … This plainer, more energetic style was the one which came to the Appalachians'.

Language is a signifier of the shared identity in the repertoire of the Low Country Boys. The inclusion of Scottish words in the texts of American gospel songs provides evidence of the Scottish influence on this American roots tradition. For example, the first line of the Carter Song *Wildwood Flower* says 'I'll twine in my mangles and waving black hair'. The Evangelic Revival's (c. 1750–1815) introduction of hymns and gospel songs to the Ulster-Scots community in their own language recognizes the Ulster-Scots as a distinct ethnic group and establishes an Ulster-Scots repertoire.[35] This move was supported by C.S. Lewis's claim that 'if you can't express your faith in the vernacular either you don't understand it, or you don't really believe it' (Low Country Boys sleeve notes). While the band markets its use of Ulster-Scots, it only includes two such songs on their album. They are *Gran Time Comin* (Example 4.4) and the contemporary song *A Joy that Turnt My Hairt Frae Stane*. Other Scots texts prove to be of Scottish origin.

This music was performed across the Bible Belt of Northern Ireland in sunday schools, prayer and praise meetings, revival and camp meetings, and Christian worker and class meetings. A cultural tradition of learning these songs at sunday schools emerged amongst the Ulster-Scots community. Though this tradition has now ceased, the link to it is no more than a generation away. Mark and Graeme's aunts, Rhoda and Betty, taught them gospel songs at the Ballyhalbert Gospel Hall in around 1980. The band was easily able to source hymn collections from family

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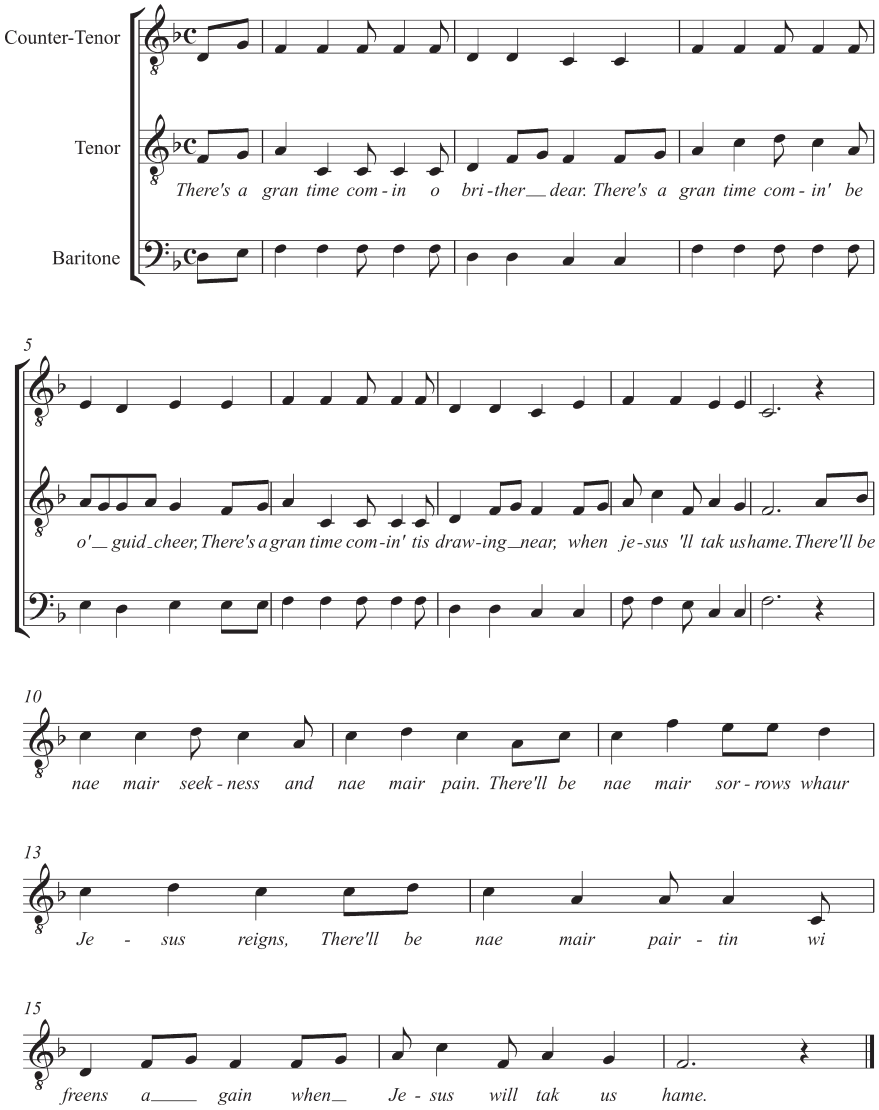
Virginia, Ohio and Vancouver; more went southward, down the Shenandoah valley and the great wagon trail to settle in east Tennessee, southwest Virginia, Kentucky, western North Carolina, northern Alabama and Georgia. A large community of English, Irish, Scots Irish, Scots and Welsh settled in the Appalachian Mountains.

[35] Sentiments bemoaning the demise of the Ulster-Scots language can be found in the New Testament Braid Scots in 1924 (Low Country Boys sleeve notes). It states that the language is waning but there are still those who know the language from speaking it when they were young, those that speak it when a little merry, and those who like to listen and read it. It states how the Scottish and Ulster-Scots history was expressed in this language, which dates further back than the English language.

Example 4.4 *Gran Time Comin* (extract)



members such as Grandma Wilson. They included Seth and Bessie Sykes' collection (1924), *Hymns of the Camp*, the *Southern Harmony and Musical Companion*, and Sankey hymnbooks. They were also able to source original recordings from their grandparents' record collection. These included Doc Watson, Hank Williams, *Southern Journey Volume 4: Brethren We Meet Again*, Charlie Bailie and the Happy Valley Boys, and the Weavers. The band members have also sought out

the contemporary scene by travelling to Tennessee and listening to contemporary bands such as New Road and Big Smith.

The repertoire on this album mediates geographical and temporal shifts in ethnic identity through the inclusion of old and new repertoire as well as indigenous song repertoire such as *Gran Time Comin*, written by Jeremiah Meneely (known for his part in the revival of 1859), songs from the Scottish revival scene including Seth and Bessie Sykes' *My Sins are Awa* and songs of the American diaspora such as *Everlasting Joy* from Virginia (author unknown). The four members of the band present a traditional line-up by featuring banjo, guitar, fiddle, bass and mandolin. All band members sing. Song performances range from a cappella songs sung in close three-part harmony (melodist, bass and countertenor) to songs with instrumental arrangements and harmonies to purely instrumental pieces. The a cappella performance of *Did Christ O'er Sinners Weep*, learned from the Doc Watson album *On Praying Ground*,[36] shows the use of repeated octaves between bass and melody and bass and countermelody parts, not uncommon in this style of performance. The chord movement tends towards crotchet movement and the harmony is predominantly based on primary chords. In arrangements incorporating instruments, vocal harmonies tend to be used only in chorus sections. Instrumental accompaniment focuses on maintaining a strong beat, with the mandolin providing an offbeat emphasis. Instrumental playing does not show the dexterity of bluegrass fiddle and banjo styles normally associated with this style of music-making.

The global processes of media development, transnational commercial networks and international religious communities are evident in the musical phenomenon of the Low Country Boys. In this respect we can see how a religious movement supported by a commercial production industry can unite the cultural identity of transnational ethnic groups. However, the Ulster-Scots gospel repertoire has remained a local rather than a global phenomenon. Reasons for this may be related to linguistic barriers and restricted music-making activity amongst the Ulster-Scots community themselves. Since this form of gospel singing never mediated the divide between the sacred and secular, the institutional and the traditional, it did not adapt to new social circumstances and so fell into decline. The music of the Low Country Boys revives this tradition at a time when Ulster-Scots identity is being re-formulated. Its performance at mission halls, gospel halls and in Orange lodges throughout Northern Ireland reinforces its link with the religious and political identity of the Ulster-Scots community.

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[36] This song dates from the early 1800s, having been made popular through the old Kentucky hymnbook *The Southern Harmony and Musical Companion*. This book had been compiled by William 'Singin' Billy' Walker, a Baptist from Spartanburg, South Carolina, and became the most popular hymnbook in the South, selling over four million copies. This song also appeared in the hymnal of the Confederate army during the American Civil War of 1861–65 (www.lowcountryboys.com).

Conclusion

The Traveller community and the Ulster-Scots community are minority groups living on the island of Ireland, which encounter different forms of social exclusion. The Traveller community purports a primordialist view of ethnicity, which recognizes the group's ethnic status in Ireland as that of internal other, due to their nomadic lifestyle. The Ulster-Scots community pertains an instrumentalist view of ethnicity, by constructing an alternative Protestant identity on the island of Ireland in order to maintain power and influence in Northern Irish politics. While both groups see themselves as being ethnically different, cultural integration has occurred. The visibility of Traveller culture in Irish society through busking and selling broadsides has led to the integration of Traveller song into the Irish song tradition. The assimilation of Ulster-Scots into both the Irish Nationalist community and the Protestant Unionist community in history now presents difficulties for the definition of a unique identity for this group. The integration of Traveller song into the Irish tradition, and its prominence in the repertory of folk-music performers has brought Traveller song into the global arena. However, the loss of this tradition within the Traveller community means that they are unable to harness this opportunity. The constructivist nature of Ulster-Scots music, the political overtones of this music, and the perceived low standard of performance are preventing Ulster-Scots from entering the global market. It is currently dependent on cultural institutions, Northern Ireland government bodies, and the American Scots-Irish diaspora to facilitate its re-invention.

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Chapter 5
The Geographical Divide

Emigration has been a feature of Irish society since before the Christian era (c. AD 30).[1] Consequently, numerous Irish communities have evolved worldwide, with the main centres of settlement emerging in Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. According to Piaras Mac Énraí of the Irish Centre for Migration Studies (University College Cork), over 70 million people worldwide refer to themselves as being Irish or of Irish descent (www.migration.ucc.ie). The global figure becomes even more significant when we relate it to a local population of five million, thus realizing a ratio between home and away of 1:14. Emigration led not only to the scattering of Irish people worldwide, but also to the dissemination of Irish culture and identity. This chapter examines the ways in which the Irish diaspora attempted to mediate the transnational space between home and away through traditional song performance within the context of Newfoundland. It also considers the use of traditional song performance to construct and maintain distinct identities in host countries.

The term 'diaspora' refers to the forced dispersal of people from their ethnic homelands throughout the world. Originally, the term was used by the ancient Greeks to describe the concepts of migration and colonization. However, when the Old Testament was translated into Greek, the term became associated with the exile of the Jews from Judea by the Babylonians in 586 BC, and their forced exile from Jerusalem by the Roman Empire in AD 136. In time, the term became associated primarily with the dispersal of the ethnic population of Israel, their cultural development, and the population themselves (en.wikipedia.org). As such, the term became synonymous with the trauma of banishment and the dream of returning home from a life in exile. However, the Jews are not the only people to have experienced dispersal. History provides many accounts of diasporic events that have affected ethnic groups worldwide.[2] In recognition of this fact, the sociologist Robin Cohen (1997: x) expands the traditional definition of diaspora to include victim diasporas (Africa), labour and imperial diasporas (Indians and British), trade diasporas (Lebanese and Chinese), cultural diasporas (Caribbean) and diasporas which have emerged as a result of globalization. The sociologist Safran (1991: 83)

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[1] Early Irish folk literature, the *eachtrai* (adventures), *immrama* (voyages), and *fis* (visions), detail Irish people going abroad in various ways. Later came the 'navigatio' or voyage of Brandon (c. 725), and the historical details of Colmcille (written c. 715) and Columbanus (c. 710). Source: Fr. Gearóid Ó Donnachadha, personal interview.

[2] These include migrations, war, natural disasters, economic collapse and conceptual developments such as the rise of nationalism, fascism, communism and racism.

also sees beyond the victim diasporas in his definition, by incorporating 'expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities tout court'.

In the modern world, the phenomena of diaspora and globalization form a dialectical relationship. Globalization has led to the development of forms of non-permanent international migration (family visits, contractual relationships, intermittent stays abroad), the development of global cities (which host large diaspora communities), the creation of cosmopolitan and local cultures (which merge global cultures) and the deterritorialization of social identities (which make diasporic allegiance more open). According to the sociologist Cohen (1997: 175), the evolution of diaspora communities has driven the process of globalization through the need for changes in technology, economic organization, modes of travel, production, communication, and the syncretization of cultures.

The Irish Famine (1845–49) and the political tyranny felt by the Irish during English colonial rule (1600–1920) are recognized as the main contributors to Irish emigration in history. Consequently, the Irish diaspora is categorized as a victim diaspora (Cohen; 1997: 181). However, historical and sociological studies now suggest that the placing of fault on the English is an over-simplification.[3] The sociologist Jim MacLaughlin (1994: 30–31) states that this blame theory has become a naturalized cultural tradition and sanitized history for the Irish people. Further, he feels that this account needs to be renegotiated to accommodate other valid explanations. Indeed, it must be noted that Irish emigration occurred in reaction to changes in the modern world, such as the modernization of agricultural practices, industrialization and the need for labour in the developing countries. We must also recognize the Irish diaspora as a labour and imperial diaspora since many people left Ireland in search of work, in pursuit of trade, and to further the colonial ambitions of the British.[4] Emigration did not cease after English occupation, but remains a re-emerging necessity within Irish society.[5] Newfoundland's history supports MacLaughlin's theory, since Irish emigration to Newfoundland occurred prior to and after the famine. Indeed, numbers of emigrants fell during the famine times. Newfoundland reinforces the image of Irish immigrants seeking colonial occupations, and pursuing work and trade. In addition, it must be noted that emigrants to Newfoundland from Ireland were not always the peasantry, but included wealthy Irish entrepreneurs.

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[3] The historian Kerby Miller (1985) states that only a small percentage of the seven million emigrants to North America were as a result of forced exile.

[4] Montserrat is a case in point. The island of Montserrat was colonized with Irish settlers in 1931 and continues to hold St Patrick's Day as a national holiday. Indeed, the Irish held the majority status of the population, unlike other settlements where they were a small percentage of the white population. Akenson's study of the island proves that the Irish could be rootless colonizers.

[5] There were large waves of emigration from Ireland between the 1950s and the 1980s. In 1988, 70,600 people left in a single year, many in search of work (www.chronicle.com).

Irish emigration to Newfoundland can be discussed in relation to colonial Ireland (dating from c. 1621 up to the late nineteenth century), and post-colonial Ireland (with particular emphasis on the period 1935–80). John Cabot, an English mariner, discovered Newfoundland in 1498 and laid claim to the region for England. The exceptionally large resource of fish off the coast of Newfoundland attracted fishermen and tradesmen from England, Spain, Portugal, France and America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert did not lay a formal claim to Newfoundland until 1583 as English merchants had little interest in settling there, seeing it as a place for summer migration to exploit the fishing industry. It was not until the reign of James I of England (1603–1625) that the planting of colonies became big business for Englishmen.[6] In 1610, the first English settlement was undertaken by John Guy in Cupid's Cove, Conception Bay. In time, the Irish became involved in these plantations. According to the historian Donald Akenson, Sir George Calvert promoted colonies in Newfoundland to the Irish between 1623 and 1625. Akenson's account states that these offers attracted the interest of Irish Catholic and old English landowners whose land was threatened by the English Plantation of Ireland[7] (Akenson; 1997: 15).

The seasonal labour of the fishing trade in Newfoundland motivated a large Irish migration to the area in the seventeenth century. Irish entrepreneurs also sent fishing fleets to the region. In 1675, ships from the southwest of England began calling at Irish ports of Youghal, Cork, New Ross and Waterford for cheaper net provisions (salt pork, beef, butter, cheese and porter), tallow, woollens and cheap labour. Initially, Irish labourers to Newfoundland worked two summers and a winter before returning to Ireland. In time, Irish labourers settled voluntarily in reaction to the dramatic increase in population,[8] land pressure,[9] unemployment as a result of mechanization and industrialization, and minor famines in Ireland. Middle-class landowners also invested in the Newfoundland fishing industry. The Sweetman family from Wexford, for instance, held fisheries and farm settlements along the Placentia coast.

Tales of involuntary settlement proliferate in Newfoundland folklore as a result of greedy merchants who deserted labourers in order to increase their return fishing load. The English merchants recognized the benefits of having permanent settlers who could provide accommodation for early or marooned crews, provide access to timber boats and wood products for seasonal fishers, act as caretakers for boats and rooms during the winter months, and protect British sovereignty. Schemes were set up to attract women settlers to the island in order to help permanent

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[6] These colonies include the Amazon, Newfoundland, Virginia and Ireland.

[7] The colony on Avalon in 1625 attracted 15 Irish Catholic and Old English landowners as well as two Catholic priests.

[8] Between 1780 and 1840 the population rose from four to eight million. Cities and towns were unable to absorb this unprecedented growth (www.chronicle.com).

[9] Subdivision of farms in Ireland amongst sons would make them economically non-viable; tenant farmers were being evicted (www.chronicle.com).

settlement. Accounts show that a permanent population was well established by the late eighteenth century. The Wexford Rebellion (1798), the Act of Union (1800) and the war of 1812 led to a surge of migration to Newfoundland; by 1835, there were 35,000 Irish living there, which accounted for half the population.[10] In the latter part of the nineteenth century, immigration from Devon and southeast Ireland declined, while that from other parts of England continued. Settlement patterns on the east coast of the island gradually became segregated religiously and ethnically. The northeast coast was predominantly English and Protestant, while the southeast coast and Placentia were predominantly Irish and Catholic. The capital, St John's, was perceived to have an equal ratio.

Economic paralysis emerged in Ireland in the 1930s as a result of population growth, Eamonn De Valera's policies of economic and cultural self-sufficiency, the trade war with Britain (1938), and Ireland's inability to engage with the global expansion of industries following World War Two. This triggered a new wave of emigration to Newfoundland. However, this time the immigrants were more educated and included professionals such as doctors and teachers.[11] It was soon realized that emigration was creating a brain drain[12] for Ireland, resulting in more economic and social damage. Efforts were made to improve the situation at home.[13] Between 1971 and 1979 there was inflow of Irish migrants back to Ireland, but in 1979–80 the country faced a recession, and a return to emigration. Professional opportunities in education and medicine have continued to attract the Irish to Newfoundland.

The Irish diaspora in Newfoundland maintains a strong ethnic group consciousness that is embodied through language, culture, religion and a value system. In addition, they are linked through a shared history and fate in the host country. The construction of an ethnic group consciousness by the diaspora community within the host country is similar to that of the nation, in that they are both imagined communities (Anderson: 1983). The conceptual relationship between nationalism and diaspora becomes incongruous when examined in respect to territory. Nationalist ideology holds that each nation has a specific territory, and every person is believed to belong to a specific nation. Diaspora communities contest this parity between territory and ethnicity, by claiming that the social interaction and relations are no longer dependent on simultaneous co-presence, but a phenomenon that can occur in what Appadurai (1990) describes as ethnoscapes

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[10] This figure does not account for those who moved on to Canada and America.

[11] According to R.F. Foster (2007), during the period 1936–46 between 187,000 and 197,000 people left Ireland, and during 1950–60 212,000 left.

[12] According to R.F. Foster (2007) during the period 1960–67, approximately 25 per cent of doctors emigrated.

[13] In 1973 the marriage bar (a law requiring women to leave paid employment when they married) was lifted as it was deemed to be placing a restrictive lifestyle and culture of women causing them to emigrate.

and mediascapes. Indeed, developments in communication technologies facilitate communication amongst diasporic families, communities and global networks.

The sociologist Myria Georgiou (2006: 6) expands on this claim by stating that 'when place ceases from being a singular and restricting context for social relations, the experience of time and space becomes distanciated and Diasporic communities break off the specificities and singularities of place and expand their potentials for communication and community. In this context, there is less and less possibility for a neat equation between culture, community and geography and increased potentials for imaginative geography and history.' The concept of an imagined geography is found in Irish society through the envisaging of a fifth province where the diaspora resides.[14] According to the philosopher Richard Kearney, 'the fifth province is to be found, if anywhere, at the swinging door which connects the global with the local. The answer to the old proverb: "where is the middle of the world" remains as true as ever – "here and elsewhere"' (1989: 110).

The sociologist and anthropologist Marie Gillespie (1995: 6) argues that the diaspora has become 'an intermediate concept between the local and the global that nevertheless transcends the national perspectives which often limit cultural studies'. By adopting the concept of a dual ethnicity the emigrant mediates the local and the global by maintaining a double consciousness (Gilroy: 1993), being home and being away from home. The advent of globalization brought added complexity to the definition of ethnicity,[15] by stimulating migratory flows, leading to the deterritorialization of populations and the evolution of global identities. The anthropologists Vertovec and Cohen adopted the term transnationalism (Vertovec and Cohen; 1999) to provide a means of understanding the complex social identities that were evolving.[16] In this context 'transnationalism' described a 'people who originated in a land other than [that] in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-

[14] Ireland is divided into four provinces. According to Kearney (1989) the Irish word for province is *coiced*, which translates as a fifth. The definition of the fifth province has historically been contested. Some determine it as the centre of Ireland (Meath), while others believe that the term refers to the old political centre of Ireland (Tara). The term has more recently been reinterpreted to suit a modern context, that of the Irish diaspora.

[15] Indeed, many anthropologists have documented the disparity between territory and ethnicity in the primordialist definition. In 1969, Barth contradicted this approach by proposing that ethnicity was an element of social organization rather than geographical boundaries. In 1997, Govers developed Barth's theory further, by claiming that ethnicity was a form of consciousness, ideology or imagination. In so doing, these anthropologists emphasized the contingencies and fluidity of ethnic identity and released the concept of ethnicity from its perceived link to nation and race (Govers and Vermeulen; 1997).

[16] The term 'transnational' emerged in a globalizing business community in the 1990s to describe a company that operates in markets that cut across national borders (even though the company itself is based in one particular country).

states or, indeed, span the globe' (Vertovec and Cohen; 1999: xvi).[17] This term is particularly relevant to the Irish diaspora in Newfoundland, which mediates Irish, Newfoundland Irish, Celtic and Canadian identities.

Maintaining an Irish Identity through Folk Song in Newfoundland

The transposition of Irish traditional song to Newfoundland is evidenced in its song repertoire and performance practice. The Newfoundland canon reflects a broader history of European settlement, in that it is a composite of English, Irish and French songs.[18] The ban on French settlement in 1713, and the resettlement of the French to the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon over the next two centuries, has led to the decline of French culture and particularly French song amongst Newfoundlanders. Consequently, songs of English and Irish origin proliferate in the song repertoire. The relative isolation of the outports has contributed significantly to the preservation of the song repertoires from both these countries.

Irish would have been used extensively in the eighteenth century; it would have been noted as the dominant language of the Avalon Peninsula.[19] The increased use of English, the language of commerce, amongst Irish settlers in Newfoundland and the arrival of English-speaking migrants from Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (as a result of the English colonization of Ireland) led to the gradual disuse of the Irish language and a loss of Irish-language songs from the oral tradition. Due to the irreparable link between language use and song performance, only a few songs in the Irish language have survived. Those that remain are fossils of a previous culture on the island, no longer understood by the natives. In a discussion with Newfoundland singer-songwriter Pamela Morgan about her knowledge of the song *Siúl a Grá* on her album *The Colour of Amber* she responded that she did not understand the lyrics and was worried that the pronunciation was inaccurate. Its inclusion was merely to represent the cultural traditions of the island.[20]

The transposition of Irish traditional song repertoire has played a large role in maintaining an Irish identity and culture for the Irish diaspora in Newfoundland. This is evidenced in the quantity of Irish songs still extant in folk-song collections

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[17] While the term 'transnationalism' crystallized in the 1990s, this does not mean that the phenomenon was not already in existence.

[18] There is a notable lack of aboriginal songs in this repertoire. This reflects the oppressive history of the native Beothuk, Innu, Inuit and Mi'kmaq communities as a result of colonization. The Beothuk were wiped out, the Innu and Inuit are now found only in Labrador, while small numbers of Mi'kmaqs have remained.

[19] Catholic priests would have had to be able to speak Irish. Formal documents would have been written in English, the language of the Empire.

[20] This album also includes Irish songs in the English language, English songs and French songs.

and the common performance repertoire. The repository of topical songs from different periods of Irish history, such as *O'Connell's Daughter* and *The Brave Volunteers*, shows the continued interest of the Irish settlers in the events at home, and the continuous tide of migration that facilitated this transposition. The reworking of Irish and English traditional songs with lyrics about the emigrant experience in Newfoundland signals the initial stages of an acculturation process which resulted in the unification of two repertories to form a Newfoundland canon. Songs featuring the 14-syllable line (a common characteristic of the English ballad) were favoured for this process, as they appealed to both traditions.[21]

Song collections and accounts by performers refer to two distinct singing styles in the Newfoundland tradition: Irish traditional song performance and the straighter ballad style of singing from England. Unfortunately, the Irish traditional style of song performance has given way to the straighter ballad style. Evidence of this style of performance is now said only to exist on Fogo Island, on the north coast of Newfoundland. According to Newfoundland singer Anita Best this phenomenon has only appeared since the late 1980s, as the melismatic style of Irish performance has lost its commercial popularity. The older style is described as an unaccompanied style of singing that used melismatic ornamentation, lingering tones, no dynamic variation and a little vibrato. Anita Best stated that the tone production, while not tutored, was clear and not raspy. The final words of the songs were often spoken. She also noted that they would never stop to change the pitch, but only apologize for singing too high or low. As for accompaniment, Anita stated in an interview that 'traditional singers were not used to it. Most traditional singers preferred to sing without it.' She felt that regularity destroyed natural expression and would spoil the unique elements of the tradition, such as the fact that some verses were longer than others (tune expanded without sounding odd). However, unison singing was common.[22] The transcriptions in Peacock's collection of Newfoundland song (1965) provides us with evidence of this older ornate style of performance.[23]

Music was traditionally performed while fishing, doing chores or for general entertainment. When performing songs, people often would sit on a rocking chair to assist in the rhythm and keep an even pace. Occasionally, the performer would take someone's hand and move it to the rhythm of the song. Performers were also known to sit with their eyes closed or stare into space. Each performer took ownership of their songs. This practice was so recognized that the younger generation would never sing an older person's song if they were present. 'Songs were sung to pass the time and for the sake of company. Songs of all kinds were a

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[21] The song *The Green Shores of Fogo* is patterned on an older Irish song entitled *The Country I'm Leaving Behind* (Peacock; 1965: 522). *The Banks of Newfoundland* is a localized version of English ballad *Van Dieman's Land* (Peacock; 1965: 854).

[22] On the wedding night the women would sit on the bed and sing in unison while the men were drinking (Best; 1997).

[23] *My Bonnie Irish Boy* (Peacock; 1965: 560).

substantial part of a night's entertainment that might include step dances, square dances and lancers; jokes, riddles, fairytales and ghost stories; or just gossip and general news gathering' (Best: 1997). By the 1950s people wanted entertainment in nightclubs, dance halls and other public venues. This resulted in the movement of traditional song performance from an intimate home setting to community halls, and organized meetings. The advent of radio and TV relegated traditional music back to the venues where it originated, the kitchen parties and family gatherings. However, opportunities for house gatherings arise less frequently now, resulting in a decline in performance practice.

The printing of songs in newspapers, broadsides and song collections has facilitated the preservation of traditional songs in Newfoundland and established a national resource. In 1894, the Newfoundland balladeer John Burke published a collection of broadsides in the *St John's Advertiser and Fishermen's Guide* entitled *A Racy Little Song Book*, and in 1904 the singer James Murphy published another collection of broadsides entitled *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland, Ancient and Modern*. Larger collections appeared later, including Gerald S. Doyle's three booklets *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (1927, 1940 and 1955), Greenleaf and Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933), Karpeles' *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1934), and Peacock's *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1965). Of these, the Doyle collection remains significant since it is representative of Irish ethnic advancement in Newfoundland, it provided the basis for constructing a Newfoundland canon that unified Irish and British cultures, and it expressed the sentiments felt by the country following their loss of independence in 1934.

Doyle's song booklets included advertisements for Doyle's wholesale business and were distributed free of charge with his products.[24] This mechanism extended their dispersal and influence in Newfoundland. Doyle played towards the interests of his fellow Newfoundlanders in the selection of catchy songs for his collection. Each collection built on the previous, by retaining the popular songs and adding new ones. The popularity of his collection led to the establishment of a shared repertoire for all Newfoundlanders, English and Irish alike. Doyle, a successful businessman of Irish descent, represented a middle-class Irish society that was evolving in Newfoundland. He was also seen as a leader in his community, a by-product of Bishop Fleming's[25] feverous attempts to bring education and political

[24] The first presented song texts only, many of which were taken from broadsides and earlier publications; the second publication included music notation and added material from the publication *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (Greenleaf and Mansfield; 1968). The third collection included material from the Peacock collection. His collection was republished in 1967 for the centennial celebrations. Peacock suggested using chords and pictures but they were not adapted. Songs were chosen from the three collections, and the song *H'emmer Jane* was added.

[25] Bishop Fleming (1792–1850) set up Catholic institutions in Newfoundland, and turned English and Irish immigrants into Newfoundlanders. Inspired by Daniel O'Connell, wished for independence for Newfoundlanders.

leadership to the Irish in Newfoundland, a movement that brought responsible government and independence for Newfoundlanders. Doyle's collection represented this achievement and aimed to build on it, by unifying the islanders and instilling a Newfoundland identity.

Initially, Doyle favoured his own Irish ethnicity and saw the promotion of Irish folk songs as a means of promoting Irish identity throughout the island. His introductory notes to his first collection advocate that there should be a close fit between Irish Catholic identity and Newfoundland identity. His second edition in 1940 advocates a more inclusive understanding of Newfoundland identity that is inclusive of English and Irish ethnicities. This need for unity was informed by the loss of responsible government in Newfoundland and the country's economic disaster as a result of war debt, combined with the effects of the depression and the disaster in the fishing industry. More serious songs replace comic songs. Songs are chosen to reflect the outport values and present an ideal picture of Newfoundlanders as religious, peaceful people who have simple lives.

By broadening the repertoire Doyle joined the disparate heritage of the island to create a hybrid Newfoundland culture. In the 1950s Doyle's collected material was distributed through tourism, recordings,[26] publications, and choral and festival performances. As a result his collection became a prominent component of the folk-song tradition. According to Kearney (2004: 494), Doyle's 1955 edition was viewed as an 'icon of the provinces cultural heritage'. Rosenberg (1991: 57) stated that 'the most cultured countries have long ago learned the value of their folklore songs, but Newfoundland has only in recent years been awakened to a sense of the rich treasures of her ballads, songs and folklore'. The tourist interest in Newfoundland was satisfied through the subsequent publication of 12 songs, compiled by Leo English, which also gave details of the dialect and folklore (Kearney; 2004: 494). Consequently, the commercial and tourist market established folk song as a symbol of Newfoundland identity.

After Confederation (1949), Doyle's song collections were used as a source of Newfoundland music to satisfy the people's wish to remain true to their Newfoundland identity. The songs were arranged for all musical styles and soon became standards. According to Rosenberg (1991: 59), phonograph recordings of these maintained the profile of traditional music at a time when country and western, as well as popular music from Britain and the USA, dominated the radio. There was a general consensus, at least among the educated middle classes, that 'high culture' in Newfoundland was represented by 'Englishness', while the Irish element of Newfoundland culture was not only lacking in formal education, but also to be discouraged (The Arts in Newfoundland, 2006: 16). Doyle believed

[26] Doyle influenced the production of albums including *Newfoundland Folksongs and Other Selections* (JoN Glee Club 1955) (Rodeo RLP 83) and *Newfoundland Folksongs Vol. 2* (CJON Glee Club 1955) (Rodeo RLP 84). He funded recordings of songs by the songwriter Art Scammell and the Commodore Quartet. Omar Blondahl played and recorded dozens of songs from the Doyle collection.

that by arranging the folk songs for voice and pianoforte he would raise the status of the music, making it suitable for parlour rather than kitchen entertainment, thus satisfying a new 'lace curtain Irish' market. In this respect, he advocated the development of singalongs, where songs of Irish, English, Scottish and American origin were compiled and arranged for piano. Doyle also funded the choral arrangement of Newfoundland songs. However, the classicization of Newfoundland music that ensued[27] was not widely accepted, as it was seen to belong to a social class beyond that of the ordinary fisherman.

Radio has played a significant role in Newfoundland society by providing a communication link between outport communities, reinforcing a national identity, and maintaining an Irish identity on the island. Radio programmes in the 1930s, such as the Big Six and the Irene B. Mellon Show, played recordings and live performances of Irish and Newfoundland favourites to a wide audience. These programmes also featured musicians of the Irish diaspora in America, such as the McNultys. The rising status of Irish identity and the popularity of Irish music in America gave Irish Newfoundlanders a pride in their musical heritage. Radio also exposed Newfoundlanders to popular music from America and Britain. The influence of this music increased during World War Two, when American soldiers were stationed in Newfoundland. Military radio stations played country and western, jazz and pop music, leading Newfoundland musicians to emulate these styles of performance. After Confederation, people lost their self-esteem and identity. Consequently, Newfoundland folk music lost its appeal. In 1964, the radio programme *All Around the Circle* started a revival of interest in folk music to help Newfoundlanders re-establish a distinct cultural identity and instil a regional pride.

The advent of Irish ethnic recordings and sheet music around 1920 enabled the spread of Irish American and Vaudeville songs to Ireland and other Irish diaspora communities. The replication of these performances in Newfoundland established a transnational culture, and reawakened links with the homeland. Though vaudeville-style performances had died out in the 1930s, the McNulty Family remained popular in Eastern America well into the 1950s. The trio – consisting of Annie 'Ma' McNulty,[28] with her daughter Eileen and son Peter – had a radio programme on WWRL, and performed for 16 years at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Brooklyn Opera House. The group played Irish traditional music, performed song and dance routines and presented comical sketches. Annie McNulty played the accordion, Eileen sang and played piano, and Peter sang and played the guitar. Their song repertoire included Irish and Irish American songs. Peter also wrote songs in the vaudeville style. The themes of these songs featured love songs, songs of home, songs of longing and Irish political songs. Place

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[27] Kenneth Peacock, Donald Cooke, Marius Barbeau, Ignatius Rumboldt.

[28] Annie McNulty was originally from Roscommon, and emigrated to New York in 1910. She had started her performance career in Ireland and incorporated her offspring into her act in America. The children, though trained by vaudevillians, never performed in vaudeville as they were too young.

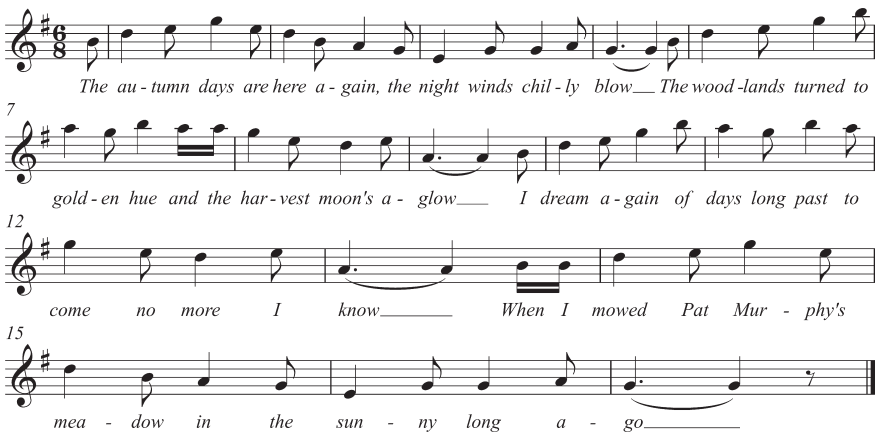
names and Irish surnames proliferate in their repertoire, providing a clear sense of identity. Song arrangements featured piano and accordion accompaniment, unison choruses and musical interludes. The group tried to present their music with a degree of respectability by dressing in formal evening attire. The group recorded 27 78s and an LP. Over time they became musical icons of the 1950s for working-class Irish emigrants in the USA, and as far north as Newfoundland.

The McNulty legacy resounds in Newfoundland song repertoire, performance style, and presentation. The folklorist Pat Byrne recognized this influence, stating that 'the McNulty's allowed them [Newfoundlanders] to assert their Irishness in a North American manner. The sense of loss which is a common theme in the Irish ballads and songs of emigration, and the body of nostalgic song that painted a rosy, romantic scenario of a little green haven nestling in a corner of paradise, struck a responsive chord in the hearts of a population which had seen its homeland move, in less than three decades, from the status of a colony, to an independent country, to a powerless ward of the English crown, to the reluctant province of still another country' (Byrne; 1991: 67). This renewed interest in the Irish tradition was displayed through increased airplay of the McNulty Family and other Irish acts, which in turn raised the profile of Newfoundland folk music. More importantly it made the Irish Newfoundlanders reflect on and reaffirm their distinct Irish ethnicity at a time when the country faced an identity crisis.

Successful businessman, amateur folklorist, and co-editor of the *Christmas Messenger* P.K. Devine often heard the group on business trips to New York. Subsequently, he decided to sell their recordings at the family's clothing store on Water Street in St John's in Newfoundland, and facilitated mail orders throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. He also sponsored 'The Big Six' radio programme that featured their music for more than 30 years. Having asked the trio to set his poem *Pat Murphy's Meadow* to music he paid for them to visit Newfoundland in 1953 (Example 5.1). The group arrived to several hundred at the harbour and their performances were sold out in St John's for five nights. They subsequently toured Newfoundland for eight weeks. Their songs entered the repertoire and local performers emulated their performance style.

The Walsh Family Band, based in Bay de Verde, emulate the McNultys' style of performance. Greg Walsh stated in an interview that his father had heard the McNulty Family playing on 'The Big Six' radio show in the 60s and was a fan. He also stated that the father was deeply influenced by a famous Newfoundland singer John Whyte, with whom he performed regularly on the TV show *All Around the Circle*, who in turn was influenced by the NcNultys. While the bands arrangements are original, their repertoire and instrumentation show the influence of the McNulty Family. Their recording *The Passing of the Years* includes *Pat Murphy's Meadow*.

Example 5.1 *When I Mowed Pat Murphy's Meadow* (the McNulty Family)



Irish Identity in a Canadian Province

On 22 July 1948, the British government held a referendum to determine the future status of Newfoundland. The referendum deliberated as to whether Newfoundland would retain Britain's commission of government or enter into confederation with Canada. The ballot revealed a vote in favour of confederation by a slim majority of 52 percent to 48 per cent. Consequently, Newfoundland joined Canada on 31 March 1949. It is generally understood amongst Newfoundlanders that the British rigged this ballot. They maintain that Britain wanted to rid itself of the financially dependent dominion, even though the people wished to remain under its sovereignty. This rejection by Britain deeply hurt Newfoundlanders (especially those of English origin), since it was their support of the mother country during World War Two that had brought about their economic downfall.[29]

Newfoundland's rejection by Britain and its loss of independence devastated its people's confidence. Newfoundland's peripheral position on the east coast of Canada, its regional status in relation to its political and economic affairs within confederate Canada, and its minority-group status in relation to population density has led to the perceived marginalization of Newfoundland affairs within Confederate Canada. Newfoundlanders state that their low representation within the confederation has devastated their economy, excluded them from common growth and integration processes, and entrenched unemployment and low

[29] Indeed, 6,241 Newfoundlanders enlisted to serve the English army during World War Two. This resulted in a large fiscal and human debt: 1,305 died, 2,314 were wounded and 180 Newfoundlanders were taken as prisoners. The cost of maintaining a regiment, the railway debt and the great depression following the war forced Newfoundland to give up its independent dominion status to Britain.

incomes in the region. Poor political representation has also prevented them from articulating their resentment at the stripping of their natural resources, and has weakened their ability to use the global market to their advantage.

Newfoundland's financial and political inferiority within Confederate Canada has led to the stereotyping of Newfoundlanders as 'Newfies'[30] by mainland Canadians. This stereotyping, and the realities of the economic downturn in Newfoundland society, led to the rejection of Newfoundland culture amongst its people and the adoption of music from outside. The arrival of American naval bases on the coast of Newfoundland in the 1950s provided a lifeline to the Newfoundland economy. The playing of country and western music by military radio stations made it extremely popular. Live country music performance was brought to the outports by travelling musicians, such as Jimmy Linegar.[31] Country music became a symbol of change, upward mobility and progress. People related to the hardships expressed in country music and adapted the style to their repertoire. The playing of country music remains a popular choice in Newfoundland today, especially in rural areas. Many of the contemporary topics arising in Newfoundland society are addressed by the genre, rather than by folk music. Indeed, country music repertoire is included in most traditional music performances, which are sometimes billed as 'country and Irish'. Many performers note that audiences rarely notice the difference between the traditional and country repertoire. Sometimes country music is referred to as 'Newfie' music, whereas folk music is recognized as being Irish, thus exposing the continued distinction of Irish identity within Newfoundland culture.

The US folk revival eventually spread to Newfoundland, leading to a folk craze around 1960–1980. This movement rejuvenated the country's interest in folklore and the folk-song repertoire. While confederation brought modernity and progress to Newfoundland's economy, it was seen as destructive to its culture. The Resettlement Program, which centralized Newfoundland's settlement around the industrial and commercial centre of St John's, caused a sense of rootlessness amongst the people. Newfoundlanders also feared their heritage and culture were being assimilated into a homogeneous mainland culture. In a desire to reaffirm their Newfoundland identity, the Department of Folklore was established at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), under the American folklorist Herbert Halpin. He promoted the study of folklore and folk music by stating that folklife was not a remnant of the past, but a dynamic part of the present. In 1966, the St John's Folk Arts Council was established. The council immediately tried to move the focus of the arts from mainstream folk to Newfoundland folk music. According to the folklorist Richard Kearney (2004: 504), the Folk Arts Council

[30] 'Newfie' is recognized as a derogatory term that represents Newfoundlanders' backwardness, lack of education, economic dependence and poverty.

[31] Between 1952 and 1956 the country and western performer Jimmy 'Kid Ranger' Linegar was a regular on radio stations CJON and VOCM. Throughout the 1970s he toured with various Newfoundland singers and musicians. He now performs for personal entertainment only.

'aimed to promote and nurture Newfoundland's music and culture through concerts and cultural exchanges, educational sessions, Old Time Soirees and folk dance instruction'. In this context, Newfoundland musicians saw traditional music as a means of creating a sense of regional identity. This led to two forms of music production: those who reproduced the traditional songs using folk-style accompaniment and those who saw the music as a source for developing a contemporary expression of the folk.

The folk group Ryan's Fancy formed at the height of the Folk Boom in Toronto. The band members included Dublin-born Fergus O'Byrne and Dermot O'Reilly, and Tipperary-born Denis Ryan. After touring in Newfoundland in 1969, the group felt a connection with the area. They were impressed by the people's familiarity with Irish music, including the Clancy Brothers, the McNulty Family, and the broader Irish American repertoire. They felt that the positive response to their music by the locals would ensure a long-term audience. They also felt that the strong European presence, particularly that of the Irish, made the place feel like home. The trio decided to resettle in Newfoundland in 1971, and performed on the local music scene while attending Memorial University. Styled in the manner of the Clancy Brothers, the band played rousing Irish pub songs with guitar accompaniment. The group soon started to source Newfoundland songs from the Doyle collections, Harry Hibbs recordings and local performers. These were then performed in the folk style for the local audience. Fergus O'Byrne stated in an interview that 'even though we were singing more popular songs, the rawness [influenced by the Dubliners] from which we approached them appealed to the people' and revived the local music scene.

While in Newfoundland the group appeared in several CBC television series, including *Ryan's Fancy* (January 1972 to April 1972) and the pub-styled *Tommy Makem and Ryan's Fancy* (July to September 1974). This show involved the trio travelling across Atlantic Canada, meeting local performers and performing local and Irish songs in a folk style. These TV programmes were broadcast to Newfoundland, Canadian and Irish audiences. The programmes showed the depth of the Newfoundland tradition and negated the 'Newfie' stereotyping. The local people felt a sense of pride in the interest of outsiders in their heritage. Their success set up a precedent of performance in Newfoundland. Most bands emulate their folk style of performance and use their repertoire.

According to Greg Walsh 'Ryan's Fancy indirectly created the fallacy that Irish music is Newfoundland music. Of all the songs on their albums only five per cent are from Newfoundland the remainder Irish, showband tunes, and songs of the Irish Diaspora.' Ryan's Fancy raised an awareness of traditional music, and through their travels brought knowledge of Newfoundlanders to Newfoundland. By continuing the tradition of transposing Irish song repertoire to Newfoundland they reconstituted the transnational relationship between the Irish and Newfoundland traditions. The popularity of this style of performance internationally linked the Irish diaspora in Newfoundland with others worldwide

and ensured that the folk style of performance became the dominant form of music making in Newfoundland, particularly in St John's.

In 1970, a Newfoundland renaissance emerged, in which academics and artists sought to express their perception of national identity through writing, painting and theatre. Concentrating on the rural aspect of Newfoundland culture, this movement rejected the over-popularized and romanticized folk music. In search of the authentic voice of Newfoundland, these artists focused on the music of the outports. According to Kearney (2004: 503), the songs from the Doyle collection were now associated with the working class and as such were seen to be boring and uninteresting. Their widespread dissemination also conflicted with the group's aim to make non-popularized traditional songs appeal to an urban Newfoundland audience. Alternatively, it was decided that Peacock's *Songs of the Outports* complemented this mood, as the collection represented the authentic rural music tradition. The use of songs from this collection provided a means of reconnecting and preserving the past in a very accessible way. Kearney (2004: 510) noted that 'Newfoundlanders viewed the Peacock collection as a distinct remedy to the dominance of Irish and country and western music in the Province', even though it contained Irish material and songs derived from Irish songs.

The band Figgy Duff maintained this ethos while also believing in the need to re-interpret it for the modern audience. Their music held no political message, but attempted to reconcile the imbalance between confederation and province, centre and periphery, by juxtaposing the richness of Newfoundland's tradition against its economic dependence. Their approach also attempted to provide an identity for the youth by reconciling elements of their culture such as modernity and roots, rock and traditional. Band member Anita Best stated in an interview that she saw the possibility of imbedding their folk material in the style of the British folk-rock bands Steeleye Span and Fairport Convention. Consequently, Figgy Duff placed traditional songs into complex arrangements that incorporated rock and traditional styles. They believed that, in arranging their collected field material in the folk-rock idiom, they were not fossilizing the tradition, but reviving it.

The group actively set out to collect old songs and tunes. According to Kearney, the contributors included Laverne Squires, Charlotte Decke, Freeman Bennet, Becky Bennett and Philip Foley (2004: 515). They also sourced material from Peacock's collection, field recordings and original compositions. It was agreed that the material would have to be representative of the various Newfoundland traditions and so included English, Irish and French songs. This resulted in the formation of a syncretic music in which Irish traditional song was the most influential. Themes centred on love, tragedies, murder and shipwrecks. Noel Dinn[32] and Pamela Morgan attempted to devise arrangements that would

[32] Noel Dinn was influenced by the Big Six, American rhythm and blues, and Irish Newfoundland music. Other influences include Solomon Burke, Jimmy Reed, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. Noel Murray studied in England as an Oxford Rhodes Scholar, and brought back records of folk-rock bands when he returned.

respect the integrity of the material, by refraining from radically altering texts and melodies. Musical arrangements took a theatrical approach in mirroring the mood of the songs. Arrangements featured instrument breaks, countermelodies, bridge sections, and 'turn-arounds' (short melodic pieces).

Figgy Duff received a mixed response from the islanders, which exposed cultural differences between urban and rural, and between lower and middle classes, in Newfoundland. In urban centres, their music changed the views of the people about their own musical tradition; it brought the tradition to a wider audience, and with time it brought pride. Traditional songs were no longer seen as old-fashioned. A reawakening had occurred, and people recognized the value and uniqueness of their music. However, rural community audiences were hostile, even threatening, towards the group. The arrangements didn't suit the nightclub scene, as they could not be danced to. Their songs were considered old fashioned by the younger generation, while older audiences disagreed with the use of electric equipment in traditional music performances. The complexity of the music was also a major factor in this respect. The rural audience favoured simple music. More complex music was regarded as music for urban snobs.

Failing to secure a strong audience base in Newfoundland, Figgy Duff went to Toronto to hit the bigger market. Travel to the mainland became a prerequisite for the band to survive. Success slowly emerged. International gigs and recording contracts were offered to the band.[33] The lack of a music industry in Newfoundland hindered their development, and the lack of advice embroiled them in shady deals. It is interesting to note that their second album, which was manufactured for Celtic Records in England, came back to Newfoundland as an import. Discord within the band led to a continuous change of band members. The death of Noel Dinn, its founder, brought the project to an end. They have since been recognized for their contribution to the revival of traditional song in Newfoundland and for putting Newfoundland music within an international context. The concept of an inclusive repertoire which is representative of the transnational nature of Newfoundland identity remains a constant feature of traditional performances today.

Regionalism in Popular Music

Newfoundland is currently searching for a distinct identity from Canada through regionalism, which will enable it to defy Canadian and American cultural dominance. Canadian culture is opposed and derided locally due to the perception that it lacks a distinct unified identity and culture, being dominated by polarized English and French Canadian cultures. The Federation recognizes the need to combat the homogenization of Canadian culture with US culture by looking to the regions to provide a distinctive plurality. The vast resource of traditional music, song and dance in Newfoundland provides it with a means of articulating

[33] On one occasion they were chosen to represent Canada in an International May Time Festival in Dundalk, May 1977.

difference within the Canadian provinces and enables the people to rebuild their self-esteem. By focusing on its Irish and Celtic heritage the island seeks to project a transnational identity, which reaffirms its connection to the homelands rather than to Canada. 'I mean Newfoundland is a Celtic Nation. We're no different from Brittany or Ireland or the Isle of Man. We're three thousand miles away but we're doing the same thing' (The Arts in Newfoundland; 2006: 43).

Great Big Sea is a Newfoundland pop band that integrates a regional sound into its music by including traditional Newfoundland songs into its repertoire along with contemporary songs which articulate Newfoundland's current sense of identity. The band members are not bearers of the tradition and have not sourced the material themselves. Rather, they look to other culture-bearers such as Fergus Byrne of Ryan's Fancy and Pamela Morgan of Figgy Duff for material. They are also greatly influenced by the repertoire of recorded folk/traditional bands such as the Irish Descendants, The Fables, Rawlins Cross, and the Wonderful Grand. Great Big Sea maintains this regional identity, while moving into national and international realms.

The band members of Great Big Sea identify themselves as Newfoundlanders first and Canadians second. They project an identity of Newfoundland that clearly articulates its distinctive Irish links through the addition of Irish songs to their Newfoundland repertoire. They also rearticulate this Newfoundland identity for a younger generation in respect to arrangements and performance. This is achieved through the arrangement of traditional Newfoundland songs into a popular music format by including bridge passages, music interludes and added choruses. In this respect the band also integrates traditional and popular music instruments into arrangements. The songs are sung in a contemporary fashion using a modern pop rock voice, a local accent and local phrases. The band has defied the perceived notion that one has to sound American in order to attain popularity. Their success has proven that there is strong interest in local roots music amongst Canadians. This has subsequently led to an increase in local music production and the development of further hybrid folk-pop ensembles.

The communal aspect of traditional song performance is encouraged through participation, and the transmission of these songs is aided through the printing of lyrics in the album sleeve. Their success has ensured that they have projected the transnational identity of the local into the national, and more importantly into the global. It has defied the status quo by redefining traditional, folk and Celtic music as popular music. Indeed, a review of the charts in Newfoundland will expose a number of traditional and folk bands in the top 40. Subsequently, the youth in Newfoundland readily attend traditional/folk gigs and see this as an appealing form of entertainment. The success of this group internationally reaffirms the communities' pride in their culture and helps to overcome the Newfie stereotyping.

Envisaging the Irish Diaspora as a Global Community

Ireland's diaspora forms a global community that is linked by history, a shared identity, and a common interest in Ireland's future. This sharing of identity occurs on three levels: the sharing of identity with the homeland, the sharing of identity with other Irish descendants within the host country, and the sharing of an Irish identity with other diaspora communities globally. In Newfoundland this has been exhibited through the proliferation of songs from and about Ireland, songs in relation to the diasporic experience of Irish descendants in Newfoundland, and songs from the Irish American community in Newfoundland. This interplay between diaspora communities and the host country thus emulates Galtung's wheel model (1971). The strength of this ethnic identity is witnessed through the continued revival and recreation of Irish culture within the host country. This is witnessed in Newfoundland through print and media, and the assimilation of popular music practices to traditional song performance. The assimilation of the Irish song repertoire into the genre of Newfoundland song shows a sharing of identity of the Irish community with the host country especially at times of crisis, such as the loss of independence. The constant domination of Irish song and music on the Island also exposes the need to maintain a distinct Irish identity for the Irish diaspora.

Since the 1970s the character of the Irish migrant to Newfoundland has moved far away from the stereotypical Irish 'gombeen'. New emigrants either choose to sever ties with the homeland or preserve a select ethnicity. For instance, their involvement with Irish religious institutions, such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Christian Brothers, has been severed. The maintenance of community links with other Irish abroad is no longer as important as it has been. More recent settlers choose to socialize with a wider network of friends rather than just the Irish. The issues of religion and politics, which divided the homeland, do not hold in Newfoundland; northern and southern Irish stand as one. In 1970 the Ireland Newfoundland Association (middle class/new Irish) was established to represent this viewpoint. This replaced the Benevolent Irish Society (older generation/ working class), creating a social split between the two groups. However, later arrivals continue to ingrain an Irish heritage in their children.

The presence of an Irish diaspora worldwide and the development in media production and transmission have meant that Irish culture is no longer a national preoccupation but a global one. Kearney states that 'Irish culture and politics can no longer be contained within the frontiers of an island … [and] that this may signal a movement beyond the historical alternatives of colonial dependence and nationalist independence towards a new model of post-colonial and post-nationalist interdependence' (Kearney; 2004: 113). We can see through the activities of the diaspora that the globalization of Irish culture is in fact a process of mediation, always maintaining their connection with home while undergoing a process of acculturation within the global, constantly moving from the centre (Ireland) to the periphery (the diaspora) and back. Similarly, we note that the experience of Irish

culture on the periphery, such as Irish American culture, can inform and reshape the tradition at its centre. Kearney states that 'this linking of the local and the global is arguably the most promising formula for a regenerated sense of Irish community. Following the lead of those community cultural groups which have managed to express creatively their sense of local identity at the same time as they transcend both tribal and national boundaries' (Kearney; 2004: 122).

The popularity and proliferation of Irish cultural heritage in Newfoundland has led to debates about Irish cultural imperialism. This perception mirrors the general consensus that 90 per cent of the population is Irish, when statistics generally show that it is 50 per cent. This perception is skewed by the high percentage of Irish living in St John's and the Avalon Peninsula. While the government chooses to build on the Irish link, since Irish music is popular worldwide and will attract visitors, they also try to project a united Newfoundland tradition that synthesizes disparate cultural strands. According to the 'Arts in Newfoundland' report (2006: 35) 'if the problem is where does Irish music stop and Newfoundland music begin, it is not always so easy to say. Newfoundland music is very Irish in a lot of ways, but it is also an amalgamation of a lot of different types of music'. Others feel that the over-emphasis on the Irishness of the musical tradition has been detrimental to the development of Newfoundland music, since it continues to exhibit differences within a culture that people are trying to unite. This has been substantiated by the representation of Irish Newfoundland in the media, in literature and on television. Anita Best states: 'We talk about imperialism like the British imposed on us, the Irish cultural imperialism is just as bad; people assume that Newfoundland music and Irish music are one and the same thing.' The creation of a home away from home for the Irish diaspora is preventing the development of a distinct hybrid local culture.

Economic and political instability have made it difficult in the past for Ireland to support and engage with its diaspora. Indeed, the term 'Irish diaspora' only appeared in print in *The Vanishing Irish* (1954). The term gained prominence in the 1990s when Irish president Mary Robinson set about developing ties between the nation and its global Irish family. In so doing, she mediated the disjuncture between national, diaspora and global communities to create a transnational identity for the Irish diaspora. Indeed, her address to the Oireachtas in 1995, *Cherishing the Irish Diaspora* (www.emigrant.ie), stated that Irishness was not territorial, but conceptual. It resolved that one definitive definition of Irishness could not be formulated, and that any interpretation of the term should be as broad and inclusive as possible. It also suggested that the Irish diaspora should be involved in dialogue and interaction with the homeland. For 'if we expect that the mirror held up to us by Irish communities abroad will show us a single familiar identity, or a pure strain of Irishness, we will be disappointed. We will overlook the fascinating diversity of culture and choice that looks back at us. Above all we will miss the chance to have that dialogue with our own diversity

that this reflection offers us' (www.emigrant.ie).[34] In 1996, the governments of Newfoundland and Ireland established the Ireland Newfoundland partnership to recognize the historical links between the countries and develop collaborative projects.

The strength of the Irish music tradition at home provides a stable base for music activity. Hence Irish traditional musicians in the diaspora keep abreast of developments in the music scene at home. While expressions of individual Irish diasporas worldwide are recognized amongst other diasporas, Irish recognition of the diaspora has tended to focus on the Irish American music community.[35] Helen O'Shea's work (2008) exemplifies how the essentialist definition of Irish traditional music performance has predicated the relationship between a geographically determined identity and an individual's ability to exemplify authenticity in musical performance, thus relegating diasporic voices to outsider status. She also exposes the lack of recognition given to distinctive styles in diasporic locations and contends that foreigners will always remain at the periphery of the tradition 'to be dissolved in the river of sound' (148). While the Chief O'Neill's collection of Irish traditional music in Boston is esteemed within the instrumental tradition, Irish traditional song performers have failed to recognize the significant repository of Irish traditional song in the diaspora. Indeed, performances of a Newfoundland repertory at home in Ireland remain few.[36]

The Ireland Newfoundland Partnership has strengthened the relationship between home and away through its establishment of The Festival of the Sea in 2005.[37] This festival alternates annually between St John's, Newfoundland, and Waterford, Ireland. In so doing it balances the input from both communities. In addition to audience development and cultural appreciation, its programming also focuses on active engagement between communities. The role of the Comhaltas Ceoltóiri Éireann (CCÉ) in engaging the diaspora must also be recognized.[38] Indeed, they have enabled the establishment of branches abroad (including Newfoundland), helping musicians from abroad to compete in the Fleadh Cheoil competition, and tour amongst diaspora communities. It is expected that the

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[34] The London Feis and The Return to Camden Town provide two instances of this within the festival scene.

[35] TV series *Bringing it all Back Home* by Philip King and Nuala O'Connor (1991).

[36] These include *Sweet Forget Me Not* (Dolores Keane) and *The Star of Logy Bay* (Sliabh Notes, from the album *Along Blackwater's Banks* (Audio CD OSS CD 130 Cork 2002)). Also, Karen Casey used the Peacock Collection as a source for songs on her first solo album, which include favourites such as *She's like the Swallow*.

[37] Musical exchange between the two communities has been celebrated in the recording *Island to Island*, which was funded by the Ireland Newfoundland Partnership. This project has been reviewed by Evelyn Osborne in *Crossing Over, Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3* (2010).

[38] CCÉ is an organisation that promotes Irish traditional music both at home and abroad. For further information see http://comhaltas.ie.

internet will facilitate a greater reconciliation between the Irish tradition and its diasporic expression of Irish culture in the future. There are already a plethora of sites facilitating this process including diaspora.ie and globallyirish.com. This will enable the diaspora to play a greater role in re-imagining Ireland in the modern era. As Irish president Mary McAleese stated in her address at a conference in Charlottesville, Virginia, on 7 May 2003, 'our global Irish family is today one of our greatest resources, feeding our culture, expanding its imagination, opening doors, keeping faith with the homeland' (www.re-imagining-ireland.org). It is apparent that only by envisaging a transnational Irish culture can the voice of the Irish diaspora be reconciled with the diaspora and return home once more.

Conclusion

Migration has led to the development of a plural society in Newfoundland, of which Irish culture is a significant part. Political and economic changes within this society have led to the development of four levels of identification for the Irish diaspora: Irish, Newfoundland, Celtic and Canadian identities. Indeed, Irish music has acted as a signifier of political unity and resistance at different stages in Newfoundland's history, thus manifesting both a shared identity with and a distinct identity from the host country. The Irish diaspora's continued identification with the homeland, the Irish American community, and other diaspora communities, has led to the establishment of a transnational Irish identity. While developments in media and technology have led to the homogenization of local culture through the dissemination of popular Western culture, we also note how technology and the media have enabled the Irish diaspora to maintain links with home, preserve their ethnic repertoire within the global, and maintain an ethnic distinctiveness within the host country. It also becomes apparent how new expressions of Irishness at the periphery can reinvigorate the Irish tradition and bring about change at the centre.[39]

[39] This is more evident in the case of Irish Americans with the music of vaudeville, Tin Pan Alley, the Clancy Brothers and Michael Flatley.

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Chapter 6
The Political Divide

Political song in Ireland provides a means of contesting local politics, forging social unity, maintaining ethnic division and fighting social injustice. Many traditional songs provide an alternative account of Ireland's political history written by its people. Within a modern context, politics on the island of Ireland have become divided between 'Green' and 'Orange' ideologies.[1] The division of Ireland (1921) has heightened this situation in Northern Ireland. Within this context competing ethnic, religious and political identities are often projected through song into the global arena for validation. The global movements of socialism, the Civil Rights Movement, and the American and British Folk Movements have also impacted on political song in Ireland. Consequently, many contemporary performers use protest song as a means of advocating social change, and as a tool of mediation between opposing communities.

An Independent Ireland

The pursuit of independence has been a prominent theme in Irish history since the twelfth century, when Ireland encountered three successive waves of colonization by the Anglo-Normans, the Tudors and Cromwell. While the Anglo-Norman Invasion (1169) led to the settlement of English, Welsh, French and Flemish immigrants, the impact of this settlement proved negligible due to their failure to impose English rule and constrain Irish politics and culture. The Tudors applied a systematic approach to the colonization of Ireland in the sixteenth century through the imposition of English law, the setting up of regional councils,[2] and the Plantation of Leix-Offaly, East Ulster and Munster. However, the lack of consistent strategy led to the coalescence of the Irish and Old English in rebellions against the Protestant New English and the Scottish settlers.[3] Cromwell's suppression of the Irish Rebellion (1641–53) increased the rate of plantation in Ireland, with 80 per cent of Irish land in English hands by 1688.[4] The defeat of the Irish under James II, by William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), finally conceded

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[1] Green representing the Catholic Nationalists and Republicans; orange representing the Protestant Loyalists and Unionists.

[2] In Munster and Connaught.

[3] The Desmond Rebellion in Munster, the Rising in the Pale, the Nine Years War, and the 1641 Irish Rebellion.

[4] Given as payment to soldiers and financiers of the British invasion.

all control of Ireland to Britain and outlawed Catholic religious practices (Penal Laws enacted 1690).

The Society of United Irishmen (1791),[5] influenced by the Enlightenment (1650–1800) and the French Revolution (1789), fostered the concept of colonial nationalism and established a revolutionary republican movement in Ireland that attracted both Presbyterians and Catholics to fight for Ireland's cause. This effort culminated in the failed rebellion of 1798. The Young Ireland Movement (c. 1840),[6] influenced by Nationalist uprisings across Europe, championed the Repeal of the Act of Union (1800). This cross-community organization led another failed uprising in Tipperary (1848–49). The Home Rule Campaign (c. 1870), brought division between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Ireland once more since the Protestant minority feared it would lead to the establishment of 'Papal Rule'. The end of the American Civil War (1865) saw a return of Irish-American militiamen to fight on behalf of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).[7] This uprising (in 1867) failed, but the IRB continued its campaign for freedom by democratizing the Home Rule League (1873–1882) and the Irish Parliamentary Party (1882), taking part in the Land War (1870s–1890s), and staging the Easter Rising (1916). The Easter Rising in turn led to the establishment of Dáil Éireann (1919), the Irish War of Independence (1919–21), the Anglo-Irish treaty (December 1921), and the Irish Civil War (1922–23).

As a British colony, Ireland gained strategic international links. It was integrated into the Atlantic world and benefitted from strong commercial, intellectual and military links with continental Europe.[8] However, the Irish strove for freedom and rallied international support through the Irish diaspora in America. The Fenian Brotherhood,[9] a sister organization of the IRB in the USA, campaigned for heroic young Irishmen to join the union army in order to raise support for the Irish cause. It was hoped that Irish support for the American cause would stimulate an American response to Ireland's fight for freedom after the American Civil War.[10] It claimed that the Union Army would provide arms and supplies, as well as a training ground

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5 Established by liberal members of the Protestant ascendancy.

6 Founded by Irish intellectuals who wrote for the *Nation* newspaper, it advocated the study of Irish history and revival of the Irish (Gaelic) language in order to develop Irish nationalism and achieve independence.

7 Formed in 1858; also referred to as the Fenians.

8 International military support had been given by European kings including King Phillip III of Spain (1610) and King Louis XIV of France (1690). The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell sought refuge in France, Spain and Italy in 1607 when they were forced into exile.

9 Established on St Patrick's Day 1858. Headed by John O'Mahony, a Young Irelander and veteran of the 1848 Rising.

10 The Irish fought on both sides of the American war, but predominantly on the Union side.

for infantrymen and officers. While the achievements of the Irish 69th Brigade[11] in the American Civil war are well documented, American support for the Irish cause failed to materialize. A failed attack by the Fenian Brotherhood on British bases in Canada brought condemnation for the society as it could have destabilized ethnic relations in the area. The Brotherhood was disbanded as a result.

The Partition of Ireland (1921) instigated a dialogue of difference within the island of Ireland, which continues to the present day. This divide is described ethnically in terms of British and Irish nationality, geographically in relation to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and religiously in respect to Catholicism and Protestantism. The British government reinforced Protestant authority in the North (1922–72) through advocating a disproportionate representation of Protestants in Parliament. This imbalance of power fed down to local authorities, governing bodies, the police and other positions of power. As a result, the Protestant community held a monopoly on state resources including housing, job opportunities, education and the support of cultural practices. The increased ethnocentrism of the Protestant community, the lack of civil rights afforded to Catholics, and the close proximity of the two communities led to increased sectarian hatred and contempt. Though the division between the two communities is not based on doctrinal disputes, it is sanctified by their connection to religion institutions (LeVine; 1972: 8).[12] Catholics are regarded as Nationalists or Republicans while Protestants are categorized as Unionist or Loyalist.[13]

During Ireland's troubled history different religious and social factions formed secret societies to protect themselves and their interests. The Ancient Order of the Hibernians (AOH) formed to protect priests in Ireland during the penal laws, while The Orange Order was established to guard Protestants from the 'Whiteboys' and 'Ribbonmen', and protect the position of Protestants in Irish society. While these societies remain active today, they no longer use military means to achieve their goals. A percentage of young Protestants in Northern Ireland resent the democratic political path to peace that has undermined Protestant authority in the North. They now look towards paramilitary organizations such as the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)[14] as an alternative means of asserting ethnic power in the North.

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[11] Fought in the Battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Petersburg, Spottsylvania, Wilderness and Yorktown.

[12] Mitchell (2003: 1) states that 'whilst the churches have often spoken out against violence, their main interest through conflict was to locate themselves in the political mainstream of their respective communities'.

[13] Unionists are Protestants who believe in a principled unionism and have a British identity; Loyalists are fundamental Protestants who believe in conditional unionism and have an Ulster identity.

[14] While a Protestant group of this name was against Home Rule in 1912, the modern equivalent emerged in 1966 in opposition to liberal unionism and with the stated aim of killing IRA members. The UVF is held responsible for dozens of killings, and has links with the

This is mirrored by a percentage of Irish youths involved in the Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA).[15]

The Industrial Revolution mobilized workers unions' worldwide to show how industrial unionism could enable the worker to challenge the employers' class into providing workers' rights. James Connolly, a returned Irish immigrant and former organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), encouraged workers to join forces to achieve workers' rights. The socialist belief that 'an injury to one is an injury to all'[16] strongly influenced the union movement. A strong relationship emerged between workers' unions and Irish socialist political parties such as the National Labour League (1887) and the Independent Labour Party (1890), thus aligning the ideals of nationalism with the quest for a new social system for Ireland. James Connolly played a pivotal part in achieving these objectives by involving the armed defence body of the Irish Transport and General Worker's union, the Irish Citizens' Army (ICA) in the 1916 Nationalist Insurrection. The part played by the ICA and the Labour Party ensured a democratic programme for government in Ireland. However, contrary to Connolly's hopes, Ireland never embroiled itself in a social revolution.

The rise of communism and fascism in interwar Europe was reflected in Irish politics. Communist ideals contributed to Larkinism, the Unemployed Worker's Protests (1920s–1930s), socialist republicanism, the support for the socialists in the Spanish Civil War, trade unionism in Northern Ireland, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). Communist parties such as Saor Éire[17] and the Communist Party of Ireland were finally established in 1931 and 1933 respectively. The historian Emmet O'Connor noted that 'the fear of communism exerted the greater effect on Irish minds after 1930. It was a factor in the rise of the Blueshirts,[18] led to riots in Dublin (1933), contributed to rioting in Belfast (1935), provided an excuse for splitting the Labour party (1944), and terrorized

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Progressive Unionist Party. It forms part of the Combined Loyalist Military Command, which declared a ceasefire in October 1994. It is sometimes known as the Protestant Action Force.

[15] The IRA is the chief republican paramilitary group. It was established in 1919 to fight for an independent Ireland. In 1969 it split into the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA (the former had adopted a Marxist political ideology and rejected violence while the latter favoured being an armed force). Following the Official IRA ceasefire of 1972, the Provisionals became known as the IRA.

[16] Motto of members of the IWW, known as the 'Wobblies'.

[17] Saor Éire was a left-wing political party established by the IRA (1931). The party's main aims were to lead the workers of Ireland in a bid to overthrow British imperialism and its ally Irish capitalism, by controlling the country's means of production.

[18] The Army Comrades Association (ACA), better known as 'The Blueshirts', was a fascist organization who adhered to a right-wing ideology, wore paramilitary-style uniforms, gave the roman salute, and advocated a militant Catholicism, anti-communism and corporatism. Public disapproval of their planned Mussolini-style march on Dublin (August 1933) marginalized the group and forced them to merge with Cumann na nGaedheal, the Farmers' Party and the National Centre Party to form Fine Gael.

the public at the height of the Cold War in the 1950's' (2004: 1). Sinn Fein, the Workers' Party, took its present form after a split within the party in 1970. The party's new mandate resolved to step down its military campaign and advocate the right to social, economic, gender and cultural equality, thus replacing sectarian politics with class struggle to achieve unity between Catholics and Protestants on the island of Ireland.

The Civil Rights Movement (1960–80) is a period of global history in which there was much worldwide civil unrest and popular rebellion. Taking the example of the American Civil Rights Association, NICRA campaigned in the late 1960s and early 1970s to eradicate the civil rights injustices experienced by the Catholic minority in the North.[19] Civil disobedience on the part of the activists was militantly quashed by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). The brutality experienced during these events led to the IRA launching a campaign of violence to end British governance in Northern Ireland. The British Government responded with a policy of internment without trial for suspected IRA members.[20] Protestant Loyalist paramilitaries also responded to the IRA's actions by murdering Catholics. In 1968, in a bid to resolve Northern civil rights issues, the British Government proposed a series of reforms for Northern Ireland. When it failed to achieve these sanctions, Westminster imposed direct rule in 1972. The hunger strikes by Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland during 1981 and the escalation of violence by the IRA forced an Anglo-Irish Agreement between Ireland and Britain in 1985, which gave Ireland a voice in Northern politics and agreed to no change in the constitutional status in Northern Ireland without majority consent. This agreement laid the foundation for the Northern Irish Peace Process, which was initiated under the Good Friday Agreement 1998. Devolved government was finally returned to Northern Ireland in 2007.

Orange Song

The annual Orange Order parade on 12 July commemorates the victory of William of Orange's army at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and initiates a marching season. According to the patriarchal Order, the act of parading provides members of the order with a means of bearing witness to their Protestant faith and celebrates their cultural heritage through symbolism and music. Marchers are typically attired in suits, an orange sash, white gloves, umbrella and a bowler hat. Accompanying bands wear military-style uniforms in vivid colours. Each band has its own

[19] Demands included: one person, one vote, an end to discrimination in housing, an end to discrimination in local government, an end to the gerrymandering of district boundaries, and the disbandment of the B-Specials, an entirely Protestant Police reserve that was perceived as sectarian (Ruane and Todd; 1996: 121–5).

[20] Over three hundred people were interned by the British forces. The majority were Catholic (http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/9/newsid_4071000/4071849.stm).

paraphernalia of flags and banners that depict tribal conquests,[21] biblical scenes and prominent figures within the Orange Order's history.[22] Band varieties include flute; silver and brass; fife and drum; piano accordion; and pipe bands. Their repertoire includes classical music arrangements, popular music-hall selections, popular music and Protestant political songs. While melody and part-music flute bands play military, brass band and classical music arrangements, blood and thunder bands (or 'kick the Pope' bands) play party tunes, hymns, traditional dance tunes, military marches, classical music themes, television theme tunes, popular music and football chants adapted to fit the traditional format. Due to the proliferation of party songs and hymns in the blood and thunder bands' repertoire, they are seen to be more contentious.

Music in this context maintains a kinaesthetic function by providing a beat for Orangemen to march to; it provides entertainment to bystanders, and represents social differences between the Catholic and Protestant communities. The inclusion of religious and political song melodies, the loudness of the music performance (particularly bands featuring the lambeg drum), the display of military paraphernalia and the indiscriminate public display of the music makes this practice aurally offensive and contentious across sectarian divides. The presence of paramilitary groups, to ensure that traditional parade routes are maintained through contentious areas, has heightened this tension.[23] In reaction to this, a Parades Commission was established in 1997 to monitor parade routes and ensure that the rights of individual communities are respected. To reduce conflict the Commission insists bands intending to parade apply for permission. They then designate acceptable parade routes and monitor group behaviour and tune repertoire during parades. Unhappy with the Orange Order's compliant position in relation to the Parades Commission and the broader issue of political reform in the North, Protestant youths are engaging more with independent blood and thunder bands who parade on a more regular basis.

Political songs sung within the Protestant community are referred to as party songs.[24] According to the singer and song collector John Moulden (cited in Edwards; 1999: 93), 'some of them are openly objectionable. Some of them refer to elements of Catholic doctrine in an opprobrious way. Some of them refer to party fights and give very one-sided and objectionable accounts … There are large numbers of songs, which look at incidents in Irish history where Protestants were injured, assaulted or killed. And there are large numbers of songs which

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[21] The Battle of the Boyne, the Battle of Aughrim and The Relief of Derry,

[22] Paramilitary groups began marching in the parades in the 1970s. The Parades Commission has curtailed this phenomenon by ensuring that no dress, flags or emblems of a paramilitary style are permitted.

[23] The Orange Order does not condone paramilitarism and regards members involved in paramilitarism with suspicion.

[24] The favourite Orange party songs being *The Sash*, *Dolly's Brae*, *Derry's Walls* and *The Old Orange Flute*.

say "watch out. If you are not on guard, these things are going to happen".' Texts also express Protestant feelings of vulnerability in reaction to the French Invasion (1690), the 1798 Insurrection, the United Irish Leaders, and Robert Emmett's Rising. Contemporary political songs continue to emerge,[25] with many using existing and well-known melodies to carry new lyrics. While Orange songs are regarded as partisan, it is often the meaning construed from their performance style and context rather than from the lyrics which affirm this.

Attempts to validate an autonomous Protestant song tradition in Northern Ireland have been denounced in favour of a shared tradition (Cooper; 2009, Graham; 2004, Hastings; 2003, Vallely; 2008). Cooper (1999) claims that Orange and Green songs are inextricable linked in rhythm, melody and metrical structures (including syllabic structures, metrical schemes, internal rhyme, assonance and alliteration). Vallely (2008: 102) highlights the use of internal rhyme, associated with Gaelic verse, within Orange song. The widely recognized practice of melodic borrowing indicates further processes of interaction and assimilation at play, a process of Anglicizing the Irish and Hibernicizing the English and Scottish. Consequently, Orange Order party songs cannot be defined as either British or Irish when in truth they are both. The Presbyterian flautist Rev. Gary Hastings reaffirms this viewpoint, stating that 'the music associated with the Orangeism is, on the whole and dare I say it, as Irish as anything else on this island – whatever that means – and possibly much more than much of the stuff peddled as being such at this present time. By Irish I mean that it happens on this island, it has been adopted, adapted and developed on this an island, and they don't do it the same as us anywhere else in the world' (2003: 75).

The infamous Orange song *The Sash My Father Wore* was first published in the Glasgow songster *The Orange Standard* (1936) by Mozart Allen. Several variants of the original lyric are currently in circulation. It is widely recognized as a Loyalist song on account of the lyric celebrating the defeat of the Irish at Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne. The ethnomusicologist Jackie Witherow (2009) has traced the songs history to nationalist roots. Indeed, it is based on the Nationalist song *The Hat My Father Wore*, which was written by Daniel McCarthy Ferguson in 1876. The lyric provides an account of an Irish boy, Paddy Miles,[26] returning from exile in America, who celebrates his Irishness by wearing a 'relic of old decency': the hat his father wore. Though this version has no explicit political or Nationalist associations, later variants affirm that the hat is a republican symbol worn at battles in Slaney, Ross and Gorey, while other versions replace the hat with the green sash. The singer-songwriter Tommy Sands found an even earlier version of the song in an American songbook dating back to 1810. The love song *Irish Molly O* provides a tale of heartbreak as a result of forbidden love. Further examples of Protestant, Catholic song exchanges are given in Table 6.1.

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[25] *The Ballad of Michael Stone* and *The Siege of Drumcree.*

[26] Jackie Witherow contends that Miles is short for Milesians, a tribe from which the Irish descended.

Table 6.1 Melody borrowing within Protestant party songs

Original melody Nationalist repertoire	**Borrowed melody Protestant repertoire**
The Patriot Game	*Come all ye Young Protestants**
Haste to the Wedding	*The Belleer Loyal Orange Lodge*
Rosc Catha Na Mumhan (The Battle Cry of Munster)	*The Boyne Water*
Green Grow the Rushes, O!	*The Relief of Derry* *The Orange Lily, O!*
Lilliburlero	*The Genius of Orange* *The Battle of Garvagh*

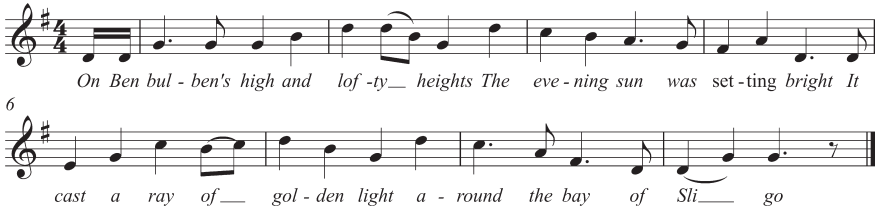
* The melody was later used for the *Haute Cuisine in Cathair Saidhbhin*, written by Brian O'Higgins.

Melody borrowing was also an element of the Nationalist song tradition. *The Orange Maid of Sligo* provides an interesting example in that it is an allegorical song based on the poetic form of the Aisling, found in Gaelic poetry (Example 6.1). The Aisling is a (visionary) love song, in which the hero on his rambles meets a beautiful woman (*spéirbhean*), with whom he immediately falls in love and whom he then marries. In Nationalist poetry the divine goddess symbolized Ireland. She appeared to the poet or hero in order to ask him to fight for her freedom. Consequently, these songs provided a means of urging a Nationalist resistance to British domination without attracting the attention of British authorities.[27] *The Orange Maid of Sligo* also personifies Ireland. However, she does not represent the Catholic Ireland but an Anglicized Ireland in the pre-partition state. In this scenario the poet asks that the *Orange Lily* be saved from falling into the hands of traitors or Nationalists. The singer-songwriter Dominic Behan later adapted the tune for his tribute to Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the Irish Home Rule Movement in the 1880s. The song *Avondale* refers to the scandal about his infamous romance with Katherine (Kitty) O'Shea in 1889, after which his supporters, influenced by a campaign of hatred from both the English press and the Catholic Church, deserted him. Having failed to secure Home Rule, he died in 1891.

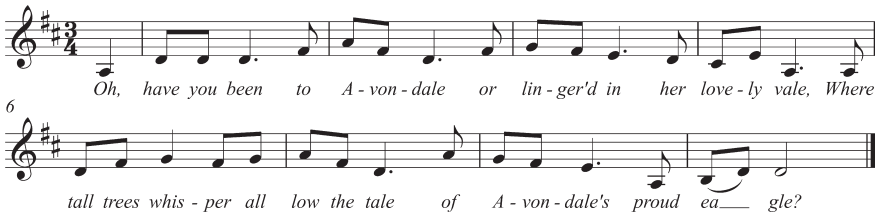
The commonality of melodies in Orange and Green repertory and the preference for instrumental performance on Orange parades raise the question as to why this band music is regarded as being offensive. The answer lies in the chanting and singing of inappropriate lyrics by Protestant spectators along the route, and the inclusion of recognizable political and religious songs at inappropriate locations. The Parades Commission actively regulates this practice and prosecutes those who breach restrictions. Not all Orange bands are politically motivated; some consciously avoid music that has religious or political associations and many do

[27] *Roisín Dubh*, *Caitlín Ní Uallacháin* and *Grainneuaile* are examples in Nationalist song.

Example 6.1(a) *The Orange Maid of Sligo* (text sourced from http://sniff.numachi.com)



Example 6.1(b) *Avondale* (text sourced from www.chivalry.com)



not include party tunes in their repertoire. Competitions have been established for bands and lambeg drummers to move the motivation of band playing towards achieving standards of performance. The media now advertises these events as tourist attractions.

The introduction of the British welfare system in Northern Ireland (1950), the imposition of political and social reforms from Westminster (1972), and the obligations of the Peace Process (1990) have re-adjusted the balance of power between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. These changes have disempowered the Protestant community and severely diminished the role and power of the Orange Order within Northern society. They have also prompted concerns that the British Government might return the six counties to the Irish nation. If this occurred Protestants would become a minority community within a Catholic majority. In reaction to this scenario, a rebellious working-class faction has arisen within Loyalism in Northern Ireland (DUP) and paramilitary youth culture is now filling a social void for Protestant youths now estranged from the Church, policing and the Orange Order. Parading, then, provides a means for reasserting an Ulster Protestant identity as well as instant gratification for Protestants in Northern Ireland.[28] The hosting of video footage of parades on youtube and youtube private channels further enables the voice of dissent within Northern society.

[28] High participation levels are noted. According to Jackie Witherow (BBC4, 17 August 2005) there are 631 Protestant bands versus 35 Catholic bands. Hypothetically speaking, with a minimum youth membership for each band of 20, this amounts to a

Roy Arbuckle is a singer-songwriter from the Protestant Unionist community of Londonderry who actively uses the arts as a medium for cross-community development in Northern Ireland and as a means of developing an alternative identity for Northern Protestants. He states that 'we are not trying to change people, but we are attempting to help them to express themselves as individuals within a larger community, and how to develop their own culture without harming others' (www.differentdrums.com). Arbuckle's work is based on two main premises. First, he maintains that music is an agent and receptor of social change; music is influenced by changes in society, and society can be influenced by music. More, he believes that artists are extremely receptive to change and are the first to demonstrate this in their work. Consequently, Arbuckle actively uses music to form and shape attitudes and values in his community workshops. Arbuckle's second premise is based on Henry Thoreau's concept that each person walks to a different drum, and that each person should be allowed to be an individual in his or her community.

Based on these premises Arbuckle established the Different Drums music ensemble in 1991. The group combines the lambeg drum of the Protestant community and the bodhrán of the Catholic community, the African djembe, long drum, snares, whistles, uilleann pipes, guitar and voices. The music of the ensemble combines the traditional rhythms of the lambeg drum and the bodhrán with Japanese taiko and African drumming techniques, tunes from the Irish dance music tradition, and folk songs. By combining these musical instruments and their repertoire the group attempts to represent equality amongst the traditions of Northern Ireland, to celebrate difference and commonalities amongst the two cultures, to challenge people's cultural prejudices, and to find a new way to articulate the traditional music of the two communities as one. The band believes that the broader inclusion of Japanese and African drumming techniques represents the greater ethnic diversity on the Island of Ireland today.

While Different Drums is primarily an instrumental ensemble, Roy contributes his own compositions to this ensemble. He sees song as a medium for emotional expression and contemplation in his workshops. The majority of Arbuckle's songs deal with the issue of cultural identity for Protestants in Northern Ireland. Arbuckle's song *Son of Soil* is a personal exploration of the author's identity in an evolving Northern Ireland. It refers to a loss of identity amongst the Protestant community in Northern Ireland in light of the Good Friday Agreement. Arbuckle states that although the Protestant community is not an indigenous people they have been on the island now for over 400 years and in this respect feel a sense of belonging to the place: 'I'm a part of the soil and a part of whatever has been in

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minimum of 12,620 teenage males partaking in this activity. While the traditional and social aspects of this alternative mode of recreation point towards a safe resolved community, it is hard to accept this totally when it becomes clear that this activity takes up every weekend for five months of the summer for teenage men (women are excluded from this activity; a few are allowed to take on the role of flag bearers).

this land before me.' His song *Caledonian Heartbeat* takes this idea a step further by emphasizing the Scottish elements of the Protestant community's heritage. It was written during a period when the author had emigrated to Canada and evokes images of home in Northern Ireland. Roy Arbuckle is in fact referring to the Ulster-Scots identity of many Presbyterian Protestants in Northern Ireland. While Roy openly admits that this conception of identity is mythological he still believes that it provides an alternative identity for Protestants in Northern Ireland.

A number of Roy Arbuckle's songs also deal with the issue of cultural practice amongst Northern Ireland Protestants. This sentiment is in response to criticisms by the Nationalist community that the Protestants lack a distinct culture. While Arbuckle rejects these Nationalist claims, he also wants to make a differentiation between political Protestant culture, Orangeism, and recreational activities. The journalist Eamonn McCann echoes this sentiment by stating 'If Orangemen marching along the Garvaghy Road is an expression of the culture of the Protestant people, what was Van Morrison at the Botanic Gardens? If the essence of the Protestant people is expressed through marching in a bowler hat behind a band past people who find the spectacle unpleasant, what is expressed in the plays of Sam Thompson and Gary Mitchell, the poetry of John Hewitt and Louis McNeice, the accomplishments of George Best and Margaret Johnston, the music of Ash and Derek Bell?' Roy Arbuckle's project *Songs of the Fountain*[29] attempts to capture the memories and culture the Protestant community where he was reared. The song *Dancing Down the Street* goes a step forward by claiming that political Protestant culture in Northern Ireland has had a strong impact on the popular music imagination.

Irish Rebel Songs

The fall of the Gaelic Irish Aristocracy in the seventeenth century and the resulting chaos in Irish society following English colonization is reflected in Irish Jacobite songs.[30] Despite the death of James II (1701) continued Jacobite support for the re-instatement of the Stuart dynasty represented a great hope for the Irish people throughout the eighteenth century.[31] The songs of Irish rebellion which emerged between 1780 and 1900 provide an insight into Ireland's historical struggle for independence in their description of historical events (such as uprisings and battles), the impact of British colonization on Irish society, social commentary on

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[29] www.royarbuckle.com/content/view/15/32.

[30] *Mo Ghile Mear*, *A Shearlais Oig*, *Suil a Ruin*, *The White Cockade*, *The Royal Blackbird.*

[31] The demise of Great Houses and the patronage of Gaelic poets and musicians by the Chieftain is reflected in the political satire and vision poetry of Aoghan O'Rathaille (1675–1729), the latest and greatest of the Gaelic Order Poets. The transition to an Anglo-Irish society is later reflected in the work of Eoghan Rua O'Suilleabhain (1748–84) that keeps the Aisling tradition alive.

the actions of political figures (patriots, politicians and authority figures), and the sentiments of the nation during this period (solidarity, loyalty and determination). These songs also encouraged young men to fight for Ireland's freedom, by glorifying the Irish rebel (or Fenian), patriotism and martyrdom. Zimmerman (1967: 9) states that Irish political songs during this period can be divided into two main categories: 'the struggle of the peasantry to take possession of the land, and the nationalist yearnings of the middle class, often intermingled with the efforts to obtain emancipation from the religious disabilities imposed on the majority'. At the turn of the century, song dealt predominantly with issues of Home Rule,[32] World War One anti-enlistment and anti-conscription,[33] the 1916 Easter Rising,[34] the War of Independence[35] and the Civil War.[36] Following Partition, Irish political songs have centred on the Nationalist cause in Northern Ireland, documenting the Nationalist campaign and providing a tool to highlight the social injustices experienced by Northern Catholics during the 'Troubles'.

Emigration brought Irish rebel songs into the global domain. This process was facilitated by Irish American Catholic secret societies such as the Fenian Brotherhood and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In this context, song vocalized the need to secure aid for Ireland so that the country could fight for its freedom from English domination. They also acknowledged the plight of Irish immigrants suffering from sectarianism in other parts of the British Empire including Scotland, Newfoundland, Ontario and Australia. These songs exhibited how the political situation in the homeland continued to impinge on the Protestant English colonizer's perception and treatment of the Irish diaspora. The engagement of the Irish rebel in international politics is also described in song. These accounts include the role of the Irish Brigade in the French army (1690–1791), the US-Mexican Border War (1846–48), the American Civil War (1861–65), and the Spanish Civil War (1936–39).

The majority of the Irish rebel songs are written in the form of the ballad, but other forms employed include the Aisling and 'Alphabet' songs. Melodic borrowing from the English song tradition occurred due to English settlement in Ireland and seasonal migration.[37] However, it is believed that more popular Irish melodies were routinely substituted. Colonial nationalism merged the political objectives and musical repertoires of the Presbyterian and Catholic communities in Ireland. Consequently, the songs of the 1798 Rebellion represent a shared repertoire amongst the Irish and Ulster-Scots communities. Likewise, the parlour

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32 *The Grand Old Dame Britannia.*

33 *The Recruiting Sergeant* and *Sergeant William Bailey.*

34 *The Row in the Town.*

35 *The Valley of Knockanure.*

36 *Take it Down from the Mast.*

37 Examples include *A Cobbler there was*, *King Charles Martyrdom* and *Ye Commons and Peers*.

songs of Thomas Moore and the political ballads of the Presbyterian Young Ireland Leader Thomas Davis have been assimilated into the Irish political song canon.

Zimmerman (1967: 111) distinguishes the origin of the songs according to the following dichotomies: melancholic Irish melodies or upbeat British tunes, gapped scales or heptatonic scales, AABA form or ABBA form, and tunes which exhibit characteristic Irish dance tune metres. However, these characteristics cannot be understood as the general rule, since anomalies often occur. Texts can be divided into two categories: those with a literary knowledge and those of the oral folk tradition. The dominant language used was Hiberno-English due to the language shift; however, songs in the Irish language[38] and macaronic songs[39] are also in existence. The text mainly conveyed a number of short scenes in the first person. As in oral storytelling events happened in threes, and metaphors, recurring motifs and repetition are general characteristics. The opening phrase of the documentary song form, 'Come all ye', became a stock phrase that facilitated the easy opening to a song. Melodies of political or party tunes played as instrumental pieces could also be regarded as contentious by Protestants.[40] Zimmerman (1967: 113) states that 'in the 1790s, Rev. James Porter's Squire Firebrand considered the whistling of tunes by the United Irishmen nearly as bad as their singing of seditious texts'.

The printing of ballads on broadsheets, chapbooks and newspapers facilitated a greater circulation of Irish political songs than would have been possible by the oral tradition alone. Peddlers and Travellers sold broadsheets throughout the country at pattern-day celebrations, fairs and sporting events.[41] While Gavin Duffy initiated the printing of political song in the *Nation* newspaper to increase its circulation, it soon became evident that these songs could be used as propaganda to affect the opinions of the people. This approach proved so successful that 'on the 19th February 1848, John Mitchell's revolutionary newspaper "The United Irishman" complained that too much energy had been wasted in songs' (Zimmerman; 1967: 10). The authorities accepted the performance of Irish political songs at times of political stability, since it was perceived to be a cry for help. However, at times of political unrest, performers of political songs were sometimes charged for the act of inciting violence. The Irish Studies academic W.H.A. Williams (1996: 234), states that over 30 per cent of Irish recordings at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century were comic and rebel songs from music halls in London and Dublin. The recording of rebel songs today continues to advocate the Catholic Nationalist position within the Northern situation. The availability of these recordings on political party websites such as Sinn Fein's demonstrates the power of political song in engaging people in political activism today.

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[38] Examples include *An Spailpin Fánach*, *Maidin Luan Chincíse* and *Sliabh na mBan.*

[39] *An tSean Van Bocht* and *Saoirse.*

[40] Examples include *Garryowen*, *St Patrick's Day*, *The White Cockade* and *Gráinne Mhaol*.

[41] The occupation of the street singer became less significant after the 1880s. After the First World War they were scarcely seen throughout the country.

Parading is also rooted in the traditions of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland. Green parades are aligned to Catholic celebrations including Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) and St Patrick's patron day (17 March). The Irish-Catholic fraternal organization the AOH[42] is the most prominent Catholic Nationalist society in Northern Ireland organizing these parades. Following the Home Rule Act (1912), the political power of the AOH rapidly diminished outside Northern Ireland. After Partition, Protestant domination prevented Catholics from parading in the North. However, this decision was revoked under the European Commission's Charter of Fundamental Rights (2000). The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland motivated a number of Catholic parades by trade unions and single-issue protestors. The Good Friday Agreement has reduced the number of parades further through the empowerment of the Catholic community. By advocating equal rights in respect to political representation, religious affiliation and the expression of cultural traditions, the agreement removed the need for Catholic Nationalists to reaffirm their identity through parading.[43]

Tommy Sands is a singer-songwriter who mediates the divide between Protestant Unionists and Catholic Republicans in Northern Ireland through song performance. Tommy comes from a family steeped in tradition from the small village of Rostrevor, County Down. Influenced by the folk movement, Tommy decided to sing about current events and his daily experiences. In Northern Ireland, topical debate centred on religious and political divides in the community and the consequences of this sectarian hatred for the people. As a Catholic living in a mixed rural community, Tommy had an understanding of the views of both the Catholic and Protestant communities. During the civil rights movement Tommy and his family were called to play at rallies and political events. The impact of the 'Troubles' on Tommy led him to sing about the Nationalist cause and to write songs about freedom and social injustice.

Songs became a means of communicating the social and political injustice that Catholic Nationalists in Northern Ireland were experiencing. The growing popularity of the band and the wide audience for Irish folk music brought the message of political dissent to a wide audience. Tommy witnessed the abuses of the majority in relation to housing, employment and education, and understood the frustration of Catholics who were under-represented in government and on government committees. His song lyrics increasingly portrayed the lives of people who endured house raids,[44] check points[45] and political cover-ups.[46] Tommy soon

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[42] The Irish Chieftain Rory O'Moore founded the secret society the 'Defenders' in 1565. The AOH evolved from this society, but there is no established date in Ireland. The name for the organization originated in New York in 1836.

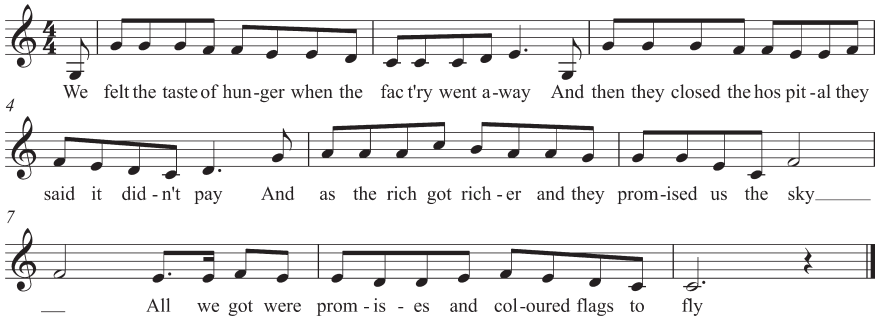
[43] St Patrick's Day 2006 saw attempts at an inclusive festival to celebrate Irish culture rather than focus on a single community parade.

[44] *The Men behind the Wire.*

[45] *Right Will Conquer Might.*

[46] *Humpty Dumpty was Pushed.*

Example 6.2 *1999* (transcribed from Tommy Sand's recording *Beyond the Shadows*)



realized that the experiences he described were suffered on both sides of the divide and that the government and the monarchy were preventing peace. In his song *1999* (Example 6.2), Tommy states that the government was spending more money on fighting than providing social services to keep people alive. Consequently, he felt that war was benefiting the rich and penalizing the poor.

Tommy slowly began to realize that his music had the power to bring unity and healing to a divided society. Believing that change would have to come from the ordinary people, and not the political leaders, Tommy decided to host a seminar/session called The Music of Healing[47] (see Example 6.3). At this event musicians from either side of the divide met to play music, showing its bonding power. In time, musicians attending the sessions brought politicians with them to discuss politics and the possibility of finding peace. Music was used during the often-heated debates to create an atmosphere of friendliness and humanity. By 1996, the event evolved into a 'Citizen's Assembly', a gathering of representatives from every political and paramilitary group to discuss methods of consensus decision-making. This output of this forum laid the groundwork for the Good Friday Peace Accords.

During the peace negotiation it soon became apparent that the media was focused on negative issues, interviewing extremists and therefore undoing the work of the peace process. Recognizing that the press needed some diversion, Tommy created one by organizing 30 children, 15 Catholic and 15 Protestant, to sing outside Stormont:

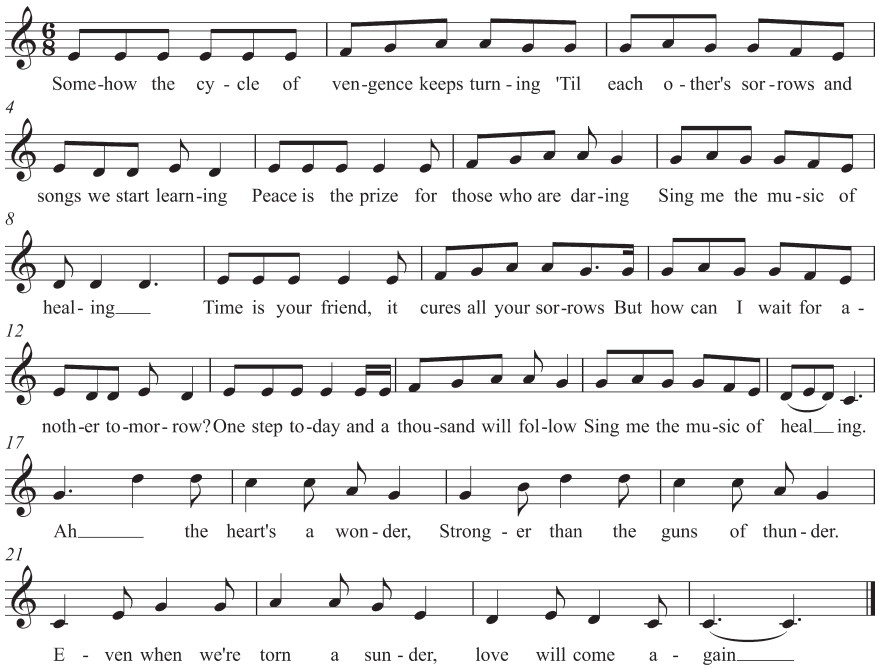
> In the Bogside and the Waterside,
> In the Shankill and the Falls,
> All around the hills of Ulster
> You can hear them sing this song.

[47] This event was replicated in the Middle East and other regions of conflict. The song of the same title was recorded with Pete Seeger, Tao-Rodriguez-Seegar and Vedran Smailovic and used to highlight the situation in Bosnia in 1992.

Carry on, carry on,
You can hear the people singing
Carry on, Carry on
Till peace will come again.

Accompanied by lambeg drums the group urged the politicians on. It achieved its effect by bringing politicians onto the street to sing with the children. Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon declared that the sound of the children singing was a defining moment for those around the table: 'we knew that we must leave no stone unturned to find a way forward' (quoted in Sands; 2005: 257).

Example 6.3 *The Music of Healing* from *Arising from the Troubles* (Spring Records, 2011)



Civil Rights and the Folk Revival

The folk song revival in the United States re-ignited an American interest in folk music, and stimulated a subsidiary movement in Ireland in the 1960s. Woody Guthrie, the left-wing travelling folk singer-songwriter, became an icon for the working people, the unions, socialist thinkers and folk singers for his songs about life during the Great Depression, patriotism and the fatherland, unions

and capitalism, and the need for social change in America. Christy Moore, a contemporary song-writer and folk singer emulates Woody Guthrie in performance, believing that Guthrie's songs were part of a canon of music that highlighted the scale of global injustices happening on a daily basis.[48] He appropriated Woody's style and approach to song writing through the use of simple syntax and words to describe events, and by highlighting 'the underlying inequalities and injustice and blatant discrimination that still exists in our society' (Moore; 2003: 158). He also adhered to Woody's approach of showing solidarity with the underdog by 'get[ting] off your arse and get[ting] down to the picket line and sing[ing] your song side by side with the proletariat. Never mind singing protest songs in the folk club, you've got to do it at the prison gates too' (Moore; 2003: 158).

The singer-songwriter and collector Ewan MacColl extended the folk revival to Britain through the establishment of the Ballads and Blues Singer's Club in London (1953) with Alan Lomax, Bert Lloyd, Seamus Ennis and others. During Moore's time living in England he attended and performed in the Ewan MacColl concerts. Thereafter, Moore maintained communication with MacColl through his wife Peggy Seeger, and included some of MacColl's songs in his repertoire.[49] MacColl was a staunch socialist and his political sensibilities resonated in his songs. While his songs remained outside mainstream culture in England, they were very popular in Ireland. Moore believed that MacColl's political leanings impacted less on the reception of his music in Ireland. Consequently, the songs were viewed in their own right and were assimilated into the mainstream Irish national repertoire. Having listened to traditional singers, copying their singing style, listening to their songs, and learning their verses, Moore looked towards Guthrie and MacColl to see how he could make his work modern and relevant to current social trends. He resolved that this could happen if he moved beyond the role of a folk singer to that of a folk singer-songwriter, writing his version of the news.

The Clancy Brothers were Irish immigrants in New York during the folk revival and civil rights movement. They soon recognized a market for the performance of the Irish political songs in America and formed a ballad group. Their appearance on the Ed Sullivan Show (1961) prompted the explosion of an Irish folk movement led by the Dubliners, the Wolfe Tones and the Johnstons. The Clancys' repertoire evoked the sentiments of movement in their call for freedom, and their selflessness in the cause of right. The recognized plight of the Irish to attain civil rights in America exposed the Irish ability to overcome injustice and prejudice. Ireland's political situation was heightened in Northern Ireland with the civil rights movement of 1963–69. Indeed, many eminent US folk figures such as

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[48] *Sacco and Venzetti*, *The Ludlow Massacre*, *1913 Massacre* and *Plane Crash at Los Gatos*.

[49] *Good Ship Granma*, *Sweet Thames Flow Softly*, *Green Island*, *The First Time Ever I Saw your Face*, *The Travelling People*.

Bob Dylan[50] and Paul Robeson[51] addressed the Irish situation by including Irish Republican songs in their repertoires. The fact that an Armagh singer, Tommy Makem, was a member of the Clancy Brothers' band made them more relevant to the Northern Troubles. More, Nationalists who felt that Thomas Moore's music was an attempt to provide a local expression of British culture could now embrace a modern expression of the folk that had global appeal.

The Irish folk revival restored pride in Irish music. According to Tommy Sands (2005: 64), 'songs that were embedded in the poverty of the past had now a reason to be sung again proudly in this new world of folk music. Even Radio Éireann, which had been so anxious to foster the modern Ireland, was realising that the future was empty without the riches of the past'. Christy Moore believed that the Clancy Brothers provided the Irish people with a modern expression of Irishness that enabled them 'to cast off the shackles of conservative Catholicism and to break free from the dark sentence that Mother Church had read out' (2003: 73). Christy believes that the Clancy Brothers and the Irish folk revival that ensued revoked the ideals of De Valera, rediscovered a wealth of culture, and renewed a pride in Irish culture and, particularly, music.

Moore's initial foray into folk music led him to search for an authentic approach to folk-song performance. Moore's collaboration with Andy Irvine, Donal Lunny and Liam O'Flynn on his album *Prosperous* (1972)[52] led to the establishment of Planxty. The material included in Planxty's repertoire featured music from Ireland, the Balkans, Britain and the USA. Song repertoire incorporated traditional songs, songs of the US and British folk movements, and contemporary songs. Planxty emerged within the civil rights protests and violent riots that were erupting during the Troubles in Northern Ireland, 1963–85. In this context Moore's song selection took a more political line towards socialism and republicanism by including songs about the ethnic-minority Traveller group in Ireland, and songs in relation to the Northern Troubles.

This socialist viewpoint was also maintained by the group's other folk singer, Andy Irvine, who was deeply influenced by the earthy nature of Woody Guthrie's performances and the political idealism that permeated his songs. Indeed, Irvine's interest in left-wing politics led him to become a member of the IWW, travel through the Balkans (1969), and perform songs of social injustice in his later repertoire. However, while he was a member of Planxty, Irvine's repertoire avoided outright political statements by focusing primarily on love songs and lyrical folk ballads.[53] Indeed, Planxty did not feel it was appropriate for the band to address political

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[50] Indeed, Bob Dylan exhibited how these songs could be reinterpreted for the modern age through his own version of *The Patriot Game* (*With God on our Side*), *Brennan on the Moor* (*Rambling Gambling Willie*) and *The Croppy Boy* (*Bob Dylan's Dream*).

[51] Robeson sang *Kevin Barry.*

[52] This album was a follow-up to his first recording, *Paddy on the Road* (1969), recorded by Dominic Behan.

[53] *Arthur MacBride* is his only political anti-war song.

issues in their repertoire.[54] Band member Donal Lunny (quoted in O'Toole; 2007: 166) states 'it was being serviced by other bands and it was something that we didn't feel the need to do or didn't feel it was appropriate'. Planxty alternatively strove to provide an authentic Irish expression for the folk movement, so that 'we had our own heroes that we could go and pay homage to' (O'Toole; 2007: 169). Song inclusion according to Moore was based on the 'song, the music, the vibe of the song, before politics' (quoted in O'Toole; 2007: 166).

Planxty provided Moore with an incubatory period before he formed the Moving Hearts Collective (1980) with Donal Lunny. The founders' socialist leanings were reflected in the band formation, in that the group was a collective from a variety of musical backgrounds including rock, folk, blues, jazz and traditional. It was a totally egalitarian group, with no leading star. All expenses and profits were shared evenly, even with the sound technicians and roadies. This collective approach was maintained in the devising process. In an interview with Bill Graham of *Hotpress* magazine,[55] the band member Declan Sinnott stated 'so then, when a song comes up, we have a discussion about it: and it's happened several times that in our co-op, any one person has the power of veto – so one person can say "I'm not party to that, I will not stand on stage while you sing that song". And a song can be vetoed as a result of that. But then somebody might come back and say, "We can change the words this way and change the emphasis and direction of the song in a way that makes it more universal," or whatever.'

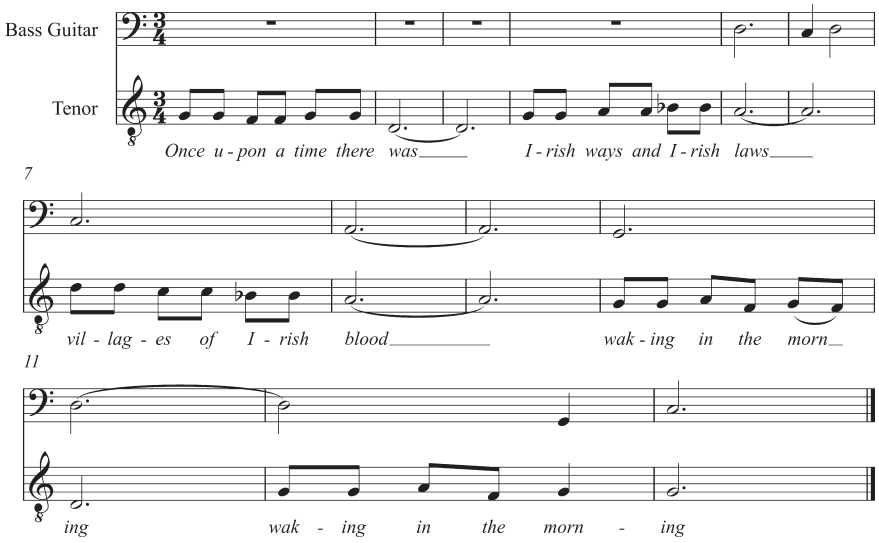
In contrast to Planxty, Moving Hearts provided Moore with a platform for his political songs (Example 6.4). His song repertoire increasingly focused on issues of public concern, speaking out on the part of the oppressed and attacking corruption. According to Moore (2003: 334), the song repertoire included universal protest songs and Irish songs that 'lamented a bloody brooding history, yet also celebrated the common people who struggled, fought and evolved throughout'. The collective's support for the hunger strikers during the Troubles was often misread as support for the IRA. The music journalist Bill Graham in an article on Moving Hearts for *Hotpress*,[56] states that 'no Irish band has ever been so explicit in its support of a political cause, and that is an issue that particularly unsettles the Irish rock community'. Indeed, the Hearts became regarded as a subversive band. Moore concurs (2003: 14), stating that 'we also had the attention of secret police at the gigs, although their presence was never much of a secret as their cars always looked overloaded and down on the suspension. Those were the days when to miss mass was a subversive act, and to disagree with state brutality was a sure sign of terrorism.' In time the band's focus moved from delivering the message to dealing with the musical hybridity that was emerging within the group. The length of time

[54] *Only Our Rivers* and *Follow me up to Carlow* are exceptions to this intention.

[55] 24 October 1981 sourced from *Hotpress* online archive (www.hotpress.com). No page number stated.

[56] 24 October 1981; www.hotpress.com.

Example 6.4 *Irish Ways and Irish Laws* (John Gibbs (IMRO))



required to create arrangements led to a slow-down in gigs and albums, which led to Moore opting out and going solo again.

Christy Moore's song repertoire is a collection of traditional songs, songs of the folk movement, and contemporary songs written by other artists and himself. The majority of these songs reflect the political ideals of socialism and the civil rights movement. Christy saw a direct correlation between the segregation of Black people in the American civil rights movement and the oppression of Nationalist Catholics in Northern Ireland. In his book, *One Voice* (2003: 450), he applies the US civil rights slogan to the Northern Troubles, asking 'Which side are you on?' His songs situate the Northern Troubles within an international civil rights context, and align prominent figures of the Troubles such as Bobby Sands with international activists. Christy actively campaigned for those who struggled against political oppression, and those who were denied the right to protest during the civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland. He also spoke out for the innocents of war, those that suffered trying to visit their loved ones in prison, those that were bullied by armed soldiers on the streets, and those that were falsely imprisoned. Moore has openly shown his socialist politics in his support of the communist cause in several international events including the Spanish Civil War, the Insurgency in El Salvador, the Cuban Revolution, and the Sandinsta Revolution in Nicaragua. Again, he places Ireland within this global context in his description of the part played by the Irish in the Spanish Civil War in his song *Viva La Quinta Brigada*. He actively renounces fascists and pseudo-fascist institutions such as the Catholic Church.

Moore's songs describe local issues and concerns. His repertoire reflects his republican approach to the Northern situation,[57] while rejecting the fascist approach of the IRA. He provides an insight into the lives of imprisoned Irish campaigners, speaks of events such as the IRA hunger strikes,[58] false imprisonment[59] and sectarian Northern Ireland policing.[60] He discusses the oppressive control of the Catholic Church in Ireland and criticizes the state for its collusion with them.[61] He openly criticizes the Church's treatment of women and children by speaking out about child sex abuse within Church institutions,[62] and the Church's oppressive attitude to women who have suffered domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, discrimination and unplanned pregnancies. He has also spoken out against the Irish Government with particular interest in police corruption and facilitating capitalist developers.

Moore has faced implications for his activism but continues to defend his right to freedom of speech in song, writing or speech. His song *Section 31* (Example 6.5) refers to Irish legislation that banned any material deemed subversive in the Irish media during the Troubles. His lyrics state (2003: 239): 'who are you to decide what I should see? Who are you to decide what I should hear? What do you fear I cannot comprehend here? What do you think that my reaction should be?' Often Moore's songs went uncensored but on other occasions songs were banned for no reason; Moore believes that the banning of his songs has made them more popular.[63] Moore's work has been silenced by Section 31 of the constitution, and he has had his phone tapped and been followed by detectives. The government also took a high court case against him for his song *They Never Came Home*, which describes the bombing of the Stardust nightclub, leaving 48 youths dead. Moore lost the case for claiming that the victims lives could have been saved if the emergency door had not been locked; his album was banned and withdrawn from shops. However, Moore believes that this publicity helped to highlight the plight of victims' families and speed up resolutions.

Conclusion

The categorization of political song on the island of Ireland according to Orange and Green demonstrates how certain traditions can be isolated in order to represent a particular ideology. The practice of musical borrowing between the

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[57] *Only our Rivers Run Free*, *North and South* and *Irish Ways and Irish Laws.*

[58] *The Time Has Come.*

[59] *The Wicklow Boy*, *Guiseppe* and *God's Truth.*

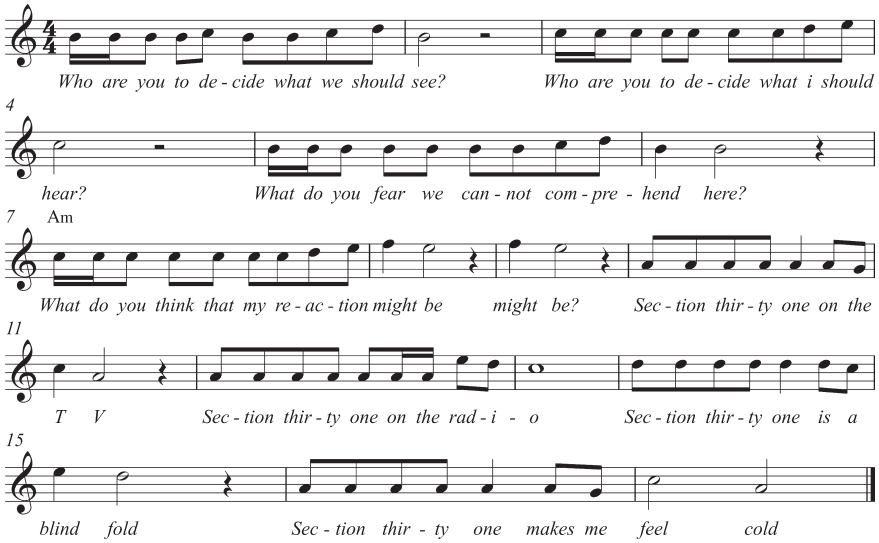
[60] *On the Blanket.*

[61] *Knock*, *The Other Side.*

[62] *Strange Ways.*

[63] *They Never Came Home*, *Section 31*, *Back Home in Derry* and *McIlhatton*. The latter two songs were banned because Bobby Sands wrote them.

Example 6.5 *Section 31* (Barry Moore, IMRO); transcribed from Christy Moore's album *The Time Has Come*



two communities has highlighted the fundamental flaw in this premise. Rather, it purports a shared hybrid tradition of which Orange and Green are both a part. The folk movement in Ireland also brought music entertainment out of the dance halls and back into the public houses and lounge bars. The ideal of singing pubs became popular in Ireland and provided an attraction for tourists. The relationship which emerged between pub culture and folk song performance became a characteristic Irish phenomenon which has been globalized though the proliferation of Irish-themed pubs worldwide. Within the global, the political message becomes desensitized and used as a means of entertainment rather than political activism. The accessibility of Irish political ballads through their direct ballad style, simple harmonic accompaniment and use of the English language has made political ballads a mainstay within diaspora communities. The popularity of ballad group performances internationally has led to the genre often being misconstrued for authentic Irish traditional song performances.

Chapter 7
The Institutional Divide

The institutionalization of music performance is not a new phenomenon in Ireland, but one which can be traced back to the Bardic school system (c. AD 1200).[1] The desire of contemporary Irish traditional artists to seek validation for their proficiency and creativity in performance, and engage with a global audience, has prompted institutions to provide qualifications, accolades, grants and networking opportunities for musicians. While these processes endorse and develop performers they also threaten to standardize the tradition, if they are over-prescriptive. The growing popularity of multicultural approaches to arts education courses, as well as the recognized impact of globalization, has also highlighted the need to protect the island's cultural heritage. This chapter will outline the institutions relating to Irish traditional music and explore the ways in which Irish traditional song performers utilize the conventions of the music industry to achieve global recognition. In so doing, it will briefly investigate the professionalization of performance practice, the impact of technology on traditional music performance, the commodification of traditional music, and the representation of Irish music in a global context.

The institutionalization of Irish traditional song performance is recognized as the attempt by an organization to represent, influence or control traditional practice. While the intervention may be culturally motivated in that the organization may wish to revive or nurture the tradition, it would be naïve to dismiss the political, social and economic power struggles underpinning such endeavours. Subsequently, we must recognize the impact of these organizations on musical life and performance practice. According to Fintan Vallely (2007: 16), 'where once the island was only delicately overwritten with a lacework of pathways motored gently in all directions by part-time céilí bandsters who always returned home to milk the cows, now it is the epicentre of high-carbon-footprint professional peregrination by soloists, groups and accompanists, competitioners, recitalists and workshoppers, teachers, examiners and promoters, researchers, broadcasters and consultants, instrument makers, repairers and retailers, sound operators, camera people and recording engineers, record sellers, booksellers and outfitters, sleeve designers, CD makers and couriers, editors, reviewers, and writers'. This has directly and indirectly influenced musical practice in the following ways:

[1] Other examples of such institutionalization include the creation of the Bunting manuscripts, the development of the céilí band and the session.

1. the identification of general rules and codes of practice for the performer
2. the emergence of musical arrangements with increased instrumental diversity
3. a change in the performance context
4. the establishment of a common repertoire
5. the establishment of a formalized learning system
6. the establishment of an evaluation process and performance standards
7. the evolution of a competition process for validating proficient performers
8. the emergence of professionals and masters of the tradition
9. the reification of 'super-star' performers
10. the establishment of a fee scale for public performances.

Peter Cooke (1997: 20) believes that official support becomes a necessity as a result of the perceived threat of globalization, the world music scene and media broadcasting. Support is also required to slacken the tie between traditional song performance and nationalist agendas, and establish a parity of esteem with other art forms both commercially and academically. While the need to support the perpetuation and development of traditional singing in Ireland has been recognized by cultural institutions, action is often dependent on local agendas and funding. Only in recent times has the government realized the value of the arts in terms of cultural tourism. According to R.F. Foster (2007: 155), 'by 1998 Ireland's music industry was presented by An Bord Tráchtála (dealing with Irish exports) as one of the magnets attracting tourists to the country … cited by up to 80% of incomers as a primary reason for their visit'. Jimmy Deenihan, the Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport, stated: 'During times of recession, the arts have never been more important. In fact, the annual economic contribution of the arts is €782 million … In fact, you could say the arts are our number one export as well as our number one indigenous industry.'[2] Though the immediate development and promotion of Irish cultural products within the global market may benefit local performers, the monetary focus pays little heed to the broader issue of cultural sustainability.

Government Agencies

Public expenditure for culture in Ireland comes from different departments, including the Department of the Environment, Food and Local Affairs, the Department of Arts, Sports and Tourism, and local authorities.[3] Though the Minister for Arts hailed the economic input of the arts and their potential contribution to Ireland's economic recovery, the value of the traditional arts has not been established through government investment. This neglect was mainly due to the perception that traditional music was a natural resource of an inherently musical

[2] http://research.finegael.org/news/a/3911/article (accessed on 20 January 2012).

[3] Prior to 1993 there was no government department for the arts.

people. Only 0.45 per cent of public spending was designated to the arts between 2000 and 2005. This corresponds to 1.6 per cent of GDP, the lowest allocation in Europe. This expenditure includes sport (30 per cent), film and broadcasting, and archival projects. 'By failing to seek resources based on the considerable economic potential of music education, the sector fails to secure levels of financial support comparable to other knowledge-based industries and therefore fails to provide the infrastructure on which its economic potential can be built' (Norton; 2005: 15).

Prior to the *Arts Plan 2002–2006*[4] the Arts Council of Ireland's policies made little impact on the state of traditional music in Ireland as it prioritized support to high-calibre classical musicians, ensembles and composers. The government condoned this subsidization in the belief that classical art forms could not otherwise become viable in Ireland, due to the small population base. In order to maintain an international presence in this sector, a professional body would therefore have to be sustained by the government. Traditional music remained under-funded due to the belief that it did not need development. This gesture created a disparity between the two arts forms, with the government being seen to value classical art forms over the traditional arts. The lack of funding provided for the traditional arts led to the adoption of an ad hoc structure that was dependent on voluntary activity for its perpetuation.

The *Arts Plan 2002–2006* prompted a review of the structure, support and policy of the traditional arts so that the state could finally 'embrace and support the traditional arts in a co-ordinated and realistic fashion' (*Arts Plan 2002–2006*: 2). This would be achieved through the provision of archives and archiving systems to provide resources to traditional artists; the provision of awards, master classes and concerts to develop and disseminate the traditional arts; the provision of education grants and grant aid to support the development needs of traditional artists; and the promotion of a critical discourse for traditional arts. The Arts Council acknowledged the international acclaim that traditional music had received and the high level of participation in local communities. They also noted that 'in recent years, there has been a marked trend towards professionalization, including the emergence of commercial management structures, especially in response to the competitive performance environment in Ireland and overseas' (*Arts Plan 2002–2006*: 41).

Prior to this statement, funding for the traditional arts had been secured mainly from Irish language, social and cultural development organizations, and tourism bodies rather than arts organizations.[5] The traditional arts never received more than 3 per cent of the Arts Council budget prior to 2006. In 2004, a provision of

[4] The *Arts Plan 2002–2004* was set aside in 2003 when a newly appointed council felt that it embraced a development agency role that had not been fully understood or debated by the arts sector.

[5] The Cultural Relations Committee designate 2–3 per cent of their spend on the traditional arts. This equated to a total spend of approximately €2,500–5,500 in 2004. The Department of Rural and Community Affairs provides grant aid of €540,000 annually to CCÉ.

2.4 per cent by the Arts Council equated to €891,150. In 2005, this figure was reduced by €90,000 before reaching an all-time high of €3 million in 2006.[6] The council claims that there was an evident lack of awareness of grant aid available to traditional musicians, since they restricted themselves to publication support and travel awards and failed to avail themselves of performance awards. Though support for world music is noted on the Arts Council website, funding initiatives to African, Asian, Caribbean or Jewish communities proves negligible. Little representation has been made at world music expos to promote Irish acts.

The establishment of arts offices within local authorities since 1985 has led to a substantial increase in local arts activity. The scope of activity undertaken by these officers is wide and can include residencies, festivals, workshops, bursaries, professional development courses, education programmes, bands, music concert series, and archives. Traditional music features prominently in arts programmes across the country. Activity in this area is even more noticeable when compared with activities in other music genres. However, the *Local Authorities and Music: Knowing the Score Report* (2009) noted that only one arts officer in the country has music training to tertiary level. Consequently, the report advocated the recruitment of specialist music staff or music consultants to support music development on a local level. Music Network, the national music development organization, provides access to high-quality traditional music and song through music tours and music in schools programmes.

The Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure recognizes the economic benefits of cultural tourism, and the intangible benefits the arts provide to the quality of life in Northern Ireland. By nurturing cultural development and promoting the cultural life of Northern Ireland, it is hoped that the region will 'overcome insularity, provide opportunities to broaden outlooks, promote wider exposure for artists and performers, build confidence by showcasing Northern Ireland's top artists, and develop new partnerships and strategic relations' (www.dcalni.gov.uk). The initial steps to achieving these objectives have been taken by setting up a 'Community Festivals Fund', developing a strategy for the creative industries, and establishing a 'Rediscover Northern Ireland Programme'.[7]

The Arts Council of Northern Ireland provides funding to traditional arts organizations including the Nerve Centre, The Armagh Pipers' Club, The Armagh Rhymers Workers Co-op and the Francis Mc Peake School of Music. These organizations include traditional song classes and sessions in their brief. There is also a separate provision by the Arts Council for the funding of Irish traditional and Ulster-Scots languages and their song. The Council has developed a DVD for schools and libraries which will provide a general overview of traditional song, music and dance in Northern Ireland while also providing a description of its history,

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[6] Stated in Arts Council Annual Review 2006 (www.artscouncil.ie/publications/AC_06_Report.pdf).

[7] This led to a Northern Ireland Arts Showcase in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival 2007.

recent development, and the wide variety of approaches to traditional music. The recent allocation of funds to local authorities for arts development has given greater responsibility and ownership to local communities. Many institutions have been established to develop the cultural identity of the Ulster-Scots community. These include the Ulster-Scots Agency, The Ulster-Scots Academy and the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council. However, the continued selection of certain elements of the tradition on the island of Ireland to be those of the Ulster-Scots and the setting up of community groups to provide tuition in these practices to Ulster-Scots is seen to be continuing this polarizing practice.

Ealaín na Gaeltachta's mandate is to provide an infrastructure for traditional, contemporary and language-based arts throughout the Gaeltacht. This provision includes the support and expansion of the Gaelacadamh Teoranta, an organization established in the 1970s to encourage interest in *sean-nós* singing, which was percieved to be under threat. The organization has since expanded its activities to include tuition in all traditional instruments. In so doing, it addresses needs not being serviced by CCÉ. The organization has vowed to expand the Gaelacadamh system to all Gaeltacht areas, thus developing a communication network, providing a support scheme for artists and centralizing services in this realm to improve the structure's visibility and efficiency. While recognizing the need to develop a modern artistic expression for the Gaeltacht the organization is also concerned that the Government's multi-genre approach to music education will threaten the continuation of the tradition in Gaeltacht areas.

Other organizations such as Foras na Gaeilge and Iomairt Choilm Chille provide funding for traditional music activities which encourage the use of the Irish language. For example, Foras na Gaeilge provides support to An tOireachtas, which hosts annual *sean-nós* singing competitions.[8] The promotion of traditional song by language institutions is due to the inextricable relationship forged between Irish language song and the language itself during the Gaelic Revival at the end of the nineteenth century. Traditional song performance within these organizations provides another level of engagement with the language for practitioners. Due to this kinship, Irish traditional song has become the domain of language agencies rather than music institutions. However, the language relationship is only applicable to Irish language songs and therefore excludes the practice of traditional singing in the English language. As a result, traditional song in English has become further alienated from other traditional performance genres.

Education

The integration of traditional music into the Irish educational system has been a slow process that has often lacked support and direction. It was hindered by a literate approach to teaching and assessment. Finnegan states (1988: 124): 'over the

[8] Funding rose to €80,000 in 2003.

last centuries of European history written modes have been taken as the paradigm for education, scholarship and artistic activity … What was written was to be valued and analysed, and what was not written was not worth scholarly study.' The study of classical music was mainly text orientated, while traditional music education was centred on performance. Traditional music lacked the presence of masterpieces, historical documentation, and the scholarship of analysis and criticism. In favouring classical music studies, educational institutions reaffirmed the dichotomy of high and low culture within Irish society. The eventual integration of Irish traditional music and song into the schools' curricula required educators to understand the aesthetics of the tradition and study the music on its own terms. This attitude was influenced by social change. Increased plurality of modern society heightened the need to value individual cultures by recognizing, accepting and understanding them.

Music education was finally introduced to public education in the mid-nineteenth century. The curriculum focused on the study of Western classical music. The emergence of the cultural nationalism movement at the beginning of the twentieth century prompted the establishment of an Irish postcolonial identity. In an attempt to revitalize Gaelic culture and establish Irish as the national language, Irish-language songs were introduced to the primary school music programme in 1922. The barrier to language understanding proved too great for both the teacher and the pupil. In effect, the Irish language became an obstacle to music learning. According to Marie McCarthy (1998: 68), by the 1940s schools' inspectors began to realize that the music curriculum was insufficient and culturally irrelevant to the majority of pupils, and so English-language songs were introduced.

In 1963 the government reaffirmed that the Irish language was a primary marker of Irish identity, but noted that it would have to co-exist in a bi-lingual context.[9] The revised syllabus for primary schools *Curaclam na Bunscoile* (1971) advocated a more varied song repertoire. The *Deaf Ears* report (1985) called for a broader curriculum design that would embrace contemporary, jazz, popular, traditional and non-western art musics. The *Primary School Curriculum* (1999) addressed the need for heterogeneity and pluralism. While the syllabus has had a positive effect on music education, its implementation has been affected by a lack of teacher training in music. School principals attempting to address this void have supported artist-in-schools schemes; however, these run contrary to the wishes of the Department of Education as they incur fees to students and reduce the contact teaching time of the class teacher. Consequently, traditional music and song often remain the remit of arts institutions outside the school system.

The Northern Ireland Council for the Curriculum Examinations and Assessment has developed a syllabus for music in primary schools that is non-prescriptive, but does advise that pupils 'listen to and appraise music from different cultures, traditions and styles' (CCEA; 1996: 3). The syllabus also requires teachers to maintain the objectives of educating for mutual understanding and learning about

[9] Government white paper on the Irish language 1963.

the North's cultural heritage. While no specific music examples are supplied, various supplementary traditional song packs have been developed. For instance, John Moulden and Sean Quinn's *Traditional Song Education Pack* attempts to tackle the problems of traditional music having sectarian associations by presenting songs from either side of the sectarian divide, and takes advantage of its ability to present social issues and historical events in a concise and memorable way.[10] The pack contains several of John Moulden's presentations, a teachers' guide, essays on music learning in traditional societies and the place of musical notation in Irish traditional music, Ciarán Carson's *Pocket Guide to Irish Traditional Music* and a CD.

The lack of provision for music at primary level inevitably affects the take-up of music at secondary level. Music suffers from the perception that it is an aesthetic subject that lacks educational value; some students see it as an extra subject which can be studied outside school. Inspired by social and cultural changes the scope of music education at post-primary level has been extended to include a range of musical traditions and modes of expression. The prescribed song repertoire for the junior certificate now includes 'traditional Irish language song, Irish ballads with English words, songs by modern Irish composers with Irish or English words, folk songs of other countries and "songs of the [classical] masters"' (McCarthy; 1999: 158). The vast majority of teachers continue to approach the teaching of music from a classical perspective. Indeed, a review of the recordings of set traditional songs on the accompanying CD to *Tuned In* (the approved textbook for the junior certificate music course) will find performances of Irish-language songs by classically trained voices.[11] Teachers rarely have an understanding of or specialism in traditional music. Consequently, training in traditional music remains outside the classroom.

The inclusion of traditional music in the core of tertiary-level teaching since the early 1980s has greatly advanced. Indeed, traditional music and ethnomusicology can be found on most music and music education programmes throughout the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. University College Cork is recognized as the forerunner in this regard, exemplifying how traditional musicians could be integrated into both BA and BMus programmes. The development of the BA in traditional performance at the University of Limerick further illustrates the demand for courses in this particular area and the need for traditional musicians to find recognition on a par with classical performers. The traditional music performance course in Dublin Institute of Technology mirrors this demand on the east coast. The vocational education sector has also addressed the provision of tuition in traditional music in Ballyfermot and Nenagh., and also provides evening adult education courses in traditional music. However, the specific nature of

[10] See information about this education pack at http://homepage.ntlworld.com/sean_quinn/glensmusic/tradpacks.htm.

[11] With specific reference to *An Mhaighdean Mhara.*

these courses is also seen as restrictive and the need for classical training for teaching purposes has urged some traditional musicians to progress onto broader BMus courses.

The inclusion of Irish traditional music in the formal education system also has implications for the tradition. The structured nature of the education system and the intensified modes of delivery involve a change in the transmission process. In oral transmission, traditional performers are not made aware of defined structural and functional elements of the musical process and the techniques of articulation as described from musicological perspectives (Ong; 1982: 9). While the traditional musician or singer makes a conscious effort to learn an instrument or sing in a certain style, he or she essentially learns by example or unconscious assimilation. As a consequence, Irish traditional musicians have not developed and do not require a general music vocabulary. Within formal education the tutor unveils the codes of traditional performance and exhibits the preferred ways of doing. Reinforcement of these criteria leads towards conscious practice and refinement. Further, it leads to evaluation of tasks and the rise of competitions and examinations. This process also has an impact on the development of a repertoire and style for the performer. It inevitably leads to the standardization of repertoire and style, the emulation or cloning of tutor's performance styles, the categorization of repertoire as indicative of a level, and the conscious selection and prioritizing of advanced repertoire and performance techniques.

Inadequate music provision at primary and post-primary levels has left children and young people dependent on an alternative 'informal' education system driven by individual and community initiatives, such as the CCÉ, Ealain na Gaeltachta and Vocational Education Committee programmes, and local individual or community initiatives. Access to certain practices such as traditional song is dependent on the availability of practitioners to teach at these local centres. Training is also organized around music festivals, sessions and formal gatherings. Some local schools of music provide tuition in traditional music, but it tends to be instrumentally focused. The Armagh Pipers Club would be an exception.[12] It is hoped that 'Music Generation', Ireland's national music education programme, will increase access to instrumental and vocal tuition for young people across all genres through the funding and support of local Music Education Partnerships.

The Royal Irish Academy of Music has tried to provide a formalized system for the examination of traditional music students entitled the Scrúdú Ceol Tíre (SCT). 'Examinations are designed to provide a yardstick to measure and assess the progress of students and to encourage a comprehensive approach to their development … in addition to the performing of pieces, candidates are expected to develop scale playing, sight reading, aural training and theoretical understanding' (Pine; 1998: 314). This system of examination seems to have an excessive number of levels and requires a theoretical understanding of the tradition achieved by few traditional musicians. New technologies have been applied to the teaching

[12] The schools founder Eithne Vallely produced a three-year course in Irish music for children entitled *Sing a Song and Play*.

of Irish traditional music including a video tutorial based e-learning system by the Online Academy of Irish Music (OAIM.ie) and multimedia CD ROMs by madfortrad.com. Though in its infancy, the Online Academy offers a course in traditional singing in English by Danú performer Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh. The lesson format enables the repetition of basic elements, the communication with other students engaging in the process and a feedback mechanism for contact with students. The site thereby attempts to simulate the direct relationship between culture bearer and apprentice, and establishes a virtual community for traditional music rather than certification body. Indeed, the site prompts members to engage with local festivals, workshops and CCÉ competitions.

Voluntary Organizations and Interest Groups

A broad spectrum of organizations and interest groups has evolved to safeguard and perpetuate the Irish song tradition. This has resulted in a rich plethora of traditional music festivals, competitions, clubs and academic societies. The Irish language literary and cultural festival, An tOireachtas, was established in 1897 to maintain and revive the Irish language as a spoken vernacular. Using the models of the Welsh eisteddfod and the Scottish mod, An tOireachtas provided a new platform for the traditional arts through language. This was achieved through the setting up of competitions for writers, poets, singers, dancers, artists, storytellers, actors, composers and musicians who were prolific in their use of the Irish language and a non-English culture (Kilberd: 1995). According to Ó Laoire (2000: 161) *sean-nós*, with its 'rural adherence to a language and habitus, which had been excluded from colonial discourses of power and influence, was now advanced as the most saliently Irish of all'. The adult *sean-nós* singing competition Corn Uí Riada (established 1960) remains the most prestigious to this day.

Though initiated in Dublin, the festival soon felt disconnected with the urban community and subsequently organized events in the more convivial Gaeltacht areas. As a consequence *sean-nós* performance became strictly associated with Gaeltacht areas and native Irish speakers. The competition criteria of solo, modal, rhythmically free performance are seen to reflect the ideal attributes of an Irish traditional song performance,[13] while also perpetuating a native art-music tradition which provides an alternative to the European style (Ó Riada; 1982: 23). The practice of highly ornamenting song performances marks the Connemara style as the epitome of the competition, although each regional style is adjudicated with

[13] In the TV programme *An tOireachtas* produced by TG4, Sarah Ghriallais suggests that the traits of a good *sean-nós* singer include continuity, nasal tone, melismatic style, and being able to hold the sound in the back of the mouth and produce broad guttural tones.

parity of esteem.[14] Indeed, the process has resulted in people adapting a formula to achieve the winning performance or emulating former champions (Ó hEagra; 2005: 16) and the canonization of the tradition. The requirement to perform both slow and fast songs, though the Irish song repertoire is predominantly slow, has brought about change in the tradition. MacDonnacha (2007: 6) states that slow songs are reinvented as fast songs for the competition and often remain in this guise for future generations. The formal competition venue, the large audience, the judging panel, and the live radio and internet feed require a more deliberate and declamatory style performance on the part of the performer, thus moving away from the more introverted traditional performance style.

Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann emerged in 1951 to restore the status of traditional music after the resurgence of cultural nationalism and protect it from urbanization. The playing of the harp and uilleann pipes, and the promotion of the Irish language were primary areas of concern. Local accessibility to the tradition was achieved through organized branch classes, competitions, sessions and summer concerts. Archival projects, the quarterly *Treoir* magazine, the annual Fleadh Cheoil, and the Irish tour brought national cohesion to the organization. The international dimension was also developed through the establishment of foreign branches, concert tours, web access and live streaming. CCÉ organizes both Irish- and English-language song competitions. The number of performers entering Irish-language song competitions, especially from Gaeltacht areas, is low, and the calibre of performers is recognized to be of a lower standard than that of the tOireachtas.[15] The question of authenticity posed by An tOireachtas in relation to non-Gaeltacht performers of traditional song has stifled CCÉ's attempts to develop an infrastructure for its development at a regional or national level.

In May 1897, the Gaelic League launched the Feis Cheoil in Dublin based on the Welsh eisteddfod. The competition arose as a result of a tension forming between modernism and tradition, and the fear that change would lead to the erosion of Gaelic culture. It was believed that the revival of the ancient Gaelic festivals would promote the study and cultivation of Irish music, both classical and traditional. The organization ran out of steam in the 1920s. Competitions have survived in Sligo, Dublin and Cork, but are focused on classical music performances. The Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA) Scór competition promotes traditional dance, music, song and other aspects of Irish culture through local football and hurling organizations. Gael Linn launched the Slógadh competition in 1969 to promote the Irish language in youth culture through the arts. Inaugurated by TG4 in 1998, Gradam Cheoil is now recognized as the 'premier awards scheme' for Irish traditional musicians. Selected by a panel of independent adjudicators from the

[14] Ó Laoire (2000: 166) states that the competition has been won by Connemara singers 26 times during 1960–98, two more Galway-style singers from Dublin bringing the final tally to 28.

[15] The competition title for Irish singing is *amhránaíocht*, which Ó Laoire (2000) suggests is non-traditional singing in Irish – more explicitly, not *sean-nós* but singing in Irish.

Irish music community, the awards celebrate established and new performers in the following categories: Musician of the Year, Young Musician of the Year, Hall of Fame, Composer, Traditional Singer and Gradam na gCeoltóirí (the musicians' award). The provision of a specific award for traditional song acknowledges the place of *sean-nós* within the Irish language community.

Traditional singing festivals have sprung up around the country and are becoming more numerous each year. Their general format includes lectures, sessions, workshops and concerts. The Willie Clancy Summer School is the most recognized summer school in Ireland. Based in Miltown Malbay, it welcomes approximately 5,000 people on an annual basis and enrols approximately 500 people in classes.[16] Classes are organized for traditional musicians, singers and dancers at beginner, intermediate and advanced levels. No restriction in respect to musical organization affiliation[17] is placed on access to these classes. The traditional singing programme caters for both English and Irish song. The programme has benefited from the contribution of the well-known performer and collector Tom Munnelly. However, according to Tony Kearns (2003: 77) 'in spite of Munnelly's great enthusiasm and penchant for hitherto unknown local singers at the school, singing has never occupied a major place in the week's events'. Irish traditional music festivals, Celtic music festivals, and festivals which celebrate Irish heritage and culture, abound throughout the world. While traditional singing may be included, particularly within traditional bands, ballad group and Irish folk-rock performances tend to predominate.

Since the formation of the Góilín Club in Dublin (1972), by Tim Dennehy and Donal de Barra, singers' clubs have supported the development of a club network around the country. The group provides an outlet for traditional singers to perform and offers advice and experience to novice singers. According to the Góilín Club, '"there is no standard set", not in the singing anyway. We set a very high standard in listening. The rule of the club is: if someone is singing, reciting or performing in any way, total attention is given to the performance. Experience over the years has taught us that it doesn't work any other way.'[18] Principles of best practice are ingrained by inviting renowned singers in both the English and Irish language to their circle. Instrumental music is welcome but must not impede on traditional song performances. In this respect, these circles provide an imperative lifeline to the traditional singer in regards to performance and the development

[16] Based on 2001 figures.

[17] Its inception created an institutional debacle in regards promotion and development between Na Piobairí Uileann (the pipers' organization) and CCÉ. In summation, CCÉ would not decline in stature to a committee-bound bureaucracy. This led to CCÉ pulling out and instead establishing the Scoil Éigse. However, alternative funding was sourced from The Arts Council in the form of an inaugural grant in 1975 and the Clare County Council in 1976. Due to growing popularity the summer school became a limited company in 1988.

[18] www.goilin.com/aboutus.php.

of a repertoire. In addition, social unity with other performers encourages the perpetuation of tradition.

The introduction of traditional music in tertiary education has greatly expanded the level of research publications emerging in the field of Irish traditional song. The Folk Music Society (1974), which published occasionally, has now become defunct. The Society of Musicology in Ireland (2003) has undertaken its role and function under the remit of their organization. The topics of ethnomusicology and Irish music studies are welcomed at their conferences, the result of which feed into an online journal and Irish Musical Studies publications. While the Irish Musical Studies series has been in publication for many years its content tends towards art-music subjects. The recently established National Committee for the International Council for Traditional Music (2005) maintains a primary position in respect to ethnomusicological study. Still in its initial stages, the organization avidly encourages conferences and publications, and invites significant international figures in ethnomusicology to speak about topical local issues to its members.

The Service Industry

Non-profit and commercial organizations provide a vital service to the tradition by collecting, collating, analysing and distributing traditional music products within the public domain. The Irish Traditional Music Archive is the most recognized of all archives on the island of Ireland and is currently being digitized to facilitate access to European, American and Asian interest.[19] The collection of Irish song has been sporadic and incomplete to date. Typically, collectors have focused on the text to the detriment of the melody; the use of music notation in these collections is sparse and where used is often inaccurate or not easily reproduceable. The free metric structure and level of rhythmic complexity often make notation difficult. Issues of pronunciation, citation of ornaments, and different aspects of style and intonation are seldom realized. In order to capture the style and technique of a performance it is preferable to refer to a recording of one or more performances. Recording provides permanence, maintains orality, facilitates analysis, enables consumerism, and provides the buyer with a sense of belonging and identity with the traditional music community. The Elizabeth Cronin collection is one such example where text and music, biographical information and a live recording of the performer are provided. The recording of traditional song performances by the music industry is thus a two-edged sword; it can put the world's heritage out of existence but also preserve, develop and expand it.

The Irish Music Rights Organization (IMRO) administers the performing rights of publishers, songwriters and composers through the granting of licences,

[19] Its vast collection includes over '25,000 sound recordings, some 16,000 books and serials, more than 4,000 ballad sheets, 3,500 items of sheet music, 9,000 melodies and more than 9,500 photographs and small paper images'. Quoted in Long 2006.

and the collection and distribution of performing royalties in Ireland. As such, it maintains a twin role for music-makers and -users alike. IMRO states (www.imro.ie), that 14 per cent of their registered works are traditional arrangements, resulting in approximatly €130,000 being distributed to its members on an annual basis. IMRO spends approximately €22,000 of its budget on the promotion of Irish traditional music and the sponsorship of over 30 festivals and fairs annually.

The work of this body on behalf of traditional artists has been hindered by their misperception of the ethics of copywriting traditional music (McCann: 2001). The 1999 agreement between IMRO and CCÉ sanctioned the licensing of venues for traditional music use. As such, this agreement provides tune/song composers and arrangers[20] who have copyrighted their work the right to royalty collection on recordings, public broadcasting and public venues and pub sessions. The ethnomusicologist Anthony McCann (2002), resolved that the establishment of copyright for music shared within the traditional music community was fraught with contention since Irish traditional music transmission depended upon the sharing of repertoire, the creative process was at odds with intellectual property rights and most of the repertoire was and would remain anonymous. Indeed, it was believed that the imposing of performing rights would be difficult to administer and would lead to the withholding of material due to its now perceived economic value. This remains a contentious issue amongst practitioners, though many professional musicians welcome the change. The process of royalty receipt for work in the public domain appears on inspection to be a grey area and a non-exact science, especially in relation to unsupervised singing sessions or impromptu performances.

Indeed, the policing of rights collection for traditional song performance are not realizable. IMRO has gained control over the monitoring of public broadcasters, but public performance is more dubious, relying on surveys and music charts to show popular tastes. The globalization of Irish traditional song performance through extensive travelling by artists, global consumerism, the use of Irish music abroad, illegal access to music through peer-to-peer networks, sampling, and digital technology networks, present new domains which IMRO has yet to control. At present, IMRO relies on international policies to counteract the permeability of geographical boundaries and works directly with other international associations to arrange royalty collection in other countries (imro.ie).

The issue of copyright and the acceptance of IMRO's policy that 'all musical practice is commodity exchange' (McCann: 2001) has created a sea change in the minds of traditional musicians. Music-making is now recognized as a professional practice rather than a cog in the Irish market economy. Professional practitioners now regard traditional music performance as private property. Musicians are now more assertive in recognizing that they are providing a service to the public through performance. The policy has had a knock-on effect in pubs. Why should musicians

[20] Arrangements of traditional non-copyrighted music that are then copyrighted must show a significant level of creativity.

perform in a bar for nothing when other musicians are being paid? The issue of playing free at festivals also came to the fore when musicians recognized how much publicans were benefiting.[21] Musicians now assert themselves and play when there is reason – they want to, or they want to gain experience or repertoire. The Services Industrial Professional and Technial Union (SIPTU) and the Musicians Union of Ireland[22] negotiate pay rates, offer protection from exploitation and bullying, and seek to negotiate improved financial services for musicians. By appropriating laws and work protection support services from general industry, the music industry appropriates a set of expectations and understandings about work practices and thus changes attitudes towards music-making. The valuing of music as a commodity raises issues in relation to the sharing of the traditional in the future. As McCann (2001) states: without sharing, what is not given is lost. This fact will necessitate further commitment on the part of traditional musicians and singers to maintain a common ground away from commercial control and regulation.

Venues including pubs, events centres, concert halls and theatres have developed an international audience for traditional music, song and dance. While pub sessions have facilitated the informal transmission of the tradition, more formal venues have accelerated the professionalization of the tradition. Over time many performance organizations have emerged that focus on the Irish tourist market, such as Siamsa Tíre, Siamsa na Gaillimhe, Bunratty Folk Park and Brú Ború. These groups include various Irish traditional song performances to different degrees of authenticity. While many large venues also facilitate the tourist trade, it has become evident that there is not a sufficient number of enthusiasts to maintain a large traditional-music venue.[23] The proliferation of free performances of traditional music in pub sessions, and the hire of cheaper hotel and pub venues by local traditional music festivals are cited as reasons for this issue.

Radio and television play an important role in transmitting current activity in the field of Irish traditional music both nationally and internationally. Seámus Clondillon,[24] the first director of 2RN, designated a place for Irish traditional music on national radio from its inception.[25] Through programmes such as Donagh MacDonagh's *Ireland is Singing* and *Round the Fire* traditional singers such as Gerard Crofts, Michael Gallagher, May Mortell and Máire Ni Scolaidhe gained popularity, became household names, recorded on commercial discs, and some

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[21] This brought an end to the Scartaglen festival.

[22] Launched in January 2003.

[23] The 550-seater Glor Theatre in Ennis. servicing 20,000 people, had to broaden its remit to remain open.

[24] Clondillon, from Kilkee, Co. Clare was a native Irish speaker and singer of traditional songs, as well as a concert and *feis* organizer.

[25] 2RN commenced broadcasting on 1 January 1926, Seámus Clandillon advocated having traditional music on the programming schedule every second or third night of the week.

became professional performers. Between 1950 and 1953, Maurice Gorham favoured popularizing traditional music by adding classical arrangements. Radio Éireann commissioned arrangements of melodies drawn from the folklore commission collection. These arrangements were performed and recorded by the Radio Éireann Symphony, Radio Éireann Light Orchestra and the Radio Éireann Singers. In 1953, Seán Ó Riada prepared ensemble arrangements of songs and tunes for radio performance. He is also recognized for his fourteen-part series of lectures on Irish traditional music and song, entitled *Our Musical Heritage* (1962).

Field recordings by Seámus Ennis and Seán MacReamoinn in the late 1940s brought a more realistic trend to Radio Éireann and Irish traditional music into the cities, and exposed rural musicians to other regional styles. These efforts were aided by Ciarán MacMathúna's *Ceolta Tire* and *Job of Journeywork*, live recordings from the Fleadh. The 1960s brought an avalanche of ballad programmes of traditional songs accompanied by American-style banjo and guitar. Not until the 1970s did a wider choice of music programmes emerge. The Irish-language station Radio na Gaeltachta was established in 1972. This station places a heavy emphasis on traditional music and especially *sean-nós*. Local commercial stations, which started emerging in the 1980s, have a local slant to traditional specialist shows. BBC Northern Ireland also schedules a number of traditional arts programmes that deal with traditional and folk-song traditions in Northern Ireland, including *Blas Cheoil*, *Folk Club* and *O Kist O'Wurds*. The advent of DVD and digital archiving has facilitated more access.[26] However, the deregulation of radio playlists has led to an increased overall representation of international music on national radio. Domestic recordings account for 28 per cent of the overall figure (O'Flynn; 2009: 63); this figure would include other genres outside traditional music.

The advent of Irish traditional music publications, such as the *Irish Music Magazine* and the *Journal of Music in Ireland*, have developed a local and international audience for traditional music and provided a forum of discussion amongst the global Irish music community. The magazine and journal also inform readers of developments within the genre by reviewing artists' recordings, giving tour dates and providing interviews with performers. It facilitates the professionalization of the tradition by enabling the traditional artist to promote his or her recording or performances. Internet resources can be divided into four categories including commercial sales sites, tune databases,[27] audio/visual sites[28] and discussion sites.[29] While providing supplementary documentation and discussion forums the Internet fails to replace the centrality of the live performance context in the transmission process. Specialist shops for traditional music have arisen to cater for the demands of an increasing traditional-music market and cultural tourism.

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26 *The Pure Drop*, *Come West Along the Road* and *Bringing it all Back Home.*

27 thesession.org, irishtune.info, mudcat.org.

28 facebook.com, bebo.com and myspace.com.

29 thesession.org, IRTRAD-L and carlowtrad.com.

The Music Industry

Commercial recordings of Irish musicians and singers emerged first in the USA and subsequently in Britain, finding their way to Ireland typically in emigrant bundles or domestic catalogues. The 78rpm three-minute format did not lend itself to long ballads and so tended towards theatrical performances of comic stage songs. Indeed, instrumental music proved more accommodating than song to consumers in the USA, a trend which continues to this day. The development of the LP proved more accommodating. The recording of traditional singers indicated the achievement of a gold standard, and differentiated them from amateur folk-music performers. In many cases the sheer fact of being on record made the performer a star, as was the case for Delia Murphy in 1937. Indeed, Delia Murphy had only performed at private parties prior to her recording for HMV, but became a household name thereafter. The establishment of EMI Ireland in Dublin in 1936 prompted a shift from recording emigrant and revivalist musicians abroad to native performers. After Garech Browne and Ivor Browne set up the first Irish traditional label Claddagh Records in 1959, many other small labels emerged, including Gael Linn Records (1963), Tara Records (1972) and Cló Iar Chonnachta (1985). Of late there has been a significant rise in the number of performers choosing to release albums under their own label or through the Internet. Larger companies such as Universal Records and EMI sign local artists who have previously been signed by smaller independent labels once a significant audience base has been established. While this is difficult for the smaller independent labels to counteract, the bigger companies provide local artists with access to a global market and recognized status. Indeed traditional artists are more successful in terms of sales on the international market than within the domestic market. This contradiction according to O'Flynn (2009: 59) 'is consistent with the designation of Ireland as one of the most globalized states in the world'.

The modern phenomenon of traditional song performers working within the commodity market, utilizing industrial technology and adapting to global commercial forces has established professional practice within the tradition. In order to satisfy the profit margins of the producer and reach a wider audience, the artist must mediate public taste and market expectations. The contemporary folk/traditional singer John Spillane commented in an interview that EMI wished for him to achieve large album sales by recording radio-friendly music that would have immediate impact on a general audience. He also noted that, while supportive of his creative endeavours, EMI Ireland allowed him to record an album in the Irish language to allow him to 'get it off his chest'. He has since returned to the medium of English. The recording process affects the artist's performance at all levels from the conception of the work, to the process of performing for recording, to the presentation of the final product. The final product or performance is therefore not the sole ownership of the artist but that of a creative team. Spillane noted that he worked closely with the producer John Reynolds throughout the recording of his album *The Gaelic Hit Factory*, but placed his trust with him in regards to the

album arrangements and final production. This resulted in the production of an experimental folk-rock album, catapulting Spillane from contemporary folk into the world-music genre.

The music industry applies international standards to its production process rather than adhere to normal practices within Irish traditional music-making. Irish traditional song performance must therefore adhere to commercial trends in relation to song choice, lyrics, performance and arrangement. Songs should have contrasting tempos, and adhere as closely as possible to major/minor tonalities. Melodies should also be memorable and easy to reproduce. Song texts should be interesting and limited to four verses where possible. Songs with many verses should be juxtaposed with shorter songs to relieve the listener.[30] The themes should be related to the general aspects of social life rather than local topical themes. Words must use everyday language and be in the right succession, simple, direct and with no clichés. Antoine Hennion (1990: 193) suggests that important words should coincide with music high points and the text should say what the music is expressing.

The number of musicians used for arrangements depends on the financial status of the record producer. Lower-budget recordings feature few additional musicians, favouring a more traditional approach to performance, while recordings produced on medium and larger budgets feature more instrumentalists. Tim Dennehy's self-funded recording features four musicians, while Róisín Elsafty's recording on the Celtic and Roots music label Vertical Records features nine musicians and the RTÉ Concert Orchestra. Arrangements typically follow the three-minute rule of popular music. Indeed, Elsafty's recording adheres to this principle by rarely veering towards four minutes. She also arranges her tracks so that her long six-minute one is the last on the recording. However, Tim Dennehy defies this convention, realizing tracks between four and eight minutes.

Musicians have always been open to adapting technological developments that would enhance the music experience as both a performer and listener. As active consumers of music, they have supported the music industry through the regular purchase of music recordings, digital instruments and playback technologies. However, the development of recording and sampling technologies in the twentieth century has had a profound impact on music practice by not alone altering the performer's sound, but the way in which performers, such as Iarla Ó Lionaird, conceptualize about their music making.. For the final recording is not the capture of one performance but a bricolage of recorded sounds, which have been digitally altered through the use of effects and processors to achieve the desired result. The final product is therefore an artist's ideal sound rather than actual sound. This

[30] Róisín Elsafty in her Album *Má Bíonn tú liom, Bí Liom* follows *Mo Cheallachín Fionn*, which has 11 verses, with *Róisín Dubh*, which has three verses. Karen Casey on her album *Songlines* follows the song *Matrinmas Time*, which has 12 verses, with *An Buachaillín Bán*, which has two verses. The longer songs tend to be in a fast tempo while the shorter songs which follow are slow songs.

practice questions the traditional musician's ethics in respect to presenting their performance to the consumer, since the song performance is no longer the result of the singer's interaction with the story captured in one take, but the construction of a model of best practice created through multiple takes. The presentation of an idealized sound to the consumer produces problems for the performer when they try to replicate their recording in live performance. In some instances, such as the works of Enya, the level of manipulation undertaken makes it impossible to recreate the recording live.

The issuing of 12 songs on an album each with an approximate length of three minutes is one example of the mediatization process in the traditional music industry. Simon Frith (1988: 12) believes that music is the final product of the industrialization process. While this may apply to the popular music industry, since the act of composition often occurs in the recording studio, this statement does not apply to the Irish song tradition. The majority of Irish traditional song performers choose their repertoire from the corpus of traditional music. Only a few artists, such as Cara Dillon and Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin, write new material for recording in Irish traditional song. The traditional song repertoire must then be recognized as the raw material which is then manipulated by the producer until it is moulded for public consumption. Often, popular music aesthetics are applied in this process.

The major companies see Ireland as a marginal market for the selling of international products. It also notes that Ireland has a unique culture that can be sold internationally. The standardization of policies and processes across the global music industry has meant that international policy has become national policy, thus leading to the homogenization of music choice. However, diversity in ownership increases the diversity of media content available in the marketplace, thereby counteracting standardization. Small companies still maintain the ability to respond to specific market needs and focus on the cultural values of traditional music-making. For instance, Cló Iar Chonnachta (CIC) focuses on harnessing the demands of the local traditional-music audience in Ireland. For this reason they focus on authentic traditional performances that have archive potential. In respect to media formats the company continues to provide cassettes as well as CD formats, recognizing that CIC's clientele have not yet grasped the technicalities of downloading. The company manager, Deirdre O'Toole stated in a personal interview that demand for traditional song performance was good, averaging 1,000 units per product. The cost of producing an unaccompanied singing album was extremely low, thus aiding the process. While there are a relatively small number of labels active in recording traditional song performance, the independent recordings of individual artists are seen to be making this genre unfeasible for some recording companies. Deirdre O'Toole also noted that artists now wish to maintain control of their sales even though they have no marketing knowledge. This means that they fail to avail themselves of established distribution chains mangaed by record companies, believing that they will sell more at performances themselves (private interview). Tim Dennehy commented in a personal interview that CIC

wanted the performer to buy back their own album from them for personal sale at performances, which was not feasible. He maintained that personal sales had provided him with a better return than CIC's distribution network.

Ireland's economic boom proved good for the music industry, in that increased expenditure amongst the general population has led to an increase in sales. Indeed, increased incomes, a decrease in unemployment, a decrease in interest levels, and reductions in personal tax bands helped create a stable music market. The financial website ifpi.org states that music sales in Ireland are currently 1.9 albums per capita. The lowering of the tax return on CD sales from 40 to 21 per cent has contributed to this figure. These economic changes have provided opportunities for performers and recording companies to obtain a return on their activities. Due to technological advances this market is becoming turbulent. Downloading has increased in popularity; increased access to the Internet has led to a rise in Internet shopping (to the disadvantage of the retailer) and there has been an unprecedented rise in CD giveaways. Free downloading from Napster affected many Irish artists in the 1990s, including Christy Moore, the Chieftains and Clannad, leaving production companies and other intermediaries such as music publishers and retail outlets, as well as artists, with no return.[31]

Internet sales have reduced the cost of CD purchases on average from €22 to €16.45. Local retailers have recognized the trend towards Internet shopping and have embraced it.[32] Custy's music shop in Ennis is one such example of a retailer who uses the 'local' as a strategy to attract the global market. Indeed, Custy's focus is on marketing local recording artists has made them a specialist in Irish music sales. In reaction to the turbulence in the music industry the main Irish music record labels Tara, Claddagh, Gael Linn, Green Linnet and Shanachie have all rigorously cut back on their output. While this reaction seems necessary, other studies have shown an unfulfilled desire for Irish traditional music products in the global. Indeed, Osborne (2010: 53) points out how Newfoundland retailers have difficulty attaining Irish products due to the fact that they are required to order stock through New York distribution networks rather than deal directly with artists and labels. This restricts choices for suppliers and ultimately leads to these retailers carrying less stock.

The cost of recording an album still remains a major deterrent for traditional artists. Tim Dennehy stated in an interview that a recording would cost him approximately €15,000. He qualified that this figure would achieve a basic album with very little production. He noted that awards from the Arts Council, typically €2,000, were deficient in aiding artists wishing to record. He gauged that in the current market sales of albums have decreased and that maintaining a livelihood

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[31] Subsequent changes in US legislation shut down Napster. It was relaunched as a subscription site in 2003.

[32] www.madfortrad.com, www.claddaghrecords.com, www.ceolas.com, www.myspace.com, artists' websites, www.custysmusic.com, www.amazon.com, www.apple.com/uk./itunes and www.tradtunes.com.

from album sales alone would not be feasible. He saw the merging of teaching, performance and album sales as the only route for professional existence. In accordance with CIC he cited 1,000–2,000 units as being the normal amount of sales for a traditional song album, 1,000 units being the base line to recoup expenses. However, he noted that traditional recordings had a longer shelf life than popular music albums and that new customers would often go on to buy older albums. He noted that the Internet was not increasing his sales, but helped establish links with his audience, festival organizers, teaching opportunities and performance tour operators.

An audience's perception of an artist is often pre-formed by the way in which the artist is represented. Evan Eisenberg (2005: 213) asks: 'If the CD is ideally nothing more than the information it holds, why not do away with the container and plug directly into the source?' The continued production of CDs and CD liners suggests that there is still a need for physical contact with music. Indeed, sleeve notes are considered an important part of the commercial product since they provide an insight into the music tradition, the performer's musical lineage, and their musical influences. Sleeve notes also allow for cultural translation. By representing local musics to an international audience, they open the path to other interpretations that will form new audiences and meanings for traditional performance. According to Andrew Goodman and Joe Gore, the increasing globalization of the music industries requires acknowledgement both of the specificity of music as a cultural activity and of the global discourses with which various musics become associated (cited in Paul Théberge; 1997: 202).

The downloading process removes the consumer's physical contact with the music. The Internet, however, provides an alternative means of connecting with the artist through social networks such as Bebo, MySpace and Facebook. Websites provide a multidimensional view of the artists by providing biographical information on the artist, live video footage (YouTube), and photos. The sites enable the artist's audience to interact with the performer and with other enthusiasts through discussion boards. They also enable listeners to move to the next dimension of live performance through the provision of tour listings. On sites such as Bebo and MySpace fans can become part of a community or cult who follows the artist by becoming a 'friend' of the artist. This provides a further level of identification with the artist for the cult and builds an associated image for the artists through the audience profile.

The representation of traditional music by the mass media provides sites for the negotiation, mediation and re-articulation of dialectical taxonomies related to traditional music performance such as traditional/modern, folk/contemporary, traditional/world, young/old, male/female, city/countryside, regional/pan-regional, insider/outsider, centre/periphery, Irish/non-Irish, and Irish/pan-Celtic. Most of these taxonomies are strategies used by record companies to sell traditional music on a global scale. In this market traditional music is repackaged as Celtic or world music as the opportunity arises in order to bring the marginal into the mainstream. Entering the global market makes defining the self a necessity. In order to be

recognizable amongst a myriad of music and music styles, artists are faced with the problem of being distinctive yet attractive to the general audience. Consequently, the artist is categorized as either traditional or innovative, being true to their roots or an experimental artist. Most choose to remain on common ground, having a marginal identity with crossover appeal, by fusing discourses of the exotic with those of tradition and authenticity (Théberge; 1997: 202). This trend has led to change in the audience's expectation of traditional music recordings, so much so that, as the ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman (2002: 132) suggests, the difference between a world musician and a traditional musician has collapsed.

Conclusion

Alan Merriam's three analytic levels of theoretical research (1964: 32–4), provide a basic theoretical framework within which to assess the level of musical change exerted on traditional song performance by the music industry. These analytical levels include 'the conceptualization of music (concepts and values concerning what music is and should be); behaviour in relation to music making (physical behaviour, both in producing and responding to sound, as well as social and verbal behaviour); and the sound itself' (1964: 32–4). Merriam rightly suggests that changes in one of these three areas will stimulate a change in the others. The artist's appropriation of the processes and practices of the music industry thus leads to behavioural and conceptual changes that ultimately lead to a change in the sound itself.

It is evident that new media will lead to a decline in amateurism and the further marginalization of local music traditions. Rather than creating a homogeneous culture, the recording industry has recently shown that it provides for diversity. The Internet now provides more choice than ever before and as a result more ability for the consumer to achieve an individual collection of music. Rather than bringing about homogeneity and loss of the Irish song tradition, it seems more plausible that the presence of archive recordings will continue to inspire new interpretations of the old. In agreement with Wallis and Malm (1984: 302) the openness of the individual to music technology, transnational music and local culture will create the will to create something different.

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Chapter 8
Irish Traditional Song in a Global Context

> How can a tree stand tall; If a rain won't fall; To wash its branches down. How can a heart survive, Can it stay alive, If its love's denied for long. Lift the wings, That carry me away from here and, Fill the sail, That breaks the line to home. But when I'm miles and miles apart from you. I'm beside you when I think of you – a Stóirín. And I'm with you when I dream of you – a Stóirín, And a song will bring you near to me – a Stóirín a Ghrá.
>
> (Extract from 'Lift the Wings', Riverdance, by Bill Whelan)

Irish traditional song performers recognize the sizeable market for Irish music products, and identify the global Irish diaspora, the audience for Irish traditional music created as a result of Riverdance's success, and the popularity of Irish culture abroad (especially in the United States), as the main factors which have led to Irish cultural products being actively sourced in the global market. The magnitude of this specialist market, and the recognized merit of the musical product, means that Irish artists can use their ethnicity as a global brand to promote their products abroad. The international interest in Celtic folk music during the 1980s and 1990s also increased audiences for Irish popular music and film.[1] The primary factors facilitating the global acceptance and accessibility of Irish song include the popularity of Irish melodies, the ballad form, the extensive English language repertoire, and the secular nature of the lyrics. For instance, the proliferation of love songs within the tradition provides a universal theme. This merit along with a rich social engagement with the frenetic pace of a lively pub session of music and song, and the allure of a deeply rooted Celtic heritage entices cultural tourists to Ireland. The 'Irish' sound adds to the plethora of global sounds available within the world music market to urban and middle-class cultural tourists. Though Irish language song is incomprehensible to most within the global market, it is perceived as a marker of ethnicity and adds an exotic element to Irish products.

The disjuncture between representations of Irish traditional song in the local and the global has exposed the marked difference between contemporary Irish identity and Ireland's cultural identity. On reflection it becomes apparent that these differences have been cemented through the establishment of boundaries that have been academically, socially and politically constructed. The nationalist agenda

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[1] Andrew Shahrairi (2010: 108) notes that Ireland won the Eurovision Song Contest three times in a row between 1992 and 1994. U2 became an international success and many films emerged with Irish or Scottish themes including *The Commitments* (1991), *Far and Away* (1992), *Brave Heart* (1995), and *The Devil's Own* (1997).

has prompted a language hierarchy within traditional song performance which has resulted in Irish-language song being considered more authentic than English-language song. The over-representation of Irish folk songs and ballads within the global fails to adequately represent the diverse ethnic and social groups within the tradition. The peripheral position of Protestant culture, and to a lesser degree Traveller performances, in relation to ethnic representations of Ireland shows the disparity between Ireland's ethnic and cultural identity. The conceptualization of Ireland as a geographically bounded nation state, as reflected in the essential definition of Irish song, has compounded the difficulty of defining the expressive culture of the Irish diaspora as another voice within Irish identity.

The emergence of English-language song in Ireland, the habitual process of song exchange, and the advent of recordings have facilitated the development of a shared tradition amongst Irish, Irish Traveller, English and Ulster-Scots communities, as well as the diaspora community. This phenomenon has highlighted the need for Ireland to adopt a transnational concept of Irish ethnicity to overcome these differences. By integrating local and global expressions of Irish culture within the genre of Irish song, the music industry unconsciously reconstructs Irish identity for a global society, by defining itself synchronically according to ethnic-geographical space rather than diachronically through temporal space. Consequently, Irish identity breaks from the essentialist definition of Irishness associated with the pre-modern expression of the Irish people, to a transnational definition of Irish culture that recognizes its Celtic heritage, its colonial history and the contribution of the Irish diaspora to Irish culture. We must also recognize how alternative expressions of Irishness developed in the periphery can reinvigorate the centre, such as vaudeville, Tin Pan Alley and Newfoundland song.

Song performance can now be viewed as a commercial enterprise and not just an ad hoc activity undertaken during leisure time. Increased migration and international communications have prompted artists to engage with performers and producers from other cultures. For instance, the Chieftains' album *The Long Black Veil* featured artists such as Sting, Ry Cooder and The Rolling Stones singing traditional Irish songs and ballads. The Afrocelt's collaborative work with Peter Gabriel is another example of this. Indeed, collaborations with Western artists provide another path for non-Western performers to gain status and entry to the international market. While the commercialization of Irish traditional song performance provides an alternative music product within the music market, it is often used as a catalyst or inspiration for Western art, and popular and hybrid music forms. While this has broadened the circulation of Irish traditional song, it has also reinvigorated the tradition.

Advances in recording technologies and the democratization of media production have enabled artists to create their own labels and produce their own products.[2] Not all artists aim for recognition in the world music market. Indeed, some prefer to focus on the domestic market. While technology is creating a more

[2] Charcoal Records was established by Cara Dillon and Crow Vallely by Karen Casey.

democratic music industry, technical and financial concerns continue to impede this progress in the traditional music community. The Irish government's failure to recognize the potential of the Irish creative economy, sustain the domestic market and develop channels for the distribution of domestic products has provided little support to Irish traditional artists. While Ireland will learn to embrace a global market, it must also learn to use channels for circulation without losing a sense of self. As traditional society fades and the unitary nature of capitalist society evolves there is a need for education and cultural policies to be put in place to sustain the tradition. The insularity of Irish-language institutions continues to impede its ability to widen its listener base and economic potential within the world-music genre. While this move may serve to protect the tradition from the imposing threat of globalization it also threatens the tradition with stagnation and marginalization.

The Implications of Musical Change

While an enculturation process perpetuates an intra-cultural construct, the increased interconnectivity of world cultures, and particularly the dominance of Western culture, has realized the development of intercultural and multicultural constructs (Baumann: 2001). The interaction between Irish traditional song and Western music has resulted in the development of various subgenres including Anglo-Irish song, Celtic music, world music and Irish folk music. This interaction has provided varied results that are cited in Ceribasic (2008: 87) as 'crossings, blurred polarities, blendings, bricolages, creolizations and so on'. The resultant musical forms reflect not alone the interaction between these two musical cultures and the development of several local cultural constellations (cited in Steger; 2003: 75), but also the power relationships therein. Whereas traditional song has been appropriated and determined by Western music to form Anglo-Irish song, Celtic music manipulates Western forms and structures to conjure up a Celtic world. World music and country music also demonstrate how the interaction of many musical cultures can lead to the development of plural musical forms in which Western music principles predominate. The increased appropriation of Western performance practices has resulted in the rationalization of Irish traditional song performance and its repertoire, as Weber (1958) suggests, by prioritizing logical harmonic structures and musical forms over creative melodic freedom.

Irish traditional song performance represents a paradigm of performance styles, with each style having its own defined centre and periphery (Galtung: 1971) in relation to song repertoire and performance practice. While *sean-nós* performance has veered increasing towards the highly ornamented Connemara style, there has been a distinct simplification of traditional song performance in other subgenres. The subgenres of traditional singing in English, ballad singing and contemporary folk performances have focused less, if at all, on the use of melodic and rhythmic variation, melodic ornamentation, and traditional singing techniques. It is generally believed that the breakdown in traditional communities,

the normalization of rote learning, and the effect of outside influences such as the US and British folk movements have increased this practice. However, the standardization of performance practice to broaden an artist's audience base must also be acknowledged. The setting of unmetred and rubato melodies to defined rhythmic metres and harmonies has led to a form of musical automation (Adorno: 1941) that reduces the possibilities for individualizing the performance style in respect to melodic and rhythmic variation.

The increased standardization of Irish traditional song performance blurs the lines between traditional practice and other genres, and threatens the central tenets of centre and periphery within the tradition. However, one must contend that while the adoption of Western performance practices suggests a move towards a universal culture, people can and do continue to use music to construct local meanings in their lives, thus indicating a logalization process at play in the Irish tradition. Monson contends that the standardization of traditional music to rock/pop formats has led to a 'capitulation to the western popular market and the hegemony of global capital, a strategic move to acquire some of the economic strength and aesthetic legitimacy of his African American musical brothers and sisters, and/or a deliberate appropriation of international musical tropes of blackness to aid in the emergence of a contemporary self conscious African diasporic identity' (Monson; 1999: 56). While one agrees that this practice will increase the music's global acceptance and in that respect plays towards capitalist strategies, one must disagree with the assumption that this practice is an attempt to draw on what Gilroy (1993) would describe as the double consciousness of the Black Atlantic, but more an Irish affinity with the Western music practices of its neighbouring countries and its diaspora.

It is assumed that the increased rate of change experienced as a result of globalization will be mirrored by an increase in the production of new musical expressions. This standardization of domestic production brings the issues of homogeneity and fragmentation to the fore. The rearticulation of the tradition through Anglo-Irish song, country 'n' Irish, Celtic music and world music affirms the phenomenon of fragmentation within the Irish tradition. At present the disparity of musical styles and repertoire within the local field of practice would suggest that the concept of homogenization is aspirational rather than real. While each of the subgenres listed above is a product of the interaction of Irish traditional song with Western musical forms, each is recognized as an individual expression. Indeed, performers of Celtic song would see themselves as being in a completely different field of expression from that of the ballad singer, yet both are Irish and have traditional roots. The fear of fragmentation can be further appeased in an Irish context by the traditions reaction to new forms, since new expressions of Irish culture are rudimentarily placed on the periphery of performance practice by cultural institutions, prevented from infiltrating the core of the tradition. This action shows the ability of the traditional music community to recognize these products as transient expressions of culture, which may reinvigorate the tradition

rather than supplant it. It also articulates the necessity for archiving the tradition in order to maintain and reinforce the expression of culture at its core.

The interaction of Irish culture with other cultures within the global leads to the construction of a third space (Bhabha; 1994), a place that is neither one culture nor another, but something new. The concept of a third space constitutes the fundamental principles of globalization in that it promotes hybridity, a state that is recognized as pervasive and desirable but also presents the paradox of being both past and present, Irish and other, local and global. If hybridity represents the cultural representations of creolization or *mestizaje*, must the antithesis of hybridity represent cultural purity and the authentic? The question then arises as to whether Irish traditional song has a pure origin prior to the global age. The colonization of Ireland by Britain has led to the emergence of hybrid cultural forms such as Ulster-Scots song and the English-language ballad tradition, while the settlement of mercenaries in Wexford led to the development of multicultural phenomena within the Yola community and subsequently Yola song. Musical hybridity is pervasive within Irish traditional song performance as a result of the assimilation of outside cultural influences and musical borrowings from Scotland, England, France and America. Consequently, as Said would suggest (cited in Kraidy; 2005: 70), one must question whether hybridity is indeed a unique phenomenon caused as a result of globalization within Irish society or call upon the Irish people to reconnect the cultural analysis of Ireland with its actuality.

While Imperialist discourses suggest that Western culture has remained dominant in cultural exchange, this statement is deficient in recognizing translocal and non-Western syncretic forms that have evolved within the tradition. Cran's musical interests in the music of Brittany, Anam's bi-musical performance of Irish and Spanish song, Seamus Begley's musical experimentation with the Aboriginal musician Steve Cooney, and Iarla Ó Lionáird's work with Canadian Inuit throat singer Tanya Tagaq and Norwegian 'yoikers' Adjágas represents the translocal phenomenon. In agreement with Kraidy (2005: 75) I contend that hybridity negates cultural homogeneity and Western cultural dominance by supporting cultural counterflow into the West. Musical hybridity in this respect counteracts market trends. This reflects the synchronization of world markets rather than their homogenization, and demonstrates how world markets also welcome the presence of the particular within the universal.

Capitalism and its modus operandi, globalization, has increased anxieties of abandonment in modern culture. Capitalism has disrupted Ireland's traditional social order by promoting increased materialism and human relinquishment – the abandonment of things, practices, places and people, and the loss of human interaction and exchange – in lieu of more impersonal and abstract exchanges. In light of the alienation of modern culture, people look to worlds of abstraction and imagination in search of belonging. The temporal concepts of return and nostalgia have become the focus of marketing departments within the music industry of late. The revival of interest in Irish showbands provides one such example. The timing of this re-emergence has been significant in light of the demise of rock music, the

lack of originality in popular music practices, the move of younger generations to free music downloads, and the advent of a wealthy middle-aged generation with an interest in widening cultural representation within their music collections.

In light of the direct and indirect influences of globalization, indigenous cultures engage in a discourse about marginalization. This discourse debates the merits of authentic performances versus crass hybrid forms, thus engaging in a dialogue of resistance that envelops a deeper fear of abandonment. The reification of authentic performance in opposition to contemporary developments attempts to insulate the tradition. This can result in the stagnation of the tradition since it removes its performance to the periphery of cultural practice, and as such becomes marginalized by its own admission. Within an Irish context the innovation–tradition debate (*Crosbhealach an Cheoil* (Crossroads) Conference 1996) that emerged amongst the traditional music community in reaction to *Riverdance* and more particularly to Míchéal Ó Súilleabháin's *River of Sound* TV series (1995) disparagingly critiqued the musical exploration of other world musics and musical hybridity from an Irish perspective. A silent voice within this debate established the notion of regionalism within the tidal flow of the tradition and returned the interests of Irish musicians to the local palette. This in turn led to debates about traditional music in education and institutional representation.

Cultural Translation

Throughout Ireland's history the song tradition has (re)articulated and activated the people's national identity at times of social and cultural changes. Seán Ó Riada's settings of Irish music for the concert hall in the 1960s attempted to reinstate Irish traditional music to its art music status within Irish society by synthesizing the older art music tradition of Ireland with the European art tradition. By so doing, he projected an image of Ireland that articulated its past, while embracing its position within a modern, Western society. *Riverdance*'s rearticulation of an Irish identity in 1994 attempted to resituate Ireland within a modern European and a global context, by embracing cosmopolitan ideals through the synthesis of American, African American and European cultural expressions. The Irish song tradition has also shown its ability to embrace international social movements through its assimilation of the folk music practices of the United States and Britain during the 1960s, the result of which has attracted the attention of a global audience, whose support and solidarity has helped to influence changes within the local.

According to Kraidy (2005: 151–2), different kinds of hybridity serve to reproduce social, political and economic structures in modern society. In an Irish context, Protestant, Catholic and Traveller communities have isolated elements of the Irish song tradition to serve their own ideologies in order to re-position themselves socially, politically and economically within modern social structures on the island of Ireland and abroad. Pecker Dunne's compositions highlighted the demise of the Traveller community in Ireland and showed his inter-minority

group identification with the Hobo in American culture. The presentation of Irish political song in a military-band guise by the Protestant and, to a lesser degree, the Catholic communities in Northern Ireland served to contest the social positioning of particular religious ethnic groups in Northern Irish society, while reinforcing transnational relationships with societies such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Orange Order. Concurrently, the assimilation of global musical influences within the local prompted Tommy Sands and Roy Arbuckle to use musical hybridity as an alternative platform for the development of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Cultural representation of the local Irish product within the global typically promotes geographical location and/or Celtic ethnicity. The unified marketing of disparate cultures according to geographical rather than temporal location counteracts the internationalization process by emphasizing the artist's roots in specific places, and also deconstructs the traditional Western approach to culture as high or low art (Negus; 1999). According to Keith Negus (1999: 165), certain sounds such as Zimbabwean guitar patterns, Bulgarian folk styles, Irish melodies and Latin rhythms become musical codes that are decoded and recognized as such by listeners. When the territorial significations are not recognized, the record companies provide information to assist in the placing or 'reterritorialization' of the artist. The move towards file downloading will make album sleeves redundant, which will further distance the musical product from the indigenous culture's aesthetics and ideologies by not representing its temporal position within the tradition and Irish culture, or not describing the specific musical processes at play. Taxonomies used to present and categorize the product for a global audience may not be representative of the indigenous genre. For example, folk and classical descriptors do not have universal validity. In some cases the ability to translate cultural processes to other cultures is deficient to the extent that the music is trivialized in respect of its emotive qualities or ability to create a certain ambience.

The popularity of world music and indigenous labels in the global market reiterates the widespread interest in the other, or the lavishness of the exotic, in European music history. Composers such as Tchaikovsky, Satie and Beethoven exemplify the process of assimilating non-Western practices into the West through the borrowing melodies. There is also a degree of exoticism found in the harmonization of folk musics for pianoforte, which were subsequently published and sold as commodities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a phenomenon that flourished as a result of the nationalist sentiment pervasive throughout Europe at that time.[3] Irish music did not escape this trend. Ancient Irish airs were harmonized, published and sold to the consumer. Tin Pan Alley publications built on this tradition by providing 'Irish' products for an Irish diaspora, thus showing a two-way flow from the local to the global and back. The adaptation of Irish traditional song performance to the medium of sound recordings builds on

[3] Collections of this form can be found in German, French, English, Scottish, Polish, Portuguese and Russian traditions in the nineteenth century.

this commercial process. However, the production of recordings for the world-music market provides a more direct path to the essence of the tradition than most published arrangements, since ethnic musical processes and melodies often undergo a series of mediations in arrangement, often avoided in world music through the use of indigenous musicians and the facilitation of indigenous musical processes within the musical mix.

While Timothy Taylor (2007) recognizes exoticism in classical forms up to the turn of the century, he sees the take-over of mass culture and the move from elitist culture to mass culture as a move beyond exoticism. He believes that tourism and consumerism have impacted significantly on the demand for world music. Alternatively, one might contend that exoticism incites tourism and consumerism in relation to world music. Timothy Taylor (2007) sees colonialism, imperialism and globalization as forms of domination and exploitation which foster ideologies of appropriation. Kraidy (2005) reaffirms Taylor's views that colonization, imperialism and globalization imply integration and control, but she also highlights globalization's more positive attributes, including pluralism and empowerment. Taylor's viewpoint is steadfastly American in its belief that fusion occurs from the influence of the West upon other cultures. It does not recognize processes of globalization occurring to non-hybrid forms, or hybrid forms that do not include Western participation. He also fails to acknowledge the agency of individual cultural actors to take part in global culture – that they engage with Western artists to forge an entry point to a wider international audience.

Cultural Globalization within an Irish Context

Globalization has created a sense of dislocation within modern Irish society and a loss of meaning. The deterritorialization of borders has heightened this sense of dislocation by facilitating migration and increasing exposure to other cultures via the media and commercial products. Dislocation is not a new phenomenon for the Irish, but rather builds on several centuries of forced displacement as a result of colonization, poverty and famine. However, recent developments in global communications and technology has accelerated and increased Ireland's access to outside influences, resulting in cultural change. These changes are manifest in the ways the tradition is acquired, experienced, sustained and interpreted. The increased referencing of imagined networks and cultural connections has broken the enclosed ideals of nation states, and prompted us to engage with the alternative concept of an imagined community. This has given rise to the imagining of Ireland in terms of its Celtic heritage, the Atlantic fringe, the global diaspora or fifth province, and international and virtual communities for Irish culture.

Capitalist systems aid the distribution of cultural products and knowledge of cultural practices worldwide, leading to a proliferation of cultural narratives about the local within the global. This has resulted in the decentralization of access to the Irish song tradition. The expansion and stretching of social relations, activities and

interdependencies around the globe has changed the parameters of activities. The intensification and acceleration of social exchanges and activities have changed the scale. This has resulted in the creation of large-scale festivals and events for traditional music worldwide, and the development of a star system within the tradition. Actions that happen in one place have actual co-ordinates that lie far beyond it. Indeed, the roots of *Riverdance* are as much embedded in the expressive culture of the Irish diaspora as they are in the local's experimentation with the global.[4] This conceptualization of space and the inter-relationships thereof enables the understanding of cultural processes at play between the subculture, interculture and global culture through the use of terminology to describe these states such as the local, regional, national, translocal, transregional, transnational, international and global. The advent of these transitional places sees movement from stability to instability, from permanence to transience, as the web of connections continues to be mediated and explored. This is seen to threaten the tradition through dilution. Hence the question arises: can we in fact uncover purity in plurality?

While much discourse surrounds the exploitation of local musics, market statistics do not support this statement. Indeed, the ethnomusicologist David Laing stated at a conference on the Culture Industry[5] that world music represents only 4 per cent of the market share. Within the global market, consumer choice plays a pivotal part in recording companies' decisions to record and market particular cultural products.[6] The increased commercial drive within the music industry has, according to Keith Negus (1999), led to a reduction in cultural expression exposed in the worlds of linguistics and ethnic voices. This has centred the industry's focus on the global expression of hybridity rather than the place of domestic or nationally defined expressions/brands in the world market. This in turn sustains critics' fears that world music has been reduced to one sound – non-Western music. It also raises concerns for the sustenance of world cultures. Will only the popular survive? What will happen when they fall from favour? Irish traditional music's popularity worldwide has assured its position in this market at present. This has been affirmed in relation to Irish music's dominance in the Celtic music genre, and Irish cultural imperialism in a Newfoundland and broader Canadian context.

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[4] Michael Flatley and Jean Butler were Irish-American; the experimentation of Irish dance with Bulgarian dance had developed from Siamsa Tíre, The National Folk Theatre's experimentations in this area; and Bill Whelan's music was as a result of the musicians experimentation with Eastern European music in *EastWind*.

[5] Held at Goldsmiths University, November 2007.

[6] World music has a middle-class following and provides an alternative to mainstream or commercial music. According to Timothy Taylor (2007: 171) the demographics of the people buying Irish albums were the same as those buying reggae and world beat. They were not the same individuals, necessarily, but the same demographics – mostly white, college-educated adults looking for something different. Buyers have referenced rough guide and world beat.

The creation of cosmopolitan music forms seems unfathomable given the differences in musical meaning experienced globally. Indeed, Martin Stokes states that there are a number of cosmopolitan expressions rather than one, including classical, non-Western and gendered forms.[7] Rather than recognize integration one must question whether cosmopolitanism represents a changing perception of musical innovation from micro (monophonic forms) to macro levels (hybrid forms involving bricolage and code layering)? Does the move from the pre-modern to the modern also represent a shift from active local cultures with traditional values to a passive global culture with symbolic meaning? Does this expression therefore value hybridity over authentic expressions? The difficulty with cosmopolitanism is that hybridity needs stability to thrive. The lack of assimilation of hybrid forms into the local denies this. Therefore, these products will not develop consistently as with traditional products but prompt a return to the source to create the next expression. One must then contend that hybridity will remain a localized practice which enters the global, rather than championing an all-inclusive social order. It suggests that the ethnocentrism of the West will not facilitate a general openness to difference in commodity purchases. In Ireland the popular music charts rarely feature a foreign-language artist. If they do, they are still expected to sing in English.[8] The popularity of world music is trend based; by 2002 the market for this music had rapidly declined in Ireland.[9] The movement of Irish traditional music in and out of the British music charts – as in the case of the Pogues, Foster & Allen and the Dubliners – also reflects cultural trends rather than any sign of a merger between world and popular music markets.

The perceived threat of globalization to local cultures has brought about a resistance movement championing the protection of indigenous culture. The use of traditional music for economic gain and the overexposure of Irish culture are seen as a threat to local culture, since these activities debase the integrity of the tradition by establishing a market value for the tradition and making it common property within the global domain. The fear of Irish music's fall from favour also raises concerns about the marginalization of the tradition within the world music market. The resistance movement also juxtaposes the authentic with the consumerist and weighs up the greater implications of commercializing the tradition. Many critics relegate modern performers who have achieved success within world and Celtic music genres to the league of sell-out artists or mimics who have little linkages with the tradition. While unfounded in many cases, this condemnation exposes a concern and internal respect for the oral tradition. Since mimicry repeats rather than represents, it loses its originality and leaves behind a trace of the tradition. To sustain the indigenous culture it becomes apparent that the strength and history

[7] Stated in November 2007 at a British Forum for Ethnomusicology one-day conference held at Goldsmiths College, London, on the theme of 'Ethnomusicology and the Culture Industries'.

[8] As in the case of the European singer Enrique Englesias.

[9] Noted from discussions with music venues' managers.

of culture within a nation is tested. Within the local, this resistance is expressed by the local surge of interest and participation in Irish cultural institutions such as the GAA, set dancing and Irish music. However, the question remains as to whether cultures can cut themselves off from global cultural influences. Even if direct influences are contained this still means that globalization can affect cultures indirectly, as in the case of technology and global networks. More, people cannot defy institutions to which they have no access and to which they make no contribution (Jameson and Miyoshi; 1998: 295).

Radio Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) provides an interesting case study in its attempts to counteract globalization. It enables Irish people to construct their own identity and make sense of their society, and provides an independent voice to comment on global politics and economic affairs. RTÉ encourages and supports indigenous cultural production even though the cost of indigenous products is much higher than that of the global. The deregulation of public broadcasting has opened RTÉ to global competition. Consequently, the nation is no longer its audience. According to Farrell Corcoran (2004: 15), 80 per cent of the Irish have access to British channels. In order for RTÉ to survive, the competition policy was restricted to enable free rights of representation to individuals (news not commercially owned). As a result, indigenous culture (Irish radio and television) become oppositional culture. This case study shows the need to bridge heritage and the living nation in order to safeguard national culture. Government support is also required to safeguard the perpetuation of the tradition and enable the development of an indigenous music industry. The extent of and approach to government support should reflect Japanese ideals. In Japan, policy-making in relation to the commercial economy and that regarding traditional society are kept separate. This approach sees the need for government to implement policies and remain distant from cultural policy making (Mott: 2004). However, this does not mean that funding should not be provided to help put supporting structures in place. More, it suggests a grassroots approach to sustaining the traditional arts rather than national directives.

Cultural change as a result of globalization is inevitable. Irish identity has achieved global popularity, with Ireland being perceived as a locus of community, culture and authenticity. At present the strength of Irish culture protects it from total assimilation and marginalization. Evidence has been provided repeatedly of both fragmentation and homogenization (standardization of practice and repertoire) within Irish traditional song performance, thus illustrating how globalization has empowered local artists to extend the national canon for a global audience. James Clifford's concept of 'travelling cultures' (1992) has also been affirmed in an Irish context, given the ability of Irish traditional song performance to move and take a part in transforming itself and the culture encountered. In accordance with Mott (2004: 176) it appears that institutions should recognize this phenomenon and adapt to global market forces, rather than trying to curtail cultural change. In so doing, they can harness the potential for cultural growth in Ireland and safeguard the roots of the tradition. This book has

also exposed the difference between Ireland's national identity and its actuality. In so doing it calls for a post-nationalist Ireland to embrace alternative definitions of Irishness within the global so that it strengthens Irish cultural identity and demonstrates the art of the possible. That is the possibility of breaking down boundaries in order to mediate the divide between being at home and being away from home in the global age.

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