

TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES THROUGH GLOBAL TOURISM:
EXPERIENCING CELTIC CULTURE THROUGH MUSIC PRACTICE
ON CAPE BRETON ISLAND, NOVA SCOTIA

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Dedication

*This work is dedicated to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ,
Whom through all things are possible (Phil 4:13).*

My deepest thanks to Dr. Ruth Stone, Dr. Richard Bauman, Dr. Daniel Reed, and Dr. Jeffrey Magee. Your love for discovering the ways human beings understand themselves, each other, and the world through musical performance is terribly infectious, and I will be forever grateful for the tools you have given me to communicate those ideas to the world.

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Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, is currently the heart of the North Atlantic Celtic music revival. Fueled by a booming tourism industry, efforts in cultural preservation, and claims as a last stronghold of Gaelic speakers outside Scotland, Cape Breton Island is an international gathering place for tourists and performers to encounter the larger community of Celtic musicians. This ethnography of a transnational music community explores the ways in which geographically disparate peoples encounter the transnational Celtic music community, learn what it means to belong, and through participation, become full members in the community. I argue that the transnational Celtic music community is best described as a *community of practice*, where members are active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities. The role of international tourism, traditional arts schools, festivals, and interactive websites are examined through the lens of phenomenology and performance theory. Issues raised in this case study are cross-disciplinary in nature and can be applied broadly to research on globalization, international relations, and diasporic communities. More specifically, this research contributes directly to the field of ethnomusicology, folklore, performance theory, and tourism studies.

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Introduction

On March 17th, everyone seems to have a wee bit of *Irish* in them, but as for me, I've been a late bloomer in finding my 'inner shamrock.'

My grandmother was born on St. Patrick's Day in 1921 to Irish immigrants, who settled in the Blue Mountains of eastern Washington State. She grew up to become a pianist, teacher, and writer, and chronicled our family's travels to the New World in a series of self-published novels. Reading her stories about our family instilled in me a life-long love of music, history, and culture. While earning Bachelors and Masters degrees in violin performance, I began to learn about Irish folk music through independent research projects. I stowed guitars and pizza boxes (make-shift *bodhrans* or Irish frame drums) under my violin teacher's studio duvet to share with my music appreciation classes as a graduate teaching assistant. In between rehearsals with the Reno Symphony, the Round Top International Festival-Institute and the Aspen Music Festival, I practiced Irish fiddle tunes and began to pick up melodies by ear. After my Masters degree in violin, I chose to return to graduate school to study ethnomusicology, specializing in Celtic music, in order to share my love of world music and culture with

students of my own. What I found in my doctoral research, however, took me far beyond my own family roots into the inter-connected, international Celtic music community.

I heard Cape Breton fiddle music for the first time at Indiana University's Archives of Traditional Music. I was listening to a field recording made by Laura Boulton, a contemporary of Helen Creighton and other ethnomusicologists interested in Nova Scotia in the 1940s. Boulton recorded fiddler Sandy MacLean, and the pianist accompanying him was his childhood friend, Lila MacIssac. What I heard at first—in all honesty—did not fit neatly into my idea of what Celtic music was supposed to sound like. The jagged rhythms of the strathspeys and the ragtime piano together were not what I was expecting to hear after listening to a heavy dose of Martin Hayes, the Chieftains, and Cherish the Ladies. It took another year before I returned to listen to the recording again and challenge my assumptions about what “Celtic” music should sound like. I knew that although my Irish great-grandparents emigrated to the United States via New York, many more Irish landed in Cape Breton before moving on to Boston. In my mind, Cape Breton was the perfect place to hear “Celtic” music because the island was home to Scots, Irish, French, and English, all communities who were now contributing great “Celtic” music to the international recording industry. I kept trying to hear something else in Sandy MacLean's recording, some sonic marker of the Celtic music melting pot I imagined that must have happened on Cape Breton Island over the past century. Now, after having lived in Cape Breton and performed along side Cape Breton musicians, I look back on these pre-

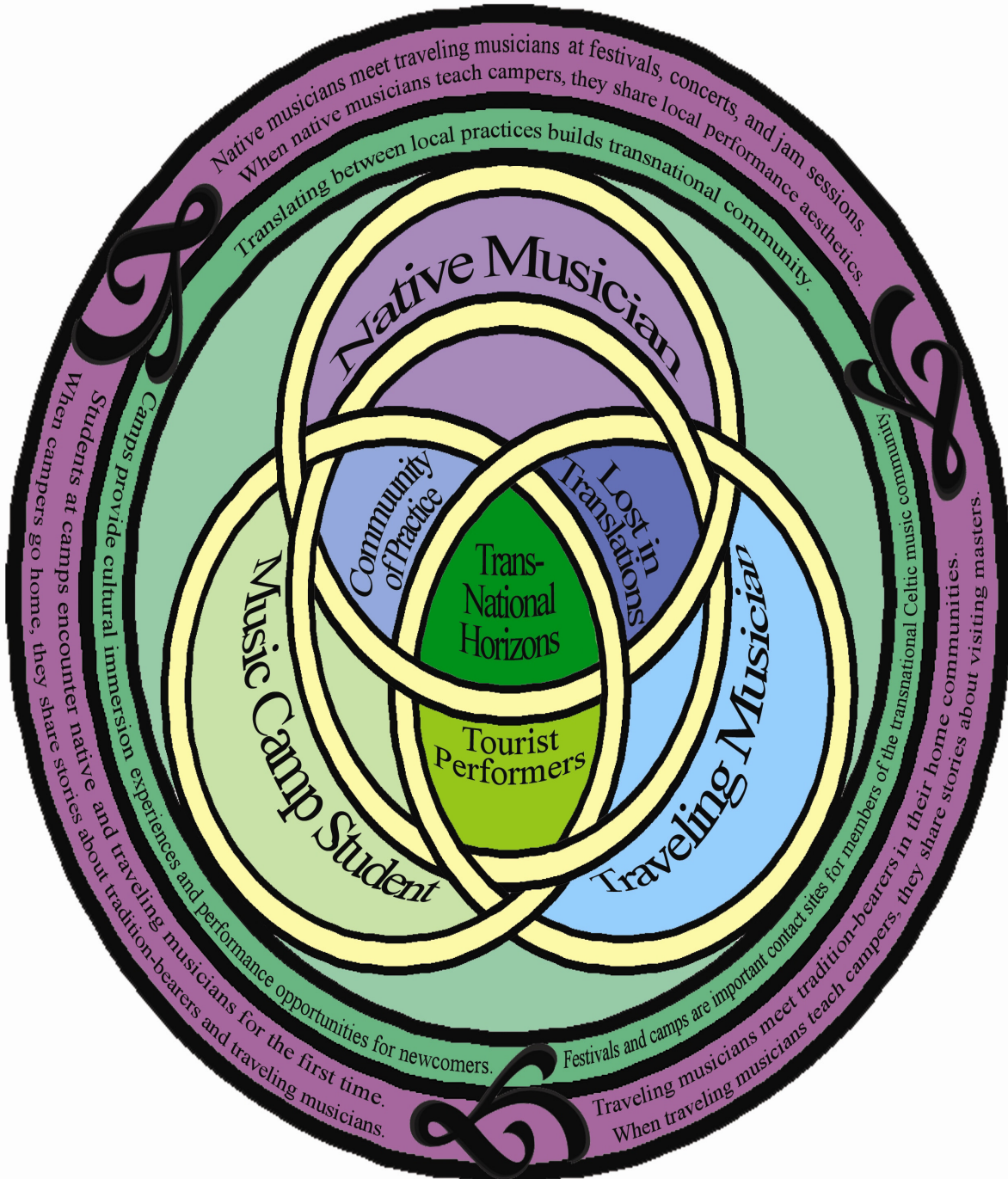
conceptions with curiosity; while I had trouble meeting the quintessential ‘melting-pot-musician,’ I did meet many talented musicians that were engaged in multiple music communities, many spanning across the US-Canada border and even more bridging the Atlantic ocean to western Europe and Scandinavia.

Trying to sort out members of these communities is not a simple task. The Celtic music communities themselves are inter-connected, and have a type of organizational memory that has recorded each other’s travels. From forced exiles to famines, migrant labor to military conquests, both its written music and aural traditions have chronicled the travels of the Irish, Scottish, French, and English over the past centuries. Rather than dissecting these communities individually, this dissertation focuses on how Celtic music communities are inter-connected, inter-related, and inter-textual in the stories they tell about who they are and where they come from. Cape Breton is an apt place to investigate this inter-connectedness because the island’s booming tourism economy, which hosts festivals, concerts, and summer camps, specifically marketed to tourists in a way that highlights the island’s cultural “Celtic-ness.”

I have created a visual aid in the form of a Celtic knot to map out community members and their levels of engagement (see figure 1, page 4). I thought it apt, since the Celtic knot has become a pop-culture, mass media icon for all things Celtic. Functioning like a Venn diagram, this aid shows where participating members’ experiences may or may not overlap. For example, the music camp student may one day become an experienced traveling musician, and may also become a native tradition-bearer in their home community. But, just as

easily, a native musician may not travel at all but become familiar with other Celtic music traditions by inviting visiting musicians over for a kitchen ceilidh (pronounced *kay-lee*, a gathering for the purpose of sharing music together).¹

1. Celtic knot diagram representing the inter-connected members of the transnational Celtic music community.



The three intersecting groups I chose to highlight in figure 1 are music camp students, traveling musicians, and native musicians. These three groups are not by any stretch of the imagination the only members of the transnational Celtic music community, nor do they perfectly define each group. “Music camp students,” “traveling musicians,” and “native musicians,” are terms used to give a simplified overview of different levels of engagement and mobility within the larger context of Celtic music. The overlapping sections, “Community of Practice,” “Lost in Translations,” and “Transnational Horizons,” each denote chapters dedicated to investigating how identity and practice are mutually constructive within the transnational Celtic music community.

Following chapter one, which gives a historical overview of the tourism industry in Cape Breton, chapter two (“Communities of Practice”) introduces key concepts on how music communities can exist outside of geographically-bounded spaces, where participating in knowledge-based practices constitutes belonging and informs identity. Chapter three, “Tourist Performers,” explores how music camp students enter into the transnational Celtic community as music tourists, but through performance, they develop deeper ties into the wider Celtic music community. Chapter four, “Lost in Translations,” reveals the unique function that translation plays in weaving together the diverse local music practices that constitute the wider *transnational* Celtic music community.² *Translation* becomes a way for community members negotiate between specific performance practices, and a means to overcome misunderstandings or conflicts that arise from contrasting aesthetics.³ Chapter five, “Transnational Horizons,” uncovers the

ability of transnational communities of practice to mitigate the homogenizing effects on local cultures due to the sweeping effects of global mass media.

In the outer circles of the Celtic knot (figure 1) are the ways in which each group often encounters other members of the transnational Celtic music community and in the process develops a new potential mobility towards other forms of community membership. There are limitless ways (or *trajectories*, as discussed in Chapter 5) a musician can move in, out and through webs of connections with other musicians across the Atlantic or in their own home town. For this reason, I feel the Celtic knot represents well the tangled mass of relationships, stories, and identities found among the traveling and native musicians I encountered in my Cape Breton fieldwork. The infinity lines within the Celtic knot, as well, reflect the constant movement between individual members of the transnational Celtic music community. Rather than isolate individual strands of membership, this dissertation expounds on the interconnected and moving parts of a living, breathing community.

A New Horizon

The phenomenon of time and place is fundamental to our human experience. It forms the basis of our identity as individuals, as communities, and as nations. How we locate ourselves in the contemporary world is shaped largely by our experience of time and place, and seeking out cultures different from our own is one way for us to better understand ourselves and our place in the world. Cultural performances, fueled by a growing global tourist economy, act as

markers of time and space for outsiders seeking to experience the Other in order to know themselves, while serving as unionizing displays of local identity among communities looking to reestablish a sense of self in the diffusing effects of globalization. Cultural performances are able to produce visible representations of localized identity to international tourists. This is the case in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, where the island's communities work to market the island's musical traditions as a unique and autonomous tradition within the culturally Celtic destinations of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

The growing tourism industry has revolutionized the workforce in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Where the fishing and mining industries dominated Nova Scotia's labor at the turn of the twentieth century, current revenues from tourism and service-oriented jobs amount to over a billion dollars each summer, and ninety percent of the work is seasonal (Acton 1999). The promotion of Cape Breton's Gaelic heritage has been one catalyst for this transformation. With the creation of the National Film Board in 1941, the group began funding films that highlighted Cape Breton's highlander arts and crafts for audiences abroad. *Tourists* now perceive the island's cultural identity as a bastion of Gaelic culture and heritage.⁴ The 1970s revival of Cape Breton fiddling in reaction to the film, *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, has further defined fiddling on the island as a symbolic icon of Cape Breton-ness (Thompson 2003).

Since the rise of tourism in Cape Breton began in the 1940s, there has been a healthy scholastic exploration into several overarching factors that may help explain Cape Breton's tourism popularity, including Celtic revivals in North

America and Europe (Bowman 1994, Boyle 1981, Chapman 1994, Dunlay 2000a, James 1999, Stokes and Bohlman 2003), the cultural out-posting of Scots in Cape Breton (Campbell 1990, Creighton 1932, Doherty 1990, Fowke 1962), the Gaelic Renaissance (Dunn 1991, Macdonald 1997, Shaw 1978), maintaining expatriate ties to Irish communities in Cape Breton (Caswell 2000, Gedutis 2005, MacDonald 1999), and the revival of Cape Breton's traditional music and dance practices (Borggreen 2002, Garrison 1985, Graham 2006, MacDonald 1988, MacInnes 1998, MacIntyre 1996, Sparling 1999, Thompson 2003).

A handful of publications dealing with the economic climate of Cape Breton's tourism industry have been very helpful in guiding my research as well. Ian Francis McKinnon's master's thesis, "Fiddling to Fortune: The Role of Commercial Recordings Made by Cape Breton Fiddlers in the Fiddle Music Tradition of Cape Breton Island" (1989), illuminated for me the important psychological impact the recording industry had on both the fiddlers who were first recorded and those potential tourists who purchased recordings of Cape Breton before ever visiting the island. McKinnon pointed out that every record album sold was first packaged in an attractive sleeve with photographs of the island's breathtaking shorelines, which served as a larger-than-life postcard to future sightseers. Michael Gurstein explored the impact of the Internet on the island's image abroad in, "Fiddlers on the Wire: Music, Electronic Commerce and Local Economic Development on a Virtual Cape Breton Island" (1999). Gurstein revealed that the support for community-based websites began with a simple list-serv of expatriates, who were able to parlay their synergy into

economic support for the island's virtual presence in the tourism industry.

Burt Feintuch's article, "The Conditions for Cape Breton Fiddle Music: The Social and Economic Setting of a Regional Soundscape" (Feintuch 2004), noted that the growing support for tourism among many of the island's communities was due to the more abundant performance opportunities for young local Cape Bretoners, the popularity of Cape Breton fiddle recordings, and the emphasis on carrying on family traditions.

Although these musical ethnographies have been fruitful in fleshing out how social and economic factors influence modes of cultural production, this dissertation seeks to explore the interplay between reception and production. Instead of focusing the lens of inquiry on how cultural performances are shaped by external factors (such as revival, out-posting, or industry), the focus will shift to study the process of self-discovery between those looking in (tourists), and those looking out (locals). Tourists performers and local musicians both experience time and place through co-mingling cultural performances; this study explores how fiddlers and tourists communicate their experience of time and place through musical participation in knowledge-based, transnational communities of practice. My research interest grows from abiding issues concerning the process by which a sense of time and place becomes shared among a community. I am interested specifically in how local musicians use persuasive discourse to market Cape Breton as a uniquely Gaelic tourist site, how tourists negotiate the tension between expectations and actual experiences of authenticity in musical performances, and how the social movement initiated by some

merchants to represent a greater cultural diversity may be interpreted as a threat to the financial success of the island's tourist economy and cultural identity.

The benefits of understanding how fiddlers and tourists work to convey a sense of place and self through cultural performance and discourse are two-fold. First, understanding how experiences of time and place are expressed both musically and discursively will bring about new ways in which to consider how performance and discourse contribute to the social constitution of communal identity. Second, understanding why tourism has become a catalyst for the revival of cultural performances in Cape Breton will help public sector arts organizations build fiscal sustainability according to current trends in cultural tourism.

Theoretical Perspectives

Musical performances in Cape Breton keyed specifically to tourists provide an exemplary case study of how time and place are *experienced*. Music is used by tourism promoters on the island as a sonic marker to locate Cape Breton as a tourist destination by simultaneously identifying the island's musical traditions within the Celtic diaspora of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany, yet also as being distinct stylistically in performance practices due to the preservation of the island's Scots-Gaelic heritage. The revival and maintenance of the fiddling tradition is heavily governed by notions of reflexivity toward these Gaelic roots; the canonization of early nineteenth-century Scottish tune collections, frequent references by performers to old fiddle recordings, and

stories about family *ceilidhs* of an older generation work to portray a picture of cultural purity and preservation rather than an organic, dynamic community.⁵

In order to explore the elements of human experience that often are overlooked in ethnographies about Cape Breton's cultural traditions, I have relied heavily on the writings of Martin Heidegger (1996), Edmund Husserl (1999), and Alfred Schutz (1967), who have outlined the earliest definitions of transcendental phenomenology. I have applied their ideas about 'truth,' 'reflection,' and 'knowing' to music to explain how time, place, a sense of community are experienced. Specifically, Schutz's concept of subjective meaning has shed light for me on how translation plays a particularly key role in experiencing a sense of transnationalism and forming intellectual horizons (Schutz 1967:38). In my research, Husserl's theory of experience, or *Enfahrung*, appeared to complement Schutz's 'subjective meaning' in that human experience is a series of perceptions, intimations, and judgments about ourselves and others that form a subjective understanding (Husserl 1999:29). From Husserl's perspective of understanding, I have been led to investigate models of knowledge-based communities, where community involvement shapes understanding through mutual engagement in shared practices (See further Wenger 1998). In addition, Heidegger's writings on "the essential constitution of historicity" motivated me to think about how performances can be a way of coming to terms with the past for the performer, and how in framing a performance as a reenactment is a means of writing the performer into that history (Heidegger 1996:352; See further "Ürtext performances," Chapter 3).

Phenomenology, as detailed in the writings of Heidegger, Husserl, and Schutz, have since given birth to a long legacy of social science scholarship highlighting the importance of human experience in decoding cultural performances. More contemporary investigations have focused on a wide array of cultural phenomena, including intersubjectivity and reflexivity (Berger & DelNegro 2002; Blumer 1969; Berger & Luckman 1966; Jackson 1998; Rosenberg 1995), experiential meaning (Braid 1996; Krell 1982; McDowell 1995; Sturm 2000), and music event (Blacking 1995; Berger 1999, Stone 1982). In addition to the theoretical perspectives of phenomenology, I am indebted as well to the theories dealing with the communicative power of performance as explored by Richard Bauman (2001c, 1994, 1987, 1977), Pamela Ritch (1994), and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1998, 1995, 1990), for their ability to explain the role cultural performances play in contemporary society. Within the subset of “performance theory,” scholars have posed questions about how authority governs discourse within a community (Bauman 2001c; Briggs 1996; Brunner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1990; Schieffeln 1985), how the interactions between an audience and performer can shape meaning for both parties (Bauman 1987; Brenneis 1995; Duranti 1986; Edensor 2000; Feld 1990; Hoëm 2000), and the ways performance can symbolically illustrate cultural values (Bauman and Ritch 1994; McDowell 1992; Singer 1972; Stoeltje and Bauman 1998).

Finally, several authors have been a wellspring of inspiration in the study of music performance as cultural production at tourist sites and as a marker of

place. In *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett compares the tourist reception of two contrasting festivals, the Olympic Arts Festival and the Los Angeles Festival, suggesting that cultural performances are limited in their ability to communicate meaning outside the expectations of on-lookers (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Her thought-provoking illustration spurred the question in my own research, “what happens to cultural meanings when the audience member learns to become the performer?” In James Clifford’s *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, he brings to light myths about travel and wealth, and poses the question, “how long does it take to become ‘indigenous?’” (Clifford 1998:252). I was most influenced by Clifford’s ideas about translation and how it functions within the context of developing transnational identities. Along with Clifford’s chapter on diaspora, Emily Noelle Ignacio’s work, *Building Diaspora: Filipino Cultural Community Formation on the Internet*, asks the question, “If nation, culture, and homeland are constructed, why bother with Diasporic identity?” (Clifford 1997:244; Ignacio 2005:28). Both authors pose this important question; the answers, however, are complex and elusive. I make my own attempt in this dissertation to answer the questions of transnational identity, including, ‘what purpose does it serve’ and ‘how is it maintained?’

Research Questions

Cultural music performances, especially ‘traditional’ presentations of music for tourists, have been used to market tourism dating back to the post-World War II tourism boom. While earlier cultural presentations for tourists may have encouraged cultural voyeurism, a recent development of traditional arts schools marketed to tourists, international music festivals, an international recording industry, and the creation of performance venues specifically for tourists have placed some traditional arts communities on a new trajectory. I propose that as the boundaries between cultural voyeurism and genuine curiosity are blurred through the increasingly complex seasonal migration of peoples, the stage has been set for the formation of transnational communities bound through overlapping cultural practices.

Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, is currently the heart of the North Atlantic Celtic music revival.⁶ Fueled by a booming tourism industry, efforts in cultural preservation, and claims as a last stronghold of Gaelic-speakers outside Scotland, Cape Breton Island is an international gathering place for tourists and performers to encounter the larger community of Celtic musicians (Feintuch 2004; Dunlay 2002). By investigating the ways in which Cape Breton’s musical community is experienced as transnational, this study seeks to illuminate abiding questions pertaining to broader concerns of globalization, international relations, and diasporic populations:

- 1) *Can transnational communities be bound through travel to and participation in cultural events, including music performance?*
- 2) *Are transnational communities formed and maintained through shared vernacular lore, social customs, and modes of communication?*
- 3) *May transnational communities be located through performance practices specific to the construction of contemporary cultural identities?*

Designed as an ethnography of a transnational music community, this dissertation will explore the ways in which geographically disparate peoples encounter the transnational Celtic music community, learn what it means to belong, and through participation, become members in the community.

Cape Breton community members engaged music performance on the island, especially those whom are attuned to the tourist industry, exhibit a highly specialized division of labor. My research questions are calibrated to these social stratifications, and seek to understand how each group places themselves within the community and the world, and how they feel a sense of identity through the time and places in which they live.

Some key concepts surfaced during my fieldwork and writing that became a theme throughout this dissertation: connectivity, translation, and reconciliation. Transnational communities of practice, I found, are an important corrective to the now clichéd effects of globalization, which is purported to erase the cultural individuality of entire communities through the denaturing process of mass media. Knowledge-based communities are built and sustained on connectivity, no matter how far members are geographically from one another. Nearness, in this case, indicates a degree of connectedness rather than physical proximity. Maintenance of local styles within the transnational Celtic music community

reflects the potential for deepening levels of cross-cultural understanding, even despite the potentially diffusing effects of globalization.

The notion of translation surfaced early on in my fieldwork, and became my modus operandi of relating musically and socially to the music community in Cape Breton. Since the majority of my Celtic music experience came from Irish styles at first, learning alternate tune names, different settings, and new bowing techniques from Cape Bretoners grew to be an important way to relate to my new peers. The more time I spent with my new musician friends, the more I realized I was not alone. Being able to recognize distinct styles within the Celtic music umbrella was a major preoccupation for many of informants I performed with and interviewed. It was important to them to be able to recognize the overlapping and shared dance music traditions between Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and French Acadia, so that they could get along more easily in group session playing both back home and on the road. Translation, as discussed in chapter four, is a process of communication through multiple channels of performance that work to bind the transnational music community together, while still giving heed to each individual practice within the Celtic genre as a whole.

Reconciliation is also an important part of community cohesion. The act of overcoming conflict to form a stronger bond reminds me of the process of felting wool. In the process of felting wool, loose puffs of natural wool are patted together until the small, barbed fiber shafts become entangled, and interlock into a tightly bound fabric. In Cape Breton, milling frolics were a common event where neighbors got together to mill (or felt) large stretches of woven tartan wool fabric

by drenching the material in sheep's urine and pounding the fabric in a rowing motion back and forth on long table. The rhythmic pounding became the beat for Gaelic work songs that were sung during the milling process. To me, the process of felting seems like magic. The individual wool fibers are so strong and wiry that the idea of them coming together into one enmeshed object appears to be mere wishful thinking. But, miraculously, through the simple act of constant agitation over time, the wool fabric passes a turning point and suddenly binds together into an unmistakably fuzzy consistency. In the case of most other fibers, that type of constant pounding would end in a shredded pile of broken threads, but in the case of wool, it is the constant agitation combined with patience that yields cohesion.

Communities of practice remind me of the felting process. When a bossy fiddler complains to a bodhran player that she has had too much wine, leaving her rhythmically impaired, there are two options. First, the fiddler and bodhran player can agree to never again grace the same session with his/her presence, or they can agree that making music together means more to them than the occasional insult and reconcile their difference in the name of music-making. In the transnational Celtic music community, issues of rhythmic timing, virtuosity, and repertoire knowledge can become serious momentary conflicts, but it is to the credit of the musicians that treaties are readily made and the transnational community of Celtic musicians becomes stronger for having overcome the conflict. Although I'm sure many a musician would rather felt wool the old fashion way than make it through a rocky session, it is the ability to overcome these discrepancies in performance practices that brings the community into such a great degree of cohesion.

Research Methods

This study is informed by archival research and on-site interviews with Cape Breton musicians, tourism board directors, merchants, and tourists. Preliminary archival research funded through the Laura Boulton Junior Research Fellowship and five weeks of on-site research funded through Indiana University's International Enhancement Pre-Dissertation Grant allowed me to identify key research sites, such as the Red Shoe Pub, the Mabou Dance Barn, the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts, the Ceilidh Trail School of Music, the Big Pond Festival and the Celtic Colours Festival as performance venues frequented by tourists. My year-long field research was funded through the Canadian Embassy and the US-Canada Fulbright Program. During the 2004-2005 academic year, I lived in Sydney, Nova Scotia, where I was hosted by the Beaton Archives of Cape Breton University under the sponsorship of music archivist Sheldon MacInnes. During my residency in Cape Breton, I served as a guest concertmaster for the Cape Breton Chamber Orchestra and participated at the regular Thursday night sessions at Rollie's on the Wharf in North Sydney.

During my fieldwork in Cape Breton, I collected data using a number of approaches, including participant observation, open-ended surveys, interviews, focus groups, field notes, and journaling. During the summers, from 2004-2006, I participated as a student at the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music and the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts. I studied Cape Breton fiddling with Alasdair Fraser, Stan Chapman, J.P. Cormier, Joe Cormier, Sandy MacIntyre, Glenn

Graham, Boyd MacNeil, and Jennifer Rolland. Participating alongside students, I was able to experience the uncanny questions posed to the instructors that led to note-worthy discussions later on in my research. In addition, I passed out an open-ended survey to students during these school sessions, permitting me to reach many more students through their written reflections than time would allow through interviews.

In the survey, I asked students to tell the story of how they came to be a student at the Ceilidh Trail or Gaelic College, along with gathering general demographical information. I collected forty completed surveys in all, many of which told of compelling accounts of finding meaning in life through a new-found love of Cape Breton music. After the third summer, students who recognized me from prior weeks would grab my attention and point out new students saying, “You just have to hear *her* story!” The use of surveys in some cases prompted focus groups, especially where a group of friends had gathered together for the week and had mutually intertwining stories dating back ten years concerning their progression into the transnational Celtic music scene together. The focus groups were very fruitful in uncovering unspoken rules about what is expected at camp and the cliques that develop over the week and over the years.

I was able to participate as both a performer and a researcher at the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs over the course of two summers, 2004 and 2005. My field notes taken at this venue turned out to be very important in considering the degree of reflexivity and self-awareness needed by performers for tourists in cultural productions. The young performers I documented there, and in particular

Jennifer Bowman, helped shed light on the balancing act between native and foreigner, sessioner and tradition-bearer. I took copious notes on the questions tourists posed to the performers night after night, as well as recording each ceilidh I attended. A transcription of a typical night at the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs can be found in Appendix D.

I was able to focus on more local traditions during the winter months, out of the earshot of visiting tourists. On Thursday nights, I traveled to North Sydney to participate in the only Irish-style music session on the island. It was through the circle of friends at Rollie's on the Wharf that I felt a sense of home-away-from-home, and I began to meet up with Rollie's regulars at other music gatherings as well. Although I did take some field notes in the dark and sometimes smoky bar, I was able to journal more thoroughly the following day. I organized my journals each day by posing myself a question sparked by a memorable incident the night before. While writing out my thoughts on the answer, I tried to pull in ideas from my scholarly readings from the week as well. Some of the questions I responded to include:

- How do people express a sense of belonging in Celtic music? (11/29/04)
- How are outsiders given legitimacy here? (1/09/05)
- At what point does mimicry become meaningful? (11/15/04)
- How is translation an integral part of transnationalism? (6/17/05)

Logging my journal on my computer using Microsoft Word allowed me then to search for common threads through a word search. I titled each document by the

question I posed in the journal and housed them in the same folder, further allowing me to recall trains of thought quickly.

I recorded every music session at Rollie's on the Wharf on a minidisk recorder, in order to learn the tunes by ear and find out the tune names at smaller house sessions. Recording became a helpful tool in recognizing the repertoire unique to Rollie's and learning to become a member of the session. On St. Patrick's Day, 2005, I videotaped the session for the first time, and although it was helpful in documenting the proxemics of the venue, it was also the last time I videotaped the session. Many players understood why I was taping and gave their consent, but the general consensus was that it was our 'private' event and videotaping somehow inhibited our ability to enjoy each other's playing, warts and all.

The winter months proved also to be an opportune time to visit the archives often and participate in a music class at Cape Breton University. (In January 2005, there were two back-to-back blizzards that left me wondering where my car was and why I liked being shut up with my fiddle for so long!) While at the Beaton Archives that winter, I accumulated an annotated bibliography of their rare and out-of-print tune collections, which can be found in Appendix B. Stan Chapman and Kyle MacNeil team-taught a special topics course on Cape Breton fiddling, which involved teaching music through oral and written methods and recording students individually to track improvement over the course of the semester. During this course, I was invited to give a lecture on Sandy MacLean, an important figure in the repertoire and style of Cape Breton's

traditions today. Both the archival investigation and fiddle course were very helpful in continuing to track the overlapping tune repertoires between the Irish, Scottish, and Cape Breton traditions.

Interviewing my informants individually was the last step I took in my fieldwork research, and with interesting results. While I was planning to interview informants early on in my fieldwork, a series of unexpected incidents led me to leave interviewing until the last months of my stay in Cape Breton. I can only imagine had I interviewed many of my informants early on, many would have been very polite about their musical neighbors and refused to offer anything to the contrary. Instead, I was interviewing friends, whose trust I had earned over the course of the year. Perhaps in knowing my field research was coming to a close, or because I had developed such a casual relationship with them, many of my informants were quite candid in expressing their feelings about musical cliques, long-standing prejudices, and the injustices played out among the islands musically marginalized. I interviewed forty in all, audio-recording each interview on a mini-disk recorder. I then digitized each audio recording using Adobe Audition and burned each interview to an audio compact disc. Every interview was transcribed in Microsoft Word, and filed much like my journaling system. Each file was labeled by the interviewee, and I was able to perform word searches to pick up on common topics of discussion. In some cases, I made footnotes within the transcriptions and inserted a hyperlink to journal entries, to act as breadcrumbs to noteworthy ideas and questions.

My final act of internal organization came in the form of a large white three-ring binder. Each informant is listed in the table of contents alphabetically, and the binder is divided by alphabetical tabs. Each informant's survey and interview are filed alphabetically, along with the audio CD of their interview (when applicable). Although the CD might well be as useless as a 6-inch floppy years from now, the transcriptions and hand-written surveys might withstand a longer shelf-life. My hope is that this fieldwork binder will be helpful to those following on to further work in Cape Breton.

Notes

¹ For a more detailed description of the ceilidh tradition in Cape Breton, see MacDonald 1988, Doherty 1994; for a discussion of the ceili tradition in Ireland, see Foy 1999, and Glassie 1995.

² ‘Transnational’ will be defined here within as “activities and relationships that transcend national boundaries” (Hannerz 1998:237), and communities that are “anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states” (Kearney 1995:548).

³ ‘Translation,’ in this work refers to the intersubjective rendering of performed utterances and shared experiences into personally relevant meanings (c.f. Blumer 1969, Clifford 1997, Finnegan 2002).

⁴ ‘Tourist’ refers here to mean any non-resident who visits for a pre-determined, finite period of time, who engages in some manner with musical performances during their stay (c.f. MacCannell 1976, Smith 1989, Urry 1990).

⁵ For a detailed account of Cape Breton’s ceilidh tradition, see further Martha MacDonald’s field work experiences (MacDonald 1988).

⁶ North Atlantic Celts are meant here as contemporary peoples from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, Spanish Galatia, Canada, and the United States who consider themselves “Celtic.”

1. Community-Based Tourism in Cape Breton

Tourism has catalyzed the folk revival in Cape Breton throughout the last century by providing economic support for a new market in rural cultural-based commerce and a receptive tourist audience seeking the ‘folk,’ living a simple life among the breath-taking ocean cliff-scapes and green pastures of rural Cape Breton. The yin of the tourist gaze and the yang self-realized identity of the Cape Bretonian have been played out on a stage forged in a socially constructed arena, where the units of culture are continually re-framed in a symbiotic union between performances of Cape Breton culture and the international tourist-audience.

Fiddling in Cape Breton was first introduced during the English colonization of Nova Scotia and subsequently reintroduced by the immigration of Scottish, Irish, and French-Acadian, becoming a source of pride among Cape Bretonians as a gaining a special place in the shared traditions of Celtic music. Capitalizing on the rich and unique flavors of Cape Breton fiddling, community-based tourism has flowered as an ideological frame to encourage local ownership and production of Celtic music schools, festivals, public ceilidhs, and commercial media, in a campaign to boost tourism and seasonal revenues on the island. In responding to the notion of an international tourist-audience through these forms of musical expression, Cape Breton fiddlers become engaged in the reflexive process of self-realization and reinvention of Cape Breton identity through each musical

performance. These performances of culture are especially foregrounded in their commercial packaging aimed at an international audience; advertising funded by the tourism industry highlights many of the current trends in thought concerning culture as commodity and the appropriate rules of engagement concerning the promotion, preservation, and perpetuation of Cape Breton culture. I posit that the commercialization of Cape Breton fiddling as a cultural commodity sets the stage for amplified vocalizations of the dynamic tension between tourist essentialism and the multiple and diverse Cape Breton identities that co-exist within the geographic context of Cape Breton Island. This chapter will provide a historical context for tourism and cultural commodification in Nova Scotia, outline the genre of cultural schools that foreground cultural performances currently in Cape Breton, and conclude with a discussion of the cultural and economic ramifications of community-based tourism on fiddling traditions of Cape Breton.

Tourism and Cultural Commodification

The history of Cape Breton has been, and will continue to be framed in the context of dynamic systems of socio-economic, political, and religious ideologies. From settlement of immigrant populations to indigenous claims on the island, the history of Cape Breton has been told through the lenses of folklorists, pastors, historians, tourist boards, and budding young ethnomusicologists who have contributed to the development of Cape Breton identity through disparate frames. Each contributor to the historical discourse of Cape Breton musical identity writes from gendered and ideological juxtapositions, which in turn produce engendered

and ideologically framed accounts of Cape Breton history—this work will prove no less biased. The ensuing tale of Cape Breton history will be guided by the following set of assumptions; first, events must be placed in context to carry meaning as a history, and that context is constructed within the frame of its own ideology; second, ideologies shift through time, continually reframing the context in which events took place, therefore affecting inferred meaning; third, this process of shifting ideologies is redressed in the retro-active construction of ‘corrective’ histories in reaction to outdated frames, implying that the construction of the past influences the on-going construction of the present. Drawing on this argument as a disclaimer for my own historical account, I will limit my discussion of Cape Breton history to the last one hundred years, where tourism began to replace regional de-industrialization, and prominent community activists pressed the issue of cultural preservation into the limelight of commercial commodities available for international export. I will also limit my story telling to individuals and institutions that appeared, to some degree, to have personally influenced the development of local identity by supporting musical traditions in Cape Breton.

AWR MacKenzie, Helen Creighton, and the National Film Board of Canada

In the early 1920’s, tourist dollars began to mobilize a significant economic shift from industrialized commerce to cultural productions. Finding greater demand for cultural rather than textile goods during the early nineteen hundreds, islanders were galvanized by key proponents of a folk revival in Cape

Breton, who might have seen a need to capitalize on the untapped market for cultural commodities as well as acting upon a growing sense of nationalism after a period of separation from the socio-economic effects of English colonial rule. These key players include A.W.R. MacKenzie, Presbyterian Minister and founder of St. Ann's Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, Helen Creighton, self-trained folklorist and publisher of Cape Breton's first song anthology, *Songs of Nova Scotia*, and the National Film Board of Canada, which funded several films on Cape Breton during the folk revival of the mid-nineteen hundreds.

St. Ann's Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts opened its doors in 1939 for the purpose of reviving and supporting the study and production of Gaelic crafts in Cape Breton. The majority of courses were taught in Gaelic (Scottish derivation), although the Canadian government did not formally recognize the language, and the training was focused on the production of tartans (Campbell 1990:25). Mary Black, a well-known teacher of weaving and craft proponent, began teaching at the college in 1943, drawing new students to the school during summer training sessions. By the 1950's, the demand for St. Ann's tartans had grown to the extent that the school received substantial funding from the government to keep up with the demand;

As early as 1947 demand far exceeded supply, and by the mid 1950's, thanks to extensive state financial assistance and Black's sponsorship of the project, the weavers at St. Ann's were turning out tartan by the ton. (McKay 1994:208)¹

The Reverend, who had given up his ministerial duties to devote his full attention to the school, largely promoted the cultural commodification of the Gaelic language. With less than a third of the island having ancestral ties to Scotland,

A.W.R. MacKenzie's influence on Scottish claim to Cape Breton identity grew more infectious through the years, eventually turning the tide in favor of Gaelic speech in Nova Scotia, and a wave of support from the tourism industry (McKay 1994: 160). The school currently receives funding from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture.

First beginning her work in 1929 on Devils' Island as a journalist, Helen Creighton became one of the most prominent folklorists of Cape Breton culture in the history of the island. Her fervent dedication to the promotion of Cape Breton culture had a lasting impact on the commodification of music through both the publication of song anthologies and her partnership with the National Film Board of Canada. Her first publication of songs from Nova Scotia titled, *Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia*, became an icon for Cape Breton culture in the mid-nineteen hundreds (Creighton 1932). The publication was adapted to film by the National Film Board of Canada, and became a favorite on the tourist boat that sailed between Yarmouth and Bar Harbour, Maine (McKay 1994: 93). The film board, along with Creighton's enthusiasm, made for good cultural commerce; the film board received new and marketable images of Cape Breton for sale to tourist conglomerates, Creighton made a modest fee and name-recognition, and occasionally the performer would also profit from the venture, explains Creighton in a 1950 letter:

The National Film Board has already used tunes from my Songs and Ballads from which they paid ten dollars a song which is probably a very low price for a moving picture company. In cases like this, I would pass some of the receipts over to the original folk singers, for I think they should have a share in them. However,

that's just between them and me. Ben Hennebery, a fisherman, made forty dollars from one film which used four of his tunes. In that case I gave the whole of it to him, but I couldn't always afford to be so generous. (Creighton 1950)

Ben Hennebery was a popular fellow among music collectors. Laura Boulton, also a producer for the National Film Board of Canada, collected songs from the fisherman and fiddle tunes from his son in 1941. Boulton's film, *New Scotland*, helped her to gain funding from the National Film Board of Canada to collect music in the region as part of the production (Boulton 1943).

The establishment of the National Film Board was, in part, a response to World War II; the film commissioner, John Grierson, was known as a specialist in the psychology of propaganda, and the first years of the film board concentrated on the production of patriotic films (NFBC 2002a). Government funding was endowed to the NFB under the agreement that they were to "make and distribute films designed to help all parts of Canada to understand the ways of living and the problems of Canadians in other parts of the world" (NFBC 2002c). With the goal of producing films which would both educate and advertise to potential tourists, the film board stood to gain from both governmental funding and commercial revenues. The on-going dialogue between tourist and cultural performances is highlighted by the board's abstract of Boulton's *New Scotland*: "this brief tour shows Nova Scotians at home, at work, and at leisure while giving a panoramic view of the province's coasts, farms, and forests" (NFBC 2002b). Consequently, these films are now for sale via the NFB website, with accessible stills of the films acting as postcards for Cape Breton culture.

Since the formation of the National Film Board of Canada and its funding of folklorists and music collectors in the 1940's, the Canadian Broadcasting Company has also produced documentaries on Cape Breton's musical traditions. In February of 1972, the CBC aired a documentary titled, *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, produced by Ron MacInnis. The film produced a substantial stir in the existing fiddling community, and a motivated Frank MacInnis sent out a letter to his fiddling colleagues urging the formation of a regional fiddle festival. Fiddlers Frank MacInnis, Father Eugene Morris, Burton MacIntyre, Archie Neil Chisholm, Father Angus Rankin, Rod Chisholm, Judge Hugh J. MacPherson, Anne Marie MacDonald, Jeannette Beaton, Joey Beaton, and Ray MacDonald met and formed the Cape Breton Fiddler's Association, which hosts an annual fiddle festival and a series of workshops, as well as publishing tunes and producing recordings by its members. The first annual Festival of Cape Breton Fiddling was held in Glendale in July of 1973. From the one hundred and thirty fiddlers performing at the first concert in Glendale, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the association boasted over two hundred members performing together in 1998. Many of the fiddler teachers involved with Cape Breton's Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music and the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts are members of the fiddler's association.

Fiddle Festivals as Cultural Performance

Fiddling on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, is one act of a Cape Bretonian drama played out as a set of cultural performances, where a reflexive,

socially formulated dialogue between the outsider tourist-audience and the insider specialist-performers discuss Cape Breton identity. Among the various modes of cultural performances featuring Cape Breton fiddling, including film production, recording promotion, and international festivals, the genre of cultural education provides exceptionally amplified foregrounding for performances of Cape Breton musical identity. Intensive summer programs offered by The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music advertise a total cultural immersion, a musical cruise down the coastline, where the fiddling tourist is navigated through a sea of tunes, advised on how to experience the “Gaelic flavour,” and taught the trick to catching a good ceilidh, all the while reeling in Cape Breton tradition to take home at the week’s end (GCCAC 2002a).

The advertisements for these two festivals play a special role in keying the performative nature of this cultural show. Websites and brochures play off the cultural truisms of scenic trails, colorful tartans, music in the kitchen, and the simple life of rural Cape Bretonians. The Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music boasts of a musical romp through local towns during the weeklong camp, along the scenic “Ceilidh Trail”—Route 19, which traces the western side of the island;

There are ceilidhs several evenings and dances locally every evening. Each weekend there is a large outdoor festival in neighboring towns; full of music and dance. We have a jam session on Tuesday evenings at the Schooner Village, (plenty of food and drink here!); Or plan to go to Joey Beaton’s Ceilidh in Malbou. Plan on the Normaway Inn for Wednesday evening; for their barn concert and dance featuring local talent like Natalie MacMaster or Ashley MacIsaac. (GCCAC 2002b)

Online brochures for cultural schools and network of supporting websites, organized by the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture and Tourism Cape Breton, foreground the cultural schools as representing the very best of Cape Breton Culture. This representation of “the best Cape Breton has to offer,” culturally speaking, is not merely a promotional gimmick, but rather a symbolic dialogue between the performers of Cape Breton music culture and the audience of potential tourists attracted to the unique and exotic Other represented through interactive online brochures and the maze of video-tours posted tourism association websites.

The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music offer a type of “experience theater” or “living museum” (cf. Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994), where the musical tourist may enjoy total immersion in the performed reality of Cape Breton musical culture, often followed by an afternoon of tea and scones:

We want students to attend dances at such places as Glencoe, West Mabou, Iverness and Margaree to immerse themselves into the true Celtic culture and music. We have a ceilidh each afternoon between classes where the instructors will play a few sets; people will jump up to stepdance and people can mingle over tea and oatcakes and hear great performers. (CTSCM 2002a)

Under the surface of this advertisement for the Ceilidh Trail School lies the symbolic dialogue between the cultural specialists and the musical tourist in the form of cultural performance, where the semiotic conversation is a reflexive, socially formulated dialogue between an outsider audience and insider performers.

When and where the semiotic conversation originated is less important than who is talking, and what they are talking about; the schools were specifically created to reawaken a dying tradition by forming a centralized system of transmitting the true essence of Cape Breton fiddling to outsiders, as well as a new generation of Nova Scotians who want to learn about their “roots.” Director Janine Randal of the Ceilidh Trail School explains her intentions for founding the school in 1998;

People have been missing the musical joy that I have known for years along the western side of the Island. I want people to know Cape Breton the way I have always known and loved it. Not as a ‘tourist’ but as an ‘insider’ really getting to know the people and the culture by living among them; joining them at the nightly dances and ceilidhs. The culture IS Cape Breton music along the Ceilidh Trail. (CTSCM 2002b)

Randal makes it clear that the school provides the very best ‘show’ of Cape Breton culture, out and about in the communities along the western side of the island, and that the best way to take away true Cape Breton-ness is to “know the people and culture by living among them.” The stage for the show then extends out into the community, to the locals, who may become representative actors in the Cape Breton musical museum—adding new meaning to ‘interactive learning.’ The important message here is that Randal has something to say about Cape Breton culture, and there is an audience who is listening. The team instructors at the school become a living storybook about how fiddling came to the island, who brought it here, and what this tradition is all about. They explain what makes a good Cape Breton fiddler, what style and repertoire to play, and when and where to play it. It is the collective knowledge and experience of the very best

instructors in Cape Breton fiddling that is articulated to the musical tourist in this symbolic dialogue; it is as Geertz wrote, “a story they tell themselves about themselves” (Geertz 1973: 448).

The story that they tell is one of heritage and tradition, purity and simplicity. The instructors chosen to represent Cape Breton fiddling are carefully selected by several criteria; one, they must have direct geographical ties to Cape Breton, two, they learned to fiddle from an older family member, and three, they currently report their main source of income from performing and or teaching Cape Breton music. Out of the nine fiddle instructors from the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts and the three fiddler instructors from the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music, the majority meets these three requirements. Brenda Stubbert, instructor for the Ceilidh Trail School, is awarded the badge of approval in her online biography for her rural upbringing; “She comes from Port Aconi, a small fishing community around the north side area of Cape Breton Island” (CTSCM 2002c). Internationally renowned Buddy MacMaster is praised for teaching fiddle in his native province; “It is wonderful to have Buddy again teaching in his own backyard” (CTSCM 2002c). Ian MacDougall’s biography is typical of the credentials needed to qualify as a Cape Breton fiddle instructor;

Ian MacDougall was born and raised in Foot Cape, Inverness County, NS. He studies fiddle with his cousin John MacDougall from age eight to seventeen. With a lively style that puts dancers at ease and a repertoire that belies his young age, the 21 year old has become one of the most sought after dance players on Cape Breton Island. Ian has performed in Ontario, western Canada, the United States and played and taught at festivals including Celtic Colours in Cape Breton and the Ceolas Festival in South Uist, Scotland. Ian

now resides in Mabou where he is currently working on material for a CD. (GCCAC 2002c)

These criteria signify several assumptions about authority in Cape Breton fiddling, the first pointing directly at geography. A sense of place is an inherent belief in Cape Breton-ness—blood and soil must meet to contribute to the native islander cocktail. Birthplace holds top rank in the scheme, awarding the top prize to the native for bringing together the symbolic blood and soil in the most biological means of birth. Followed, not closely, in second place is residential status. Living and working in the island’s communities is respected, but will never carry the same weight as longstanding genealogical ties to the island. A third notion lies in learning the tradition of Cape Breton fiddling from family member through aural transmission by privileging the notion of folk traditions passed on through the generations by ear: “Cape Breton music is an oral tradition and only by learning and listening to the tunes and stylizations will the sound truly be Cape Breton” (CTSCM 2002a). The underlying assumption here is that native-born islanders have passed on the truest strains of Cape Breton style, and that the purity found in long-standing genealogical stock is threatened by the influences of Western classical notation and outsider interpretations of Cape Breton fiddle repertoire. Consider the following passage written by Sandy MacIntyre, a fiddle teacher for the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts, for *Fiddler Magazine* in 1996:

As a result of our limitless worldwide transportation and communication networks, other types of music and other forms of fiddling are finding their way into the Cape Breton style, affecting and slowly changing and eroding it. I recognize this to be a great opportunity for those of us who still play the old style Cape Breton

fiddle to come forward and do more workshops and get more involved with the younger fiddlers, especially those at the beginner level. (MacIntyre 1996:4)

The staff notation of the western classical turn jeopardizes the purity in execution of island fiddle ornamentation, where the clumsy tourist or music-reading native youths might mistakenly replace the islander-style turn with the jarring exactness of a measured western classical turn. MacIntyre has expressed a fear that musical tourists may also bring with them a host of inappropriate stylistic interpretations of Cape Breton tune favorites, infecting impressionable native youths and other curious islanders with the contagious flavor of Texan swing or the laziness of the Irish lilt. Cape Breton fiddle teachers chosen by the schools become not only the tradition bearers, but the guardians of the fragile Cape Breton fiddle tradition as well.

A fourth criteria for selecting Cape Breton fiddle teachers for the cultural schools is more curious, and marks a shift in ideological orientation from the folklorists and music collectors hired by the National Film Board of Canada to capture the essence of Cape Breton's musical tradition. Researchers like Laura Boulton, Helen Creighton, and Edith Fowke, sought out the most rural representations of the "folk." Both Boulton and Creighton recorded Ben Henneberry, a local Port Hawkesberry fisherman, who sang while his son fiddled along on the refrains. The ideal and authentic fiddlers in the 1940's were identified by the fact that they did not make their living as a professional musician. The formation of the Cape Breton Fiddlers Association may have played the largest role in gaining professional status for some of its members, who

have gone on to international recording and performing careers. Each of the fiddlers listed to instruct at the cultural schools in Cape Breton for the 2002 summer sessions has professional recording and performing accolades to their name. The profile for Wendy MacIsaac of the Gaelic College reads;

Wendy MacIsaac, an accomplished Cape Breton fiddle and piano player, has entertained audiences across Canada, the USA, Scotland and Italy. She has performed with the Rankin Family, The Chieftains, The Barra MacNeils, Capercaillie, Ashley MacIsaac, John Aleen Cameron, Valdy and the Cape Breton Summertime Revue.

A professional career such as this would not have been representative of the average Cape Breton fiddler in 1940, nor is it a likely representation of today's average fiddler in Cape Breton. Why then are professional musicians, who are often classically trained in technique and read Western staff notation, chosen to represent an aural folk tradition passed solely from one generation to the next on Cape Breton soil? The answer lies in the dialogue between the insider fiddler and the outsider musical tourist. Richard Bauman explains the responsibility of the performer to the audience "for a display of communicative competence;"

Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence. (Bauman 1977:11)

The expectations held by the tourist audience are likely much different than those by other possible audiences, such as family members and friends gathering for a

neighborhood ceilidh. The skill involved in maneuvering the fiddle takes many years of training, and even most amateurs will have begun fiddle lessons at a young age. The level of relative skill and effectiveness Bauman speaks of is expected to be much higher in performances for large audiences, specially geared to attract tourists during the summer months, than for small local gatherings of relative and friends where socializing is the central concern. A well-respected fiddler in a Cape Breton community may know hundreds of tunes, passed to him by his grandfather, and may play with charm and flair cherished in the kitchen ceilidh, but his questionable intonation, wavering bow control, and quirky rhythm might place him on the “B list” at larger performance venues. The tourist audience, as reflected in the choices made by the cultural schools in instructors, seeks a slicker package, where the teachers are considered ‘artists’ able to combine the technical aspects of pure intonation and agile bowing with stylistically acceptable ornamentation, tempo, and repertoire. The aesthetic value system articulated in this semiotic dialogue between tourist and fiddler is one of a hierarchical nature. Baroque violinist and Cape Breton fiddler David Greenberg describes his concept for prioritizing aspects of Cape Breton fiddling;

[I have] been concentrating on teaching my students the value of considering a new aesthetic hierarchy—if you want to call it that. One example of that is considering good tone, and even good intonation, to have lesser importance than some other things like good drive, and that elusive thing called good timing, which I think are two different things, but related. They’re right up there with playing from the heart, as being so vitally important to the Cape Breton style. (Cranford 2002: 18)

Greenberg highlights the aesthetic pyramid of priorities, where poor rhythm and tempo are less forgivable than odd intonation and weak tone in developing students. The instructors chosen for the schools, however, have mastered all areas of technique, and are most often only distinguishable by their subtly unique approach to ornamentation. In the symbolic dialogue between cultural school and musical explorer, the level of communicative competence assumes an aesthetic of virtuosity rather than sociability (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1990).

The phenomenon of the Cape Breton fiddler is one forged in social space, where the semiotic dialogue between musician and listener/student does the work of crafting a constantly emergent identity, the embodiment of the Cape Breton fiddler. A performance without an audience is not much more than a conversation you have with yourself, where a swarm of ideas may circle around a one-sided debate, but the key to clarity and resolution comes from the confirmation or contradiction from another human being. The power of communicative affirmation from one person to another is what frames our sense of reality; the only difference between a lunatic and revolutionary lies in his ability to receive confirmation and acceptance from others. A community's sense of culture emerges from this back and forth exchange of criteria and aesthetic hierarchies; Schieffelin describes this as

Symbols are effective less because they communicate meaning (though this is also important) than because, through performance, meanings are formulated in a social rather than cognitive space, and the participants are engaged with the symbols in the interactional creation of a performance reality, rather than merely being informed by them as knowers. (Schieffelin 1985: 707)

The advertisements posted by the cultural schools, the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture, and Tourism Cape Breton, mark the first encounter in social space where Cape Bretonians and musical tourists come face to face. Each website, impressively interactive, allows the tourist to take a virtual tour of Cape Breton-ness. The tourism associations each have panoramic photo tours featuring the pastoral themes of quaint ruddy-nosed fisherpeople, green rocky coastlines, and the brightly dressed pipers in tartans. The Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts lays claim to a series of sound bites in Gaelic, the first offering a cheery “Welcome to the Gaelic College. Come on in!” The Ceilidh Trail School displays an impressive collection of fiddle music in its most natural setting, the ceilidh, and the school’s logo, a sprouting Celtic knot, ties it all together. The tourist answers this beckoning call to the island by signing the guestbook, emailing the webmaster, and registering for the summer session. The two schools and the tourism boards do a great deal of communicative work in molding and shaping the personification of the Cape Breton fiddler by competing for the number of hits by web-surfers. Detailed information describing the culture, atmosphere, and activities during the sessions, along with colorful pictures of fun music making, and interactive sound bites of exemplary strathspreys and reels performed at the school, affect the amount of time a musical tourist might spend investigating the school and ultimately impact the financial revenues of the school through enrollment. Beyond this virtually conceived social space of the internet lies the true interactive realm of the school itself, experienced by the musical adventurer every summer for one to three or four weeks. Here the semiotic dialogue is given

an individual voice, expressed in the face-to-face negotiation of fiddle tunes and technique between teacher and student on islander soil. The cultural belief systems rallied in the on-going competition for tourist dollars continues to discuss notions of the homegrown, the handed-down, and the guarded tradition of Cape Breton fiddling in the online advertisements for cultural schools on the island.

The Effects of Cultural Tourism on Cape Breton Fiddling Traditions

The influence of tourism on the cultural traditions of rural and exotic destinations has spurred a flurry of study in the past ten years by cultural anthropologists (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994; Mansperger 1995; Chiago 1993; Jarvenpa 1994) and ethnomusicologists (Rubenstein 1992; Qureshi 1998; Cecil 1998; Sarkissian 1998). The dynamic between tourist and native is the quintessential insider versus outsider, experiencing the Other, and serves as a catalyst for the symbolic dialogue of the cultural performance. As stated by Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in “Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa,” the tourist and native “are merely players in a show written by international tourist discourse” (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 467). Deleterious issues in cultural tourism of essentialism, stereotyping, and loss of economic and cultural autonomy, are balanced with centralized revival of cultural traditions, sense of local identity and pride, and increased job market and local revenues (Mansperger 1995). The local organizations promoting the health and well-being of natives while promoting community based tourism, like the Cape Breton County Economic Development Authority (CBCEDA) and the Nova

Scotia Culture Sector Strategy (NSCSS), as well as local activists, serve as a liaison between the tourist industry and the local communities in Cape Breton.

The vision for the CBCEDA and the NSCSS is to increase local tourist revenues through public displays of culture while being sensitive to the integrity of the community. The vision statement from the November 30 meeting of the NSCSS in Sydney lists axioms which drive the current exchange between tourist and islander; “Culture is a way of life, not just an employment opportunity... Culture excites the public...There is a willingness to pay for culture” (NSCSS 1998). These catchy phrases are loaded with the notion that culture and tradition turn up as a canon of lore when natives remember to check their attics and trunks for remnants of their ancestors in a show and tell with the out-of-towners. The CBCEDA 1995 Report Card identified music as one of the areas most valuable cultural resources;

The Big Pond Festival should be developed and promoted as a major summer music festival. For example, Friday evening could be the annual concert by Rita MacNeil, Saturday could be a concert featuring other major Cape Breton acts—The Rankin Family, Barra MacNeils, Ashley MacIsaac, Natalie MacMaster, the cast from the Summertime Revue, etc. and Sunday could be the annual Scottish concert. (CBCEDA 1995)

Displacement of local fishing communities is a concern for the CBCEDA, who are seeking to clean up the small waterfront communities in appearance, making the scenery more attractive to tourists;

The Town of Louisbourg should be developed into a tourist town that sees tourism as not only a tangible part of its economy but at its very heart and soul like Baddeck or Cape Cod. The main street should have a new design that facilitates easy strolling, has quaint

charm, and attracts craft and gift shops and restaurants. Displaced fisherpeople should be used where at all possible to participate in the reconstruction. (CBCEDA 1995)

The NSCSS in 1998 advised that the regional craft centers, such as the Gaelic College and the Ceilidh Trail School, be expanded to Halifax and Sydney with government funding, because past festivals and performances are “based on the cultural expressions of the community,” which they strengthen in the process (NSCSS 1998).

There is some debate among community members over whether or not the tourist industry helps to strengthen the integral fabric of the community. The tension between the ideological shift from immigrant acculturation in the early 1900s to the push to preserve a ‘dying language’ in contemporary Nova Scotia is amplified in regional discussions of the “Tourism Trap;”

In the past, Gaelic was the language of poverty. People knew that to make it in North America, you had to make it in English. So they dissuaded their children from learning it. The huge irony in that Gaelic, which is in its death throes, is now being looked at as the keystone in the development of the economy in terms of what we have that we can promote and sell. (Acton 1999:9)

Representation becomes a key component in assessing the influences of tourism on the cultural traditions of the island. Although Cape Breton is most often promoted as colonized Scotland, the truth remains to be told about the racial and ethnic diversity that has existed on the island for over three centuries. Home to native Mi’kmaq, African-Nova Scotians, Irish, and French-Acadian¹ (to name only a few), the cultural diversity in Cape Breton is often avoided in marketing

ploys to draw in seasonal visitors. Reports Janice Acton for *Our Times: Canada's Independent Labour Magazine*;

The African-Nova Scotian community has a vibrant culture that includes music, theater, and dance. [Henry]Bishop [curator of the Black Cultural Centre at Westphal] feels this could provide fresh and exciting new angles to promote in Nova Scotia tourism, and it would be beneficial to the community as well. However, while the potential is great, Nova Scotia's black communities are still battling to be seen, heard and respected. It would be nice, points out Bishop, to see brochures promoting black music icon Bucky Adams in concert, for instance, instead of the typical mainstream scenes. "It's always Peggy's Cove," he says. "The same old stuff!" (Acton 1999:12)

In the process of promoting a healthy and vibrant Cape Breton culture, full of Scottish heritage and the simplicity of the pastoral life, the true diversity and decentralized cultural traditions existing on the island become increasingly marginalized. The need for the tourist to see a coherent and uncomplicated image of the Other, and the desire of the native community to pool cultural resources into a centralized and unified school for the regulated dissemination of official culture, left the Cape Bretonian with less in the long run. In this socially forged identity of Cape Breton culture, the marginalized and voiceless islanders were not the only casualties in the symbolic tug-of-war over true Cape Breton-ness; the purebred Scottish highlander image becomes an inbred caricature, eventually representing no real Cape Breton native.

The debate over the impact of tourism on culture remains a pressing issue in the realm of cultural performances, where the socially constructed image of the native is inseparably influenced by the audience for whom they perform.

Community organized and run tourism groups serve as an informed go-between, meeting the needs of the community while supporting the development of tourist revenues. As Anna Nibby Woods, artist and founding member of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada concludes;

Our whole concept of tourism is that it has to be community-based. You decide what's sacred and what's for sale. The bottom line is that tourism is more than economics— it's culture. (NSCSS 1998)

Notes

¹ St. Ann's mission statement now reads, "to promote, preserve, and perpetuate through studies in all related areas—the culture, music, language, arts, crafts, customs and traditions of immigrants from the highlands of Scotland."¹ The school hosts seven weeks of fiddle training workshops, and eight weeks of intensive Gaelic language training during its July and August sessions, and serves as one of the only Gaelic language immersion programs in North America, struggling against language obsolescence in a predominantly English-speaking province.

² Mi'kmaq were the First Nation of Algonquian heritage to inhabit eastern Canada. Today, there are Mi'kmaq settlements on Cape Breton Island, including a cultural interpretive center south of Baddeck. The French were the first European nation to claim Cape Breton Island, and in 1713 it was renamed Île Royale. Shortly thereafter, the French built a large fortress (now part of Louisbourg National Historic Park) that would trade ownership back and forth between the British and French, before finally settling under English rule in 1745. French-speaking fishing villages still cling to the island's coastlines today. The largest ethnic migration to the island occurred circa 1820 as a result of the Scottish Highland Clearances, which forced thousands of crofters to seek new harvests across the ocean on Cape Breton Island. Thousands more Irish would also seek refuge on the island during the Irish Potato Famine, but not many would stay long. Although Cape Breton was often the first stop reaching the Atlantic seaboard, those Irish that did land in Cape Breton saved up enough to travel on to Boston, where they were welcomed by relatives and free from the competition for land with the already entrenched Scottish Highlanders. (C.f. Dunlay 1989, Doherty 1996, Feintuch 2004, Fowke 1962, Hornsby 1992, MacDonald 1999)

2. COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Experiencing life as part of a transnational community is similar to any other type of community in that, in both, cultural practices are fundamental to the development of identities and sense of belonging. What makes a transnational communities distinctive are the ways practice and identity are shaped by the enduring negotiations, translations, and changing worldviews unique to a community that is characterized by shared “activities and relationships that transcend national boundaries” that are “anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states” (Hannerz 1998:237, Kearney 1995:548). Attempting to unpack Cape Breton’s gathering of people that is both rural and cosmopolitan, native and foreign, old and young, religious and atheistic, and politically left and right, begs the question, “what is community, anyway?” In an age where global communities are increasingly commonplace, it is important to look closely at the unified **practices** of a community, in addition to **place**, in order to understand how contemporary communities function in complex societies. The goal of this analysis is to shed light on the ways community-making is accomplished, not solely by living in close proximity to members, but also through participation in knowledge-based practices. These community-of-practice members may live in diasporic communities around the world or may be connected only through periodic travel, interactive telecommunications, and the media.

This dissertation is grounded in a theory of *community as practice* because it foregrounds how participating members experience community where proximity is not the sole basis for belonging. Specifically focusing on the processes by which cultural practices are learned and transmitted reveals how being located in one or more cultural traditions imprints the experiences of its transnational community members. More importantly, overcoming misunderstandings that arise from intersecting practices often becomes the very binding agent of community cohesion in a transnational community. “Practice” here means looking at the *how* and *what* a bifocal community keeps as traditional, important, and central to belonging in the community. A community’s practices are two-fold: 1) they are the ways ideas, skills, and rhetoric are passed down from one generation to the next, and 2) they are the shared repertoire of songs, tunes, and dances that are socially agreed to be traditional, important, and central to the entire community.

Etienne Wenger and Jean Lave have conceptualized a social theory of learning that reveals how identities are formed through practice. Wenger explains;

Developing a practice requires the formation of a community whose members can engage with one another and thus acknowledge each other as participants. As a consequence, practice entails the negotiation of ways of being a person in that context. (Wenger 1998:149)

Lave and Wenger have explored how communities of practice work through empirical case studies of claims processors, midwives, tailors, Quartermasters, butchers, and non-drinking alcoholics. Although none of their case studies

focused specifically on communities which practice across national borders, their theory of legitimate peripheral participation and the interdependence of practice and identity are ideally allied with transnational communities which rely on specific modes of participation to sustain relationships over time and across national and regional boundaries. Wenger finds three characteristics of participation which characterize communities of practice: 1) mutual engagement “in actions whose meanings they negotiate with each other,” 2) a joint enterprise that is “communally negotiated,” and 3) a shared repertoire of “routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, action, or concepts” which are both reified and creatively reinterpreted over time (Wenger 1998:73, 78, 83). Wenger’s defined characteristics of a community of practice are not only appropriate for localized processes of apprenticeship, but also any transnational practice that can be described as mutual engagement in a joint enterprise through a shared repertoire.

Communities of practice are in some ways distinct from ‘culture,’ in that communities of practice are born out of knowledge-based participation, rather than passive immersion. For example, to become a ‘Cape Breton fiddler,’ one would need to learn how to play the fiddle, learn some portion of the local tune repertoire, and learn how to behave in performance settings. This type of participation requires a type of proactive assertiveness, discipline, and hard work. ‘Culture’ often takes on a more passive meaning, an ethos one finds oneself in, rather than actively seeking it out and applying oneself to a specific practice or skill. In this case, one might identify with being a Cape Breton simply for being

born there and sharing some common local experiences; i.e. attending a hockey game, hearing traditional music at a restaurant, or knowing someone who learned how to step dance. ‘Culture,’ in this case does not require specialized knowledge or active learning in any dedicated, time-consuming way.

‘Tradition,’ on the other hand, is much more directly related to the concept of communities of practice (COPs), in that tradition denotes a specific knowledge-based skill that is passed on from generation to generation. Tradition-bearers, like COP members, are engaged in the on-going process of learning, practicing, and teaching their specialized skills within the context of both their local communities and their community of practice (members of which may not reside locally). Take for instance the first uses of the term “tradition” in scholarly writing about music: The International Folk Music Council defined their field of study at their Sao Paulo conference in 1954 as “(i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives” (Karpeles 1969). This definition of tradition qualifies tradition as having a sizable canon of discourse pertaining to unique social behaviors occurring over a period of time that is transmitted by aurally by a group of people who (presumably) live together in a certain geographic location. Another similar definition of tradition is offered early on by Charles Seeger: “1) the inherited accumulation of material; 2) the process of inheritance, cultivation, and transmission thereof; 3) the technical means employed” (Seeger 1960). Seeger identifies the syncretic occurrence of multiple uses of the term, separating

the used of tradition as a canon of discourses from the process of that canon existing through time, and from the oral and written acts of carrying out that tradition. Though each definition varies in purpose and scope, each definition finds common ground in that tradition must span multiple generations and must be attributable to a specified group of people, skill set, and body of material production. Taking this in to consideration, the largest distinction between COPs and ‘tradition’ might be found simply in the societal scale each term denotes and the possibility that residential locale may overcome through elective travel and other transnational communications.

Community *as* Practice

As a classical violinist, “practice” to me meant long hours of solitude in a music room, hashing out wobbly intonation and relaxing my often tense bow arm. I would start early in the morning, before sunrise, and watched the morning pink hues of sun light up the leafy trees outside the window of my ‘practice’ room. As I later traded in Bach’s Solo Violin Sonata in G minor for “Drowsy Maggie” and “Wind the Shakes the Barley,” I began to learn that there are other ways of engaging in music ‘practice.’ In my formal training, I was rehearsing to perform by drilling notes, phrases, and entire movements. Later, I realized through the help of more experienced folk musicians that in an Irish music session, practice involves listening together, watching each other, and learning from one another. In effect, we were practicing *a way of being together*. This is not to say that an orchestra does not also practice a sort of being together; one could argue that the

orchestra's autocratic rule is merely exchanged for a more democratic agreement in the pub session. This notion of practice—as a way of being together—will help to highlight how communities function in transnational settings, where everyday negotiations of how to belong shape members continually shifting worldviews.

Reframing 'community as practice' is a necessary counterpoint to studies which have defined communities as being bound by time and place, and where imagining oneself as part of the community is considered enough to constitute belonging. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) has provided scholars with an influential framework for explaining the role local communities played in the burgeoning age of nationalism. More recently, James Sidaway's *Imagined Regional Communities: Integration and Sovereignty in the Global South* (2002) has evaluated communities in the context of globalization by modifying Anderson's notion of 'community as nation' to 'community as multinational coalition.' Anderson's definition of imagined communities is so broad as to include any social unit "larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact" (Anderson 1983:16). I argue that on the contrary, the basis for the imagination of a given community is constructed through the practice of acquiring and disseminating knowledge pertaining to that community.

In previous ethnographies of multinational corporations, pan-regional identities, cultural renaissances, and borderland communities, Anderson's thesis has been employed to describe how individuals construct their own identity through imagining themselves as belonging, a way of self-projection into

communal spaces abroad. For example, Sidaway's regional communities work together to pool resources by aligning politically with one another in order to increase trade across national boundaries. Citing the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement to the Mercado Común del Sur (comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), Sidaway explains that these organizations can be seen as 'imagined communities,' which achieve multinational political power by finding unity through commonalities such as industry, language, and religion. Imagined regional communities, in this sense, are paradoxically outside/beyond the state and yet give countenance to the state in an international context:

Although sometimes it is less than immediately evident, the idea or claim of integration expressed through a regional community presupposes the existence of states. We might say that rather than the state simply preceding and constituting (together with such 'sovereign actors') the community, the latter allows the state to be invoked and made to seem more real. The community is 'other' to, an expression of, or exterior to the state. (Sidaway 2002:37)

This very broad view of community (as nation or as multinational consortium) can be contrasted with sometimes narrowing views of community as exceedingly small, homogeneous, and locally situated. In cultural studies, Anderson's thesis has provided one explanation for the process of community-making which involves an ongoing recreation, reinterpretation, and reification of past traditions practiced by a large scale community. Christopher Waterman explains that the construction of a 'pan-Yoruba identity' is accomplished through individuals imagining a cultural unity which is then reiterated and replicated socially;

Yoruba popular music portrays an imagined community of some 30 million people—a sodality that no individual could know in entirety through first-hand experience—and embodies the ideal affective texture of social life and the melding of new and old, exotic and indigenous within a unifying syncretic framework. (Waterman 1990:376)

Waterman has applied Anderson's imagined communities to describe the dynamic pan-Yoruba musical tradition which constantly reinterprets the past as a "modern development" (Waterman 1990:376). In a similar fashion, Sharon Macdonald describes a contemporary Scottish Highland renaissance that is a "re-imagining," or "an attempt to negotiate between the 'new' and the paradoxically 'old again'" (Macdonald 1997:xv). Macdonald explains her use of Anderson's imagining as a way of emphasizing that revival entails a degree of reflexivity, selection, and creativity, where community building is "a continuing process of reworking" (Macdonald 1997:xix). Leo Chavez evokes Anderson's imagined communities in his ethnographic analysis of the emerging transnational community of undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States. His goal was to study the "relative importance of the imagined community on the intentions of undocumented immigrants to stay in the United States" (Chavez 1994:52). Chavez concludes that imagining oneself as a part of the new community is a determining factor of whether or not an immigrant will remain permanently in the US;

Feeling like you are part of the community appears to be related to overcoming feelings of isolation, developing a network of family and friends in the local community, acquiring local cultural knowledge, and reconciling yourself to the possible threat of deportations. (Chavez 1994:62)

Overcoming a feeling of isolation is accomplished, according to Chavez's informants, by participating regularly in the local community. By attending church or other civic activities, Chavez's informants develop a new identity or sense of belonging in the community. Although Chavez does not directly make the connection between developing a deep sense of belonging through participation rather than through an "imagining," Chavez does affirm that "the internalization of the image and a sense of connectedness to the community is as important as actual presence in the community" (Chavez 1994:54).

Where Anderson's theory of self-constructed identities has been effective in revealing a social unity among nation-states, it lacks a degree of introspection into *how* social knowledge is shared and practiced over time. In order to overcome this, Lave and Wenger conceive of identity as a dynamic and mutually dependant function of practice, where 'what we do' shapes 'who we see ourselves to be' (and vice versa, who we see ourselves becoming shapes what we do) in progressing towards a deeper sense of identity in the community. The progression towards full membership is described by Lave and Wenger as a process of apprenticeship— this thesis will examine how members experience social apprenticeship of community that is riddled with issues of peripheral learning, translation, and changing world-views that are unique to transnational communities.

Heterogeneity among Community Members

Besides the ability to deal with communities bound by practice rather than place, conceptualizing the development of identity through participation has the added flexibility to explain the value of heterogeneity within the community rather than explaining diversity as a marginalization of specific sub-groups. Individual's roles vary in a community of practice; expertise may overlap with community members in one area, but compliment the group's knowledge base in another:

Mutual engagement involves not only our competence, but also the competence of others. It draws on what we do and what we know, as well as on our ability to connect meaningfully to what we don't do and what we don't know—that is, to the contributions and knowledge of others. (Wenger 1998:76)

Wenger emphasizes that homogeneity is not a requirement for a community of practice, but rather it thrives on the multiple perspectives that each individual brings to the group because not everyone can 'know everything.' Communities of practice which are open to diverse viewpoints and multiple experts are rich in knowledge sharing and are able to problem solve as a group (Wenger 1998). This is especially true for transnational communities, where the negotiation of perspectives between host and guest communities provides a rich cultural sharing and broader world-views. An example of this type of cultural sharing is expressed by fiddler Kaitlin Hahn who travels between Cape Breton and Wisconsin to perform, teach, and record;

When I play at sessions here in Wisconsin, I'm told that I have a Cape Breton sound, but when I go and play in Cape Breton, they

tell me that my style sounds very Irish. All I can say is that it's Celtic. (Hahn 2004)

Hahn's ability to teach Irish music is enhanced by her knowledge of Cape Breton fiddling, which she is able to pass on to her students during the Milwaukee Irish Festival every summer. Traveling in order to "bring back" special skills to their home community is similar to Wenger's assessment of "cultural brokers," (see also Redfield's cultural "mediators") who play a specific role in negotiating meaning between more than one community of practice (Wenger 1998:108). Since many of my informants participate in the transnational Celtic music community in Cape Breton on a part-time basis, involving travel for short periods over many years, they can be considered cultural brokers in the sense that they are involved in the negotiation of both their homeland and Cape Breton's performance practices. Wenger defines this type of brokering as "connections provided by people who can introduce elements of one practice into another" (Wenger 1998:105).

Change over Time within Communities

Another contribution offered by the application of Lave and Wenger's 'communities of practice' lies in the ability to explain changes in practice over time. Lave and Wenger focus our attention towards apprenticeship as the means to both acquire mastery over a skill set and to become a master as a matter of social status; in the process of becoming a master, identity is formed through mutual engagement between newcomers and old-timers, and both reification and creativity are negotiated over time (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998).

Richard Bauman further explains that creativity and tradition are negotiated via the social constitution of authority; that is, community members mutually engaged in an endeavor decide together who has the authority to define performance practices, aesthetics, and repertoire (Bauman 2001c). Apprenticeship entails the passing of tradition from one generation to the next, and in doing so reflects the changes over time in the reinterpretation of the tradition. In effect, some newcomers inevitably will replace their former masters and become responsible for recreating the past tradition in the context of the here-and-now.

Lave and Wenger write,

Learning, transformation, and change are always implicated in one another, and the status quo needs as much explanation as change. Indeed, we must not forget that communities of practice are engaged in the generative process of producing their own future. (Lave and Wenger 1991:58)

Authority and agency, as in any community of practice, are important in the reification of transnational Celtic music traditions; from workshop instructors to festival promoters, record producers to international performing groups, having the power to decide what is “traditional” and what is not has a lasting effect on the performance practices, aesthetics, and repertoire of the next generation of newcomers. For example, a festival promoter who chooses which group will perform at certain venues in the coming year carries a great deal of discursive power by giving a voice to one group’s aesthetics over another (Briggs 1996:439, Dunlay 2000). Over time, this selection can have a lasting impact on any given tradition simply through a consistent representation of one aesthetic over another.

Disagreement between Community Members

A final advantage of applying Lave and Wenger's social theory of learning here is the acknowledgment of discord that is inherent in every community of practice. Negotiating conflict is a critical tool in establishing authority, protecting the integrity of the practice from changing too quickly (and also against stagnation), and sustaining a core repertoire that is shared by the majority of the participants. Wenger strongly advises against viewing the community of practice as one of peace, harmony, and unity;

A community of practice is neither a haven of togetherness nor an island of intimacy insulated from political and social relations. Disagreement, challenges, and competition can all be forms of participation. As a form of participation, rebellion often reveals a greater commitment than does passive conformity. (Wenger 1998:77)

Although tour guide books and travel commercials may paint a very romantic view of the musical community in Cape Breton, the high degree of social work that is accomplished throughout the year to negotiate discord and resolve conflicts within this tightly knit community often goes unappreciated. Lave and Wenger give a good deal of consideration to the inherent dissonance in communities bound by practice, because "social reproduction implies the renewed construction of resolutions to underlying conflicts" (Lave and Wenger 1991:58). Over the course of my fieldwork tenure, I found that the most intense conflicts over performance practices, repertoire, and aesthetics happened at the top; the most important tradition bearers in Cape Breton were highly invested in a reflexive awareness of their role as teacher, mentor, and performer, and were constantly

involved in working out the politics of performance on the island. Since the island itself is relatively isolated and performers often are in competition for the limited performance opportunities during the winter months, reconciling interpersonal conflicts and differing performance styles is critical to maintaining an active status in Cape Breton's traditional music scene. Ingrid Monson commented on her study with a closely knit jazz community that "cohesion in a community frequently derives from conflict as well as sociability," and "from dissonance as well as harmony" (Monson 1996:20).

On a final note, I want to add that by choosing Lave and Wenger's communities of practice over Anderson's imagined communities to investigate my study group does not imply Anderson's notion of community lacks the power to entail multi-cited communities, diversity, change over time, or internal conflict. In terms of Lave and Wenger's communities of practice, a degree of imagining is certainly involved in the sustainability of the tradition in that all newcomers are responsible for sizing up the practice and beginning the process of imagining their new place within the community. Full members must also invoke a forward visualization of the tradition years into the future while choosing which practices are most important to teach to the more seasoned members who will carry on the tradition after they are gone. *Community as practice* grounds this study on the issues that matter most to its informants: "How do I learn to play Celtic music? Can I ever be 'traditional' enough to be a 'traditional musician?' When do I have the right to pass on what I have learned in Cape Breton to other people at home?"

When practice becomes the basis for belonging, every learning experience shapes their identity as they work from apprentice to master, newbie to old-timer. I make this choice to focus on practice as a means of highlighting the process of apprenticeship in order to explore the experiences of translation and changing world views I often encountered in my own journey of learning to perform with other Cape Breton musicians—provocative issues I often enjoyed discussing with fellow friends and musicians.

Naming the “Celtic” Community

Naming a transnational community is often problematic, because the community is often multilingual, bi-musical, and ethnically diverse (Hood 1960). The transnational community members encountering each other in Cape Breton represent a “constellation of practices,” referring to the diasporic Celtic musical families that are often grouped together “even though they may not be particularly close [geographically] to one another, of the same kind, or of the same type” (Wenger 1995:127). *Celtic* expresses the work that is done socially to represent Cape Breton as both locally unique and universally “Celtic;” as a Celtic constellation, Cape Breton shares a common history with Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the second wave of migration to the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (only to name only a few). Choosing to refer to the musical community in this way is not meant to diminish the strong influence Gaelic language has played in the shared culture as a whole, but as a way to communicate the multifaceted ways individuals are able to apprentice the Celtic music community in addition to Gaelic song performance in Cape Breton.

“Celtic” music practices today are arguably more and more a product of increased international tourism, travel, and cultural interest, where participants are not tied to a single region or originating from a single diasporic community.

Figure 2 illustrates the widening geographic diversity of Celtic music practices,

Countries posting Celtic music session announcements on www.thesession.org , followed by the number of sessions posted, as of August 11, 2005:	
Australia	26
Austria	3
Belgium	10
Canada	46
Chile	1
Croatia	1
Denmark	7
England	169
Finland	3
France	21
Germany	30
Hungary	1
Iceland	1
Ireland	94
Isle of Man	3
Israel	3
Italy	11
Japan	5
Netherlands	5
New Zealand	11
Northern Ireland	57
Norway	1
Portugal	1
Scotland	57
Slovakia	1
Slovenia	1
South Africa	1
Spain	10
Sweden	3
Switzerland	3
United States	360
Wales	22

forming relationships to the music in countries with weak or non-existent ties to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. In some cases, accounts of ancestral ties back to the ancient Celts have been inflated or largely conjectured for the purpose of authenticating new expressions of contemporary Celtic-ness (Smith 2003:87). Where past constructions of the Celt reflected socio-political division, the term now reflects a contemporary reunion of fragmented local music traditions deemed “Celtic.” In Cape Breton, the use of “Celtic” has been a means of reflecting the influence French-Acadian, Irish, Scottish, and Mi’kmaq¹ musicians that have come to represent the Cape Breton’s multidimensional sound.

Looking back to the origins of the term

2. Number of countries posting session advertisements on www.thesession.org, followed by number of sessions posted per country.

“Celtic” reveals a long history of Othering, as a way to describe the seafaring merchants, warring barbarians, and pagan ritualists making their way between Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, Scandinavia and Western Europe. *Keltoi* to the Greeks, *Celtae* among Romans, and later to the French as *Celte* or *Breton*, have been used to describe an ethnic people of Western Europe dating back to 400 B.C. (NOAD 2001, James 1999).² In, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* Simon James notes that “Celtic” as an ethnonym was not used in modern linguistic scholarship until 1706, spurred by the work of Welsh nationalist Edward Lhuyd. Lhuyd’s translation of Breton scholar Paul-Yves Pezron’s *The Antiquities of Nations, More Particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, Taken to be Originally the same People as our Ancient Britain’s*, became influential in galvanizing a growing rebellion against English colonial rule using the philology of ‘the Celts’ as a justification for ethnic difference from the English (James 1999:44).

Terms used to describe a Celtic people historically have been motivated by socio-political movements, where ‘the Celts’ were to be depicted as the outsiders, the minority opposition. In Maryon McDonald’s ethnography of the Breton language movement in Brittany, she explains that the depiction of ‘Celts’ as ethnic group reflects deep hegemonic dichotomies between the ruling class and marginalized peoples of Western Europe:

The 19th-century oppositional metaphoric Celt and Anglo-Saxon is used to make luminous the politics and definitions of the Dark Ages...when the Anglo-Saxons came to Britain, Celts, naturally, left. (McDonald 1986:338)

By James' account, the linguistic family of the ancient Gauls was named "Celtae" by Lhuyd in reaction to the political tensions between France and Britain during the age of the Roman Empire:

[Caesar] could hardly have called it the 'Gallic' family, since the term was identified with France, the perennial enemy, but according to the venerated writings of Julius Caesar most of the Gauls were called Celtae, and 'Celtic' was not politically compromised. (James 1999:46)

Martin Stokes and Philip Bohlman note that the Greek term *Keltoi* simply meant "foreigner or enemy" (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:2). Similarly, *Welsh* meant to British groups of the 5th century A.D., 'strangers' or 'foreigners.'³ *Scotti*, to the Romans, were Irish sea-raiders threatening the Roman frontier up and down the western coast of Europe in third and fourth centuries, AD (James 1990:30). Although contemporary scholars have offered compelling deconstructions of an "insular Ancient Celts" through Herder's investigation of authenticity in the poems of Ossian, Hugh Trevor-Roper's exposé on the cultural traditions of Scotland's Highlands, and James' archeological deconstruction of a 'Celtic' Iron Age, a notion of "the Celts" thrives in popular contemporary discourse despite scholarly deconstructions of the ethnonym.

Today, "Celtic" is used widely by music industry marketers to include any music ensemble from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, and their various diasporic communities in North America, Scandinavia, and Western Europe. The usage of "Celtic" to describe Cape Breton's musical heritage has serendipitous connections to past constructions of the term that may help illustrate the possibility of a contemporary Celtic transnational community. First, "Celtic"

has been defined in the past as having a common language of origin. Lhuyd's Celtic languages include Irish, Manx, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton (James 1999:46). June Skinner Sawyers refers to these common bonds through language as having galvanized Celtic language speakers into "modern Celtic nationalities:"

An increasing number of people in these lands are aware of having cultural links with one another. Sometimes these can be the haziest and most tenuous of connections; other times the knowledge is deep and firmly rooted, and the links strong. What they all have in common are Celtic-origins—that is, they speak, or at one time spoke, a Celtic language, Irish Gaelic, Scots Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, or Breton. (Sawyers 2000:4)

Cape Breton is home to several communities on the island that speak Scots Gaelic (in addition to the non-Celtic languages of Acadian French, Mi'kmaq, and English). Due to the growing obsolescence of many of these languages today, and despite concerted efforts in revival, spoken language alone does not seem to support a widely unified Celtic consciousness.⁴ Music, instead of the various Gaelic languages, may be a new means of weaving together a common cultural fabric for individuals and communities who align themselves ideologically with what may be described as a "Celtic consciousness" or the "Celtic Modern" (O'Driscoll 1981, Stokes and Bohlman 2003). For example, pub sessions are a unifying social phenomenon where a shared musical repertoire can be learned and performed in a relatively similar manner and to a much easier degree than learning the complex idioms of the Gaelic languages:

Musical activity can form a focus for sociability, communication, and exchange in ways that the spoken Gaelic languages cannot,

despite the best efforts of Welsh, Scottish, Irish, Cornish, Manx, and Breton linguistic elites (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:6).

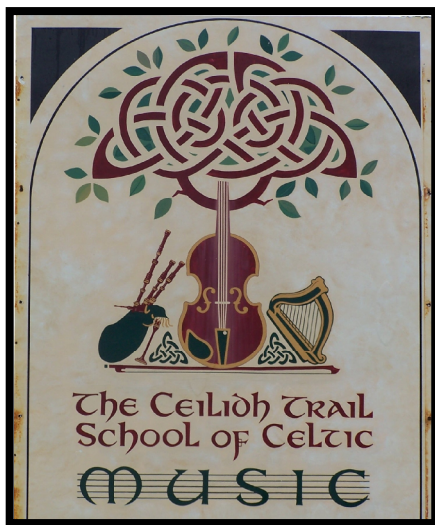
The stark contrast in difficulty found between learning a Gaelic language and learning to play session tunes may lie in the ability to practice within a closely knit community on a regular basis. Many of the informants I studied were able to participate in local music gatherings in their home communities, and some were even content to practice alone for the larger part of the year until they are able to make it back to Cape Breton for the summer. Sheldon MacInnes describes the problem of practice in his chapter titled, “The Second Solitude,” where he describes a small “circle” of Gaelic speakers who were once able to participate in regular gatherings to sing and tell stories in Gaelic;

The circle often rendered the old Gaelic melodies—the lyrics and the “Peurt-a-Beul” (a form of mouth music)—that depicted the crofters from different islands...They shared a personal view and commentary on the decline of community...and the sense of confusion felt by the subtle efforts of authorities to encourage the seemingly lack of interest among the youth in the traditions and the customs of the rural Gael. (MacInnes 1997:169-70)

This circle, MacInnes suggests, represents a last generation of speakers who grew up hearing the language spoken fluently by family members. Kate Dunlay has explained that although native speakers on the island have dwindled, milling frolics, Gaelic choirs, and ceilidhs provide traveling enthusiasts with the chance to participate in Gaelic language through song; it is “not uncommon for revivalist singers who have little or no Gaelic background to come to Cape Breton to begin their study of the language” (Dunlay 2000:1129). Despite the fact that online Gaelic courses and summer camps offered by the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts

and Crafts (St. Ann’s, Nova Scotia) and the Gaelic College in Skye (Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Scotland) offer Gaelic instruction to students internationally, participation in regular gatherings for the purpose of practicing the language are not nearly as accessible or wide-spread as the Celtic music sessions found around the world.

“Celtic” has consistently been used in Cape Breton by the media to represent the multiple musical traditions on the island, which are not uniquely tied to the French, Mi’kmaq, or Gaelic languages. The first local record label



3. *The sign marking the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music on Route 19.*

producing Cape Breton recordings was owned and operated by Bernie MacIsaac, in Antigonish. In 1935, MacIsaac bought out MacDonald’s Music Store, renamed it the “Celtic Music Store,” and titled his record label after the same. Over the next fifty years, the *Celtic* record label released recordings of Cape Breton musicians—ninety-two in all—twice the next highest, Rodeo Records

(McKinnon 1989:50, 54). Radio programming on the Antigonish station, CJFX, also included the popular broadcast, “Celtic Ceilidh” (McKinnon 1989:89).

Traditional arts schools on the island have followed suit by including “Celtic” in their formal titles. The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music both chose to reflect a transnational connection to Celtic musics originating in Western Europe, as seen in Figure 3.

While the term “Celtic” may not be used by locals in the place of “Cape Breton” to describe the island’s musical traditions, “Celtic” has been used by Cape Bretoners to situate the island’s traditional music in the context of the international recording and tourism industries. Stan Chapman, a long-time fiddle teacher at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, explains;

I think of Celtic music as Cape Breton music being a part of a larger music from different Celtic areas, such as Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, and those places. Cape Breton is another one of those places. The roots of it are in the Celtic community, but we use the word Celtic now more than we did years ago to refer to the music. (Chapman 2005)

Along with these traditional arts schools, cultural interpretive centers are being established in Cape Breton communities to receive tourists during the summer months, providing a social meeting place to learn about local arts and music traditions. The Celtic Music Interpretive Center in Judique is advertised as “the doorway to Cape Breton’s Celtic Music” (CMIC Brochure, 2004). The center provides afternoon workshops with Cape Breton fiddlers, pianists, and step-dancers, and houses a small archive of recordings and photographs of prominent Cape Breton musicians. The Celtic Colours Festival has perhaps played the largest role in positioning Cape Breton among current articulations of Celtic-ness. Established in 1996 by entrepreneurs Joella Foulds and Max MacDonald, the Celtic Colours International Festival is designed in a similar fashion to its sister festival held annually in Glasgow, Scotland, the Celtic Connections Festival.

While the first Celtic Colours Festival was met with some criticism for not including enough local Gaelic language performance and instruction, a great deal

of planning went into inviting international performers who had a personal connection to Cape Breton.⁵ Organizer Paul MacDonald was especially concerned in representing the community of traveling performers who had previously worked with Cape Breton musicians, rather than a specific sense of “Celtic-ness;”

I didn't choose people because they were stars, I chose people because they had some mysterious connection to Cape Breton, either it would be someone like Moira O'Keefe, who had come here and made an album here and who had come here for several years, she came and the Crittenden Hollow Band from West Virginia, they'd been here a few times, so each person, Sharon Shannon, each person that I got to come here, it was like putting a puzzle together, and sure enough it was just...Andre Marchand and Lisa Orenstein and all these people, over the years, had some sort of connection, had done some study, or some uniqueness with CB. So when I put the festival together, I just put it together like a puzzle, and sure enough the chemistry was just fantastic.
(MacDonald 2004)

This first ensemble set a precedent for the festival in following years, where artists from the Boston, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and the Galatian region of Spain, have traveled to Cape Breton for the week-long celebration. Liza Frulla, Minister of Canadian Heritage, addressed the role of the festival in defining Canada's heritage;

This Festival is an ideal occasion to discover, through its workshops, performances, and ceilidhs, how this culture, which has an avid following around the world, contributes to our diversity. (CCIF Souvenir Program 2005:7)

Celtic musicians spanning from New Zealand to South Africa and to Boston are able to find the corporeal space to meet as a practicing community in Cape

Breton. Separated by thousands of miles and multiple bodies of water, this transnational community can experience membership during Cape Breton's International Celtic Colours Festival.

Boundaries, Overlaps, and Peripheries

A surprising question surfaced one night during the Rollies' session when I was introduced to a local writer and cultural lay scholar. After explaining that I intended to study Cape Breton's musical communities, he asked me, "Well, what exactly do you mean by *music*?" His question resonated well with the ongoing dialogue between the island's traditional music of past generations and the new innovations of younger generations affected by tourism and the international recording industry.

Celtic labels aside, music itself needs some unpacking in the context of Cape Bretoners in the world and the world's musicians in Cape Breton. Three situations to consider in Cape Breton's Celtic music include traditional versus newly composed tunes, traditional idioms versus crossover dialects, and the emergence of "fusion" based appropriations outside of Cape Breton. In all three cases, Cape Breton "trad" music' will not be considered a given genre, but as constructed through the on-going negotiation of diverse and even conflicting practices within the Transnational Celtic Music Community (TCMC).

"Trad" music (short for "traditional" music or folk music) in Cape Breton describes both tunes published in Scotland and Ireland centuries ago and tunes more recently composed by local Cape Breton musicians. Two prominent tunes

collections used by musicians on the island include the *Skye Collection*, published in Scotland (1887) and the *MacQuarrie Collection*, published in Cape Breton (1940). Other popular Scottish collections include Hunter's *Fiddle Music of Scotland*, Kerr's *Caledonian Collection*, and Lowe's *Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, and Jigs*.⁶ Kate Dunlay and David Greenburg's collection of annotated Cape Breton tunes has been used frequently at fiddle camps as useful teaching tool over older collection due to their detailed description and transcription of Cape Breton's unique ornamentations and bowing style (Dunlay and Reich 1986). For a more complete description of older tune collections from Scotland, England, and Ireland, see Appendix A, "Annotated Bibliography of Selected Tune Collections from the Beaton Archives." Newly composed tunes also make up a large part of the Cape Breton dance music repertoire. Cape Breton fiddlers Jerry Holland, Brenda Stubbert, and Paul Cranford (only to name a few) have been composing tunes for over three decades, contributing a great deal to the revitalization of Cape Breton's dance music tradition. For these contemporary composers, "making" new tunes is a way of respecting the time-honored music practices on the island. One way to accomplish this goal is to compose tunes in the style of older tunes. Paul Cranford explains the playfulness involved in composing tunes in the older style, and then showcasing them by sandwiching the new tunes in between older tunes at an informal house ceilidh performances:

So you'd start off your medley of tunes with an old-time tune, an older classical tune, maybe two or three, then you'd go into two or three modern compositions, maybe your own, maybe someone else's, and then finish the medley with an old tune. And then [they would say] "Oh, you can't beat the old music!" And we'd look at

each other and wink, because we'd past off some new tunes as old tunes. So when you're composing tunes, you're trying to fit the old traditions. (Cranford 2005)

Tune titles are also an important way of remembering the island's important traditional musicians by naming them, as in "Lila MacIsaac's Favorite," "Rannie MacLellan," and "Brenda Stubbert's Reel" (MacQuarrie 1940, Holland 1988). The composition of new tunes is also motivated by the development of copyright laws. Musicians wishing to record new albums often try to achieve a balance of older traditional tunes (which are not subject to copyright protection) and newer, popular tunes by composers who have copyrighted their tunes in collections or through their own published recordings. To keep production costs down, amateur or up-and-coming artists compose their own tunes to avoid paying royalties to more prominent composers who have filed for copyright protection under the Society of Composers and Musicians (SOCAN 2007). The ongoing exchange between old and new tune compositions is an important aspect of the transnational Celtic music community; replicating musical idioms through newly composed tunes helps to bind together the multi-generational members of this community through practice.

While crossover productions are often accused of 'selling-out' to commercial demands by the recording industry to reach a broader market, Cape Breton musicians may have valid—and more altruistic—motivations to play with alternative expressions of Cape Breton's musical heritage. Natalie MacMaster and Ashley MacIsaac, two of the island's most popular international exports, have both released crossover albums as well as highly 'traditional' recordings. In

MacMaster's, *My Roots Are Showing* (Rounder 2000), she pays homage to the island's players most influential in her own Cape Breton fiddling style, while her more recent album, *Blueprint* (Rounder 2003), reflects her long standing ties to the American bluegrass community, since she has performed numerous times at the Merlefest and Telluride bluegrass festivals. To his credit, Ashley MacIsaac's was able to crossover into alternative styles with his musical wit in pairing rap music with Cape Breton tune standards in his album, *Hi, How Are You Today?* (A&M 1996). In "Sleepy Maggie," MacIsaac plays the traditional tune of the same name while Gaelic singer, Mary Jane Lammond, raps the phrase, "I will not be sad when fiddler comes tonight," in Gaelic (Putumayo 1998). Just as MacMaster was able to return to the idiomatic fiddle and piano tradition of Cape Breton, Ashley MacIsaac's traditional fiddle album, *Fine, Thank You Very Much* (Linus 1998) is rumored to capture the individual styles of prominent Cape Breton fiddlers of the 40s, 50s, and 60s, to an uncanny degree. While the chameleon ability to trade crossover for tradition are not always looked on favorably by the island's more conservative musicians, I will suggest in this thesis that even the strangest musical pairings are not simply a matter of commercialism gone awry, but a clear reflection of the personal lives of musicians and their keen ability to translate musical worlds through collaborations with other musicians involved (even if peripherally) in the transnational Celtic music community.

A third situation that curiously arose within the community of musicians involved in Cape Breton music-making is the production of recordings by visitors to Cape Breton, who lay claim in some way to representing the island's piano and

fiddle tradition. Many part-time visitors to the island have begun producing their own recordings of Cape Breton standards, and in some cases, selling their productions under the auspices of Cape Breton traditional music. One of the most intriguing examples comes from ethnomusicologist Barbara Benary, who composed a contemporary work for gamelan orchestra, string quartet, and voice, using tunes and Gaelic songs from the Cape Breton repertoire. In addition, the tone row dictated to the gamelan reflects a Cape Breton weaving pattern used in the fabrication of tartan. Other examples include Andrew McFadden's (of British Columbia) self-produced album of Cape Breton's Gaelic songs, the MacCarrell Sister's (of Massachusetts) recording of Cape Breton fiddle and piano music, and Kaitlin Hahn's (of Minnesota) self-produced CD of Irish, Scottish, and Cape Breton fiddle compositions. Each case of appropriation require individual consideration; in some cases the misreading of Cape Breton performance practices is intentional, and in others, it reveals the common misconceptions involved in representing a somewhat unfamiliar musical tradition. Stokes and Bohlman note that some degree of misinterpretation is inevitable in transnational musical juxtapositions:

“Exchange” and “crossover” might be stressed at a discursive level, while, at the level of musical practice, the terms of exchange and crossover are usually being dictated by only one of the parties to it, with the consequence that important aspects of the process are actively misrecognized by the participants involved. (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:20)

This study will focus on these aspects of misreading, misrecognizing, and mistranslation, with a curious eye as to how transnational community members

work out the misunderstandings so common in musical gatherings where both locals and transnational members are involved in music making together. The work done to overcome musical and cultural misunderstandings is the binding agent responsible for the cohesion of the transnational community; through the ongoing reconciliation of multiple musical worlds, the transnational Celtic music community is continuing to grow and thrive in many places around the world.

Apprenticing Community

One particular group of musicians I studied during my fieldwork in Cape Breton was the seasonal travelers attending the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music, the Baddeck Gatherings, and the International Celtic Colours Festival. They can be best described as musically motivated tourists who *travel for the purpose of apprenticing community*.

Rather than traveling for the intention of religious pilgrimage, exploring the local ecology, or fishing in Bra D'Or Lake, these musicians travel for the purpose of participating in local sessions, late night dances, and traditional arts schools on Cape Breton Island. In the broadest sense of the term, these traveling musicians are tourists in that they are traveling abroad during a period of leisure, pay for lodging and meals during their stay, and have no living relatives in Cape Breton with which to sojourn. They have come to experience Celtic culture and seek to learn how to become part of the transnational Celtic community—with its history of Scottish, Irish, and English immigrants, international recording artists, and

vibrant dance hall traditions, Cape Breton is just the place to find what they are looking for.

Defining tourists by the way they experience and interact with the communities they visit (including cultural apprenticeship) is an important step in acknowledging the complexity of communities with the growing ability to travel, leisure, and build relationships across national and regional borders. Ulf Hannerz's 1986 article, "Theory in Anthropology: Small is Beautiful? The Problem of Complex Cultures," calls for a new theoretical paradigm in anthropology that privileges large scale, complex cultures, rather than the "most Other," in that

It should offer some insight into what happens when the connection between culture and locality is attenuated, so that someone may be more linked through his ideas to an individual living thousands of miles away than he is to his neighbor next door. (Hannerz 1986:363)

Research on globalization, international studies, and deterritorialization in the following decades has flourished, investigating the changing face of communities that are formed through people going places and sustaining relationships across national borders. Certain modes of tourists, especially those who travel to reconnect with community members far away, play an important role in supporting transnational communities of practice. Celtic music sessions, international festivals, and summer training camps provide a space for traveling musicians to perform annually with friends from far away, Cape Breton locals, and international recording artists in Cape Breton during the summer months. Though their commitment to Celtic culture and the local Cape Breton community

is evident, their travel is still largely supported by the tourism service industry on the island. When they leave Cape Breton, online internet sites have become a way to stay in touch with the community during the tourist off-season. In sum, they are not your typical tourist; they are a new type of tourist who travels in order to learn how to become a member of the Celtic music community at large.

Broadening the definition of tourists to include traveling musicians may seem to wander dangerously close to rendering the term meaningless, but tourism is more often the reason for learning to become a member of this transnational community than travel for the purpose of pilgrimage or migrant labor. In Cape Breton, these traveling performers pay for their entire travel experience, receive little or no compensation for public performances, and their participation is not tied to any religious activity or affiliation.⁷ Their participation can be attributed primarily to the desire to become involved with the Celtic music community while in Cape Breton. In Dennison Nash's article, "Tourism as an Anthropological Subject," he notes that a tourist is most broadly defined as "a person at leisure who also travels" and involves "a relationship between strangers" (Nash 1981:467). Members of this transnational Celtic community most often are introduced to the community by way of mass tourism; many of my informants first heard Cape Breton Celtic music while on a sight-seeing tour of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Others have come to the island for the first time in order to study at one of the fiddle camps after listening to Natalie MacMaster recordings.⁸ In either case, participating members are first

introduced to the musical community as strangers, and pursue their involvement during periods of free-time away from careers and other commitments.

In response to Nash's 1981 article, John J. Bodine questions the validity of defining tourism in such broad terms:

Can the contemporary Plains Indians who spends their weekends and other periods of summer leisure following the "pow-wow circuit," immersing themselves in an aspect of Pan-Indianism which is part of their culture today, be considered tourists?
(Bodine 1981:469)

Although this situation would seem to fit Nash's definition, Bodine is not thoroughly convinced. There lies a similarity between following the 'pow-wow circuit' and Celtic session players who, while sojourning in Nova Scotia, Ireland, or the UK, bring along their instruments to participate in sessions while on the road.⁹ (Neither, not incidentally, would likely identify themselves as tourists). One discernable difference between the pow-wow participants and Celtic session players may be that these traveling musicians are wholly supported by the tourism service industries and must pay for accommodations during their stay until they have developed more long-standing ties with the local community (therefore closer conceptually to tourists proper), while many pow-wows provide free on-site space for camping for participants during the pow-wow celebration (whereby becoming visiting relatives, rather than tourists). On the whole, Celtic session players and traveling pow-wow participants have more in common than not, and discerning their role as tourists apprenticing community versus other more voyeuristic motives raises a elemental question: what role does identity, ancestry, and shared cultural knowledge play in motivations for people to travel?

“Cultural tourism,” carried out by the “explorer tourist,” may be the closest description of tourists in the current scholarship of people who travel in order to apprentice a community abroad. Valene Smith has identified cultural tourism as involving folklore performances and the public display of traditional communities (Smith 1989:4). Graburn further explains that along with the environmental tourist, the cultural tourist “tries to leave as little effect from his visit as possible—concentrating perhaps on photographs and tape recordings” (Graburn 1989:31). Cultural tourism is a ‘selling point’ for Cape Breton Island. In the town of Baddeck, located near the center of the island on Bra D’Or Lake, traveling musicians and dancers can find both the space to sight-see by taking a charter sailboat ride and then performing each night with the local musicians who will accompany any dancer, fiddler, or singer attending the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs. Traveling performers often find local gift shops a helpful tool in “bringing the music home;” the Blue Heron Gift Store, as well as Charlie’s Down Home Music in Cheticamp, act as small libraries of Cape Breton’s local music recordings and published tune compilations not regularly found off the island. For traveling performers on vacation, Baddeck provides the ideal opportunity to transition seamlessly from mass tourists to “explorers,” who are “by definition, not tourists and traditionally are almost akin to anthropologists living as active participant-observers among ‘their’ people” (Smith 1989:12).

Smith’s inclusion of tourists as explorers who are ‘not tourists’ points to an abiding tension between those who travel with a great deal of self-reflexive awareness for the cultural traditions of the visited site and those who travel with a

voyeuristic expectation to see something new without traveling outside familiar accommodation standards held by the traveler's native country. MacCannell explains that this tension lies in the desire to see the "back regions," which are wholly authentic but not often made accessible to strangers:

Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives, and at the same time they are deprecated for always failing to achieve these goals. The term "tourist" is increasingly used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with his obviously inauthentic experiences.
(MacCannell 1999:94)

James Clifford shies away from describing the cultural explorer as a tourist, but rather as a "sophisticated traveler," someone who is able to "function within an elite, and highly differentiated, tourist sector defined by the statement, 'We are not tourists'" (Clifford 1997:66). He explains that this type of self-aware travel

takes place for the purpose of gain—material, spiritual, scientific. It involves obtaining knowledge and/or having an "experience" (exciting, edifying, pleasurable, estranging, broadening).
(Clifford 1997:66)

While these types of tourists are relatively rare, it reflects the habits of a specialized group of travelers who actively seek out interactions with locals and wish to become involved in the local community.

Many of my informants are teachers, coming from situations ranging from elementary schools to universities, who research the area prior to arrival and are receptive to performing in culturally appropriate ways. Similarly, younger traveler-performers are often accompanied either by a family of Celtic music enthusiasts or are involved in a musical performing group at home, and also

perceptive to the application of new performance practices and aesthetics appreciated by local Cape Bretoners. Ulf Hannerz has identified a developing value in “cosmopolitanism” among complex and large-scale cultures, characterized by a “willingness to engage with the Other” and “an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences” (Hannerz 1992:252). Hannerz further explains that within the conscript of cosmopolitanism,

there is the aspect of a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting, and there is cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term, a built-up skill in maneuvering more or less expertly within a particular system of meanings. (Hannerz 1992:253)

Experiencing Cape Breton culture first as an “explorer tourist” for the traveling musician is primarily a starting point, a first “hello” to the community members residing on the island. It is during these touristic encounters that some have made lasting connections with locals and have made an effort to remain a part of the community, even if only on a part-time basis. The tourist label for these engaged communities of practice members is quickly dropped as they return to Cape Breton in the years following their first island visit. While a variety of daily activities around town may be instrumental in creating localized communities, communities of practice are solidified over time and through the deepening understanding of the practice itself through apprenticeship.

Apprenticing a community abroad requires learning to perform ‘correctly’ in socially appropriate ways. In Tim Edensor’s article, “Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers,” he studied tourist performances at the Taj Mahal in India where

tourists actively engaged in stylized walking. He explains that tourists carry out routinized performances that embody the tourists' desire to travel:

[A]t the Taj Mahal, backpackers congregate together but may also carry out meditation, write, sketch, do exercises, roam around the stage, and take drugs at the site—enactions which are undirected and unconfined to delineated areas, but still epitomize some of the values and motivations of backpacker travel. (Edensor 2000:336)

The types of stylized performances Edensor describes as occurring in “heterogeneous spaces” are similar to the options for traveling musicians in that

although there may be particular streets where tourists congregate and move, the options of movement through a labyrinth structure provide opportunities for diverse walking performances and chance encounters. (Edensor 2000:331)

In Cape Breton, traveling musicians are able to seek out chance encounters with local performers at sessions, festivals, traditional arts schools, and tourist entry ports. The Thursday night session at Rollie's is advertised on the popular website, www.thesession.org, as an open invitation to travelers to come and play with locals. The Cape Breton Fiddlers Association has an international mailing list that advertises the tunes that will be performed at the annual festival in July, allowing visitors to gather on stage with the locals having little or no prior practice time with the ensemble. Other chance encounters occur when street musicians gather at the Sydney seaport as cruise ships unload hundreds of passengers each day in July and August. The difference here in experiential modes is that Edensor's performers embody the values and motivations of their own community, whereas the traveling performers in Cape Breton are at play in performing to Cape Breton's local aesthetics, seeking to act as ‘locals performing for tourists.’ Martin

Stokes explains that this type of cultural exchange is, more often than not, a common experience among musicians:

Musicians often live in conspicuously translocal cultural worlds. They travel; their social skills are those of people capable of addressing varied and heterogeneous groups, and their ability to transcend the cultural boundaries of that locality (Stokes 1994:98).

Stokes and Bohlman have identified these performing tourists as “traveling enthusiasts” who are able to participate in Celtic music sessions while on the road due to the shared performance practices of session etiquette;

The session has, indeed, relatively recently emerged as the ideal type of informal musicking across most of western Europe...Irish traditional dance music constitutes the dominant medium of exchange, but other forms of music can easily be grafted on and coexist with it. What matters most is not what is played but how it is played, along with the observance of a certain social *modus operandi*, certain simple rules of etiquette. (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:6-7)

Since a large amount of the Irish tune repertoire is shared in Cape Breton’s dance and session circles, traveling musicians familiar with standard session etiquette are able to participate with relative ease. Scottish country dancers, English Morris dancers, and North American contra dancers find similar ease in joining square sets on the island during the summer months.¹⁰ In both cases, these traveling performers often plan their trips based on “making the rounds,” in order to participate in as many local sessions or dances as their stay permits. This type of cultural tourism involving tourist performers has been supported by Cape Breton institutions dating back as early as 1941 in the establishment of the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, where tourists were able to learn the tradition of

tartan weaving. Along with weaving, the college today offers disciplines in bagpiping, step-dancing, fiddle, piano, Gaelic language, and Gaelic song.

(Feintuch 2004:94, Dunlay 2000:1130).

As traveling musicians have developed relationships with local Cape Breton musicians through multiple trips to the island, larger scale transnational relationships have begun to emerge founded by a shared common practice in traditional Celtic music.¹¹ During the 20th century, many of Cape Breton residents were forced to travel to Boston, Detroit, Toronto, and Glengarry to find work in the automotive industry as mining and steel work began to dwindle on the island. When the United States engaged in the Vietnam War, many of Cape Breton's young men chose to return to Canada rather than be drafted into the conflict; some returned to Cape Breton, and others stayed in Toronto and Glengarry (MacPhee 2005).

Today, many second and third generation expatriate families return to Cape Breton during the summer as nostalgic tourists, to attend family reunions, or to attend the traditional arts camps as a way of reconnecting with their heritage. Although these expatriates tended to represent a significant segment of the summer tourism in Cape Breton in years past, a growing number of performing musicians from the United States, the UK, and elsewhere, are beginning to reflect the popularity of participating in cultural practices while sojourning the island:

At a small concert a few years ago, I heard a woman introduced as having made more than forty summer trips back home to Cape Breton. Many of the people you run into at music events are home for a visit, having left the island for better prospects elsewhere. Traditionally, people “coming home” from “away” have made up

much of Cape Breton's tourism. That's changing; one local musician asked me, a couple of years ago, if I could understand why so many people from places like South Dakota were coming to dances. (Feintuch 2004:94)

This local's question strikes at the heart of the diversity represented within transnational community of practice, where returning expatriates are finding themselves more and more in the seasonal tourist mix of sightseers and traveling musicians. The social intersection of locals, transplants, expatriates, and sojourning Celtic music enthusiasts found at dances, sessions, schools, and festivals, makes for a complex and multifaceted expression of transnationalism in Cape Breton. While diasporic, immigrant, and expatriate communities are all at play here in one manner or another, this study focuses primarily on how this complex network of relationships works as a transnational community of practice. By privileging practice, the mutual development of *identity* and *practice* becomes the common denominator among participants rather than focusing on the multiple contexts in which individuals find themselves prior to becoming involved in the transnational Celtic music community.

Boundary Encounters

The way in which traveling performers come into contact with the local Cape Breton community tells a story about how outsiders experience a sense of Celtic culture. There are at least three ways people can encounter the transnational Celtic music community in Cape Breton through "boundary encounters," where two localized communities come into contact for the first time: "one-on-one,

immersion, and delegations” (Wenger 1995:112). One-on-one encounters are private conversations where individuals are by themselves and can “therefore be candid about their own practices in an effort to advance the boundary relation” (Wenger 1995:112, see also Berger and Luckman for ‘face to face” encounters 1966:28-34). These are the most intimate encounters, and can deepen over time, developing into a master-apprentice relationship. Fieldwork is designed specifically for this type of encounter, where talking about shared experiences can be a technique for fostering cultural understanding (Stone and Stone 1981). Through one-on-one encounters with an informant, I was most fortunate to develop a deeper understanding of her experience in becoming part of the Cape Breton music community.

Mairí Thom, a veterinarian by trade, plays the fiddle, border pipes, step-dances and plays Cape Breton piano. Originally from Edinburgh, Scotland, she first visited Cape Breton as a tourist, and after attending the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music and the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, she decided to move to the island. She explains,

I suppose I’d been here a few times and felt like, well I was in Canada, I was in PEI for four weeks as part of being a vet student.¹² So I came over here for a couple of weeks at the end of that and I would come back again for a couple of weeks on holidays just with some friends and we all played music and we stayed in and around Inverness and we played tunes and went to dances. So I just quite enjoyed that and I enjoyed the fact that the music was a lot more a part of the everybody’s culture rather than feeling like I was the minority type thing and in Scotland you’re only into that if you’re into that. Whereas here especially around Inverness [Cape Breton] you know lots more of the general public are into music. So I just wanted to be a part of it. (Thom 2004)

After meeting one-on-one with Mairí many times during my stay, her stories about home began to help me paint a picture in my mind about her house in Edinburgh, her ceilidh band gigs, and memorable sessions that were important to her. We often met to learn tunes from each other—one of my favorite stories from Mairí was about her connection with a fiddle tune called “MacArthur Road,” where she told a vivid story of bicycling up the real MacArthur’s road in Scotland with her hands full of bottles clanking to and fro, eventually making it up the steep hill. Now, when I play that tune more than a year later, I have a memory of Mairí’s experience, having experienced in my own way through her story.

Wenger explains that through partnerships, “we are half a mason, half a lawyer, half a nurse, or half an engineer, because our better half is the real thing. But our knowledge of these practices inherits the partiality of those who give us peripheral access to them” (Wenger 1995:111).¹³ During my fieldwork, other informants expressed that although one-on-one encounters with local Cape Breton community members are rare, they oftentimes develop into the most meaningful learning experiences (Baxter 2004, Cranford 2004, Woodley 2005).

Immersion encounters take place when a potential member visits another practice in full-swing; “This kind of immersion provides a broader exposure to the community of practice being visited and to how its members engage with one another” (Wenger 1995:112). Cape Breton’s living history museum, *An Clachan Gàidealach* (Highland Village Museum), provides a Gaelic immersion experience for tourists as they walk from a stone and sod-roofed house to a mid-nineteenth century barn house, where you can watch women spinning or attend milling

frolics where working songs are sung in Gaelic. In order for visitors to experience a cultural exchange, they must be able to communicate something about themselves through verbal means, whereas the museum performers are able to represent their community in a kinesic, visual mode of communication.

Wenger explains that visitors must validate themselves in the new community by providing background information in a one-way exchange because “the host practice is unlikely to witness in any significant way how visitors function in their home practice” (Wenger 1995:112).

With delegation encounters, “the negotiation of meaning takes place at the same time among members within each practice and across the boundary.”

Wenger notes two advantages: 1) negotiation can be accomplished with outsiders and among insiders at the same time, that is, interlocutors can learn/benefit from both the exchange with outsiders and from the ways in which other members of their community are interpreting the same encounters, 2) each side to gets sense of how the negotiation of meaning takes place in the other community (Wenger 1995:113). Fiddler Shelly Campbell recounted a notable exchange between a large group of tourists traveling together on a tour bus during a performance she gave at the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs. An expert and captivating storyteller, Campbell responded to a request for “The Tennessee Waltz,” recounting a time when a group of retirees from Tennessee attended her performance at the Baddeck Gatherings several years ago. She explained that a woman from the group had requested the “The Tennessee Waltz,” and Campbell first declined the request because it is not played among Cape Breton fiddlers and she did not know the

tune. The woman then began to sing the tune to Shelley, as if to ‘jog’ her memory, but then would not stop repeating the tune, insisting that Shelley pick up the tune by ear and play it for the audience. Campbell’s only option, she replied, was to learn the tune so the woman would stop singing. The woman’s boldness in repeating the tune over and over again until Campbell began to play the tune on her fiddle might best be explained by the asymmetrical relationship of many tourists to a few local performers. The sheer size of the Tennessee retiree “delegation” may have emboldened the audience member to teach a local Cape Bretoner ‘a thing or two’ about life in Tennessee, in order to represent the delegation’s cultural background, rather than simply attending the Baddeck Gathering to learn about Cape Breton’s musical traditions.

The Internet creates yet another platform for cultural encounters, but the degree of intimacy between artists and fans is limited. Websites created by performers are becoming increasingly interactive, allowing potential newcomers a transparent view into the life of recording artists. “Guestbooks,” pages where fans can send a message to the performer and receive an email response, are in a sense ‘one-on-one encounters,’ but are far removed from face-to-face interactions where dialect, vocabulary, and body language can be read and interpreted as cultural mores.

Famed Cape Breton fiddler, Jennifer Roland, maintains a website (www.jenniferrolland.com) which allows fans to post messages to Roland by electronically signing her guestbook. The guestbook serves as a mediated

interface between publicly known performers and their fan base, providing an outlet for personal exchanges similar to email. One fan writes,

Hi Jennifer, I'm mailing you some old video I took of you at the Blackthorne Tavern in Easton, Mass April 12, 2004. Sorry it took so long. I meant to give it to you at the Celtic Colors Festival this year but didn't see you after the show. Just wanted you to know a package was coming so you wouldn't be concerned about a package from a stranger. There will be one VHS tape and three DVD's in the package. Video quality is acceptable but not remarkable. Take care and hope to see you again soon. I really enjoy your high energy performances. Sorry to hear about your dad. I lost my dad two weeks after returning from Celtic Colors this year. Big void isn't it. (Mullowney 2006)

This excerpt reveals the type of limited contact between performer and audience member; the message poster is able to offer condolences to Jennifer, as well as video footage, but may only be able to receive an email response until the poster is able to introduce himself at another venue. After a recent concert in Victoria, British Columbia, Natalie MacMaster's guestbook was signed congratulating her on the birth of her recent first child:

Hi, Natalie. Wonderful concert tonight. Your performance demonstrated again what a gifted musician you are. If Ever You Were Mine was especially moving. All the best with your new baby. (Reimer 2006)

Although the author of this message has never met MacMaster in person, she is not shy about referring to the performer by her first name, "Natalie." The visibility of artists on the internet and through recordings lends itself to a personal immediacy which might not otherwise be afforded in a face-to-face encounter.

Another fan writes:

I'm one of you're BIGGEST FANS. I just can't help listening to your famous music. I too play the fiddle and your music is my favorite. To tell you the truth, my dream is to meet you and you giving me lessons. That's my only dream. (Mckay 2006)

This fan's message expresses the limitations of internet exchanges, and a desire on the part of some to establish a face-to-face mentor relationship. Whether seeking encounters with Cape Breton's musical traditions as a dedicated student or mass tourist, these types of exchanges are definitive experiences for the members of this transnational music community.

“Experiencing” Community

The transnational community of Celtic musicians that come to play in Cape Breton aren't motivated by a need to *learn music*, they are motivated by a need to *become musicians*. There is a fundamental difference between a person studying music and one who is studying to become a musician, in that learning a practice is a means to becoming a type of person in that context. Whether as a “Celtic music enthusiast” (Stokes and Bohlman 2003) or as a full time musician, Cape Breton's traveling musicians are learning about the tunes, songs, dances, and performance practices in order to transcend their current identity and transform their sense of self into a practicing Celtic musician. Acquiring new technical skills means adding value to pre-existing notions of self, especially when the learning is accomplished through one-on-one modes of apprenticeship.

Apprenticeship is a mode of learning which most fully embodies the sharing of human experiences between one another and encourages deepening

levels of understanding over time. Musical training arguably requires deeper levels of learning than any other form of human expression, and has throughout history relied upon apprenticeship as the primary technique of passing on traditions from one generation to the next. Through apprenticeship, musicians are able to weave together their projected identity as a potential master through their practice along side a master, to a degree not necessary for many other skilled trades;

For example, an individual who wants to become an accomplished musician must immerse himself in his subject to a degree quite unnecessary for an individual learning to be an engineer. Engineering education can take place effectively through formal, highly rational, emotionally neutral processes. Musical education, on the other hand, typically involves much higher identification with a maestro and a much more profound immersion in musical reality. (Berger and Luckman 1966:144)

As an apprentice, learning to embody the experiences of the master not only takes years of studying their subtleties and trademark skills, but involves developing an internal compass oriented towards the master's cultural values. In essence, apprenticeship is an intimate relationship between an individual and a culture, a sonorous way of experiencing one's community.

The concept of learning through experience has deep and long-standing ties to the processes of musical apprenticeship. Where we are limited to the single term "experience" in English to describe a type of knowing through doing, seeing, or feeling, ancient Greek and Latin offer multiple terms referring to the acquisition of understanding through experience. One term in particular, *didaktos* (διδάσκτός), meant "things taught or learned" through "study and experience."

The term's earliest meaning in ancient Greece specifically meant teaching or instructing—"to perform or to execute"—referring to a chorus instructor whose task it was to train the chorus for great performances (Kittel 1964:149). In secular Greek, the aim of *didaktos* was to develop talents and potentialities in "definite skills like reading, fighting, or music" where "the aptitudes [are] already present" (Kittel 1964:149). Examples of the term's use can be found in Homer's Greek tragedy, meaning to train a chorus made up of non-professional citizens, and Plato's *Herodotus*, meaning to produce a drama (Liddell and Scott 1996:421).

During the first century, the term *didaktos* was appropriated in the construction of Biblical texts to include not only musical apprenticeship, but also referred to a type of religious discipleship in the New Testament; "of persons taught or instructed by God" (Liddell and Scott 1996:421). Even through the broadening usage of *didaktos* from the Hellenistic period to after the first century, the term ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\epsilon$) continued to convey a sense of both to teach and to learn through personal relationship between a mentor and apprentice. Gerhard Kittel explains,

The word calls to attention to two aspects, being applied on the one side to the insight of the one who is to be instructed and on the other to the knowledge presupposed in the teacher. In relation to the second aspect, especially when it is a question of practical arts and crafts, the example of the teacher forms a bridge to the knowledge and ability of the pupil...The aim is the highest possible development of the talents of the pupil, but always in such a way that the personal aspect is both maintained and indeed strengthened. (Kittel 1964:135)

In Biblical texts, the concern was with the whole man, and his education in the deepest sense; in I Chronicles 25:7, *didaktos* referred to King David's temple

musicians who were “instructed to sing to God,” and in Deuteronomy 31: 19 and 22, the term was used to describe practicing a song. The use of *didaktos* in Greek literature and the Bible reveals a compelling connection in the Hellenistic period between our present day concepts of *learning through experience* and *musical apprenticeship*.

As a mode of human experience, apprenticeship is uniquely established in face-to-face relationships. Delegation and immersion encounters are important modeling tools for the enculturation of newcomers, but apprenticeship stands in relief as a freely dialogic exchange between two people. Alfred Schutz writes,

there is a true social relationship only if you reciprocate my awareness of you in some manner or other. As soon as this happens, as soon as we enter the face-to-face situation, each of us begins to attend to his own experiences in a new way.
(Schutz 1967:171)

Even through the seemingly intimate internet exchanges between amateur Celtic musicians and high-profile Cape Breton touring performers, internet correspondence does not allow the type of two-way exchange where individuals can fully experience each other or learn to be a new person in the context of their own lives. Berger and Luckman explain that in face-to-face encounters, one may be faced to abandon previous assumptions and misconceptions held about the community in which they are projecting themselves to be future members, where as in mere correspondence

I can more successfully dismiss the other's protestations of friendship as not actually representing his subjective attitude to me, simply because in correspondence I lack the immediate, continuous and massively real presence of his expressivity. (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 30)

In face-to-face encounters, facial expressions, body language, and even verbal exchanges provide the needed communicative equipment to head off misunderstandings and disagreements before they block the relationship from proceeding (Finnegan 2002:9). Face-to-face encounters have the ability to form lasting relationships over time, including relationships based on learning.

Apprenticeship is a way of coming to new understandings as the master and apprentice experience events together through time. Edmund Husserl defines this type of experience as the "original consciousness" (Husserl 1999:146). In a face-to-face, master-apprentice relationship, we can experience someone "in person," where together we are "co-present" in a kind of "appresentation" (Husserl 1999:146). In terms of apprenticeship, we can learn to interpret new events based on our past experiences of moving through past events together. Schutz theorizes that we can only observe our past; as we reflect on past events, we can discern meaning about our actions and the actions of others (Schutz 1967:102). The importance of the face-to-face, master-apprentice relationship is that although we cannot learn from our own actions as they are acted out in real time, as an apprentice I can

observe your past as it happens "by merely looking." I can grasp even those of your lived experiences which you have not yet noticed and which are for you still prephenomenal and undifferentiated. (Schutz 1967:102)

In other words, an apprentice can observe the master's actions even before the master herself has time to stop and reflect on the meaning of her actions, as she simply models the ways of doing things in the 'correct' way.

Studying musical cultures through the process of apprenticeship has become an effective fieldwork method for drawing out richer and more instructive ethnographies. Ruth Stone chose to engage in musical apprenticeship in her study with the Kpelle of Liberia in order to answer questions that were difficult to verbalize in any other way. Through her study of the *konîn* (a triangular frame-zither), she was able to learn not only the technical skills to play the instrument, but the cultural roles of becoming a Kpelle musician:

As I continued studying, Bena spent increasing amounts of time educating me about the proper custodianship of these competences. He discussed the special and sometimes dangerous power entailed in being a performer. He discussed how others would regard this role and revealed how being a musician had affected his life. While some musicians had alluded to such knowledge, it was not until I actually entered the role myself that I began to obtain rich detail. (Stone 1982:54-55)

Through "one-to-one tutoring situations," Stone was able to deconstruct certain aspects of performance practice that would otherwise be unconstrained by a large ensemble setting where synchronization is a requisite of participation. Timothy Rice also engaged in musical apprenticeship among his study of Bulgarian musical systems, arguing that objectivity is a misnomer in ethnographic fieldwork because both the fieldwork and the informant "continually appropriate their cultural practices, give new meanings, and create their own sense of 'being in

the world”” (Rice 1994:6). Whether foreign or native, becoming part of a community requires that one *apprentice* the community by participating in cultural practices as a means of understanding another way of ‘being in the world.’

Apprenticing community, in this broadened sense, goes beyond the relationship of a single master to a single apprentice, but involves all types of one-on-one, immersion, and delegation encounters, as musicians acquire not only the technical skills for performing, but the holistic understanding of how to be a musician in each context. Experiencing community through apprenticeship simply means to go through life together reflecting on events and storing up interpreted meanings about our identity in relationship to others. Rice defines musical experience as “the history of the individual’s encounter with the world of musical symbols in which he finds himself” (Rice 1994:6).

Through my own fieldwork, I observed how each act of performance became a stepping stone towards the ultimate goal of being a full member in the transnational Celtic music community. For example, local fiddler Rachel Davis learned that one way to become part of the transnational community was through her performances at the Baddeck Gatherings, a public ceilidh open to tourists during the summer months. She explained how she first encountered the performance venue:

I think Nancy MacLean, the owner, she’d probably been talking to my parents about it, I would say. And I went down one year, the year before I started playing there, I went over one night and she said, ‘you should bring you fiddle some night and you should try it,’ and I was like, ‘I don’t think I can do that yet.’ And then I went

in the year after, the two girls were playing and were like, ‘yeah, you should bring in your fiddle!’ and I was like, ‘ooohh!’ But one night, I was pretty nervous, but it still was really fun because the whole crowd was being so nice about it and they’re all smiling at you, so you’re just, ‘ok.’ That was really good experience to get used to playing in front of people. (Davis 2004)

In the context of the Baddeck Gatherings, local performers got a chance to encounter the larger Celtic community when traveling musicians attended the ceilidh and volunteered to perform alongside billed local performers. During the 2002, 2003, and 2004 seasons, participating performers traveled from as far away as Wales, Boston, and Vancouver, British Columbia. Young performers like Davis learned to express a new way of ‘being in the world’ as they adapted to performing with tourists from other musical traditions or explained their own performance practices to the audience.

Proprietor Nancy MacLean has watched the young performers acclimate to sharing the stage with travelers:

[T]his is the fourth year for some of them. They’ve become so familiar with the routine and they’ve grown to like it so much they know what questions to expect they know what people want to hear and see. They like that interaction with the audience as well as their performing. (MacLean 2004)

Through their participation at the Baddeck Gatherings, these young performers are essentially changed by their encounters with travelers. Davis explains:

I remember whenever [MacLean would] ask where people in the crowd where they were from, she would get people from all over the United States, all over Canada, Scotland, I think they got some from Australia, just everywhere. It was unbelievable to see all

these people from all these different places come to this little town and come to this ceilidh. (Davis 2004)

Each of the musicians MacLean hires to perform at the Baddeck Gatherings have had at least one intensive relationship with a master Cape Breton fiddler, piano player, Gaelic singer, or step-dancer, where the relationship was in the strictest sense, master-apprentice. What makes this transnational music community unique is that immersion and delegation encounters also play a major role in shaping how musicians learn to be ‘in the world’ as much as they are ‘in Cape Breton.’

Experiencing community, then, becomes the cumulative, reconciliatory work of negotiating each new reflection, interpretation, and meaning as members encounter each other practicing and performing together. As Harry Berger puts it,

In musical experience, the subject engages with the world in creative acts of perception; here, the participant plays a role in the social life of music and, to a varying degree, helps to constitute society as a whole. (Berger 1999:28)

Experience and apprenticeship are connected through musical practice; learning to become a sort of person (a musician) is accomplished by walking alongside mentors, community members, and newcomers, all at the same time. Participating in performances where nationality, locality, and language intersect is a way of apprenticing a community that is at the same time local and global, here and there, the same and different.

Husserl posits that identity is continually reformed through participation, which then reframes what he calls the “unity of identity;”

Identity, in its plain, is not first dragged in through comparative, cognitively mediated reflection: it is there from the start as experience, as unexpressed, unconceptualized experience. (Husserl 1999:57)

Experiencing community, then, is accomplished through performing music, practicing its culturally situated aesthetics, and reflexively perceiving how to be in the world in multiple contexts. As in the case of fiddler Rachel Davis, her community of practice is radically different than the one her grandfather experienced. In the place of negotiating Gaelic as a first language and managing local resources, Rachel will face a future of negotiating the constellation of Celtic music practices among the international recording industry and managing relationships with other musicians who live thousands of miles from Cape Breton but who are connected in real time through multiple media networks.

Notes

¹ This is not to imply that Mi'kmaq communities on Cape Breton Island would consider themselves "Celtic." However, their distinct ethnic traditions compliment Cape Breton's cultural diversity in a way that other "Celtic" regions (Ireland, Scotland, Wales) cannot claim. An example of this unique dimension to Eastern Canada's First Nation-Celtic connections can be heard in Smithsonian Folkway's recent release, *The Wood that Sings* (2005), featuring Cape Breton's Mi'kmaq fiddler, Wilfred Prospect. The recording highlights indigenous fiddlers performing Celtic marches, strathspeys, and reels.

² For an insightful deconstructionist history of the Celts, see James 1999, "Towards a new ethnic history of the isles," pp. 86-135.

³ James also notes that the term "*Cymry*," originally meaning 'the people,' was a self-designated 11th-century ethnonym which did not survive the hegemonic use of the British term, "Welsh."

⁴ Gaelic speakers and Gaelic speaking communities in Scotland, Ireland and Canada are quite closely knit and would not refer to themselves as "Celtic," but as Gaelic.

⁵ Kate Dunlay captured this assessment of the first Celtic Colours Festival in that "some individuals suggest that more needs to be done to sustain the Gaelic-based culture that has produced the music," but this view is held primarily by a small minority of Gaelic language activists (Dunlay 2000:1129).

⁶ See the annotated bibliography in Appendix B detailing the fiddle holdings at the Beaton Institute, University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, Nova Scotia.

⁷ Burt Feintuch and others have made the connection between musical tourism and pilgrimage based on romantic notions of community and undeveloped landscapes. Feintuch explains that "these pilgrimages are perhaps a form of nostalgia, and like many other exercises of nostalgia, they may stand for a longing for something the travelers have never themselves experienced" (Feintuch 2004:95). In this study, I will reserve the term "pilgrimage" to those travels for the purpose of having direct religious or spiritual experiences.

⁸ Recordings have long played a significant role in advertising Cape Breton's beautiful landscape to tourists. Record labels such as Celtic and Rodeo often used pictures of the Cape Breton countryside as album covers, rather than photographs of musicians (McKinnon 1989:110)

⁹ "Session playing" here refers to a public musical gathering in which any individual may participate, given they are familiar with both the most common

repertoire and at least a portion of the more local repertoire. Session playing is a fairly recent phenomenon, becoming more popular in the past fifty years, and now can be found occurring at many music festivals or other public venue bearing a Celtic theme, in countries ranging from Japan to Scotland, Iceland to Belgium. Currently, weekly and bi-weekly Celtic music sessions are being held in thirty-two countries around the world (See Figure One).

¹⁰ Dortha Hast writes of contra dancers today; “It is hard to locate contra dancers as a group, except as a collection of individuals brought together by their love of dancing...On a larger scale, [they] can be viewed as part of a non-corporate nationalist movement or network in which participants know of one another through dance calendars, travel, recordings, touring callers and bands, dance camps, newsletters, and the Internet but are not bound together by any national organization” (Hast 2000:234). For a similar comment on morris dancing, see also (Cowdery 2000:323). I am asserting further here, that contra and morris dancers are an important part of the Celtic transnational music community as regular performers in the summer ceilidhs in Cape Breton.

¹¹ This transnational community is characterized by shared “activities and relationships that transcend national boundaries” and that are “anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states” (Hannerz 1998:237, Kearney 1995:548).

¹² PEI is a common abbreviation for Prince Edward Island, located northwest of Cape Breton Island and off the coast of New Brunswick, Canada.

¹³ In *Phenomenology of the Social World*, Alfred Schutz makes a similar observation: “Far from being homogeneous, the social world is given to us in a complex system of perspectives: my partner and I, for instance, have an intimate and rich experience of each other as we talk together, where as we both appear to a detached observer in an aura of ‘flatness’ and ‘anonymity.’” (Schutz 1967:8)

3. TOURIST PERFORMERS

In practice, understanding is always straddling the known and the unknown in a subtle dance of the self. It is a delicate balance. Whoever we are, understanding in practice is the art of choosing what to know and what to ignore in order to proceed with our lives.

—Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice* (1998)

In the summer months, Cape Breton Island bustles with people *from away*. Beginning mid-June and carrying on into the fall, tourists from all over the world come in search of the Cape Breton ceilidh, stunning seascapes, and breathtaking headlands. A special breed of tourist, however, comes in search of much more. Acting out the part of the prodigal son, they return to Cape Breton feeling guilty for having been away so long, not having practiced enough in the meantime, and giddy at the idea of getting lost once again on their way to the Glencoe dance. They are the tourist performers, the musicians and dancers *from away* who have found themselves at home in the musical community of Cape Breton. They are from everywhere—Western Canada, the United States, Scotland, Japan, even Scandinavia—and during the year they are web-designers, engineers, lawyers, social workers, and teachers; even so, their return to Cape Breton is a spiritual reunion, the year-long anticipation of community finally fulfilled.

This chapter is dedicated to these traveling performers, who help to illustrate the uncanny ways tourism, cultural performance, and music practice intersect their experiences of transnational community-making. Specifically, student ceildh performances at traditional arts schools reveal an aesthetic uniquely imprinted by the recurring transnational narrative of the roving Celt. Seafaring explorers, conquering barbarians, pagan ritualists, and finally a people in exile, the Celtic travel narrative provides tourist performers with access to a new, symbolic identity which reflects their own personal experiences of dislocation, hardship, spiritualism, and separation. Their performances in Cape Breton are reconstructive; each ceildh gives students the chance to experience a reformed sense of self within the transnational community by reenacting the Celtic travel narrative in front of their peers.

Tourists at Play

After spending three summers attending Celtic music camps in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia,¹ one unanswered question continued to linger in the back of my mind. Although I looked forward to the student ceildhs held at the end of each week, (not because of the amazing display of virtuosity, but because the performances meant so much to the performers), I continued to wonder why people ‘from away’ were learning to perform Cape Breton’s musical traditions. Marching bagpipers played a bit out of tune, fiddlers sawed away on “The High Road to Linton,” and beginning harpists strummed a blur of heavenly flourishes, which made for a well-rounded student ceildh, but I most appreciated the stories

the performers told before they began to play because they were intimate, moving, and often inspiring stories of overcoming hardships and finding joy in Cape Breton's music and dance traditions. As sincere as these performances were, I couldn't shake the irony of the situation: why were we all sitting around performing for each other, rather than out in the community hearing *real* Cape Breton music?

The answer to this question lies in the way people garner a sense of self through participating in a transnational community of practice. By investigating the ways that tourists create a sense of transcendental meaning about their lives through performance for other tourists, common issues in tourism literature of authenticity, agency, and authority, are rerouted: Can tourist's musical performances for an audience of tourists be considered *cultural performances*? If so, whose aesthetics are they selecting to achieve in performance: Cape Breton's, their home community's, or some new sense of transnational values? And finally, if there is a 'student ceilidh aesthetic,' what does it reveal about this transnational community of practice— in essence, what does it say about how its performers experience the transnationalism inherent in a community of musicians that travel across all kinds of geographic and cultural borders? In order to answer these questions, first we must investigate how tourism and performance work in tandem to provide students at music camps the cultural "experience" they seek.

Cultural performances and cultural tourism both transform mundane life into a showcase of the extraordinary; the ultimate goal is to marshal new meanings about the transcendence of life. Because the primary motivations for

staged performances and tourism are serendipitously aligned, travelers are now seeking to take the stage as an attempt to conquer the final frontier of “extreme tourism.” This particular alignment between tourism and performance may account for growing popularity of cultural arts summer camps, where travelers from all over the world can spend a week learning to perform the ethnic music and dance traditions of their native hosts. Many of these camps are partially funded by local tourism organizations, and the accommodations they receive during their stay are facilitated by the camp itself and the area’s service industries.

Although not much serious consideration has been given to studying tourists as performers at cultural camps, two examples of touristic performances foreshadow how travel and performance might be cursorily linked. Tim Edensor’s article, “Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers,” proposes the possibility of tourists being ‘on stage,’ acting out a set script according to the social and spatial settings in which they find themselves. Rather than learning to perform the aesthetic roles of the host community, the tourists described at the Taj Mahal are more interested in performing those roles prescribed by their home communities. Edensor describes tourists who act out the role of being a tourist at the Taj Mahal, a role they formed for themselves in the context of their homeland and which is typically only meant for an audience of their own peers. To illustrate this, Edensor describes one scene where American tourists choose to play the role of the ‘American tourist’ in an awkward display before their native hosts:

Watching a boatload of tourists disembark from a ferry at the port of Tangiers in Morocco, a crowd of young locals watched with hilarity as passengers and their heavy suitcases came tumbling down a particularly slippery gangplank, creating a free slapstick

show. One elderly American female tourist stood at the top of the gangplank shrieking, “There’s no order! There’s no order!” to the merriment of the audience. Tourists were either profoundly disoriented and outraged by the lack of organization or played their roles as fall guys with good humor. (Edensor 2000:338)

Where Edensor’s American tourists are at play performing the role of tourists in a foreign context, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes a stage set at Ellis Island, where Americans are given the space to reenact a period in United States history in a way that reinvents the meaning and purpose of the historical site itself. As tourists visit the national park, they can step onto the stage of American’s history of immigration by charging a minimum of one hundred dollars in their American Express card. In exchange, their family name will be inscribed on the “American Immigrant Wall of Honor.” In Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s illustration, the tourist site wanders dangerously close to the a historical amusement theme-park with Mickey Mouse as a tour guide;

Like Mickey, tourists also become honorary Ellis Islanders, their visits authenticated by the “Official Ellis Island Visitor’s Medal” or the certificate that serves as an “official document that will take its place alongside your family’s most precious heirlooms,” just like the visa, green card, and passport. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:180)

While Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Edensor provide examples of ‘tourists on stage’ (see also Nuñez 1989:271, Stanton 1989:255, MacCannell 1999), cultural training camps perhaps have not received the critical attention they deserve because anthropologists and tourism scholars may view their touristic manifestation as the epitome of inauthentic, amateur performances.² While student performances may

be read as a misappropriation of local traditions, student ceilidhs carry their own aesthetic that mirror their experiences of a transnational community of musicians. Case in point, many student performances imbed a disclaimer of amateur skill and inappropriate style within their pre-performance narrative as a way of situating themselves as both student and visiting traveler. For example, fluent Gaelic speakers attending the Gaelic College in St. Ann's are often not trained vocalists, and often apologize for their 'horrible singing voice' before their performance. And yet, their proviso is easily accepted by the audience because their linguistic and emotive skills are highly valued.

The "experience" performing tourists are seeking is two-fold; first they seek to experience a cultural change living among the local musicians, and secondly they are looking for 'life-changing' experiences where they learn to see themselves in a new way.³ This "change" was both emotionally and physically allegorical for a group of five women (ages 44-58) interviewed at the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts 2004 "Adult Session." When it was suggested that each woman's personal story of finding her way to Cape Breton music seemed to involve recovering from a major life event, the women were quick to associate their physical changes (i.e. going through menopause) as interconnected with their changes in marriage, parenting, career, and caring for aging parents:

K: It's seems to me after hearing everyone's story that coming to Cape Breton music involves some kind of life change. Does that strike a chord with anyone?

[Silence is broken by a crescendo of giggling from the group]

C: That's not what she means....

[Giggling grows louder]

A: [To C] You mean less carnal?!

[Giggling erupts into loud laughter]

A: For me, I'm not sure that it was specifically Cape Breton music because I started playing the fiddle a little bit, and I was going through some icky times, and once I started listening to Cape Breton music, I don't know there's something really happy about it, something jiggy about it that you could tap your toes and it was fast...I don't know, I think the whole process of beginning the instrument anyway, that challenge of trying to do it, and seeing myself progress and feeling a little better, a little better, a little better...and then there's, I don't know, something kind of uplifting about Cape Breton music. (Focus Group 2004)

For these women, performance and tourism offer the opportunity for participants to become mutually engaged in activities that provide them with a new outlook on life. Valene Smith captured this first notion of experience in her broad definition of tourism;

[A] tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change. (Smith 1989:1)

Smith's cultural-explorers are most similar to performing tourists, in that they share a congruent desire to experience another culture in its 'natural setting.' Treasure-hunting for recordings of old fiddlers and out-of-print tune collections can be just as viable as post-cards, still photographs, and homemade videos shot on-site for the cultural/performing tourists who regard these objects as valuable

souvenirs (Smith 1989). MacCannell notes that although the ethnic “experience” tourists are seeking is taken for granted,

one finds the assumption that everyone knows and agrees about what “experience” means, even though this assumption could not be farther from the truth. (MacCannell 1999:207)

MacCannell proposes to call these sought-after changes “cultural experiences,” bounded moments that have been prepackaged, commodified displays of local everyday life that are exhibited for foreigners (MacCannell 1999:23). The primary distinction between Smith and MacCannell’s cultural tourist and the performing tourist described here hinges on the desire of the tourist to experience the local culture by performing it rather than collecting it or consuming it. The performing tourist seeks to experience a personal transformation by becoming part of the communities they visit.

An interesting parallelism can be found between the experiential modes of tourism and performance, in that every performative display is an attempt to experience a break from the norm, a shift from everyday life. Ingjerd Hoëm explains that the act of performance

allows for a perspective different than the everyday to emerge. In the process, something familiar becomes, at least for a while, something strange. In this way, one or more aspects of the cultural setting of which the play is a part, is objectified. (Hoëm 2000: 248)

Looking for toothpaste, buying bread, and finding a way to the market can all become strange and performative acts, both on stage as a performer and as a stumbling tourist. In the first sense, an actor can highlight the absurdly mundane of everyday life in order to add value to its meaning as something not simply

given, but as the fabric of our culturally situated lives. In the same way, tourists create for themselves a play about 'the Other,' in which they are the star character, able to find hilarity at the inability to perform even the most common tasks of everyday life in their new cultural setting. Every interaction with locals may be examined and reexamined by a cultural tourist to find meaning in the differences between home and away. It can be said then, that just as cultural performances serve to "punctuate people's lives with moments of significance," and to "receive intensified or heightened acknowledgement of the self of everyday life," cultural tourism serves to accomplish the same work socially (Stoeltje and Bauman 1988:590).

Another goal of the performing tourists is to gain new understanding by seeing themselves in a new way through their cultural encounters. With each performance, student ceilidhs provide a unique stage to experience a cultural realism where they become embedded in the meaning they themselves create. Students attending the cultural arts camps in Cape Breton seek to experience in person a community they can only imagine through their contact via the internet, television, radio, recordings, and the rare touring recording artist. In the documentary, *Celtic Tides*, Natalie MacMaster explains that people *from away* must come in person to Cape Breton in order to understand the reality of the local culture:

People who did not grow up with the culture cannot understand that as well, they need to be hit with it in the face. (Putumayo 1998)

Performing tourists are seeking to experience both a product of what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls “tourist realism” and to reinvent themselves as a new being, a ‘born-again’ fiddler, singer, piper, or dancer (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994). In this way, the reality of their experience is a reflexive double-mapping of the expectations held by both visiting musicians and the locals involved in seasonal service industries, to include the instructors of the cultural arts camps. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explains; “immersed in an experiential situation, tourists actively engage the site and those in it. The virtual world that they are experiencing ‘pushes back’” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:449). Even if the cultural reality both MacMaster and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describe is a valid force to be reckoned with, the cultural arts camps on Cape Breton Island provide a partial and temporary refuge from unwanted exchanges with the outlying community. Specifically, students can seek the company of fellow students in late night jam sessions where performance standards are calibrated to student levels, rather than travel to a local pub like Rollie’s on the Wharf where they could be put on the spot to start a tune in front of their favorite recording artist. To their credit, the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts provides an enclavic site that provides locals with sustainable cultural work and yet the privacy to maintain clandestine traditions apart from the schools’ touristic interactions. The enclavic space of the campus, in turn, cocoons a community of travelers seeking to experience a change in cultural scenery, experience life as a musical performer, and reclaim a newfound identity for themselves through the eyes of their audience, their community of practice away from home.

Even outside the campus of the Gaelic College, ‘tourist realism’ is an experiential shadow, which precedes them to every destination and follows them home from every event. Students who are looking for “the real Cape Breton” during their week-long stay drive hours down dirt and gravel roads, looking for the local dance hall where the *real music happens*. The fact that they are guided by locals back to the hall when they get lost, guided around the dance floor by patient old-timers because they are unfamiliar with that hall’s square sets (Borggreen 2002), and are able to socialize there with other campers until the wee hours of the morning, all suggests that even the *most real* music events are encased in a protective shell of accepted tourist protocol. At the heart of this tourist realism is a projection of each visitor’s desire to experience a needed change in his/her own life. A particular motif that maps the personal experience of family separation onto the transnational migration of Scottish highlanders to Cape Breton during the Highland Clearances of 1820 is expressed here by one camper:

Cape Breton music, for me, is the opposite of oppression, it’s really the essence of diversity or sovereignty, and one of the things I’ve noticed that I just love about the music is that there is no one way to play the fiddle or the bodhran, there is no one way to play a tune, and there is no one way to do any of it. So if there’s fifty people, there’s fifty different ways of doing it, and it’s encouraged. And I think that that kind of sovereignty is so healing for most of us. Even the most perfect families have oppressed certain natures and personalities because we’re misunderstood, and I was one of those personalities that was misunderstood. So I find myself... there’s a huge part of who I am has found a place to express itself in Cape Breton style music. And it’s the Celtic roots, and it’s also the essence of why the highlander’s left Scotland because of the oppression and they found a place where they could be free, where

they could express their thoughts and their spirituality and their joy, and the way that they celebrate life. (Focus Group 2004)

This perspective has its counterpoint in Cape Breton's local community, where the "Inverness Style," traditional instrumentation, and performance practices are hotly debated and often times intensely scrutinized. While it's true that public music competitions (especially fiddle competitions) are discouraged, the tightly-knit local music community maintains its traditions through a social network of local tradition-bearers, whose praises and censures carry a great deal of authority and tend to influence the performance practices of the younger generation (Thompson 2003). Simply put, what is fair game for tourists is not necessarily acceptable for locals when it comes to playing fiddle tunes. Campers are often encouraged to share their musical talents from their homeland, and everything from bluegrass to rap can be heard in the dormitory on the Gaelic College campus; this encouraged musical diversity is part of the transnational experience campers are seeking to experience. In addition to looking for the most 'authentic,' raw, or behind-the-scenes aesthetics found in Cape Breton, campers also value learning new performance practices at Cape Breton's arts schools particularly because they are given the space to perform their own styles as well.

Performance is the mode of human experience which fully incorporates tourist realism and experienced changes in identity through self-reflection. In effect, performance constructs a symbolic reality "by socially constructing a situation in which the participants experience symbolic meanings as part of the process of what they are already doing" (Schieffelin 1985:709). Performing tourists are involved in the process of rendering new exchanges with their host

community meaningful by assuming the role of a Celt who has found her way home. This new Celt takes on the burden of learning her ancestor's language, traditional arts, and music, so that she can weave herself into the ancient story of the Scottish tartan. Throughout their week of being immersed in Cape Breton culture, a student's performance reality is enhanced through sustained group participation, where a type of synergy is developed among the group—as students take the stage in ceilidh performances, “theater becomes reality: the characters are not on the stage, they are out in the world.” (Schieffelin 1985:715, 719). Whatever preparations have gone into rehearsing up to this point are less important than actually stepping into the role as a performer, thereby assuming the responsibility to act in culturally appropriate ways (Bauman and Ritch 1992). These ‘culturally appropriate ways’ amount to a student ceilidh aesthetic that is neither local Cape Breton's, nor simply an expression of each camper's cultural homeland; the staging of student ceilidh performances embodies their experiences of transnationalism and allegorical life experiences of hardship and exile dug out of the rich Celtic music traditions in which Cape Breton is situated.

Two Traditional Arts Schools

The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts (St. Ann's) and the Ceilidh Trail School of Music (Inverness) provide two contrasting cultural arts camps on Cape Breton Island. Although each school maintains somewhat differing philosophies on everything from teaching methods to performance practices, the one element they agree on is the necessity of cultural immersion for campers. In

order for students to understand the culture of Cape Breton, they must *experience* it ‘first hand’ through an interdisciplinary approach. Focusing on the concept of cultural immersion, both camp organizers promote a holistic understanding of the Scots-Gaelic traditions in Cape Breton through classroom instruction, elective courses, and group outings (Garrison 1985). As if the reality of Cape Breton’s ethnic, generational, and economic diversity were moot, the camps provide an experiential world geared towards Natalie MacMaster, Glencoe dance halls, and ghosts of ancient Scotsmen wandering the hallowed campus grounds. Tourists camping at the Ben Eoine campgrounds 20 minutes from the Gaelic College listening to country-western and hard rock as they set up their tents are, for the most part, utterly oblivious to the land of tartans being experienced by their musical counterparts down the road.

The Gaelic College has two weeks specifically dedicated to an immersion experience. “Roots Week” allows students the opportunity to challenge their linguistic prowess by speaking only in Gaelic for the entire week. During Irish week (Traidisiúinta Na hÉireann, Traditions of Ireland) faculty from Willie Clancy Summer School in Ireland are invited to lecture and perform, ending each day with a ‘pub session’ where students can buy a pint, listen to some good tunes, and sit in on a set towards the end of the night (aka ‘the wee morning hours’). In the remaining weeks, the immersion concept remains a constant thread throughout the curriculum. Students are taught from 9am to 3pm in five periods. In addition to a primary focus, students may take electives in weaving, step-dancing, Highland dancing, piano accompaniment, Gaelic song, Gaelic language, harp,

bagpiping, and pipe band. While the Gaelic College brochure encourages students to limit their electives to no more than two, the ability to perform on multiple instruments, step-dance, and sing in Gaelic is highly praised. This Gaelic polymath ideal is a reflection of Cape Breton's local music community, especially in the case of fiddling, dancing, and Gaelic-speaking. Many local Cape Bretoners hold to the belief that a fiddler's tempo and rhythm will be improved by learning to step-dance (Garrison 1985). A second belief is that many of the older Gaelic-speaking fiddlers play with unique lilting style, where they are said to have "Gaelic in the fiddle" (Dunn 1991). From local rhetoric to interdisciplinary instruction, the Renaissance-man/woman is an experiential ideal camp directors promote for students.

The Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music takes a different approach to music instruction. Where the Gaelic College caters to older students during the "Adult Sessions," by primarily teaching fiddle through printed sheet music, the Ceilidh Trail School sustains the immersion value through primarily aural instruction. One reason for this is necessitated by the school facility itself; the small classrooms of the former primary school house hold no more than twenty or so students, who line the walls in a large circle around the instructor—there simply is very little room for music stands in the crowded rooms.⁴ Spatial limitations aside, instructors at the Ceilidh Trail School ascribe to aural teaching methods in order to capture both the tune structure and the ornamentation during the transmission process. After most teaching periods, students are supplied with sheet music as a reference tool, as a way to recall the day's instruction as students

practice in the evenings in preparation for the next day. In Figure 4, three students



4. *Three students rehearsing together.*

are listening to a tape recording of the prior day's lesson and then helping each other find the notes they were not able to pick up by ear the day before.

Immersion-style

teaching is challenging to students who have strong classical backgrounds and are used to sight-reading music rather than learning tunes by ear. Where at the Gaelic College, classically-trained musicians are aided by sheet music during instruction, students at the Ceilidh Trail School are strongly encouraged to learn as much as possible by ear before they are given sheet music.⁵ This is possible at the Ceilidh Trail school because many of the students who attend are advanced folk musicians, many under the age of 18, who are accustomed to learning tunes by ear from recordings of their favorite fiddlers. The technologically-literate students at the Ceilidh Trail School often record instructor's lessons on MP3 players, mini-disc recorders, or digital voice recorders. These digital recording methods allow musicians to slow tunes down while keeping the pitch constant, making ornamentation and style aurally more accessible. Because recording instructors at the Ceilidh Trail has become so common place and the caliber of the instructors are consistently international recording artists, proprietor Janine Randal must ask

students not to record faculty performance sessions to avoid unauthorized performance reproductions.

Both schools encourage students to travel to local dances held nightly around the island during the summer because they offer a high ‘immersion value’ that cannot be offered within the schools’ campuses. The dance halls are the ideal local social gathering for campers to experience the interdependent performance skills of fiddle, piano, and dance. Students venture out to dances held from 10 pm to 2 am in halls that may be more than an hour’s drive away and accessible only by long, winding gravel roads. The drive to the Glencoe Hall is famously difficult to manage without making a wrong turn or second-guessing the disconcerting length of the drive through dark forests and rough logging loads. For this reason, many students travel together to the dances, and are guided along their drive by considerate locals watching for red tail lights wandering off in the wrong direction. The Glencoe and West Mabou halls are able to graciously absorb a great number of tourists during the summer months because experienced local dancers have learned the art of the ‘gentle nudge’ and point inexperienced out-of-towners in the right direction during the square sets. This behavior does not continue during the winter months, where the dances take on an expertly organized flow of figures and sets—here, instead of a gentle nudge from your partner, a well-merited joke at your expense is meant to direct your attention to the correct dance sequence (Jorggreen 2002).

Participating in local milling frolics is also encouraged as an immersion experience, because the relationship between work, song, and language are

foregrounded in performance. The century-old tradition of the milling frolic arose as a social gathering where newly-woven cloth was preshrunk by beating the fabric, first soaked in sheep's urine, on a specialized table to the rhythm of a Gaelic song. This work was captured on film as early as 1940 by Laura Boulton in the documentary *New Scotland*, where both men and women gathered around the milling table sang Gaelic songs to the steady rhythm of beating cloth. Although the need to pre-treat woven cloth in this manner is now outdated, milling frolics are still held as a modern expression of the former gatherings as a way to remember and perform together the large repertoire of songs (Sparling 1999). While milling frolics are an important part of the Cape Breton musical heritage, they are less frequently held out in the community at social halls than are dances. For that reason, Hector MacNeil frequently organizes milling frolics at the Gaelic College in order to draw members of the local community into the college for the evening. The evening of song and stories in the Great Hall becomes an important venue for students to perform along side community members.

The value of the immersion experience to campers is revealed through the storytelling that takes place the following morning. Key phrases revolving around sense of time, ease of participation, and degree of self-consciousness set these formulaic stories apart from the usual, 'what did you do last night?' conversations over breakfast. Stories about their exchanges with local musicians outside the school campus are highly valued by campers as a way of rating their immersion experience: tales of getting lost on the way home, going to bed after 3 am, dancing all four hours of square sets, being shepherded by locals to a spare seat

next to Buddy MacMaster, and even gathering up the courage to take a turn step-dancing solo during the strathspey set. These stories flutter about the camp through the day—by suppertime, they are legendary.

The ‘immersion experience’ is best achieved when campers work together to carpool to local dances, share stories about their musical escapades during the year, and recount epic performances by the previous year’s faculty; in essence, they become a network of knowledge-sharing about being local, being Scottish/Irish/Celtic, and being a performer. For campers, the path to the Cape Breton music is paved with the experiences of old-timer campers—a reality that organizers count on in order to provide students with a ‘full immersion’ experience. What is being accomplished through students learning and leasuring together is a localized community of practice, where members add value to each other’s prior experiences of travel, performance, and family through storytelling, apprenticeship, and performance.

Three Student Ceilidh Performances

Although student ceilidh (pronounced *kay-lee*) performances tend to be widely varied in performance practices, one common denominator among solo performances was the storytelling performers used to introduce themselves to the audience. I found that returning students were already familiar with student ceilidh expectations and many had in mind what they would perform prior to arrival, and were prepared to address their audience with a personal quip or story.

Performers in other staged settings often introduce the pieces they are going to play, but the stories told at student ceildh performances are especially artful in connecting their life experiences, travels, and point of view with the camp experience being shared in the present with their fellow campers. These pre-performance narratives can be thought of as *framing narratives*, a way of imbuing their displays with meaning beyond mere musical execution by introducing their performance as having a special or important meaning. Framing narratives allow students to tell the audience what they are responsible for; in terms of Bauman's 'communicative competence,' framing narratives are a way of informing the audience of *whose* performance practices they are in fact claiming responsibility and to *which* set of expectations they are responding (Bauman 1977:11). Three types of framing narratives most often presented in student ceildhs include joking, emoting, and instructing.

A qualification is needed between the staged student ceildh performances and local kitchen ceildhs, which are markedly different informal gatherings held around the island during the tourist off-season (See also MacDonald 1988, Doherty 1996, MacInnes 1998, Dunlay 2000). More informal gatherings, also known as "kitchen rackets," differ from student ceildh performances at traditional arts schools in several ways. Traditional ceildhs are most likely to be held in private homes, and attendance is by invitation only. Deciding who ought to be invited reveals a certain deftness of the hostess in drawing together synergistic group dynamics, which in turn inspires spontaneous, relatively impromptu performances throughout the night. 'Student ceildhs,' in the sense to

be described here, are routinized performances with a planned order of performers and repertoire, where students take organized turns performing one song, tune set, or dance, which elicits applause upon completion. Gaelic College student Robert Woodley clarifies how student ceilidhs at traditional arts schools differ from the more informal type:

People perform the music they've learned, but I wouldn't count that as a ceilidh but a performance. There are set pieces and people know what they're going to do, they're prepared for it, and they are formally introduced to do that piece. In the very regional ceilidhs they don't know what's going to be performed. They'll just get up and do something. The tradition at ceilidhs is to let things happen. (Woodley 2004)

Robert explains that informal home ceilidhs provide an almost daredevil atmosphere, where each performance is a challenge to inspire virtuosic displays in performances by other attendees. Student ceilidhs, however, must rely on students to contextualize their less-than-perfect performances. Robert describes what he perceives to be the sterilization of student ceilidh performances held at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts:

...the Tuesday night ceilidh is very much...people are often apologizing for doing something, not wanting to push themselves forward, and there's no catalyst there, there's no spark. I think that's what's missing. I think at home people are generally more modest about what they do, even though they might be brilliant and they're willing to push themselves forward and they really take it one step further. (Woodley 2004)

The limitations of the student ceilidh yields intriguing results in the way performances are introduced by student performers. Because many students are unfamiliar with many of the forms, genres, repertoires, and instruments performed

by other students at the college, ceildh performers are often aware of the audience's lack of cultural grounding and therefore know to deliver some sort explanatory introduction. Also, it is assumed students are attending the school to learn how to perform instrumental repertoire, dance, or Gaelic song, thus the *expectation* for a highly skilled performance is absent, even while some students are able to perform to professional standards. The corollary of amateur performers and transnational attendees leads to the discursive development of a type of storytelling that precedes musical performances. I have chosen to describe several



5. Robert Woodley and his accordion-bagpipe.

particularly artful performances here in order to paint a three-dimensional representation of the depth and color displayed by the performers who

attend the Gaelic College. The common denominator among these three very different performances is the ‘story before the story’—the narrative framing of the performance through a referential story that connects the past with the present—which bundles together significant prior life experiences with the significance-making of the ensuing performance.

Joking narratives use humor as a means to achieving a type of social contract with the audience (Bauman 1977). In Figure 5, Gaelic College student

Robert has rigged his accordion with a set of three recorders in order to visually imitate the bagpipes. In this framing narrative, Robert joked that he was attempting to modify his instrument in order to achieve a higher degree of accordion-legitimacy at the Gaelic College. Robert playfully argued that where he comes from in Wales, the accordion is regarded as highly as the bagpipes are in Cape Breton, subtly implying that the accordion could be considered more seriously as an instructional instrument in the future at the Gaelic College. Through his joking, Robert situated himself as an experienced performer from Wales in addition to being a beginning fiddle student at the Gaelic College. Taking responsibility for his performance as a seasoned squeeze-box player told a directed story to his fellow classmates of a depth of life experiences and musicianship beyond the struggling fiddler he might otherwise appear to be.

Another framing narrative genre that emerged was intended to connect with the audience through sorrowful or overwhelming emotions. In these types of framing narratives, the objective may be to relate a personal story of struggle and triumph over adversity to the hardships Scottish and Irish immigrants faced as they relocated to Cape Breton Island. In one notable performance, student performer Launa



6. Highland Dancer.

recounted her journey as a musician that brought her to Cape Breton (Figure 6). Building one life experience upon another, her storytelling led to an emotional

climax of recently finding her maiden name to be a Scottish clan name, ultimately underscoring her claims to Celtic roots and identity as a performer. Her tears were perhaps not meant to affect sympathy from the audience as much as they were a way of revealing to the audience the level of responsibility she has assumed in performing Scottish music through her self-discovery as a tradition-bearer. After her framing narrative, she performed a well-rehearsed Scottish Highland dance, reiterating her newfound Scottish roots and responsibility to communicate Scottish traditions in ‘the traditional way.’

A final example of framing narratives which emerged at student ceilidhs can be called instructional, because they are directed at informing the audience of important but little-known facts about the history and/or traditions of Cape Breton, Scotland, or ‘the Celt’ in general. This sort of framing narrative places the performer in the privileged position of being a specialist; he is able to play both the role of teacher and performer, researcher and entertainer. Instructional framing also lends validity to the performer’s right to perform traditional repertoires. Becoming an expert on a particular genre of song or knowing the history of a rare tune endows the performer with the authority (Bauman 2001c) to undertake the responsibility of performance, even in the absence of more direct ties to the tradition through nationality or genealogy:

Strict replication of the source utterance by the mediator minimizes the intertextual gap between the source utterance and the target utterance, thus enacting the authorization of the former in the strongest possible terms. (Bauman 2001c:111)

Instructional framing can position the performer as a go-between, a person having knowledge of important cultural sites or historical events that can bring these intangible artifacts back to life through performance for their invested audience members. Often times this is an effective tool for musicians who have come to be performers of Celtic music for no other reason than finding a strong connection through purchased recordings, distant overseas relatives, or summer vacations abroad in Cape Breton, Scotland, or Ireland.

In rare skillful displays, performers are able to both instruct and also reconcile the political climates in which traditional tunes or songs have emerged with contemporary issues, including language obsolescence and warfare. In one particular performance, a highly-trained Gaelic speaker from Alaska was able to effectively connect the past to the present by explaining a traditional Gaelic song verse by verse. The song he chose dealt with a young soldier writing his fiancée from the trenches during warfare. Before singing the song, ceilidh performer Chuck was able to explain each verse first in Gaelic and then in English before singing the entire song in Gaelic. Despite his disclaimers of vocal inadequacy, Chuck was a highly-proficient Gaelic speaker and teacher. Although having Scottish ancestry plays a supporting role in his authority to sing for his peers, Chuck's adept skill at teaching provided him with far greater authority as a performer than ancestry alone. His choice in songs was no coincidence; relating to the audience an emotional story of war-torn lovers was also intended to provide reflection on the US-Iraq conflict, particularly the personal sacrifices men and women have made during times of war, both on the past and present. In turn,

Chuck's performance was also an effective personal reconciliation between his brother's long-term sacrifices in the US Army and the polarized political climate surrounding support for the US-Iraqi conflict.

The framing narrative is an important part of each student's experience of community. As a performer, the act of connecting with the audience is a step towards deeper membership in the community at large. Michael Jackson explains:

Regardless of what one writes or recounts, the act of telling one's story transforms one's situation. One acts instead of being acted upon. Rather than being a mere creature of fate, one connives in one's own destiny. (Jackson 1998:123)

Whether delivered through modes of joking, emoting, or instructing, framing narratives are a means for these traveling musicians to situate themselves between the context of home and away, and bond with their fellow community of traveling musicians attending the week-long institutes. Rather than explaining away their inadequacies through disclaimers, performers use framing narratives to key the appropriate response and interpretation of their performance by their listeners, and add value to their display in a constructive way (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:370).

Student Ceilidh Aesthetics

Student performers attending traditional arts camps experience a sense of transnational community through the process of sorting out what exactly makes for a good student ceilidh performance. Although they are not likely to perform solo at their first attendance, a majority of students report that learning how to perform is a primary objective of attending the school. Seasoned students, old-

timers that have attended the school several years in a row, are able to discern the



7. *Informal student jam session.*

appropriate aesthetic called for in various performance settings. Where informal ‘jamming’ may call for an attentiveness to fellow classmates in knowing when to take turns

leading tunes (Figure 7), class performances for a larger audience draws an expectation that students to direct their attention to the class instructor, who will direct the group as a whole (Figure 8).

The student ceildh aesthetic performers are most attentive to also carries the



8. *Formal student ceildh performance.*

most discursive responsibility; *solo* performances call for students to assume sole accountability in promoting a series of hierarchical decisions that reflect the traditions of the school they are attending. In other words, performing solo requires attention to the ways other ‘successful’ students have performed solo before them at the school.

One prominent goal of student ceilidhs that distinguish this mode of performance as a transnational construction is found through the privileging of emotive performance over virtuosic displays. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explains a similar aesthetic found in the Hasidic celebration of Purim in Brooklyn. She explains,

In traditions where virtuosity matters, the emphasis is upon *howness*, upon excellence within an autonomous internal system and upon mastery of execution. Where invocation is valued, the focus is on *whatness*, on investment by external power and enrichment through prayer and tribute. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1990:116)

The student ceilidh aesthetic privileges cultural knowledge and the ability to make sense of performances through framing narratives rather than virtuosic displays. Oftentimes, virtuosic displays are even met with cool reception. At student ceilidhs, it is assumed that all in attendance are not professional musicians, but operating at a beginning to intermediate skill level.

This aesthetic value became a fieldwork problem as I jammed and performed along side my informants at the Gaelic College. On one occasion after hearing me practicing in my dorm room, a fellow camper remarked to me, “Why *are* you here, exactly?” Feeling self-conscious, the camper reassured me that it was “quite obvious” I could learn all I needed off recordings because of my classical training and ability to learn by ear, and that my presence seemed out of place among beginning students. Because my role as a researcher and trained musician lay in opposition to the goal of adult campers to redeem their life experiences through a newfound self as a musical performer, my presence may

have posed a potential voyeuristic imposition to many adult students who attended the school as a means of reconstructing meaning about their lives as professionals, parents, and now, musicians. In a way, performing allowed adult students to wrestle with their decision to finally learn a folk instrument and the life events that kept them from doing so for decades.

Framing narratives effectively prime audiences towards emotive and meaningful displays. Emotional displays amplify the degree of meaning performers expect the audience to draw from the performance. The Kaluli *sa-yaleb* performances described by Steven Feld in New Guinea mirror the weeping displayed during pre-performance storytelling in that both serve

to centrally display and focus the aesthetics of emotionality, and to positively value these social articulations as organized, thoughtful expressions of personal and social identities as deeply felt. (Feld 1990:257)

Joking works similarly to weeping as an emotive display. Rather than reinforcing deeply felt identities through weeping, joking works to moderate incongruent, yet simultaneous, existing truths about the human experience (Armstrong 1971:14). One student at the Gaelic College performed, “The Way to Glencoe,” where he stood at an easel, and with butcher paper and black marker in hand, drew a farcical map to the Glencoe dance hall while he narrated. Included in his ‘road map’ were the inevitable emotional markers of frustration at missing the first turn on to the dirt road, the confusion at a glaring lack of road signs, and the fear of having gone much too far, all the while still needing to travel another twenty minutes down the rough logging road in the dead of night. His delivery was

convincing, and the audience roared with laughter because he was able to unearth simultaneous, shared truths among the campers.

Campers count trips to Glencoe as part of their necessary immersion experience, yet are dependent on others to show them the way to the dance hall. Although the idea is to experience what ‘locals’ experience, campers are not likely to access the experience on any other terms than as a camper without the help of native residents. Simply put, campers want to attend the dance without getting lost (the mark of an outsider). They also learn that getting lost is part of the ‘Glencoe experience.’ By invoking laughter among audience members, performers are able to communicate to their audience the value of acknowledging and accepting oddly juxtaposed experiences, and in the process, draw out their own conclusions about ‘life in Cape Breton.’

Framing narratives also provide students a way to conduct transnational discourse about their life experiences. Whether by joking, weeping, or instructing, a second prominent ‘student ceilidh aesthetic’ revolves around the delivery of the story-before-the-story, in a way that calls for the audience to infer meaning about personal experiences of travel, separation, and transformation. The framing narratives told at student ceilidhs don’t replay divorces, strained relationships with adult children, or belabor the hardships of caring for elderly parents, but they do tell stories of exile, return, and rediscovery through the imagery of the Gaelic Highlander, Irish immigrant, and the pagan Celt. The student ceilidh aesthetic, if there is one, contains a framing narrative that is intentionally relational in a way which plugs into shared emotions about life experiences. In a way, they are telling

a new story of the far, romanticized ethnic past, in an attempt to heal distressing emotions about the nearer, personal past. Successful performances evoke a transcendent recall of an imagined Úrtext travel narrative invocative of the Scottish Clearances, the Irish Potato Famine, and the oppression of Celtic lands under British Empire. At the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, being able to contextualize a Gaelic song in a way that maps personal experiences over the historical terrain of Scotland's Highlands is regarded as the highest delivery of performance; in this way, the frame becomes more important, more beautiful, than the picture it holds inside.

Framing narratives are rich with what John McDowell calls "commemorative utterances," in that the communicative affect of the delivery references two simultaneous experiences of time. A commemorative utterance evokes a "timeless character rooted in an imagined past but encompassing the present and readily projected into the future" (McDowell 1992:414). In referencing the past and the future together, the performer is able to achieve at least two objectives: reconstruction and transcendence. First, reconstructing meanings (and even the memories that generate meaning and emotion) can happen both in production and reception. Performers are able to rework who they believe themselves to be through the framing narrative; the story they tell can link any number of experiences of travel, separation, or reconciliation with the imagined Úrtext (the original source text) travel narrative of the wayward Celt, with the ensuing musical performance serving as corroboration. Similar to the framing narrative in this way, Richard Bauman describes a storyteller who,

through each act of telling, re-forms his sense of “social development from his youthful naiveté and need for instruction to his mature competence and his ability to teach others” (Bauman 1987:206). In terms of reception, audience members are given a chance to experience this moment of double-consciousness through listening and relating to the story itself. Donald Braid explains,

following a narrative involves an ongoing process in which the listener repeatedly tries to integrate the unfolding narrative and the dynamics of performance into a coherent and meaningful interpretation of what happened...part of this experience of following involves a re-contextualizing of the narrative imagery and events in terms of the listener’s own life experiences.
(Braid 1996:6)

Brian Sturm describes a similar type of audience reception as “Hansel and Gretel moments,” or “memories of past experiences of stories” (Sturm 2000:296). Even though audience members (mostly other campers) may not know the performer personally, the framing narrative they tell achieves relationality when it references the epic travel narrative of the Scottish Highlanders. In Sturm’s investigation of the “storylistening” trance experience, he found that

participants mentioned that when they listened to stories, they were often reminded of past experiences in their lives, and the storytelling experience became for them a combination of living story and reliving the memory. (Sturm 2000:296)

In “reliving” memories together, framing narratives create a bond between performers and their audience. In the case of student ceilidhs, each performance reifies the relationship of growing connection between campers as they ‘tell stories about themselves for themselves and others’ (Geertz 1973:448).

Framing narratives common at these arts camps provide initial evidence of a transnational community of practice, discursively constructing its own aesthetic ideas about sense-making performances. Case in point, the type of *emotional* display common at student ceilidhs is relatively uncharacteristic of other introductory tales performed by international performers, even in places where the Celtic ceilidh tradition is similarly unfamiliar.⁶ As D.L. Brenneis writes,

aesthetic and emotional experiences are defined in primarily social rather than individual terms. They are almost inevitably involve more than one actor; one can rarely conduct emotional discourse by oneself. (Brenneis 1995:3)

Not only does the framing narrative reveal a shared aesthetic among performers at traditional arts schools in Cape Breton, it locates the students as one distinct facet of the transnational Celtic music community. In this way, the student ceilidh aesthetic of reconstructed identities and transcendence is achieved discursively through the localized community of practice that develops among transnational campers through the years at the traditional arts camps in Cape Breton.

Student ceilidhs *are* community for summer campers, and performing is a way to establish a sense of belonging and ultimate meaning about their belonging. As discussed earlier, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's Hasidic Purim celebrations are a way to achieve community: "[the play] invokes and affirms the idea that the community is a large family, and is testimony to its continuity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1990:117). Although the student ceilidhs could be easily mistaken for a false, commercialized version of the more informal 'kitchen rackets,' a strong case can be made that students are as willing as camp directors to share in the

group experience of performance. The more organized, less impromptu nature of the student ceildh may be more a means of moderating between transnational perspectives, where assumptions of performance practices often crisscross, and at times, collide. New rules for performing and contextualizing must be vocalized at the schools because in many communities from which campers come, unspoken etiquette governing musical events may seem transparent and taken for granted, but are not ultimately shared by others at the camp or local Cape Breton. Having a moderator, such as a ceildh director, who will start a sign-up sheet, encourage students to participate, and announce each performer, can be a great help to this ad-hoc community of transnational musicians.

Transcendence is the ultimate goal of performers at student ceildhs—by performing, students become part of the meaning they themselves are helping to create. Framing narratives, especially, work socially to bind the community of practice together through collective sense-making. McDowell describes this type of transcendence as “the perception of heightened significance, of special meaning that is available only to privileged insiders” (McDowell 1992:417). The insiders here are the students themselves, who make it their job during their stay to remain perceptive to aesthetics, ‘ways of doing things here.’ McDowell further illustrates:

[N]arrative opacity repels the uninitiated while gathering the initiated into a revisiting of fundamental cultural values. Commemorative discourse excels in the presentation of transcendental messages, messages that reference a recondite, privileged vision of reality. (McDowell 1992:417)

A compelling phenomenon I witnessed during my many weeks of research at the Gaelic College was the similar comments first-time students (not pipers, in this case) made during the student ceilidhs. It was routine to include the marching bagpipe band in the weekly student ceilidh, and many times their delivery took place inside an acoustically vibrant hall. The overwhelming volume of dissonant drones and multiple pipers just slightly out of tune in such a small venue was often times shocking to the senses of newcomers. It was not uncommon to find newbie fiddlers, vocalists, and pianists looking around the room at other students in the audience to watch their reaction (or perhaps to find an exit), and then yell discretely into the ear of their neighbor, “When is this over?!” The fact that returning students chose to remain seated calmly watching the pipers march back and forth was a testament to their commitment to learning how to *become* part of the student community.

By invoking emotive displays, recalling the metaphorical Úrtext travel narrative of the wayward Celt, and reconstructing meanings about personal life experiences, framing narratives offer a gateway to transcendental meaning through which the music and community performers engage. The framing narrative, as commemorative discourse, “gathers into itself the affective power to alter the mood of those who listen, to transport them to a transcendental plane of enhanced meaning” (McDowell 1992:415). For student performers, experiencing a change through travel and performance becomes the vehicle by which to reach personal transformation, in a way that enriches the meaning of life itself.

Student Ceilidhs as Cultural Performances

After having investigated how tourism, performance, and immersion experiences might work together in garnering new perspectives on personal life experiences for student performers, the preparations have been made to answer the question: are tourists' performances *cultural performances*? Initially, the individual elements of production and reception can be assessed to discern the differences, if any, between student ceilidh performances and other types of cultural performances around the world. More importantly, the *type* of community where cultural performances are effectively communicative reveals the ways cultural knowledge is produced, practiced, and presented through time.

Much like theater and tourism, cultural performances are defined by the ways in which time and space are altered to achieve a break from everyday life. Milton Singer has identified several qualifications for performances to be considered 'cultural.' In his study of epic storytelling among the Smārta Brahmans in Madras, he concluded that cultural performances were unique in that they were limited in time span with a beginning and an end, and they carried out an organized program of activity with set performers for an audience in a culturally important place, commemorating a culturally important occasion (Singer 1972:71).

Student ceilidh performances at Cape Breton's traditional arts schools meet many of Singer's limitations; ceilidh performances mark out a special place and time to enact songs, melodies, and dances that are commemorative of the Scottish Gaelic people who have immigrated to Cape Breton since the early

1800s. The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Craft's campus in St. Ann's is culturally significant through having been founded by Reverend A.W. R. MacKenzie in 1938 as site of cultural preservation and instruction. The college has developed into a major tourist stop for genealogy searches and musical performances during the summer months. During the fall, the campus serves as the home base for performers and late night performances during the International Celtic Colours Festival. One particular aspect of Singer's argument that does not easily describe the student performances is the dimension of commemoration. Student ceilidhs take place weekly during the summer, rather than on significant holiday celebration, such as Bobby Burns Day (January 25) or Guy Fawkes Day (November 5).⁷ Instead, student ceilidhs are a type of commemoration in and of themselves, a way of retelling the story of Scottish exile, hardship, and relocation in Cape Breton. These qualifications aside, Milton sought to answer his own questions about the meanings communicated through cultural performances. He wanted to know "how were the cultural performances interrelated so as to constitute 'a culture?'" (Singer 1972:72) The 'culture' Singer refers to belongs to what can be called a *community of practice*, where performance is a way of belonging, sharing knowledge, and sustaining practices through time. Communities of practice have their own 'culture' in the ways they create and maintain meaning through apprenticeship and tradition.

Culture, when defined as a group who share particular values, beliefs, and attitudes rather than merely residence or ethnicity, relies on ways of doing things in order to provide continuity to those values, beliefs, and attitudes which

coalesce the community over time. The ways cultural performances ‘are done’ works socially to hold a community together, and learning and rehearsing cultural performance repertoire via apprenticeship provides performers with a holistic understanding of where the community has been and where it is going.

The production process offers such a vantage point, organized in locally grounded terms that are experientially real for the participants involved...it comprehends as well the accompanying discourse that surrounds, enables, coordinates, comments upon, and plays with the ongoing activity (Bauman and Ritch 1992:276).

Where Singer identifies *what* happens at a cultural performance, Bauman and Ritch locate *how* cultural performances work to constitute a community’s way of doing culture by examining the preparative rehearsals of the *Coloquio* in Tierra Blanca. Through observing how the community rehashes the tradition of the *coloquio* right up until the day of performance, they found that 1) performances are *artful* as the locus of aesthetic behaviors, forms, responses, and values, 2) performances are *reflexive*, where meanings and values are cast in symbolic form on display, 3) performances are *performative*, as efficacious ways of accomplishing social ends, and 4) performances are both *traditional and emergent*, shaping the community’s unfolding agendas of here and now (Bauman and Ritch 1992:255).

Student ceildh performances are ‘cultural’ in the ways they work to express common values formed through shared experiences of personal trials, international travel, and musical apprenticeship. Their performances are special experiences; talk emerging from the women’s dorms about what dress to wear and whether a pearl necklace is “too much,” reveals a sort of transparent sharing

between students preparing for a performance; even though this is only a student performance, it is an important, emotionally heightened experience. The unfolding agenda performing students work out is often a negotiation between the aesthetics of home and the school, their ideas of Cape Breton as a visitor and their place in learning to become “local.” In these terms, student ceilidhs can certainly be considered cultural performances, and the type of community they work to cultivate is a transnational community of practice. Cultural performances are contingent on a community of practice for sense-making. In order for a performance to be interpreted as cultural, it must have an audience of invested, informed, co-participants who will understand the depth of the communicative act.

Alessandro Duranti finds that the audience participates in a co-authorship with the performer: “A system of signs or what appears to as rule-governed behavior does not belong to the individual but to the community” (Duranti 1986: 239). Through his fieldwork among Samoans, Duranti concludes that meaning is a two-part invention, dependant upon both the performer’s utterances and the audience’s response to them. He explains that “meaning is collectively defined on the basis of recognized (and sometimes restated) social relationships (Duranti 1986:239, 241). A community of practice works in this way, as a collectivity of information sharing among members as to how events, vocabularies, and behaviors are successfully interpreted as contextually meaningful. In other words, what one does is less important than understanding how they do it in a community of practice; learning to interpret and reiterate correctly is the basis for belonging.

Etienne Wenger clarifies that “practice is, first and foremost, a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful” (Wenger 1998:51).

The cultural property that belongs to communities of practice goes on display in cultural performances. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett theorizes that heritage industries rely on cultural performances and other displays as a way of remembering, even when remembering “depends increasingly on virtualities” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:376). Diasporic communities, especially, are faced with a certain homelessness, and require virtual experiences of a far, distant past. The Hall of the Clans, located at the Gaelic College in St. Ann’s provides students with a virtual experience of the Highland Clearances through a lighted wall display representing how far and wide the Scottish dispersal reaches (Figure 9).



9. “The Great Dispersal” on display at the Gaelic College’s Hall of the Clans. This diagram shows the migration of Scots to other countries during the Highland Clearances, c. 1820.

Along with contextual displays, the Hall of the Clans provides in situ displays of men and women dressed in traditional attire according to Clan name and appropriate tartan. These displays line the walls of the performance hall as a virtual space for Scottish descendants, whether from Alaska, New Zealand, or North Carolina, to gather in real time to experience a new memory of the distant

past. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests; “memory requires its prosthesis, and never have they been as numerous or as inventive as in our own time” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:376).

Student ceilidhs as cultural performances are another type of mnemonic prosthesis that is created in ‘real’ time and virtual space by students as they learn from each other. Apprenticeship is the mode of learning that draws students into social relationships where meanings about shared repertoire can emerge.



10. Students teaching each other.

Figure 10 shows two students teaching each other simple tunes by repeating the tune many times slowly, allowing the other musician to learn the tune by ear. Tune sharing between students works in much the same way as framing

narratives as a means of collective remembering. As students travel from all over the world to attend the college, they form a new network of transnationally negotiated meanings about their overlapping Celtic tune repertoires. Wenger maps out the community of practice as a mutual engagement in a joint enterprise through a shared repertoire (Wenger 1998:71). Following suit, students attending Cape Breton’s cultural schools are mutually engaged in the joint enterprise of learning about Cape Breton, Scottish, and Irish music and arts. Their ‘shared repertoire’ reveals the transnational dimension of the student’s community in that

a vast majority students arrive with some understanding of Celtic traditions and are able to find common ground in the shared repertoire of Celtic songs, tunes, and dances.

The mere fact that the authenticity of student performances come into question affirms their role as an instrument of cultural production. Representing *authentic* tradition at a cost, cultural performances for tourists objectify the very human aspect of community which they are meant to embody, because the process of preparing and producing the performance must often be hidden as a certification of reality. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett theorizes that in heritage industries, “these are illusions with a price,” because they “are cultural forms in their own right and powerful engines of meaning” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 375). The student ceildh provides a degree of transparency to the process of learning to perform the ‘correct way’ which is hidden in other displays for tourists on the island. Tourist performers get to watch each other learn to perform with a notable lack of preconceived notions about *real* Cape Breton music, *authentic* performance practices, and *genuine* Celtic-ness. On stage together, students begin to see themselves and others as part of a larger community, where individuals are proceeding at different trajectories into a deeper membership within the Celtic music community.

Legitimate Peripheral Participation

Interpreting student ceilidh performances as artful, reflexive, traditional and emergent, requires answering the question posed by Bauman and Ritch: “if performances are all that resonant with artfulness, meaning, value, and efficacy, and so on, how do they get that way?” (Bauman and Ritch 1992: 256). Lave and Wenger answer this question in explaining that any given community bound by practice depends on a kind of apprenticeship, which they call “legitimate peripheral participation,” where learning to become part of the community enables increasingly perceptive interpretations of communicative acts (Lave and Wenger 1991). This type of learning is the foundational underpinning of the immersion experience with which traditional arts schools in Cape Breton seek to provide students. In addition, this type of holistic, experiential learning involves personal transformation through performing for their peers:

As an aspect of social practice, learning involves the whole person; it implies not only a relation to specific activities, but a relation to social communities—it implies becoming a full participant, a member, a kind of person...Learning thus implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations. To ignore this aspect of learning is to overlook the fact that learning involves the construction of identities. (Lave and Wenger 1991:53)

Student ceilidhs are type of cultural performance belonging exclusively to the students, rather than Cape Breton or their home communities during the year.

For a few weeks during the summer, they become a community whose members

share knowledge and establish new identities through performing for each other. Whether it is the framing narrative or the aesthetics of musical delivery that individuals become attuned to, their displays are meant for this transnational community of musicians who have in gathered in Cape Breton to learn together.

The emergence of a transnational community of practice on campus endows students with a type of legitimacy they would not otherwise be afforded. Jean Lave explains that in order for newcomers to become invested in a community of practice, they must be able to see themselves as becoming part of that community with increasing success: “newcomers must be granted enough legitimacy to be treated as potential members” (Lave 1998:101). Student interviews reveal a desire to learn as much or more from each other as from local Cape Bretoners about what is ‘going on’ in places where Celtic music is happening around the world. The traditional arts campus provides space for students to engage in a transitory community invested in understanding Celtic culture on a broader scale than Cape Breton alone, and student ceilidhs are one stage where its transnational discourse is played out. The nature of learning through participation provides students with peripheral exposure to an already on-going practice. Lave explains;

Peripherality provides an approximation of full participation that gives exposure to actual practice. It can be achieved in various ways, including lessened intensity, lessened risk, special assistance, lessened cost of error, close supervision, or lessened production pressures. (Lave 1998:100)

The traditional arts school campus fosters direction, an appropriate degree of insulation, and needed performance time in a way that lets newcomer students

experience “how the community operates” (Lave 1998:100). Student ceilidhs make authentic experiences available for students by creating a community of practice on site.

Dean MacCannell applies Goffman’s dramaturgical metaphor to cultural productions for tourists in his chapter titled, “Staged Authenticity.” He suggests that tourists’ experiences are inherently inauthentic because host communities keep ‘real’ traditions hidden from seasonal visitors. MacCannell maps the proxemic labels “false fronts” or “false back regions” onto productions for tourists indicating the degree to which tourists are seeing a mere representation of culture or the ‘real’ culture that exists behind closed doors (MacCannell 1976:95-99). MacCannell’s metaphor provides an explanation for the “misreading” of signs that occurs at points of contact between tourists and locals, but simultaneously assumes that any cultural production for tourists is only a representation of culture rather than the culture itself; in other words, tourist productions are inherently inauthentic and genuine cultural phenomenon remain hidden behind closed doors. By creating a learning community, with its own set of cultural values and practices, student ceilidh performances allow students to remain authentic in relationship to each other. Many students expressed an awareness of social boundaries between public and private practices among the local Cape Breton community, and were not interested in intruding by trying to perform at clandestine kitchen rackets or other undisclosed events. By learning from each other on campus, students are able to share their musical and life

experiences free from fear of overstepping their appropriate tourist role with the tightly-knit local Cape Breton community.

Even though the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music appear on the outside as educational institutions, the performative work that goes on there by the students is more accurately an *apprenticing of community*. Students are able to practice being part of the community without taking on the full responsibility of an insider, which comes with much higher performance expectations and repertoire proficiency. Nancy MacLean explains that the degree of risk comes from the audience's expectations, which are quite high in kitchen rackets where everyone in attendance may be expert performers themselves:

I think in a kitchen party in Cape Breton there would be more pressure because people know the music so well and each musician knows the music and you're saying, 'oh what are we going to hear now' and that sort of thing. (MacLean 2004)

Instead of risking embarrassment or offense, students at the schools work hard to apprentice both the local Cape Breton community and the wider transnational Celtic music community by practicing performing for each other. In several cases, students were instructed by their private teachers to attend traditional arts schools in order to gain further legitimacy into the Celtic music community. Solveig Overby recounts,

I attended a workshop on Scottish Concertina (1995) taught by Norman Chambers from Scotland. He was teaching at a pipe school in Vermont with Hamish Moore, pipe maker and player, also from Scotland. Hamish told me that I should study step-dance if I intended to play Scottish music correctly. He told me to attend

the Gaelic College in St. Ann, Cape Breton. I located the school and started coming up every summer since 1995 or 1996. I've expanded from the study of just step-dance to the piano and Gaelic language. I'm now a volunteer assisting Doug Webster (who started the Gaelic Foundation of America in Vermont) and the Gaelic College to offer their instruction program in Vermont this August. The goal is to expand the opportunities for students to learn this material, even if they can't manage to get to Cape Breton. (Overby 2004)

Overby's process of entry into the Celtic music community reveals how traveling becomes a requisite in the process of apprenticing a transnational community of practice. Ulf Hannerz describes this going away and coming home with the Nigerian slang term, "beento," where going away for cultural enrichment and then returning home as a new specialist bridges the gap between home and away, while also adding value to the traveler's home community. In describing a Nigerian who had traveled to England and then returned home,

During the sojourn abroad, the beento had acquired an advanced education, and so he (for there were rather fewer she beentos) could claim a privileged position in an expanding, at least in part conspicuously meritocratic, national social structure. But hardly less important for the definition of the beento as a social type was the general sophistication which he had acquired abroad, a *savoir-faire* with regard to the way of life of the metropolis, and an intimate appreciation of its finer points. (Hannerz 1992:228-9)

Today, musicians who are serious about becoming Celtic musicians must engage in more than their local communities in order to gain a sense of the breadth and depth of the transnational community. Schools like the Gaelic College and the Ceilidh Trail offer a temporary hub of meeting, learning, and collaborating with other members of the community from away. Attendance at the school becomes

both a powerful legitimizing force as they return home as a “beento,” but also provides a legitimate place among local Cape Bretoners during the summer.

Student ceilidhs allow students the social space to test the communal waters without threat of immediate excommunication. When students leave the safety of their home communities where many are in some type of Celtic performing group or play regularly in public Irish sessions, they also leave behind their private teachers, their “masters” with whom they apprentice, in order to find an authorized place in the transnational Celtic community. The student ceilidh stage provides a contact site where mistakes aren’t as socially damaging:

Granting the newcomers legitimacy is important because they are likely to come short of what the community regards as competent engagement. Only with enough legitimacy can all their inevitable stumblings and violations become opportunities for learning rather than cause for dismissal, neglect, or exclusion. (Wenger 1998:101)

Sloppy performances, inappropriate storytelling, or visible intoxication at a behind-the-scenes kitchen racket may get you labeled a drunk or a has-been, but at the Gaelic College, students experience a much greater margin for error. Students are able to perform their favorite set, try to “get the nerves out,” and

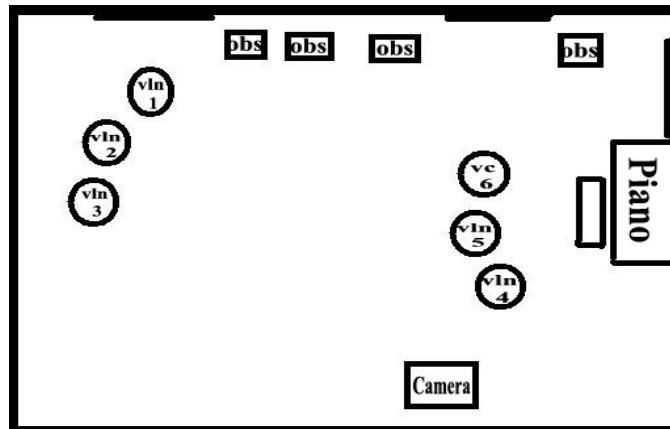


participate as a part of the campus community. What is performed and how well it is executed is much less important when students return home than the mere fact that they *did*

11. Afternoon student jam session.

perform, they met other musicians, and they experienced a new way of being ‘in the world’ of Celtic musicians.

Some examples of this type of peripheral learning are played out proxemically. Proxerality is not only a theoretical social dynamic, but also a social contract played out in a very visual way. During my fieldwork, I repeatedly encountered visual peripheries where session playing took place. Figure 11 was taken at the Ceilidh Trail School in 2003 of a typical afternoon “jam” session.



12. Diagram of jam session proxemics.

The proper etiquette for a school jam session is rather loosely defined, but simply requires that a few people gather around the piano to start tunes. As soon as the music begins, others may pull up a chair and join

in—the trick is to know when to pull up a chair and where to put it without hindering the session already underway. An interesting formation developed during this particular session, where the more experienced players joined in closely around the piano, and then a second row of performers set themselves up along the outer wall. As I watched the session unfold, I was surprised to see that no one ventured to fill the space up in between the front and back rows. Figure 12 shows an aerial view depicting the front row (violins 4, 5, and cello 6) and the

back row (violins 1, 2, and 3). This might have been simply considered an oddity or outlier as far as session configurations, but I encountered strikingly similar formations at two other sessions, one in Ottawa, Ontario, and the other in North Sydney, Nova Scotia. The common denominator among all three of these sessions was the presence of newcomers. At the Ceilidh Trail School, these back row students were able to play along with the more experienced players without fear of being heard by the session players up front. What is sometimes referred to as “noodling,” advanced beginners learn tunes during a session by playing along quietly, searching for certain pitches as the tune cycles around. This same configuration played out both at Rasputin’s Folk Café in Ottawa and Rollies on the Wharf in North Sydney. Beginners wanting to participate quietly by “noodling” along sat in a peripheral circle around the core players, which at times required sitting in rather awkward positions around the room. The unifying factor among the peripheral players was a desire to stick together as peripheral players, and remain out of earshot of the core players. In this way, the spacial configuration becomes a type of social contract between the old-timers and the newcomers that respects the degree of responsibility core members carry in the session to play together, considering carefully tempo, repertoire, tune settings, and overall style. The peripheral circle at these sessions mirrors the social dynamics of the community on a larger scale in that 1) beginners can experience the practice in full swing without fear of failure, 2) they can discretely help each other learn, and 3) beginners can work at their level or pace where core members can observe their progress and encourage them into deeper modes of participation.

When all is said and done, *whose community are tourist performers really apprenticing?* It is not over simplistic to answer it is *the community which they encounter*, the transnational community they have traveled to meet in Cape Breton. Celtic musicians travel to the island to experience a reality that can only be otherwise objectified, frozen in the one-way dialogue with the self. In essence the transnational community of musicians remains a mirage until one travels to meet it. Husserl explains,

As I communicate to my companions my earlier lived experiences and they become aware of how much these conflict with their world, constituted intersubjectively and continuously exhibited by means of a harmonious exchange of experiences, then I become for them an interesting pathological Object, and they call my actuality, so beautifully manifest to me, the hallucination of someone who up until this point in time has been mentally ill. (Husserl 1998:170)

Each tourist performer leaves their time in Cape Breton headed in different trajectories. To say that they all move on to become part of one homogenous musical faction undermines the constellation of local, regional, and national dialects constantly negotiated in this transnational community. The goal is not where an individual trajectory is headed, but that their participation in the practice takes them further toward the memberships which they seek. As apprentices, they are able to gradually take on more responsibility as they become more invested, more experienced, and more socialized into their apprenticed skill.

The Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music provide the peripherality and the legitimacy needed to make participation possible for traveling performers (Wenger 1998:100). Talented students have gone on to performing at the faculty ceilidh, as Libby Cochrane

did in 2003, or might be featured on the school's recordings, as was the case for Janine Randal's production of the Ceilidh Trail School's music sampler CD. The Gaelic College on occasion has invited former students to return as teachers, including Lisa Gallant of Slainte Mhath, or host weeks of instruction in their home communities, as in the case of Solveig Overby. Performing tourists looking to experience performing are on track to learn to become both part of the local Cape Breton community and the transnational community of Celtic musicians that cross the island's cultural highways. In the process, they end up fostering their own sense of transnational community that mediates and negotiates their understanding of what is locally Cape Breton and what is globally Celtic.

Notes

¹ I attended the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts (St. Ann's, Nova Scotia and B, Vermont) from 6/2003 to 7/2005, the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music (Inverness, Nova Scotia) from 7/2003 to 7/2004, and workshops held by the International Celtic Colours Festival 10/2005.

² Stanton describes the living museum villages at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Laie, Oahu (Hawaii), where tourists are encouraged to learn cultural activities, such as “husking a coconut, learning to use a certain percussion instrument, involvement in a game of skill, or performing a dance...” (Stanton 1989:255). Also, Nuñez describes the benefits of applying Erving Goffman's dramaturgical perspective to tourist studies; “Tourists and more often their hosts are almost always *on stage* when they meet in face-to-face encounters. They have prepared for their performances backstage...” (Nuñez 1989:271). In a similar way, MacCannell applies Goffman's frame analysis in his chapter on the staging of tourist sites titled, “Staged Authenticity” (MacCannell 1999:91-107).

³ The first notion of experience that these particular travelers seek can be described by a Greek word for experience, *empeiros* (see also Latin, *calleo* and *cognosco*), meaning knowledge gained through a mutual engagement, learning by doing. The second notion of experience they seek is “a putting to the test, a trying out, or seeking out a new endeavor,” described by the Greek word, *peiraô* (also Latin, *experior*)

⁴ The school has become so popular over the past ten years that the Boston-native proprietor, Janine Randal (herself a school teacher and Cape Breton pianist) has begun plans to move the school to a larger facility with dormitory housing.

⁵ Stan Chapman is an instructor at the Gaelic College who uses a combination of sheet music and aural teaching. For smaller, advanced classes, teaching by ear is far more common at both the Gaelic College and Ceilidh Trail schools.

⁶ During the International Celtic Colours Festival on Cape Breton Island, many of the performers were chosen for their ability to introduce their ensemble and set pieces to the audience in an entertaining and personable way, including Le Vent du Nord, Phil Cunningham, and the Anna Massie Band.

⁷ Robert Burns was a beloved Scottish writer and poet who lived during the 18th century. His ballads are a popular repertoire among Cape Breton folk singers

today. Guy Fawkes was an English conspirator who lived during the sixteenth century. He is remembered in Canada for his attempt to explode the British Parliament in a protest to anti-Catholic laws. The day is celebrated in the evening with public fireworks.

4. LOST IN TRANSLATIONS

On Cape Breton Island, translation truly is an art. With so many people visiting from all over the world, and the local traditions of French Acadians, Scottish, Irish, English, and Mi'kmaq, there is a great deal of work socially that goes into communicating across cultural borders. I interviewed fiddler David Papazian (nickname "Paper") about the Thursday night sessions at a local pub called Rollie's on the Wharf to learn how newcomers from away learn how to act with so many different musical traditions happening at the same time. During the interview, I asked David what rules govern the session etiquette at Rollie's.

After answering, he redirected the question back to me:

The rules. Well, no, there's...I'd say there's an informal etiquette or whatever, I'd characterize the idea that it's probably mostly just common sense, a lot of them, you know, or polite behavior maybe, which is to say that...Were you intimidated when you first came?
(Papazian 2004)

His question helped me to remember the months leading up to my first session at Rollie's. I had been to Cape Breton two summers prior to learn fiddle tunes and to get acquainted with the different styles played on the island, and I was learning as many tunes off recordings I could get my hands on. I was listening to *The Heart of Cape Breton* and learning tunes out of Sandy MacIntyre's tutorial on Cape Breton fiddling, the Dungreen Collection, the MacQuarrie Collection, and the

Skye Collection. It had not even occurred to me that the Rollies repertoire would contain a much more eclectic mix of French Acadian, Irish, Scottish, and newly composed Cape Breton tunes, in addition to the tunes being taught at the Gaelic College and the Ceilidh Trail schools. I recounted my memories of my first session with David, recalling how many things I had learned about what Cape Breton fiddling from the music schools were quickly uprooted:

I saw you sit down at the piano; it must have been with Doug or Jean maybe, I know Jean was there. She started off, so anyway, you were the first one there, and I didn't see anyone else. I thought, "Man, this is a small session." So I came and sat right next to you, and you were so nice and introduced yourself, and I had my little minidisk and my note pad out, and you played a whole set and I didn't know one of the tunes, and then I wrote them all down so I could go back to that. You played "Finnella," and "Back of the Change House," and before I knew it, it seemed like there was a dozen fiddlers sitting to my left.

Before I knew it, I was pinned next to the piano and didn't know if I should get up or not! Brenda Stubbart came, I can't remember if it was that night or another night, we've noticed that she kind of has this habit of really wanting to hear what a new player sounds like, so she'll come and stare at you really close or lean in or sneak up behind you...and it was terrifying, so this was part of my first session, she came up and stood right in front of me and staring at me, and I had started a thing of tunes, and I was like, what am I supposed to play next, what am I suppose play next, and all that came out was "Brenda Stubbart's Reel," and she just stared at me... You don't forget those horrible moments. (Papazian 2004)

The session rules I “broke” that night were obvious to regular players and yet at the same time buried in hidden transcript of understood translations. First, the session tune repertoire at Rollies represents a unique mix of select Irish jigs and reels, Scottish marches and strathspeys, and newly composed tunes by Paul Cranford, Jerry Holland, and Brenda Stubbert. In addition, there are French Acadian tunes, “pipe” tunes, and waltzes from several different traditions. Learning Cape Breton tunes from recordings and traditional school handouts left me empty handed when it came to the ‘old standbys’ regularly played at the Rollies session. Second, the ability to pair tunes together in expected or pleasing ways is highly valued. As session leader at Rollie’s, David has unique responsibility in keeping track of who knows what and taking into consideration where they are from when he pairs tunes together, so that others can join in along with him. At that first session, my transition into “Brenda Stubbert’s Reel” was taken as a beginner’s attempt at bringing everyone in by playing an exhausted tune. Most sessions have tunes that become over-played or worn out, and regulars often relish in fresh faces that bring in clever new tunes or almost forgotten gems from ‘the old books.’ The session at Rollie’s on the Wharf is no different in this respect, and their everyday work of musical translation is an artful, socially engaging enterprise that binds its music community together.

What David describes as “common sense” is a deep and ineffable understanding of the community of musicians that makes up the Rollies session. For session players, Rollie’s on the Wharf is more a depot for traveling musicians than it is a restaurant or tourist attraction. Many of the players there, including

David, are not originally from Cape Breton. They are musicians who are either traveling through, on an extended trip to visit friends and family, or who have moved to Cape Breton to be a part of the musical community full-time. Quebec, Vancouver BC, Vermont, Edinburgh, Minnesota, Oklahoma; for such a rural community, the session at Rollies is decidedly cosmopolitan. Even the MacNeil family members (North Sydney natives) are world travelers having toured internationally for over three decades. The disparity of experiences in travel, professions, education, and age among the musicians I studied was almost too wide to justify as a unified community, but their devoted participation in musical events formed an important social unit that actively engaged in sharing knowledge and encouraging growth within the various musical performing groups on the island.

I see now that all my practicing at home was in vain. I could not have prepared for the exciting dynamics of a community hard at work, intensely devoted to stoking the fire even during the harsh winter months, to keeping friendships and music fresh after decades of playing together, and to welcoming players from away by making room for their new tunes and different playing styles. I include this story of my first night at Rollies, embarrassing as it might be in revealing my naïveté, because tripping up and trying again is where this community of practice begins. In this chapter, I will illuminate the role *translation* plays in the coalescing of a transnational music community. Two performance venues, Rollie's on the Wharf and the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs, will serve as illustrations for the ways in which the discursive work of

translation typifies this transnational music community. Specifically, I will explore how the act of translation plays a key role in maintaining social engagement in the absence of a common language, and the ways in which the history of translations adds value to the work done to maintain that social engagement over time.

Rollie's on the Wharf

Rollie's on the Wharf is a restaurant and pub that sits perched on the docks of North Sydney, ready to receive passengers from the Newfoundland



13. Session at Rollie's on the Wharf.

Ferry. At night, the brightly-lit ferry bobs up and down in the black choppy sea before making its six-hour trip back to St. John's, New Foundland. If they're not careful, students driving up from the Gaelic

College during the summer take a wrong turn and end up in line for the ferry instead of session tunes. The session at Rollie's has become a must-see tourist trap for visitors wanting to hear local music, and the flashing cameras reflecting off the windows overlooking the night bay creates an annual red carpet event for 'Rollie's regulars' in July and August. The session takes place on Thursday

evenings, and gets underway after 7 pm. The musicians form a circle around the upright piano, located in the middle of the restaurant (Figure 13). There is a lower inset dance floor to the right of the piano, and a stage for larger rock and country bands that play throughout the week. The session's primary instrumentation is piano and several fiddles, but also includes *bodhran* (pronounced 'boor-on'), a frame drum struck with a small mallet called a *tipper*, the border pipes and highland bagpipes, guitar, banjo, and concertina (a small accordion). Enough room is left in the middle of the circle for solo dancing (Figure 14). The best music making often takes place toward the later hours, as everyone arrives and finds a place to settle in for the evening.



14. Solo dancer at the Rollie's session.

The session at Rollie's sets a precedent as the first type of music event on the island modeled after the Irish session (*seisiún* in Gaelic). The house ceildh and festival performances have been the mainstay of Cape

Breton musical life, where music performance takes place in either distinctly private or public settings (MacDonald 1988). Liz Doherty explains why, up until recently, there has been no regular, informal public music gatherings held in Cape Breton to the degree there are in Ireland:

The lack of suitable venues, the existence of a Musicians Union which restricts spontaneous public performance, and the preference for individual playing, combine to create an environment that is not conducive to such an event. (Doherty 1994:3)

There are some venues, however, on the island that have been receptive to hosting informal music gatherings. The Doryman in Cheticamp, the Bras d'Or Lakes Inn in St. Peters, and Bunkers in Sydney have all at one time held what Doherty calls "mini-concerts" (Doherty 1994). In these cases, a piano player and fiddle player are billed as headlining performers who are responsible for organizing other players who arrive. Players will typically take turns performing solo, or choose to play tunes together with other players. A similar type of mini-concert series began at Rollie's on the Wharf, which ultimately led to the regular session on Thursday nights. Papazian explains;

[Larry Parks] wanted to get something going, so he approached them, and they tried it there, but it was kind of like the way that Cape Breton fiddlers, they would have their music and they would play medleys from music, so they would have their music stands and I think they sat on stage. So they tried that for a bit, and I guess it didn't really fly, so then maybe a year later or something I guess, they were still wanting to do something, and Larry and Jerry Holland and I think Paul Cranford. . . asked me if I'd be a regular host, and that's something I've done a lot of, but in the Irish-end of it. But the point is that the Irish style of a session, as you probably know yourself, it wasn't very common here, you know? (Papazian 2004)

David Papazian's experience leading Irish session dates back to his time spent in Montreal. After hearing a recording of the Chieftains during a visit to Ireland in 1972, Papazian learned to play the fiddle and eventually began to hold an Irish session in his apartment in Montreal, which ran for over nine years. As session

leader for such a musically diverse group as Rollie's, Papazian couldn't be more well-suited for the job. He has lived and performed in Toronto and Prince Edward Island, which has given him a chance to work with Acadian, Irish, and Scottish tune repertoires and styles. He prefers the Irish-style session because playing together can become metaphor for the community itself; "It's about more than just music, you know? It's community, it's an expression of...a community [that] is bigger than the music" (Papazian 2004).

The success of the Rollie's session may be attributed to overarching social and demographic changes occurring around the island. Paul Cranford speculates that the Irish-style session at Rollie's has been successful because new players may get a chance to learn together in the growing absence of house parties:

[A] lot of Cape Breton players that aren't used to playing in groups like that, it was different for them. Some like it and come back and others think that it's silly, I mean, "We only play solo fiddle," but I think it's a good thing, it's a good social gathering, and people are learning tunes. Cape Breton music is basically individual music, but there's still a place for sessions and I think it's a place for people to go learn and if they hear something they want, there are people that will make it possible to learn by playing things over and over if necessary. (Cranford 2004)

Another reason for the session's success lies in the fact that Rollie's is known as a popular session by tourist performers as far away as Missouri, Wisconsin, Vancouver BC, and California. During the winter months, the session grows smaller as some members travel away for short periods on seasonal or periodic work shifts; this is also the prime time for "regulars" to learn new tunes from each other, encourage new learners, and play out as individuals between tune sets. Above all, Papazian and other Rollie's regulars work year-round to negotiate

around common problems that arise at most Irish sessions. In Barry Foy's *Irish Session*, he answers the question, "What can turn a session bad?"

The list is long; musicians who can't keep a beat; instruments or intonation that are grossly out of tune; too many guitars, too many bodhrans, too many bouzoukis; deafening accordions with galumphing left hands; obnoxious percussionists who mistakenly wander in on their way to a neo-pagan drumming circle; musicians who slavishly imitate their favorite recordings, even down to the mistakes; musicians who can't be bothered to learn new tunes; musicians too drunk to play but too inconsiderate to pass out; too many uncommon tunes; too many common tunes; terrible acoustics; not enough laughs; "Last call!"; musicians who don't listen to one another or don't allow others to get a word in edgewise. (Foy 1999:67)

The session at Rollie's is consistent with any other Irish-style session, in that no player at Rollie's is above falling prey to at least one social faux pas listed here. What is special and unique about this session is the work that goes into overcoming these potential hazards and the ways the intersecting musical traditions of the French Acadian, Irish, Scottish, Cape Bretonians are translated in ways that achieve this goal. It is because of these constant negotiations in performance practice that the Rollie's on the Wharf session provides an apt case study on the multiple communicative channels in which translation is manipulated to support community cohesion and synergy.

The Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs

The Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs present a contrasting case study for musical translations. Beginning in 1999, proprietor Nancy MacLean began a concert series at a local church hall in the town of Baddeck, intending to draw in tourists during July, August, and September. These ceilidhs are presented in the style of Doherty's "mini-concerts," where a fiddler and pianist are advertised as the main entertainment for the evening, but where anyone visiting may also share the stage for a song, dance, or tune of some sort. Just as the Irish-style session at Rollie's may have been a response to changing social conditions, MacLean also sensed a need in the community to host an open-door ceilidh:

The Highland Gaelic Society of Baddeck was a successful organization that held ceilidhs, but only once a month. When they were at their peak there were lots of local people that would come to the ceilidhs and dance and enjoy the music. But as usual as the crowds got older and some people were dying off and we lost the reason to have them, people would ask me why don't you start ceilidhs in the summer—people at the visitor center knew that tourists and visitors were asking for local music....I had a very good friend Sherry MacKuspick and I took [her] to [St. Michael's] hall one day and said picture this, a ceilidh here for visitors (not expecting locals to attend or promote it because there weren't that many interested). And that's how it began; it was 1999 and it was successful from the beginning. (MacLean 2004)

In addition to managing the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs, MacLean can be found across the street at the Baddeck Visitor Center, designed to receive tourists as they enter town. Now in its seventh season, the parish hall is sold out almost every night during the three month season.

Translations abound at the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs; the small parish hall provides a contact site for visitors around the world to hear local Cape Breton music and perform their own Celtic music alongside Cape Breton performers. The mix of cultures often times provides an added degree of excitement and entertainment all in itself. Performing visitors have included the entire dance troupe *Tavira* (Ukrainian Folk Dance Ensemble of Saskatchewan), renowned Prince Edward Island fiddler Melissa Gallant of *Celtitude*, Robert Woodley of Wales, and Gaelic singer Andrew McFadden from British Columbia. Unlike the session at Rollie's where translations are an ongoing negotiation among common members, the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs embody a type of immediacy where performers have only one chance to communicate new performance practices before they engage in the engrossing act of performing together. More simply put, visitors who wish to perform don't get a chance to rehearse with local performers before the ceilidh begins; what emerges is a spontaneous presentation of two sets of expectations, those of the visitors and those of the Cape Breton performers. The audience of tourists who have traveled from all over the world become a significant third party in the mix, where their expectations and assumptions about Celtic music are unearthed throughout the unfolding event. Time is allotted by MacLean for the audience to ask questions of the performers, and through dialogue and storytelling, many leave with a new perspective of Celtic music and its many local dialects.

A Universal Language?

Although the cliché that purports music is a universal language has disappeared from all but some music education scholarship, the notion that music simply ‘speaks for itself’ today is still a popular way to market Celtic music to an international audience (cf. Wentz 1985, Loundsbury 1992, Oliphant 1972).

Because Celtic musicians like Andy Irvine of Planxty and Mosaic, David Wilkie of Cowboy Celtic, and Celtic guitarist Tony McManus have collaborated with musicians from the Middle East to Nashville, their record producers have marketed their eclectic juxtapositions to a global music market by touting the universality of all music.¹ The fact is that these international partnerships are extremely complex and involve years of artist collaborations to develop a working system of practical translations between two disparate musical systems until each artist begins to develop a deeper insider ‘vocabulary’ of the other’s aural tradition. In 1960, Mantle Hood wrote that musical systems in occidental nations require ear training to at least the same degree that western classical student must endure in training, and that “any western classical student wanting to study Chinese music must go through the same process” (Hood 1960:55). To describe this phenomenon he coined the term, “bi-musicality,” which implies a linguistic metaphor of bi-lingualism, or the ability to speak two languages fluently and translate equivocally between the two languages. The mere need to translate between two musical ‘languages’ or musical systems infers that music is *not* a universal language (of emotion or otherwise), and that all aural productions require the successful matching of performance practice and context. In other

words, music is meaningless without the socialization process by which its meaning is accrued. John Blacking explains:

[P]erforming music, like speaking a verbal language, is part of the process of knowing and understanding it. Performance does not require a special set of capabilities, and active listening is essentially a mental rehearsal of performance, in which a person re-invents 'the text.' This distinction between creator, performer, and listener are the consequence of assigned social roles.

(Blacking 1981)

Musicians who wish to traverse across cultural borders must be willing to switch roles between creator, performer, and listener at each stage of learning in order to surpass mere mimesis and move onto first-order understanding. Since music is not a universal language, but a socially contextualized communicative act, translation is the work that is done to knit together two communities of musical practice together through the mutual engagement in music performance. For this reason, musical translations are important to experiencing a sense of belonging in the transnational Celtic music community because 1) they maintain the human connection in the absence of a shared verbal language, and 2) translations are a valued transcript of the work done to connect two communities over time, recording an essential travel log of travel and survival over the centuries. In the first case, Cape Breton's immigrants may have found it difficult to communicate with each other as each new wave of new-comers arrived on the island. The Scots-Gaelic dialect of the Highland crofters would have been unrecognizable by the newly arriving Irish fleeing from the Potato Famine, who either spoke the Irish-dialect of Gaelic (which is considerably distinct from Scots Gaelic), English, or perhaps some French (MacDonald 1999). Music and dances, then, became a

shared social event that did not require shared verbal language, but did require knowledge of the ceildh (or ceili, in the Irish spelling) dance tradition. The work done to build a shared performance tradition, in the second case, has been captured in songs, tune titles, and even performance practices.

Ethnomusicologists have recognized the merit of learning the musical performance practices of those they study, and have actively engaged in the apprenticeship of second and third musical systems as a fieldwork method (Koning 1980, Rosenberg 1995, Titon 1995, Feintuch 1995, Shelemay 1996). In the process of learning a new musical system of meaning, researchers have expressed a common experience of identity shift that takes place as they gain social membership in the musical community they are studying. Burt Feintuch described this shift as a type of *adoption*, where his new ability to play the Northumbrian pipes allowed him to belong as a “somewhat advanced beginner with a peculiar accent” (Feintuch 1995:301). Neil Rosenberg, who studied bluegrass under the tutelage of Bill Monroe in Bean Blossom, Indiana, expressed a feeling of gaining *naturalized citizenship* (Rosenberg 1995:283). In a similar fashion, Jeff Todd Titon likened his shift in musical allegiance to a type of *religious conversion*, while studying line-out hymn singing with Old Regular Baptists across the United States. He explains:

I did not become an Old Regular Baptist. Were my musical experiences, then, the same as theirs? Not exactly. The wife of a professor at Berea College once asked me, “How can you sing with them when you don’t believe as they do?” “But I think I believe in music as they do,” I said. What I meant was that I felt I had shared, with them, in a musical experience that was, indeed, spiritual but

that transcended the particularities of any denomination or doctrine. (Titon 1995:296)

Titon describes these shifts, whether in the sense of communal adoption, naturalized citizenship, or spiritual conversion, as a “subject shift,” where the apprentice learns to understand as an insider “by figuratively stepping outside oneself to view the world with oneself in it, thereby becoming both subject and object simultaneously” (Titon 1995:288).

A second common experience among ethnomusicologists studying as musical apprentices can be found in milestone stages throughout their learning process; **audition**, **socialization**, and **authorization**. Because all of aforementioned ethnomusicologist-apprentices were originally versed in western classical music, musical translation was necessary at each stage of learning to accomplish deeper understanding. *Audition*, a first step in the outsider enculturation process, involves an informal hearing of the apprentice-to-be. Joseph Koning and Neil Rosenberg both described this unforeseen performance as awkwardly forced, explaining it as “they made me play” (Koning 1980:422, Rosenberg 1995:279). Koning explains that he was regularly pressured to play the first tune at Irish sessions in County Clare, which seemed counter to the native County Clare behavior of extreme modesty:

I had great difficulty in copying this behavior since such stubborn refusal to play when asked would be taken as an offense by a Dutch audience within a folk revival context, and of course a fieldworker shouldn't offend his hosts. (Koning 1995:426)

Koning was able to recognize the need for cultural translation between his native Dutch musical socialization and the roles he was expected to play as an

ethnomusicologist-apprentice. If Koning had overlooked the importance of translating the musical practices between the Irish sessions he regularly performed at in the Netherlands and the different social expectations held by County Clare players in Ireland, his progression towards insider understanding more than likely would have been greatly impeded.

Socialization, an intermediary stage in learning to become part of a new music community, similarly requires the ability to recognize the need for translation and works to bridge the gaps in understanding between the ethnomusicologist-apprentice and native master. Rosenberg found that the act of translating socialization experiences came necessarily after the fact, when he had time to reflect and gain perspective. He writes,

What I didn't know (and no one told me) was Bill Monroe's efficient system of communicating the key of the next piece directly to everyone on stage at the end of each number by briskly "chopping" the tonic chord of the key for the next song on the mandolin. After one such signal the guitarist deliberately misinformed me about the key—what I now realize was an act of on-the-job hazing. (Rosenberg 1995:281)

Rosenberg was able to retrospectively understand Bill Monroe's "chopping" as a significant act of communication, not as the nervous type of "noodling" from which orchestra students are discouraged from in western classical music classes. During Rosenberg's period of socialization, recognizing hazing from standard stage practice became an additional way to discern between what was "bluegrass" and what wasn't.

In a final stage of apprenticeship, *authorization* became the goal for several ethnomusicologist-apprentices, which they chose to express through

competing in music contests. Feintuch expressed his sense of accomplishment at winning a prominent Northumbrian piping contest:

I won first place in the overseas class of Northumbrian Pipers Society's annual competitions sending in a tape recording of my playing to the judges. By objective standards, I had learned to play the pipes. (Feintuch 1995:299)

Rosenberg also experienced a sense of growth into the community through contest playing; "As I moved up in the hierarchy at Bean Blossom, I won contests and was given increased responsibilities on and off stage" (Rosenberg 1995:282). Winning contests became for Rosenberg a means by which to achieve authority in communities who give preference to up-and-comers born in to well-respected musical families. In both cases, Feintuch and Rosenberg have since become ambassadors to border piping and bluegrass in being able to translate their musical experiences across academic disciplinary boundaries. By diving into a secondary musical system through apprenticeship, they are now able to translate their experiences through ethnographic writing, even while "musical experience resists elaboration in language...[and] has to do with aspects of being that cannot be reduced to language" (Feintuch 1995:304). Just as ethnomusicologist-apprentices are able to translate their knowledge of folk music systems to an audience of western classically trained musicians, their mediation can also serve to enrich the translated music community as well. Kay Shelemay articulates her apprenticeship experience among Syrian Jews in New York City:

Mediation can therefore entail not just translating for those outside of the tradition, but participation in raising awareness of the tradition within the community itself. (Shelemay 1996:49)

In essence, these ethnomusicologist-apprentices have used musical translation to build a communicative bridge between two ways of understanding the world.

Rollie's on the Wharf and the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs offer a window into stepping stone experiences for traveling performers on their way towards full membership in the transnational Celtic community of practice. Each performance may hold significant meaning for the performer as an experience of *audition*, *socialization*, or *authorization* into a worldly community of like-minded musicians. Like the student ceilidhs at the Gaelic College and the Ceilidh Trail schools, the open-door policy for both of these venues provides the social space to work out new perceptions of self, community, and practice. In essence, each performance lets the performer be heard, interact with community members, and receive recognition for their participation. Whether correctly performed or not, their mere presence publicly announces the willingness to learn how to belong; with persistence and general support (or tolerance), the willingness to perform affords the performer initial permission to claim membership.

Because Rollie's on the Wharf and the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs both offer peripheral members a staging area for participation, they are also sites of confusion, misunderstandings, and parody. Irish step-dancers from Boston, fiddlers from Dallas, and pipers from British Columbia plan to participate at these open-door sites, operating under the assumption that the performance practices they developed back home will be perfectly acceptable in Cape Breton. As if they were expert poker players in their Tuesday night game back home, they soon realize that the rules are quite different in 'Vegas.' Navigating Cape Breton's

rocky shoreline of intersecting performance practices, or “Celtic constellations,” is both exciting and treacherous for those who venture forth.

Celtic Constellations

Learning to translate between constellation practices is an experience essential to members of the transnational Celtic music community, for it is the very act of translation between these practices that binds the community together. Cape Breton’s Celtic constellations often include the musical ‘dialects’ of Ireland, Scotland, and French Canada. More specifically, in the case of fiddling certain regions have become a marker for a series of prominent fiddlers who have emerged with similar styles over the past century. The “Northeast style” refers to Scotland’s highly refined style of exaggerated dotted rhythms, liberal use of rubato, and elegant Highland airs. “Donegal” and “Clare,” refer to two contrasting styles found in Ireland, referring counties identified with certain stylistic characteristics. In addition to the usual suspects of ‘Celticism,’ French-Acadian, Mi’kmaq, Don Messer’s old-time “Down-East” style, and American Appalachian styles can be found weaving through the heart of Cape Breton’s musical voices (Whitcomb 1990). These regional ‘dialects’ have become more important over the past 50 years as the recording and travel industries have made each style accessible and possible to imitate. Rather than losing regional dialects, folk music students seem more interested than ever in learning regional styles, especially Cape Breton’s notoriously energetic, rhythmically driven and “bouncy” style. Teaching advanced fiddle students in Cape Breton, acclaimed Scottish fiddler

Alasdair Fraser encourages students to learn to speak these various dialects. In one lesson at the Ceilidh Trail School, he demonstrates the ways these dialects are created through performance practice:

[Plays a short phrase on his violin] I just created that whole Gaelic space...I'm thinking in Gaelic. I'm not a Gaelic-speaker, by the way. I have been around it all my life, I know the sounds.

[Repeats the same musical phrase] There's hardly a note there that doesn't have something hanging off it, or some unclear way of getting into it or out of it. Non-generic. And you get that kind of fluency by becoming a fanatic. If you want to play the fiddle in Gaelic, you go and listen to tapes of Gaelic singers. Your family ceases to understand you anymore because you go to bed with headphones on listening to old Annie MacI' from Lewis. And the next thing you know, your fingers start doing it, which is exactly the way you learn a language. If you want to learn to speak French, go to France and hang out with a bunch of French people. And this kind of thing you cannot get from a book, from the written page, that's why I'm really pushing this language idea. (Fraser 2004)

Alasdair Fraser is a master at negotiating Celtic dialects. On his first album, *The Scottish Violinist*, he recorded one of the finest commercial releases of Scotland's "Northeast" style. Accompanied by pianist Paul Machlis, Fraser's arrangements are studied in earnest by younger competition fiddlers looking to reproduce the intricate strathspey rhythms, clean double-stops, and ornate use of appoggiaturas.² In his latest album, *Fire and Grace*, Fraser is accompanied by Natalie Haas on cello. Their style together is much closer to the syncopated, effervescent drive found in Cape Breton. Natalie Haas adds a rhythmic underpinning found in Appalachian fiddling. Their ability to master different dialects is seen by some as the pinnacle of virtuosity, and for others, the loss of home, sense of place, and ultimately authenticity.

Speaking “Irish”

If England’s British Empire has been the great colonizer of the western world, influencing every culture and society it touched for centuries, the Irish folk music repertoire has ironically become the great colonizer of folk music sessions around the contemporary world. With 360 weekly sessions in the United States alone, the Irish tune repertoire is the dominant “language” of contemporary Celtic music (cf. www.thesession.org, also Figure 2). A renowned Donegal-style fiddler herself, Liz Doherty traveled to Cape Breton in order to conduct dissertation research on the central role Cape Breton’s musical communities have played in keeping alive the “old world” traditions of Scotland. As a performer and ethnomusicologist, she was able to articulate the performance practices between “Irish” (County Donegal) and “Cape Breton;”

On a stylistic level, Cape Breton fiddling has many parallels in the Donegal style. Characteristic of both is a preponderance of single-stroke bowing, one of the principle features which distinguishes Donegal fiddling from other Irish styles. While a wide array of left-hand finger ornaments are found, rolls, which are scarce in Donegal, and not indigenous to Cape Breton. Both styles show a marked preference for the bowed “cut” or “treble”. The highland bagpipes have been an important influence on Donegal and Cape Breton alike, as is evident in the overall staccato sound and the sporadic use of drones for harmonic purposes. The practice of two fiddlers playing together or in octaves is also common to both areas. (Doherty 1994:9)

Although Cape Breton and County Donegal share many performance practices, tune repertoires and dance sets vary greatly, making the social work of translating

tune names and genres important for traveling musicians. Kate Dunlay, an ethnomusicologist and fiddler from Indiana University now living in Nova Scotia, also finds it a necessary skill to translate between “Cape Breton” and “Irish” for her fiddle students. In an article titled, “Some Musings on Cape Breton Fiddle Style versus Irish,” published in *Fiddler Magazine’s* Special Cape Breton Edition in 2000, Dunlay explains;

First of all, the lingo is different. The Cape Breton “clog” is a (dotted) hornpipe in Ireland. If you ask an Irish fiddler for “cuts” you might get single grace notes instead of bowed trebles. In Cape Breton, both halves of a tune are “turns” but in Ireland you have the “tune” and the “turn.” Cape Breton fiddlers don’t play slip jigs and don’t much care whether jigs are “single” or “double.” Irish musicians are more likely to play highlands or flings than strathspeys. Scottish and Cape Breton fiddlers prefer the A modes, but will play in almost any key, whereas most Irish musicians seem to prefer D, G, and E-Dorian. (Dunlay 2000:36)

Workshops at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music, and the International Celtic Colours Festival are all sites where issues of translated performance practices can be investigated and explained. At Rollie’s on the Wharf and the Baddeck Gatherings, however, there is little time to discuss; while the music is happening, performers are locked in the act of doing, rather than reflecting (Schutz 1996:260). In one workshop given in 2004 at the Gaelic College’s “Irish Week,” Liz Doherty taught the group a “Highland fling.” She explained that a highland fling is similar to a Cape Breton strathspey in the overall tempo and use of dotted rhythms (“the Scottish snap”), but with a more relaxed sort of swing. As she began to teach the tune by ear, a fellow Rollie’s regular and I began to quietly confer with each other: “Isn’t that

Stumpie?” We played our Rollie’s version of the strathspey called “Stumpie” with each other to double check, and found it to be almost identical in every way. In that moment, I realized how natural it seemed to make the leap from what I heard as new to what was already familiar to me, and it raised the questions— If a tune has all the same notes, rhythm, and basic tempo, is it the *same* tune? What role does translation, recognition, and affirmation play in sorting out tunes that sound alike but have different names, or conversely, tunes that don’t sound at all alike but share the same name across different local dialects?

Speaking “Scottish”

In some instances, the act of translation can be an act of reconciliation with the stories told about Cape Breton’s past. Scottish heritage is the pride of many Cape Bretons, and the story of exiled Scots tending to the cultural traditions of their ancestor’s way of life in Cape Breton is a recurring narrative among musicians on the island. The session at Rollies, on the other hand, keeps more dialectically diverse company; although this North Sydney session might be one of the few in North America to entertain Scottish strathspeys, Scottish pipe tunes were more unfamiliar than one might expect—that is until a Scottish piper and fiddler from Edinburgh relocated to Cape Breton to be closer to the music she loved. Mairi Thom, a veterinarian by trade, is a regular session player at Rollies, and has “reintroduced” a pipe tune repertoire that had fallen out of common knowledge for other North Sydney players (MacNeil 2004).

Before the act of translation is possible, the performer must be able to initially distinguish between two distinct musical languages. In the case of Cape Breton's Scottish roots, Mairi has played an important role in the Rollie's session by sorting out what is "Cape Breton" and what is "Scottish." When Mairi was planning to move to Cape Breton from Edinburgh, her ceilidh band had already been performing some Cape Breton tunes. She explained that there are two considerations in distinguishing between the two practices: repertoire and style;

We were concentrating more on the style that we play in [Cape Breton] and tunes that we maybe play here that are Scottish aren't really played a lot in Scotland anymore. So when we say we were playing "Cape Breton" we weren't really meaning necessarily Cape Breton tunes, and I think that sometimes people over here that don't have a real understanding of the music will say that you're playing Cape Breton tunes, and I'll often be like, "they are not really Cape Breton tunes, most of them are Scottish tunes that are just played here." (Thom 2004)

Mairi's role as an ambassador to Cape Breton's Scottish past is highly valued on the island, as both a link to the past and foreshadowing to the possibilities for future musical and economic collaborations. While playing for tourists temporarily disembarking from the historic cruise ship *Constellation* at the Sydney docks in October of 2003, the local newspaper caught Mairi playing her fiddle and featured the photo on the front page with a title that read,

“Entertaining the Visitors,” and a caption beneath her photo that justified the



15. Mairi Thom playing for tourists at the Sydney port, Cape Breton.

attention: “Thom, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, where she learned to play the fiddle, moved to Cape Breton a year ago and now plays her fiddle Cape Breton style” (Fahey 2003). As if walking a tightrope between a sense of local place and worldly travels, members of the transnational Celtic music must be continually attuned to their perceived identity by the people with whom they work and play.

Speaking “French”

French Acadians, Quebecois, or French Canadians are all French-speaking ethnic groups which have had stylistic influences on Cape Breton fiddlers, as well as their repertoire. French place names are almost as common on the island as Scottish surnames, but are pronounced more gutturally: Cape Breton is pronounced *Cape BREH-TUN*, the town of Judique is *JOOD-EEK*, and the

historic landmark turned into a living museum of Cape Breton's French history, the Fortress of Louisburg is pronounced *LOO-ES-BERG*. After several battles between the French and English, the fort was finally defended by the English in 1758, yet several small French-speaking fishing villages remain on the coast. Located on the Northwest corner of Cape Breton Island, Cheticamp is a French-speaking community from which several well-known fiddlers have come. The Doryman Tavern faces the coastline on the main street in Cheticamp. It was once a meeting place for mini-concerts for local fiddlers, and recently hosted a performance by international recording artist Ashley MacIsaac in April of 2004. Renowned Cape Breton fiddle teacher (including students Ashley MacIsaac and Natalie MacMaster), Stan Chapman himself has roots in French Acadian traditions. He is able to articulate the slight differences in performance practices by naming fiddlers, rather than identifying repertoire or ornamentation:

I really think radio stations played a big part, because CJFX had people come in and play on the radio. People like John Roy Gillis and Tina Campbell, people who never recorded, but people heard them because they came and played live over the radio. And the Sydney radio stations, they did a lot of that. And that's how my father got interested in it, so the music started to travel out of here a little bit and reached other places on the mainland because of radio stations and then albums and so on. (Chapman 2004)

Chapman describes these stylistic influences as an aural lineage, where young fiddler Brent Aucoin's French Canadian style and repertoire may be developed from listening to Arthur Muise, who listened to Angus and Cameron Chisholm. Whether on the radio, recordings, or live performances, younger fiddlers today

have relatively the same freedom older players had on the island to select who they would listen to and choose to emulate (Chapman 2004).

In addition to the distinct heritage of French Acadian settlements on Cape Breton Island, young fiddlers from nearby Prince Edward Island frequent the Baddeck Gatherings during summer vacations and stop in for “some tunes.” In the summer of 2003, PEI fiddler and composer Ed Wood volunteered a long set of tunes for the audience. That same summer, PEI fiddler Melissa Gallant of the band Celtitude borrowed Shelly Campbell’s fiddle to play one of the most energetic sets of the summer. Before playing, she introduced the connections between Cape Breton fiddling and the French Acadian styles of nearby PEI:

I’m an Acadian from Prince Edward Island, and a lot of our fiddle playing resembles quite a bit to Cape Breton. We do have a lot of influences from the Cape Breton style. But what’s different for us is that we [taps feet] tap our feet all the time. So we kind of accompany ourselves. It’s more of a French thing; the Quebecers do that too, so we might have taken that from them. I grew up in a French region on Prince Edward Island called the “Région la Evangeline,” “The Evangeline Region,” and everybody there plays music just like over here. (Gallant 2003)

Gallant was able to translate tune names and performance practices for the audience during her brief visit and her instruction did not fall on deaf ears when it came to the other billed performers for the night. Baddeck Gathering Ceilidh performers are all local fiddlers who might not otherwise have the opportunity to travel to Quebec, PEI, or Brittany. The visitors from PEI and abroad help to coach local performers in the various transnational dialects belonging to Cape Breton’s cultural history.

What is most important about these translations between Irish, Scottish, and French Acadian traditions are not the dates, times, and places where each family migrated to Cape Breton Island, contributing in a naturalistic way to the organic sounds that emanate from the island. What *is* significant is that these stories of translating between the different musical “dialects” are still being told; they are ways that musicians work socially to bind the transnational community together by reconciling the boundaries in style, repertoire, and tune names in the stories they tell before performing. Much like the framing narratives found at student ceildhs, these stories of translation between the Celtic constellations are symbolic negotiations of belonging to the transnational Celtic music community. Like astrological constellations, they are unique in their own right, and yet are identified as belonging together. The very notion of constellation practices allows performers to honor the distinctiveness of their own localized traditions while also paying homage to both contemporary and past travel between Ireland, Scotland, France, and Nova Scotia.

Channels of Communication

Human interaction occurs through multiple channels of communication, including but not limited to verbal exchanges. In describing the rich creativity in human communication, Ruth Finnegan explains music taken at face value is “purely auditory, “but in actual practice is “multidimensional” (Finnegan 2000:228). This is also true of translation in music; at every level of

communication in a transnational community, translations can be found that work to overcome stylistic differences and gaps in understanding between constellation practices. Musically speaking, these channels of communication include

1) *linguistic*, tune names and song texts, 2) *stylistic*, accompaniment, genre and ornamentation, 3) *acoustic*, instrument to instrument, voice to instrumentation, 4) *didactic*, tune books and commercial recordings, and 5) *kinesic*, dance music.

Translations that cross these ‘musical channels’ are not uniform or consistent.

There is no central authority on the equivocations or substitutions for musicians speaking different Celtic ‘dialects.’ Each act of translation is sense-making on an individual level between two people who desire to practice music together, but who yet lack the ability to operate on the same set of practical assumptions that make it possible for any group to carry out coherent performances.

Linguistic

Tune names are arguably the most easily identifiable musical translations that regularly occur between the Celtic constellation practices. Although there are some local music communities who are less preoccupied with tune titles (Perlman 1995), tune names can become important to both tune collectors wishing to catalog a tradition for posterity’s sake and the traveling musician who, knowing a tune’s name, can ask other session players, “Do you happen to know ‘MacArthur Road?’” With the affirmation of a few nods, a newcomer can use the tune name as a polite way of testing the waters for the group’s repertoire before starting off a set of seemingly obscure tunes, risking a social foul or killing the

session entirely. Experienced players may know hundreds of tunes at any given time, and master session players will know thousands; naming tunes is often simply a necessary mnemonic device. Tracking translated tune names also lends a telling transcript of the work that goes into communicating across borders. When asked how a publisher deals with multiple tune names in compiling a collection, Cape Breton publisher and Rollie's regular Paul Cranford replied;

When people ask me about tune titles, I like to talk about the "Walker Street Reel." Now the "Walker Street Reel" is in *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*, you probably know the tune. It's a very, very popular tune, which in Irish circles is called "The Traveler." Somehow, the 'walker' was misheard in the Quebecois tradition, and they heard it as 'the worker,' which of course is *travailler*. And if you misspell *travailler*, you get traveler. So which one came first; 'worker,' 'travailler,' 'walker?' It goes in circles and you really don't know, is it Irish, is it Quebecois, is it American, we don't really know. (Cranford 2004)

Ethnomusicologist Kate Dunlay has spent a great deal of time sorting out tune names and variations found in Cape Breton's fiddling tradition. Her tune collection, published jointly with her husband David Greenberg, is the only publication on Cape Breton's repertoire that takes a phonetic approach to tune settings by transcribing the detailed ornamentations and bowing techniques found in individual recorded performances by Cape Breton fiddlers. Each tune in the collection is accompanied by a history of the tune in its various guises and names since the advent of recording on the island. In an unpublished paper, Dunlay traces the tune "Money Musk." The original tune was composed in 1776 by Scotsman Daniel Dow as a strathspey titled "Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel." In subsequent centuries, the tune could be found in Nova Scotia in its

original strathspey form, but took on additional parts in the United States, evident in the version found in *Ryan's Mammoth Collection* (Boston 1883). Known to Quebecois fiddler Jean Kerrigan as both “Reel du ti pit” and “Moneymusk,” or “Mony Musk” by West Virginia fiddler Franklin George (c. 1970), Dunlay’s account provides another transcript of musicians working to hold on to a unified repertoire across linguistic borders and through the generations.

Song texts also provide a musical travel log for popular songs belonging not only to local communities, but to the transnational communities of practice who have shared these songs over the centuries. Gaelic song today is the locus of the Gaelic linguistic revival in Cape Breton and Scotland, giving new speakers a means to practice the language aloud in the absence of fluent speakers during the year, until they are able to travel to a traditional arts camp where students may practice in ‘real time’ (McDonald 1986). One song recorded in 1976 in Cape Breton reveals the bilingual influence of Gaelic and English among local singers; “Tha Mo Ghaol Air Aird A’ Chuan” (Jamie’s on the Stormy Sea) is performed by Tommy MacDonald of North Shore, who trades back and forth between Gaelic and English throughout the four eight-line verses. The song is rumored to be based originally on a Scottish pipe tune, and the first words set to the tune were composed by American Bernard Covert around 1850. John Shaw notes that the song “soon became popular among the whalers, re-crossed the Atlantic and was later rendered into Gaelic by Henry Whyte (‘Fionn’) of Glasgow” (Shaw 1978). Of notable importance are the song’s translation from English to Gaelic and the travel narrative that accompanies it in the anthology, *Volume One: Gaelic*

Tradition in Cape Breton (Topic 1978). Within the transnational Celtic music community, the ability to retell the this song's travel history before singing it in Gaelic and English is the mark of a master attuned to an audience seeking evidence of a shared past.

Stylistic

Stylistic characteristics such as accompaniment style, ornamentation, and bowing patterns are aural markers which can also be used discern between Scottish, Irish, and French Canadian traditions on Cape Breton Island. The ability to translate, or at the very least recognize, the differences between traditions is a necessary skill for traveling Celtic musicians in order to participate in ad hoc sessions successfully. I came to understand the degree to which these stylistic elements, unique to each practice, can easily obscure even the most rehearsed performances. Mairi Thom and I took to "sharing tunes," visiting each other at home, and teaching each other tunes we knew by ear to the other player. The hope was that after a few "tune sharing" visits, I would be able to participate more fully in the session at Rollie's because Mairi would be able to start tunes I already knew. On several occasions Mairi was kind enough to start tunes at the Rollie's session for me, but after giving me "the look" as she began playing, I was unable to recognize the tune. Although it sounded familiar to me, I couldn't fully place it and my fingers never caught on. I would then proceed to ask her, "Wow that was a great tune. What was it?" With a frustrated look on her face, Mairi would respond, "That's *your* tune, you taught it to me!" Mairi's expert pipe-tune style

was so distinct that each tune was transformed through her interpretation as something new to me; through Mairi's stylistic voice, I was able to experience the same tune as something wholly new.

Jennifer Rolland suggests that *recognition* is the catalyst for understanding translated musical performances. Touring musicians like Jennifer often find themselves participating in impromptu 'jam sessions' during down time, and the work of finding tunes in common is not so much a matter of repertoire as it is recognizing common tunes performed through different local "dialects:"

For example, I might play a certain tune from say Cape Breton, like "St. Anne's Reel," and I would say to my guitar player or my piano player, "Do you recognize that tune?" And they'd be like, "No," and I'm like, "That's St. Anne's Reel." They're like, "Really?" because I've heard it so many times in different styles. But if you're not used to the different styles, you may not even recognize the tune, simply because they may play it with more of a bow, they might put where we may hold a quarter note, they may play two eighth notes. There are significant bowing differences. In Cape Breton style, it's more of a, for example, where we would put a cut, which is like an eighth and sixteenth notes, Irish would be more like a five-beat roll. (Rolland 2004)

Having the worldly experience to recognize local dialects allows transnational music communities to perform together. Recognition, then, is the work done socially to effectively mend together the momentary chaos that follows every new musical translation that is performed. Mutual understanding comes as two performers versed in different local dialects are able to recognize the initial translation and verbally confirm the act of translation with each other, rather than understanding the performance as a misreading of two completely different

tunes. In a transnational community of practice, experiencing the old as new again requires little more than sharing tunes with a traveler passing through.

Piano accompaniment is a favorite topic among Cape Breton musicians who have been asked to collaborate with Irish and Scottish musicians alike. Doug MacPhee is a legendary Cape Breton pianist who lived in Boston for a number of years and had the chance to accompany many Irish fiddlers on the piano. He notes that the tempo of Irish music limits the degree of syncopation, walking bass lines, and melodic ornamentation that is afforded by Cape Breton's more reserved timing:

When I play for Irish, I was always told that you always stay in the bass, and I listen to the old accompanists on the old '78 records you know, and they never go up here, they stayed down here. So I always practiced that, and I played a lot of Irish music with Johnny Wilmot, and he was one of my first fiddlers, and we had records of Michael Coleman and James Morrison, and Joe Durane the great accordionist, people like that, eh? Paddy Killorn, Paddy Cronin, we had all those '78 records, and Johnny Wilmot would be learning a lot of these tunes or know most of them anyway, so I got a lot of experience chording for Johnny, years, and it was good training because you're moving and you're using a lot more chords than you would probably normally use in our music. But with our music, especially hornpipes and clogs, it's nice to put a nice fill, nice chords you know? (MacPhee 2004)

Kimberly Fraser, one of the island's most gifted left-hand fiddlers, was asked recently to tour with the Irish group Cherish the Ladies to Sweden as a pianist. Although many of the tunes were familiar to Fraser, she found the need to make stylistic shifts to accommodate the differences in performance practice between

sleeker Irish ceilidh band expectations and the heavily syncopated walking bass-lines famous in Cape Breton piano accompaniment:

I find a lot of the times their tunes, especially in the second part, they switch keys a lot, that was just different to get used to... they might not use maybe so many chord substitutions; instead of doing a “I-vi-ii-V”, they might go “I-IV-V”, it might not be as elaborate, but it fits with the way that they play with the tunes. I remember that when Joanie wanted specific chords, she could hear this and she’d want that. Sometimes the guitar player and I would collaborate on what we’re doing and maybe she’d ask for a funky Cape Breton riff or a different bass. They don’t do a whole lot of bass runs that we would do, so that was a bit different, to hold back and not be so busy. (Fraser 2004)

In successfully accompanying both Irish and Cape Breton traditions, Doug MacPhee and Kimberly Fraser have become what Wenger define as “brokers,” those who are able to work successfully with two or more communities of practice: “Some trajectories find their value in spanning boundaries and linking communities of practice. Sustaining an identity across boundaries is one of the most delicate challenges of this kind of brokering work” (Wenger 1998:154). Cultural brokering abounds in this transnational community, and accompanists arguably play one of the most important roles as proficient negotiators between constellation practices.

Acoustic

In addition to linguistic and stylistic musical channels, translations are also found between different instruments and from instrument to voice.

Two reoccurring island narratives circulating today include the heavy influence of

bagpipes and the Gaelic language on the fiddle tradition. Both island tales have recently been investigated by local performers turn academicians. Paul MacDonald (St. Francis Xavier University) and Erin Stoez (University of Wyoming) have sought to pin down whether or not there is such a thing as “Gaelic in the fiddle” (cf. Dunn 1991). Among every generation of fiddlers on Cape Breton Island has had its “Gaelic fiddlers,” those musicians who are identified as reflecting the Gaelic use of vowels, inflection, and inherent rhythm of the spoken language in their style of bowing and left-hand ornamentation. MacDonald and Stoez set out to record those performers with ‘Gaelic in the fiddle,’ and statistically analyze the findings in comparison with fiddlers who did not speak Gaelic, nor had heard Gaelic growing up (c.f. Thompson 2003).

Where the relationship between the Gaelic language and fiddling style has been loose at best, the influence of the bagpipes has more quantifiable. The bagpipes, highland and border or Northumbrian pipes, consist of a modal chanter. Neither major (Ionian) nor minor (Aeolian), the bagpipe chanter is approximately Mixolydian, leaving the third and seventh to be flatted (c.f. Macpherson 1998; Dunlay and Greenburg 1996: 7-9):

Solfege Mode	Do G	Ri Ab	Re A	Me Bb	Mi B	Fa C	Fi Db	Sol D	Le Eb	La E	Te F	Ti Gb	Do G
Ionian (Major)	Do		Re		Mi	Fa		Sol		La		Ti	Do
Dorian (Chanter)	Do		Re	Me		Fa		Sol		La	Te		Do
Mixolydian (Chanter)	Do		Re		Mi	Fa		Sol		La	Te		Do
Aeolian (Minor)	Do		Re	Me		Fa		Sol	Le		Te		Do

16. Scales and modes of the Highland Bagpipe.

The acoustic influence of the bagpipes on the fiddle can be heard in fiddle performances which blur the C (fa) and F (ti) pitches; Dunlay and Greenberg refer to these as “neutral notes” (Dunlay and Greenberg 1996:9). Ewan Macpherson explains that “the note we call ‘C’ is really closer to C#, and the note named ‘F’ is really closer to F#. Since traditional pipe music doesn’t use non-sharp C and F, we don’t bother to indicate sharp signs...” (Macpherson 1998). Even after the tempered piano was introduced to Cape Breton Island in the 1950s, many fiddlers continued play popular pipe tunes with a higher C than the piano, disregarding the dissonance in favor of the traditional pipe tuning (Chapman 2003). The recording industry has had quite an impact in “correcting” the pipe tuning to the piano’s tempered tuning in an attempt to sound more ‘in tune’ to a wider audience of western classical aesthetics.

Repertoire has worked in tandem with tuning to translate the pipes' performance practices into Cape Breton's distinctive fiddle style. Kimberly Fraser notes that these translations most likely are simply born out of friendships and mutual admiration between two performers who happened to play different instruments:

There's a march that Joe Hughie MacIntyre played and Donald McClelland played that same march, and of course Donald and Teresa McClelland...I think they went off Joe Hughie's a lot. Because Joe Hughie's was a ceilidh house, they went over there a lot. I swear the two are identical...I'm sure there's some link between the embellishments and fiddle. (Fraser 2004)

In some cases, the link between fiddle and bagpipes extends beyond mere ornamentation. Donald MacLellan explains how his father, Ronald MacLellan used to imitate pipers' drones, specifically those of his friends Jack MacDonald and Sandy Boyd from Scotland:

One thing that he would sometimes do that I've never seen anyone else do is to cut a few hairs off the bow and put them under the strings. He'd leave them attached at the tip of the bow and wrap his finger around them at the bottom so that they came under the G and E string like a drone. So when he played on the backside of the fiddle a bit, he'd get the drone from the E but when he shifted, vice versa, to the other side he'd get the G. He would leave the violin in natural tuning and he could play any tune that way. It was terrific - you'd swear it was the bagpipe. (MacLellan 2003)

In all actuality, this is a rare case among Cape Breton fiddlers, although the technique is viable. Most likely fiddlers would have re-tuned their instruments to "high bass," where the lower two strings (originally G3 and D4) would be tuned up one whole step to A3 and E4. The resulting tuning is vibrantly resonant,

since the four strings are in two octaves of A and E. In this high bass tuning, open strings can truly act as drones in both the high and low registers. In an experiment with a group of Rollie's regulars, we found the high bass tuning to more accurately match pipe drones when the bow hair was carried under the strings. In any case, fiddlers on Cape Breton Island have a distinct track record for translating the performance practices of the voice and pipes into fiddling techniques that give Cape Breton its 'local dialects.'

Translation between voice and instrumental music is a two way street in Cape Breton music. Like many folk music traditions, the voice is an able substitute for instruments such as the fiddle and piano. For Kinnon Beaton, singing tunes came before playing the fiddle. He learned his first tune "Donald MacLean's Farwell to Oban" over the radio on CJFX radio on a program called *Scottish Dreams* by "jigging" (singing) the tune:

I had the tune in my head; I knew tunes in my head before I started playing. I remember my folks saying, "You could probably play the fiddle, because you know the tunes," like to sing them. I was hearing them and remembering them before I started playing.
(Beaton 2004)

Jigging was also a way for miners and mothers with babies in tow to perform tunes when they didn't have their hands on a fiddle, or didn't have time to learn an instrument in between chores and housework. Jigging, considered a type of *puirt-a-beul* or 'mouth music,' was sung with nonsensical syllables; "oral reports indicate that *non-fiddlers* (e.g. mothers) taught fiddlers tunes by singing *puirt-a-beul*" (Sparling 1999:261).

Master Cape Breton pianist Doug MacPhee has experienced the traffic of translations between voice and instrument in his own playing. One particular character, Joe Deveau from Cheticamp, was known as “Joe the Jigger” for singing tunes while pretending to play the violin. MacPhee described him as a little short man who “looked something like Stalin” attending one particular ceilidh with Winston Fitzgerald, Joe MacLean, Johnny Wilmot, Beatty Wallace, and MacPhee’s mother. (MacPhee 2004) He recounts,

Johnny got Joe to Jig, and they’d never seen him before. And you’d have to get two, we’d call it kindling...and one was the fiddle and one was the bow, and he’d start, he’s a little short man, you know, little steel wool hair, one tooth here and one back and two missing, and he’d be playing [motioning back and forth]. But was he ever good at hornpipes, North Star Hornpipe and some of those. [♪Jigging♪] you know, and funny looking with a pair of rubbers on or shoes and no socks or something, he was just a nice little man, just a character, and it all went together, and the people couldn’t believe that somebody could do this...He’d be starting to play, getting ready to play, and Joe MacLean would say, “Joe, give me your bow, it’s not sticky enough,” and he’d be putting rosin on [the kindling], like he needed it. (MacPhee 2004)

“Joe the Jigger” might have provided entertainment at many a house party, but his ability to sing sophisticated hornpipes with a range of over two octaves and perpetual arpeggios underscores a notable virtuosity. In an experiment with another legendary singer on the island, Joe Neil MacNeil, Doug MacPhee collaborated with folklorist Kay MacDonald of New Waterford to test a theory concerning puirt-a-beul in 1976. Doug MacPhee took to the piano and played tunes contained in the 1887 Scottish *Skye Collection*, originally compiled by Keith Norman MacDonald; Joe Neil MacNeil, in turn, was able to sing several

verses of pùirt-a-beul in Gaelic to the same tune played by MacPhee. MacNeil was able to begin verses to nearly eighty tunes from the *Skye Collection*, including the popular tunes “Bog an Lochan,” “Tulloch Gorm,” “The Drover Lads,” and “Grey Old Lady of Raasay.” His repertoire spanned jigs, reels, marches, and airs, but the majority are of strathspey timing (MacDonald 1976). In MacDonald’s field recordings of the exchange between MacPhee on piano and MacNeil singing, a good number of the songs contained questionable lyrics of which to perform in the company of a lady, and in many cases laughter broke out between the three friends before the verses were completed. All in all, the translation between voice and instrument in this case seems to flow from the *Skye Collection* to ad lib settings, where popular tunes likely became contrafact for new lyrics set in Gaelic.

Didactic

Scottish and Irish traditional music has one of the most widely published tune traditions in the world. Although traditional tunes were captured in western European psalters and hymnals much before nineteenth century, large collections of tunes for violin, piano, and bagpipes became popular during the later half of the nineteenth century (c.f. Appendix B³). The *Syke Collection of the Best Reels and Strathspeys, Extant*, edited by Keith Norman MacDonald, was originally printed in 1887 and re-released by Cape Breton publisher Paul Cranford in 1979; the *Syke* has become a gold-standard for Scottish tune repertoire on the island, linking local Cape Breton repertoire like “Back of the Change House” and

“Cragallachie Bridge” to Scotland history of Highland music. One of the legacies contributed by early Scottish music publishers is the translations between the “vulgar” music of the peasantry and its subsequent validation through the refined classical settings afforded by the collector-composers of the day. A second endowment lies in the introductory material included in several of the older manuscripts, which contain the some of the earliest documentation of Highlander history and century-old performance practices.

Cape Breton tradition-bearers today refer back to ‘the old books’ as rich resource for both cultural history and musical repertoire. Winnie Chafe grew up playing fiddle tunes with her father, as well as studying classical violin, and continues to draw on the wealth of printed information on the music of the Scottish highlanders:

I did my classical at home with homework; my dad was waiting until I finished that hour and then we’d play another hour, where he had books of music that had our reels and jigs and so on. And it was he who introduced me to Scott Skinner, and from that, later on I researched what was Neil Gow, where did that purpose come from with him and William Marshal and others, and as a result I was able to scientifically prove that we had come three hundred years. (Chafe 2004)

Nathaniel Gow’s *The Beauties of Neil Gow* (Gow 1819), Scott Skinner’s *The Harp and Claymore*, and William Marshall’s collection, are all considered treasures among Cape Breton fiddlers and pipers for their record of tunes throughout the centuries. Other notable collections include James Hunter’s *Fiddle Music of Scotland* and the *Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music*, which

both contain lengthy historical background on the music of Scotland and its performance practices (Hunter 1979, Glen 1891).

Many of the Scottish tune collections from the turn of the century reveal the work done to canonize the traditional tune repertoire into the world of classical music by arranging the tunes for violin and piano. Some collections included only a doubling of the bass line as in the *Skye Collection*, the *Braemar Collection of Highland Music for the Piano*, the *Inverness Collection of Highland Pibrochs, Laments, Quicksteps and Marches*, and *Kerr's Collection of Reels and Strathspeys, Highland Schottisches, Contra Dances, Jigs, Hornpipes, Flirtations, & etc* (c.f. Lowe, Mitchison: Appendix A). Other collections include full piano accompaniment, including chord progressions: the *Marr & Company's Royal Collection of Highland Airs*, *Kerr's Caledonian Collection*, and the *Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music*. Duff's, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*, is scored for cello and or harpsichord. Although these arranged tune collections were used for small ensembles in formal court dances among Scotland's royalty, they were also popular among Scottish crofters who fled to Cape Breton with their tune collections in hand. Island historians refer back to these archived tune collections as evidence of the musical practices held by Cape Breton's first Scottish settlers.

Where Scottish tune collections from the turn of the century worked to educate the nobility of the highlander's respectable melodies, tune collections today also serve a teaching mission in connecting current performance practices and repertoire with the ancient Highlander past. One of the most notable tune

collections, by Kate Dunlay, was published originally as a masters thesis for a degree in folklore at Indiana University, and later released as a more complete anthology by Kate Dunlay and David Greenburg. Their tune collection is of significant importance for newcomers to Cape Breton's fiddle music because the tunes included are transcribed from one or more recorded performances by worthy Cape Breton fiddlers. Instead of simply outlining the tune's melody and sparsely marking out ornamentation, Dunlay and Greenburg painstakingly transcribe double-stops, dronings, re-tunings, gracings, and "warbles," or a quick and narrow trilling between two notes in place of turns or rolls (Dunlay and Greenburg 1996). Their collection is used widely at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music to visually illustrate ornamentations used by local Cape Breton fiddlers. In addition to the detail transcriptions, *The DunGreen Collection* includes tune histories traced through various recorded performances. For example, Dunlay and Greenberg trace a popular Cape Breton tune called "The Cottonwood Reel" (as played by Cape Breton fiddler Ivan Laam) to its roots in American old-time music:

The Happy Hayseeds, who hailed from Oregon and California, recorded this tune in the 1920s....Arthur Muise is the present-day Cape Breton fiddler most known for playing "The Cottonwood Reel" ...The Happy Hayseeds ended their performance of the tune with the first part (in D-major), and this is what Arthur Muise does in order to continue with a medley on D. (Dunlay and Greenberg 1996: 79)

Capturing both the tune canons and the ornamentations used by the island's most renowned fiddlers, *The DunGreen Collection* is a common teaching tool for traditional arts instructors wishing to convey more to students that tune names and

melodies; Dunlay and Greenberg's collection has become a teaching staple because it links both popular tune combinations with detail ornamentations and short discographies in which the tune can be found, making it an invaluable resource for transnational community music-makers who lack the face-to-face apprenticeship of aural traditions. This anthology allows them to trace the breadcrumbs of the Cape Breton tradition from afar, and for local fiddlers to communicate the multiple channels of performance practice and history in an economic manner.

Kinesic

The relationship between music and dance is arguably a defining characteristic of Celtic music traditions. Especially in Cape Breton, dance and instrumental music have been interdependent on the island predating even the immigration of the French and Scots in the late 1700s (Borggreen 2002). For dancers and musicians to perform together, there must be a type of kinesic translation between tempo and character during the musical event. For the musician, "tempo" is the linguistic marker given to symbolically encompass the 'lilt,' 'lift,' and 'feel' to a tune in order to properly accompany a dancer. Knowing the genre of a dance tune (i.e., jig, strathspey, or reel) is not enough for an instrumentalist to steady a dancer; instrumentalists must be able to translate local stepping traditions into the rhythmic pulse of the tune, making it possible for the dancer to carry out rhythmic variations of the dance successfully. Similar to Quebecois fiddlers, Cape Breton dance fiddlers are known for keeping time with

their feet to remain constantly aware of the rhythms being tapped out on the dance floor: “if the fiddler is a dance fiddler, one can be sure that foot-tapping has been a formative part of their playing experience” (Dunlay and Greenberg 1996:12).

Kinesic translation between musicians and dancers requires a negotiation between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ in Cape Breton. In terms of the *very* local, musicians must be aware of the different dance sets performed around the island. Slight variations exist between the “Baddeck” and “Sydney” sets, even though it might only be a forty-five minute drive between the two towns. Jørn Borggreen has recorded eleven distinct sets on the island, named by the towns in which the sets are performed: Baddeck, Cape North, Cheticamp, Glendale, Ingonish, Inverness, Mabou, Margaree Forks, Sydney, Washabuck, and West Bay (Borggreen 2002). Many of the variations between the local dance sets are relatively easy to communicate to the musicians, and a simple explanation to the fiddler that, “We do jig, jig, reel, here,” will be enough information to perform the correct set. For example, a “set” in the Sydney area will consist of a round (known as a *figure*) of jigs, then a round of reels, followed by another round of reels. Here, Borggreen transcribes the first figure of the “Sydney Set:”

First Figure (Jig)

INTRO All join hands, forward and back
 Once more for the good of the floor
 Grand chain, right hand to your buggy, left to your
 wheel, the faster you go, the better you feel,
 Meet your own you know what to do, roll'em
 around and they'll roll you.
 Forward and back.

A 1st land and opposite get swing four hands around,
 1st couple through inside, outside returning.
 Everybody salute your partner, swing your corner,
 Back to your own and swing,

B yours is a nickel, mine is a dime, you'll swing yours
 and I'll swing mine.
 [Repeat A-B three times with 2nd lady and 2nd
 couple; and then 3rd couple and 4th lady and couple.]

ENDING Promenade.
 Grand chain, all the way,
 Swing your partner,
 Forward and back. (Borggreen 2002:38)

In contrast to the Sydney set (figure one=jig, figure two= reel, figure three=reel), there are four figures in a Baddeck set, two figures of jigs and two figures of reels. For these variations, musicians will only need to adjust whether they begin stringing together a series of jigs or reels accordingly. The Cape North set, however, presents a certain problem in translation. “Thread the Needle” is a figure belonging only to the Cape North set, and the figure takes several minutes longer to complete than all the other sets on the island. This particular dance figure requires that each member of the eight-person group thread underneath each couple’s held hands consecutively, making for a visual reconstruction of a thread passing through the eye of a needle.

During my fieldwork in 2003 and 2004, I attended several dances where I was able to participate in a “Cape North” set being performed off on its own while the dominant set of the area was carried out by the rest of the couples on the floor. At one particular dance in West Bay, this presented a unique problem between the Cape North set happening in one corner of the dance hall and the

musicians accompanying the rest of the West Bay dancers on the floor. In the most common sets, a fiddler may play between four and upwards of eight fiddle tunes in succession before the dancers have completed their set and the fiddler can finish his last tune and stop playing. At this particular dance, the Cape North set leader insisted upon completing his figure, even though the rest of the floor had finished, requiring the fiddler to continue playing new tunes until the Cape North set had finished. At some point during the evening, the musicians made a collective decision to end the set when the majority of the dancers had finished, leaving the proverbial needle only partially thread. At the request of the Cape North dancers to continue the music until they were finished, the fiddler exclaimed, “I can’t think of anymore tunes!” (Lavengood 2003) This reply from the fiddle reveals the difficulty for musicians in translating back and forth between the West Bay and Cape North Sets, where the degree of difficulty in linking together much longer sets of tunes presents a problem for the fiddler. In addition, callers are rarely required at local dances since the local sets are common knowledge—dance musicians are then required to negotiate the length of sets by looking up to see how many dancers are ready to break and prepare for the next set. When the music stops, the dancers who began the set late or who are simply not finished know to end their set with the rest of the group. In Cape Breton’s local dances, both the dancers and musicians must be able to ‘speak each others’ language; in essence, they must be willing to translate the movements required by the dance into musical timing, phrasing, and overall character.

On a more transnational scale, kinesic translations are most evident in tempo variations. Speed is the enemy of the dance-tune tradition and a clear give away as to which musician is immersed in ‘session’ culture rather than ‘dance’ culture. In the absence of live dancers, Irish-style pub session playing often takes place at a breakneck pace, unless several seasoned musicians are on hand to keep the tempo at a light and steady ‘lilt.’ Even in Scotland, many Irish-style sessions (i.e. Sandy Bell’s weekly session in Edinburgh) can carry on at a breathtaking click. On the other end of the spectrum, traditional Celtic musicians who perform regularly for live dancers experience the ‘inner rhythms’ within the tune, lest they begin to short-change the dancers. Winnie Chafe explains the influence of faster playing over the generations in Cape Breton:

The step dance has totally changed since I was a young girl, because it’s all to do with the speed of the music, so they’ve left out dozens of steps. Their strathspeys are short when it used to be long. My father played one strathspey three times, and he might have to play two sets of strathspeys for them to strathspey alone, and then change gear into reels. And then the reel was always three reels, twice through. And today, they have a spec of a strathspey and get into those reels and are kicking—they’re doing a navy dance, and Indian dance, and a French dance, and anything else and calling it Cape Breton and it’s tap dance for the most part. (Chafe 2004)

Alasdair Fraser was able to illustrate this connection between the musicians and dancers in a workshop for advanced fiddlers at the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music in 2003. While playing the jig, “I Won’t Do the Work,”⁴ he was able to demonstrate the differences between “low to the floor” Cape Breton dancing with a broad emphasis on the down beat, as compared to a clipping of the down beat

for “height and flight” dancing used in Scottish country dancing and American contra dance. Fraser explained that for fiddlers, the *translation* happens in the bow arm:

[T]he beauty of it is how much the bow arm connects directly to the dancer’s feet. Whether it’s Cape Breton step dance, Scottish country dance music, flamenco, whatever, the bow arm is the key to the dancer’s feet. (Fraser 2003)

The ability to work out the kinesic modes of communication between dancers, musicians, and the various dialect of the transnational Celtic music community is both a challenge and reward for its members, who, after translating out the differences in dialects between local traditions, are able to claim membership in a ‘global’ community, something outside their everyday local experience.

Slippage

In March of 2004, a television advertisement was released advertising the approaching summer tourist season in Cape Breton. The ad captured the image of a bagpiper at the causeway piping through the mist to the surrounding beautiful hills of Cape Breton Island, and Mary Jane Lamond’s Gaelic signing was featured in the ad’s soundtrack. Paul MacDonald explains how this seemingly picturesque commercial quickly became a point of contention for the local Gaelic community:

What happened this week is a real indication of how mixed up the whole issue of Gaelic and music and tourism and everything [is]. The province licensed this song for their TV ad from Mary Jane, and it’s this gorgeous sounding, beautiful Gaelic haunting melody, it is very pretty, but the words were composed here on the North Shore during the Potato Famine, when people were starving, and

the words mean, “If I could ever get away from this wretched place and get my children something to eat.” (MacDonald 2004)

Needless to say, the ad was quickly pulled and an investigation was held into why upwards of \$40,000 dollars were spent to license the song. Although the Nova Scotia Department of Cultural Tourism claims fervent support for the Gaelic language, at some point the lack of fluent speakers on the licensing committee led to a very expensive mistake. Mistakes in translation (cultural, musical, linguistic or otherwise) between two invested parties can be thought of as slippage, or the unintended misplay of meaning communicated through time and space. Where translation works to bind together the transnational Celtic music community through shared meaning, *slippage* reveals the boundaries between two distinct musical worlds where a bridge to mutual understanding had not yet been built. In mechanical terms, slippage refers to a loss of power due to unintended play between two related parts; in the same way, slippage in linguistic terms can mean the unintended miscommunication or altered meaning drawn from a performed utterance.

Dean MacCannell has identified this type of misunderstanding in tourism as the “plasticity of the tourist image,” where “tourists have been criticized for failing, somehow, to see the sights they visit, exchanging *perception* for mere *recognition*” (MacCannell 1976: 121, 145). Tune genres, ornamentation, tune history, and anything else that can be named is a candidate for slippage, for the very reason that naming is meant to communicate shared meaning to a group of like-minded community members—yet often that community extends beyond its ‘like-minded’ borders into constellation practices. Naming assumes a shared

experience with the named, but “everything I know about your conscious life is really based on my knowledge of my own lived experiences” (Schutz 1967:166). In other words, my naming is a projection of what I expect you to understand; yet, in a transnational music community, shared meanings are often only partially shared or elided with new associations.

Slippage is an important facet of the transnational experience because when recognized, it foreshadows a new horizon of understanding not yet grasped. Phenomenologically speaking, the confrontation with a false assumption marks a boundary between what is known and what is new and foreign. At the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs, every night’s performance provided the space for slippage as new tourists filed into town and discovered the ceilidh at St. Michael’s Hall as owner Nancy MacLean led a group of daring audience members in their first square set. After a brief introduction on the basic moves, the fiddler would begin to play the first figure and Nancy would call out, “Swing your partner!” Inevitably, one out-of-towner who had missed Nancy’s instructions would proceed to dip his partner (as might be called for in swing dancing) instead of appropriately linking arms with his corner and proceed to turn counter-clockwise. The eight-person ensemble would then quickly fall into cacophony until the couples could sort out what had happened. This took place night after night, but Nancy’s patience always outlasted the misunderstandings.

When slippage occurs, at least three outcomes are possible: a) The hearer may attempt to interpret the speaker’s utterance, but in doing so incorrectly, the social contract of performance is broken and the flow of communication stops

until the slippage can be repaired, b) The hearer may interpret what the speaker has said, and although the interpretation is incorrect, the false assumption of meaning does not hinder the flow of performance and therefore goes unnoticed, and c) The hearer may have access to two or more interpretations and choose correctly based on what he knows about the language the speaker is speaking. In terms of learning, either outcome a or c is preferable to outcome b, where a false assumption will lie undiscovered and reinforced until a more serious breach of understanding takes place. Interpretation is an inescapable function in communicating meaning, and because transnational community members draw upon meanings slightly (or in some cases radically) different from nearby constellation practices, misunderstandings are a common experience for the uninitiated traveler. Phenomenologist Martin Heidegger, in *Being and Time* (1953), supports the idea that we experience sound as we (or because we) interpret it. For example, Heidegger suggests that we don't hear a sound complex (i.e. music) and then say to ourselves, 'that is music.' We simply hear music. We hear it because we already understand, recognize, and interpret it in the act of hearing. In essence, *Da-sein hears because it understands* (Heidegger 1996:153). Heidegger goes on to say that "even when speaking is unclear or the language is foreign, we initially hear *unintelligible* words, not a multiplicity of tone data" (Heidegger 1996:153). In the Celtic transnational music community, the work done to knit constellation practices together happens at the most basic levels of hearing, recognizing, and interpreting. Whether correctly interpreted or not, members continue to interpret what they may not fully understand. It is only in

practice that slippage can reveal our musical worlds to us and each other, leading us to build new roads of understanding. Edmond Husserl describes the interpretation of a communicative act as “intimation,” or the inner experience of assigning meaning to a performed utterance. Only when the hearer’s intimation and the speaker’s intended acts loosely correlate, can a mutual engagement take place:

Mutual understanding demands a certain correlation among the mental acts mutually unfolding in intimation and in the receipt of such intimation, but not at all their exact resemblance.
(Husserl 1999:29)

In other words, two people may come to understand one another when each individual’s intimations happen to coincide. These coinciding meanings, however, are not coincidental—they are informed by practices shared among community members, and slippage reveals gaps in members’ understanding.

In a transnational music community, slippage occurs most prevalently in the act of naming. Whether tune names, dance forms, or ornamentation styles, categorizing musical elements is a necessary act in defining practice, yet genres are not given, natural entities, they are an ideological projection of the one who names. Naming yields a common, shared repertoire that members of a community of practice work to master, but as in any community, the boundaries of that repertoire shift over time (Wenger 1998). Naming is defined in and through a living practice, it is culturally situated: “What is meaning at one moment, can be gleaned only from the living utterance and from the intuitive circumstances which surround it” (Husserl 1999:41). Husserl reasons that because genres are situated in

the social context in which they originated, genres are subject to ambiguous meanings when performed in a new social context:

[Genres] have vague borders and flow over into correlative spheres comprehended in the same genus, and so give rise to transitional regions where application varies and is wholly uncertain.
(Husserl 1999:44)

Within the transnational Celtic music community, the degree of uncertainty that emerges between members of constellation practices is tested in performance, where slippage reveals variations in meaning. At the Rollies session, a typical scenario plays out many nights where a visiting player begins a tune the local group hasn't heard in years; after the set is concluded, the discussion which follows turns highly instructive when the visitor remarks, "I know that as 'Athole Cummers,'" and another local player responds, "We know that as Bog an Lochan." As the players nod and spin off another set, the resolved slippage between the two tune names (Athole Cummers = Bog an Lochan) may be filed away for later investigation or application when performing with constellation practices. Sue Tuohy explains that the plurality of genre classification may be conceptualized as having a social life, in way as to illustrate the process of continual discussion and redefinition of genre that occurs in the realm of social interactions:

Genre socializes and is socialized: it adapts to a variety of contexts and may be put under government control. It takes part in social activities and, while there, does cultural work such as organizing performance and creating expectations. Although genre is congenial in the way it connects easily with others, the mood is not always convivial. Its very name can set off intense debate and

people argue about whether it should have come to the performance. (Tuohy 1999:41)

Although the session at Rollies regularly plays strathspeys, seasoned transnational community members become sensitive to the rarity of this local phenomenon and learn to withhold playing strathspeys at other traditional Irish sessions in the United States. But as Tuohy suggested, this genre boundary is not a natural law, it is socially contracted among its participating members. For example, the regular session at Rasputin's in Ottawa, Ontario, is led by an avid Cape Breton fiddler and a Scottish banjo player. Even though the session is mainly composed of Irish tune repertoire, members of this session have committed to additionally learning Scottish and Cape Breton repertoire. The resulting local repertoire at Rasputin's is much closer to the collection of tunes heard at Rollies. Conversely, the local session at the Runcible Spoon in Bloomington, Indiana, is led by Irish flutist Grey Larsen. Jamie Ganns, Mike Casey, and his wife, Maulky Rosenberg, an accomplished Cape Breton and Irish step-dancer, contribute to the strength of the weekly session. Although the group is well traveled and are quite familiar with Cape Breton's tune repertoire, including strathspeys, they are dedicated to promoting Irish traditional music at the Runcible Spoon sessions and save their favorite strathspeys for alternate performance venues. As Tuohy has noted, there exists a tension between the namer and the named, in that defining the boundaries of musical practice necessarily excludes those genres that 'don't belong.' In the transnational Celtic music community, negotiating and healing the slippages that occur as musicians travel and perform with new members abroad is what synthesizes unity across boundary practices.

Dissemination does not equal understanding. The cultural counterpoint to transnationalism is globalization, and when it comes to translating across practices, some meanings really are *lost in translation*. Cape Breton recordings and touring groups have flooded the global Celtic music industry, and access to Cape Breton's local performance practice is relatively transparent to a global audience. Yet, this does not imply access to the level of understanding needed to participate across boundary practices. In "Going Beyond Global Babel," Janet Abu-Lughod suggests that within the process of cultural globalization there lies both the potential hazard of misinterpretation, as well as the opportunity to learn from diverse cultural communities:

[One] extreme of globalization is an ideal type of instantaneous, indiscriminate and complete diffusion of all cultural products, with *no need for immediate interpretation*. We are still very far from that. Rather, what we are experiencing is rapid, incomplete and highly differentiated flows of global transmission. We have a globalizing but not necessarily homogenous culture. (Abu-Lughod 1997:135)

I would argue that the difference between a type of global 'grey out' and the recognition of distinct cultural practices is negotiated within practice. Slippage, the loose play of words naming practice, assumes a common denomination in practice; Husserl described this as the *genus*, the larger name that is undisputed and which helps to sort out where one *species* begins and the other ends (Husserl 1999:44). In a globalized cultural grey-out, even the 'genus' practices will remain unrecognizable. Martin Stokes presents a particularly telling case among Black Sea musicians who were invited to an Irish music festival in Ireland funded by the

Northern Ireland Arts Council (Stokes 1994: 97). An after-hours session at a local pub was planned where the Black Sea musicians were invited to play with local Irish session players. Stokes explains that although both the Irish and Turkish musicians desired to share in a musical experience together, they lacked the common 'genus' equivocations to overcome differences in cultural practices:

Whilst bearing a family resemblance to Bulgarian and Macedonian music, Turkish music is slower. This made the complex irregular rhythms actually more difficult for the Irish musicians to perceive – even though there was a certain familiarity with irregular rhythms from a widespread awareness of Balkan music. The intervallic and modal structure of Turkish music revolves around small groups of tones and non-tempered intervals, whereas that of Irish traditional music is equally tempered, rapidly performed and covers a wide range. Even though they were reluctant to admit this – constantly asserting that Irish music was 'simple' – the Turks could not grasp the jigs and reels. While both Turks and Irish musicians were determined to trade tunes, the musical material proved too complex for the time available. (Stokes 1994: 110)

Stokes goes on to comment that the structural elements of the music were not the only barriers to overcoming a lack of a common musical language. The fact that Black Sea musicians were accustomed to performing for a quiet audience, where Irish pub musicians might prefer to be left to themselves amidst the noisy background of a busy pub, contributed to the social awkwardness which developed among the group of strangers. Also, the instrumental roles in both practices were unequivocal; where the fiddle is a primarily melodic and foregrounded instrument in Celtic music generally, the Irish musicians held expectations that the Turkish *kemençe* (a small, bowed box fiddle) player would also be responsible for carrying the melodic line in Turkish music. On the

contrary, the *kemençe* play a supporting role to the *bağlama* (long-necked lute), which the Irish musicians might well have interpreted to be the ‘guitar of Irish traditional music.’ Without the help of a Turkish-Irish translator before the performance, this ensemble had more to overcome than spoken language; with the help of a cultural broker (Martin Stokes, in this case), the discrepancy between the disparate traditions was accessible in retrospect.

Translations: Two Case Studies

As a final examination of translations, we will look at two examples of cultural brokering in relation to Cape Breton in order to understand the possibilities for reaching beyond the Celtic constellations into the global dissemination of Cape Breton’s musical traditions. Previously discussed, Wenger describes cultural brokers as those who sacrifice specialization for the ability to communicate to a wide-ranging audience (Wenger 1998). Just as Doug MacPhee and Kimberly Fraser have worked to become versed in both Irish and Cape Breton accompanimental styles on the piano, ethnomusicologist and gamelan leader Barbera Benary has composed a full-length score that builds a conceptual bridge between experimental Western art music and traditional Cape Breton musical practices. Her original composition is scored for solo voice, string quartet, and gamelan orchestra. The work is composed in sections that flow from one to the next without stopping. Benary opens the work singing the Gaelic lament *Cheap Cape Breton*. Below is a transcription of a live performance recorded in New York.

Time	Instrumentation	Description																		
0:00-0:25	Voice (Benary)	<p>“Cheap Cape Breton” (<i>Shay Cape Breh-ton</i>)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Séisd:</td> <td style="width: 50%;">Chorus:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>‘S e Ceap Breatainn</td> <td>It is Cape Breton the</td> </tr> <tr> <td>tír mo ghràidh</td> <td>land of my love</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tír nan craobh ‘s</td> <td>The land of trees and</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nam beanntan àrd</td> <td>high mountains</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S e Ceap Breatainn</td> <td>It is Cape Breton the</td> </tr> <tr> <td>tír mo ghràidh</td> <td>land I love</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tír a’s àillidh leinn</td> <td>The land most fair to</td> </tr> <tr> <td>air thalamh</td> <td>us on earth⁵</td> </tr> </table>	Séisd:	Chorus:	‘S e Ceap Breatainn	It is Cape Breton the	tír mo ghràidh	land of my love	Tír nan craobh ‘s	The land of trees and	nam beanntan àrd	high mountains	S e Ceap Breatainn	It is Cape Breton the	tír mo ghràidh	land I love	Tír a’s àillidh leinn	The land most fair to	air thalamh	us on earth ⁵
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Tír a’s àillidh leinn	The land most fair to																			
air thalamh	us on earth ⁵																			
0:26	Gamalan	Cyclical pattern in $\frac{3}{4}$ time.																		
0:45	Violin Gamalan	Violin is tuned down to match the general pitch center of the gamelan and carrying the tune of “Cheap Cape Breton.” Gamelan continues the repeating pattern.																		
1:17	Violins (2) Gamelan	Second violin begins playing “Cheap Cape Breton.” First violin enters a bar (3 beats) later with the same melody, as a canon. Continues repeating pattern.																		
1:55	Gong	Two strikes mark a transition into $\frac{2}{4}$ time.																		
2:09	Cello and Viola Gamelan	Enter lower strings with variation on melody in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, in quasi canon. Moves to $\frac{4}{4}$ time in contrast to lower strings.																		
2:13	Gong	Two strikes mark a second transition in duple time.																		
3:26	String Quartet Gamelan	Upper strings in rhythmic unison, duple pattern. Lower strings in rhythmic unison, counterpoint. More sparse with hocketing rhythm.																		
5:11	String Quartet	Moves to unison rhythm in common time.																		

	Gamelan	Cello with prominent bass line (Albertie Bass) Unison rhythms and pitches with quartet
5:30	Gamelan Violin Full Quartet	High register gongs play new melody in 3/4 time (5:37) Violin plays new theme. (Greensleeves) (6:02) In canon and counterpoint
7:36	Gamelan	Quite murmuring. Marking third transition.
7:53	String Quartet Gamelan	New theme carried in lower strings. Repeating pattern.
10:34	String Quartet Gamelan	Lower strings mark new transition, duple pattern. Repeating pattern.
10:46	Gamelan String Quartet	New melody in upper register gongs. Supporting duple pattern.
10:54	String Quartet	In unison, playing melody to the strathspey, “Calum Crupach” AABBAABB
12:00	String Quartet	*Traditional time transition from strathpey to reel Lower strings play melody to the reel, “Mullen Dew” AABBAABB
12:37	Final phrase	In unison, crescendo, then final downbeat.
12:40	Applause	Silent except for cello.
12:57- 13:45	Cello	Plays solemnly the melody of the opening lament, “Cheap Cape Breton.” One time through. The End.

*17. Transcription of a work for gamelan and string quartet
composed by Barbara Benary.*

Benary is a former member of the Philip Glass ensemble, and currently performs with a composer’s gamelan in New York. She has also been a student of fiddle and Gaelic song at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts in both St. Ann’s, Nova Scotia, and Burlington, Vermont. Her composition is remarkable in that several translations are layered upon each other in this timbrally rich, quasi tonal piece: The first translation is the use of the Eastern gamelan as a tool for experimental Western classical music composers. Second, the standard tuning

(A=440) for the string instruments is translated into the pitch set of the gamelan. Benary remarks, “the string quartet is so kind as to tune up to meet us most of the way at our own queer F” (Benary 2004). Third, Cape Breton Gaelic songs (lament, strathspey, and reel) are used as melodic fragments as well as prominent themes. The last translation is the inventive use of a traditional weaving pattern used in making tartans, which becomes the tone row for the gamelan pitches. What is most intriguing about Benary’s composition is that it borrows from two seemingly incompatible musical traditions (Gaelic song and Eastern gamelan), successfully finding common ground through a series of compromises in pitch, melody, and formal development. Through this live performance, Benary was able to work as a cultural broker by drawing Gaelic song into the limelight of the avant-garde music community of New York City.

The second example comes from a local Cape Breton family, the MacLean’s of Wycocoma. At the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs, Susan MacLean headlines as the piano player many nights throughout the summer. Each night, the performers are responsible for explaining the basics of Cape Breton music to a new audience of tourists from out of town (See Appendix C for a sample transcription). Illustrating the difference in timing between a jig and reel, Susan often plays a piano solo that is especially accessible to an audience of visitors:

Sometimes you might get a little confused between jigs, reels, and strathspeys, and all that. Is everyone familiar with “Let it Be” by the Beatles? [Audience answers, “Yes!”] Well, one of my cousins who went to the university and has a music degree, one of the projects that he did was he took that song and turned it into a jig. So I’m going to play a little bit of “Let It Be” for you and then flip it into jig time. (MacLean 2004)

MacLean opens the solo in a gentle ragtime arrangement in duple meter, and completes the melody one time through. Then, without stopping, she transitions into compound duple meter, translating the original melody in common time (4/4) into the (6/8) jig time. The shift in accompanimental style played by the left hand is relatively smooth; Cape Breton's syncopated, octave walking bass-lines draw heavily from the popular stride piano styles of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s (Doherty 1996). The popularity of the solo is awarded with loud applause night after night, because it builds a common language between Susan and the audience. For the rest of the night, Jennifer Bowman and Susan MacLean spin off dozens of tunes that are largely unrecognizable to the rest of the audience, except for the acknowledgement that they are hearing "Cape Breton traditional music." Using a widely recognizable pop hit by the Beatles as a familiar melody, Susan is able to effectively communicate the shift in timing to the visitors. Were it not for the melody's familiarity, audience members would likely not perceive the translation into jig time, but instead hear the solo as two different tunes altogether.

In order to understand how translation, carried out through cultural brokers, mends together a music community faced with a steady inundation of misunderstandings and crossed cultural-wires, a more fundamental question must be posed: Is there an essential difference between *appropriation* and *translation*? Through the cases presented in this chapter, translation suggests a degree of flexibility—the ability to shift a common meaning or significance from one medium to another, without losing sight of "genus level" common assumptions. Conversely, appropriation reflects a sort of cultural highjacking, a 'black market'

translation void of informed consent and lacking common ground to establish mutual consent. Translations are inherently relational; their job is to maintain a human connection in the absence of a common language, to build a new bridge of understanding between members of two different communities which chose ‘mutual engagement in a joint enterprise’ over isolation, segregation, and even collapse (Wenger 1998). In the next chapter, the translations provided by cultural brokers will provide further insights into the ways transnationalism shapes worldviews within a community of practice.

Notes

¹ See Compass Records (http://www.compassrecords.com/cra/tony_mcmanus); Red House Records (<http://www.redhouserecords.com/117.html>); Tara Music (<http://www.taramusic.com/biogs/andibg.htm>); and *World Music News Today* (<http://www.globalrhythm.net/WorldMusicCDReviews/CelticIrish/DAVIDWILKIEANDCOWBOYCELTIC.cfm>).

² The Portland Highland Games in 2006 highlighted the impact of Fraser's recording on contest fiddling. Both the first place and second place winners performed Fraser's version of "Craigallachie Bridge," eerily imitating the recording to the point the two might have been indistinguishable in a recorded setting. I happened to be the first place winner, and I was thoroughly impressed with the runner-up, who had been last year's winner. Because our strathspeys were so similar, I became much more aware of learning directly from a single recording, however wonderful that one recording may be. Drawing from Alasdair Fraser's linguistic analogy, it might prove equally as dangerous to learn to speak French from a single speaker, however eloquent they might be in their native tongue.

³ All tune collections listed here are held at the Beaton Institute at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, Nova Scotia.

⁴ Also known as "What'll it be but Charlie."

⁵ Gaelic and English translation by Angus McCloud. Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts. St. Ann's, Nova Scotia.

5. Transnational Horizons

*Between two worlds life hovers like a star,
Twixt night and morn, upon the horizon's verge.*

—Lord Byron

Members of the transnational Celtic music community work to negotiate between the local, global, and transnational perspectives in order to reconcile conflicting world views. When two disparate ways of being-in-the-world inform identity and practice, that sort of ‘being’ requires the skill of brokering meanings between the two places: metaphorically speaking, if we have our feet in two places at once we may end up with competing horizons.¹ In some cases, this means abandoning a world view entirely. In this final chapter, exploring several new stages for transnational discourse in Cape Breton will help to complete a three-dimensional representation of the transnational Celtic music community. Cape Breton’s diasporic communities, overseas educational programs, the international festival circuit, and even the transnational ‘dating scene’ among musicians all create space for TCMC members to share in collaborative music making, adding layers upon layers of transcendental meanings about their place in the world. Within these new transnational spaces, performers are able to navigate the waters between micro and macro perspectives, reconciling conflicting perspectives along their journey further into the community. I suggest here that

because identity and practice are mutually informative, intellectual horizons are fundamentally *relational*; that is, horizons are continually informed through our relationships with others, and in a transnational community, those relationships draw from disparate communities. In the process, transnational horizons tend to compete with local, national, and global identities, leaving transnational identities to take up either marginal or subversive social roles. In essence, transnational community members have ‘seen the world,’ are changed by their experiences among new communities, and live at home with a new sense of purpose and perspective different from the ones who have ‘stayed behind.’ Sharing their newfound sense of cross-cultural understanding is quickly becoming an important social corrective against the dehumanizing and decontextualizing effects of globalization.

Cape Breton’s Diasporic Communities

Although Cape Breton’s expatriates leave for work, religious freedom, education, or love, their sense of “nearness” to Cape Breton is not necessarily lost.² Although contemporary Cape Breton community members living off the island may not be intent on returning on a permanent basis, they are content to maintain their relationships through visits and other mediated forms of communication. James Clifford points out that rather than seeing their ancestral home as a place of eventual return ‘when the time is right,’³

de-centered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin/return. And a shared, ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaptation, or resistance may be as important as the projection of a specific origin. (Clifford 1997: 250)

Self-identification (*identity*) with the homeland may instead be the common denominator among those who live off the island, which is shaped through ongoing relationships (*practice*).

Leaving for Boston

Just as soon as immigrants were arriving on Cape Breton Island, they were headed off to other places in Canada, the United States, Australia, and even New Zealand. Cape Breton was the least expensive port for immigrants exiled from Europe during the Irish Potato Famine and the Scottish Highland Clearances, and many of the poverty-stricken exiles were only able to go as far as Cape Breton until they took up work in Canada; after they had gathered their funds, many headed further south into the United States (MacKenzie 1999). Since the Highland Clearances began affecting Scottish crofters as early as 1920, their claims on Cape Breton land were well guarded by the time starving Irish natives began arriving after 1845. A.A. MacKenzie explains that although Irish priests in Cape Breton wrote back to their homeland in order to draw interest in Cape Breton's economic opportunities, "most Irish wanting to stop there after 1820 would have found the territory occupied by covetous Highlanders, each determined to squat on as much land as possible" (MacKenzie 1999:31). The

battle for Fort Louisburg between the French and English on Cape Breton Island led to the several French fishing villages, such as Cheticamp and Man a D'eau, but the Great Expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia in 1775 also contributed to large groups of French Acadians to settle in Quebec and Louisiana (Shelemay 2006: 447).

Leaving for better work, freedom from persecution, or land, Cape Breton's diasporic communities have maintained a connection through regular visits back home or by keeping in touch with those who live at home. Boston's Cape Breton fiddler, Bill Lamey, returns regularly for concerts in Cape Breton, but experiences a connection generations back to the homeland of his ancestors:

Bill's passion for Scottish music kept him in contact with several book shops, and over the years he accumulated what he called, 'one of the best Scottish fiddle-music collections in the world,' including *The Anderson Collection*, a rare book obtained from a music shop in Edinburgh, which he donated to the Beaton Institute in Sydney. (Caswell 2000:31)

Lamey left for Boston in 1953, along with other Cape Bretoners who were beginning to amass in Boston little by little as friends called home with good news of plentiful work. Although many of the Irish families now living in Boston had originally filtered through Cape Breton, their memories of Nova Scotia were distant by the time of Boston's "golden dance hall years," circa 1950 (Gedutis 2005). Instead of attending the dances in Boston with Irish-Americans, Doug MacPhee explains that it was more common to attend house parties of other Cape Bretoner expatriates:

I stayed with Bill Lamey. Bill was a great friend of the family, and I played with him a little bit, and my mom played for him too. So anyway, I spent lots of...and of course there was lots of parties, Mary Jessie MacDonald was playing for Bill Lamey at that time, and Alex Gillis was on the go, he was getting older, one of the Inverness Serenaders, Alex Aucoin, a lot of those guys, Henry MacPhee and Joe Cormier, just parties practically every night. (MacPhee 2004)

Bill Lamey did, however, run a dance at the Rose Croy Hall, where MacPhee met other Cape Breton musicians with whom he became life-long friends, including Lila MacIssac, Angus Chisholm, John Campbell and a young Jerry Holland. For MacPhee, his native Cape Breton seemed to follow him to New England, and for years he worked and lived in Boston while playing piano for house parties and dances. It wasn't until the Vietnam War that he and other Cape Bretoners felt it was time to return to Canada:

There were no jobs around here [in Cape Breton] at those times, just the coal mines, and I certainly didn't want to go in the coal mines. It's not a good place for a musician, thanks. So, I did like everyone else at that time, we were all going to Ontario, it was Boston before that until the Draft came in, and then people moved West. (MacPhee 2004)

Boston wasn't the only home away from home during the 50s and 60s. The automotive industry was booming in Detroit, Michigan, where many Cape Breton expatriates sought work.

Tale of Two Cities: Detroit and Windsor

Just across the Detroit River lies the town of Windsor, Ontario, where many workers commuted across the border for work. Since many Cape Breton workers brought their fiddles along to Windsor and Detroit, one way of keeping in contact with home was continuing to play together. For those who did not play an instrument, hosting and attending the concerts given by Cape Breton musicians visiting Detroit and Windsor were just as emotionally revitalizing as a trip home to see family:

[T]hey began to understand that with the money that they had they could afford to put on dances and concerts and put the money in the hat and hire Donald Angus Beaton to come from Windsor and play at a dance in Detroit or Toronto or Windsor or Boston... Fitzgerald was the same way, especially in Detroit and Boston, that would be just incredible music for these people; they would just go wild and for a few hours that evening they felt like they were home. (MacInnes 2004)

In the absence of touring musicians, recordings played an especially important role in hearing the sounds of home. MacInnes notes that many who went away for work may not have been prepared for the ‘culture shock’ of moving from closely-knit rural communities bound together through music and dance to the busy commuter lifestyle of the urban, industrialized cities:

Arriving in Windsor and beginning to work, they wouldn’t prepare for this in advance, and it’s “I’m away and gosh it’s been two months or six months and I haven’t heard a good strathspey” and they would write or call home and say “send me some tapes.” So the home fiddlers were making tapes and sending them to their brothers or uncles and the tapes were non-commercial and they were priceless. You would hear the yahoos and the stamping of the

feet in the background. This was a way for families to listen to the music from home. (MacInnes 2004)

At that time, expatriates living in Detroit and Windsor would not have had access to the Cape Breton in formats other than audio cassette until the first television broadcast of *Ceilidh Across Canada* in 1974, with Cape Breton musicians Doug MacPhee and Winnie Chafe (Chafe 2004). By the mid 1960s records from Cape Breton began to appear in some stores in Windsor or places outside of Nova Scotia, but most likely expatriates would buy Cape Breton recordings on a return home for a vacation, visiting Antigonish, Halifax, Sydney or the Co-Op store in Mabou. Recordings by Winston Fitzgerald, Joe MacLean, and the Inverness fiddlers were now available and the old 78s were coming out in the more affordable 33 format (MacKinnon 1989, MacInnes 2004). Whether attending live concerts, receiving home-made ceilidh tapes from friends and family, or purchasing recordings of Cape Breton fiddlers, staying connected through engagement with the music community has been an important part of straddling their new lives of urban industrialism and rural life back home.

Returning to the “Motherland,” Scotland

Just as occasional trips home to Cape Breton have become a lifeline for expatriates living in Boston, Detroit, and even Toronto, many Cape Bretoners who have remained on the island seek to reconnect with their ancestral families overseas in Scotland. Although they were born in Canada and are at least two generations removed from fluent Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who settled in

Cape Breton, trips to Scotland are most meaningful as a long-awaited homecoming. As might be expected, the experiences of Cape Bretoners in Scotland are less predictable and individually formative than ‘expats’ living in the States in the absence of a steady chain of familial migration from one place to the other. Most trips to Scotland for Cape Bretoners are purely short term visits for concert tours or vacation, rather than the long term work Cape Bretoners found in Boston and Detroit. Among musicians, the strong identification with the antiquated tune collections of Scotland’s master composers, Skinner, Hunter, and the Gows, leads to some to assume that contemporary Scottish musicians are as familiar with these old tunes as Cape Bretoners have come to be. However, under less predictable circumstances, the dialogue between Scotland and Cape Breton is more ambiguous than often expected. On a recent tour to Scotland, fiddler and pianist Troy MacGillvray was surprised to hear new Cape Breton tunes on the street:

I was walking down the street and there was a piper out, you know, busking,⁴ and he played the “Jack Daniel’s Reel,” and I was curious just to see if he knew that John Morris Rankin made it. It was kind of exciting, a tune from home, so I went up and asked him what tune was he playing, and he was like, “oh, it’s just you know, and old traditional tune,” he didn’t even know the name. I didn’t even bother straightening him out, I just walked away... That’s a good example, he should know that, if he’s playing a tune that it’s a new tune, it’s not very old. It was only from ’88 or ’87 that [Rankin] made it. (MacGillvray 2004)

MacGillvray’s experience is not an isolated event. Although recordings, the Internet, and touring Cape Breton artists are continually making the trip back to Scotland, locating where certain tunes were originally composed often gets lost

among the messy reality of performing in public. Some tune names, do however, seem to stick. Kinnon Beaton recalls hearing two recently composed Cape Breton tunes at a session in Scotland;

“Brenda Stubbert’s Reel” by Jerry Holland, and “Father Eugene’s Welcome to Cape North,” a Mike MacDougal tune. I remember that was the MacDonald boys, Ian and Angus and Alan. Ian was very high on that tune that day, and it was a great tune, it sounded really nice. He had a flute and fiddles and small pipes were going, it was very nice, great session. That was in Eriskay, at the Politician Pub.⁵ (Beaton 2004)

For other Cape Breton musicians, trips to Scotland are a way to experience the transnational connection through the exchange of music and song. In 1973, the Cape Breton Gaelic Society travel to Scotland with several prominent fiddlers, including Dan Joe MacInnes. The trip was meant to build a relational bridge between the two Gaelic speaking communities who had established any organizational affiliation since the Highland Clearances. Cape Breton tune books from Scotland had helped to preserve a set repertoire of melodies, but many Cape Bretoners on that particular trip were pleasantly surprised to hear musical new connections with Scotland when audience members began to sing the Gaelic words to the instrumental music of the fiddle and piano. Since the Scottish tune books rarely contained words to tunes, the aural song tradition in Scotland had in many cases had translated into instrumental tunes in Cape Breton. Dan Joe’s son, Sheldon MacInnes explains;

I knew that it meant a tremendous amount to him that he was playing his music in Scotland. When he went and played Neil Gow or even Skinner’s music or Marshall’s music or music from the Simon Frazier collection, he was playing that for people over

there who had the Gaelic. He was amazed that he would be playing these marches and strathspeys and airs and people would be sitting next to him singing the songs. I think it was a rekindling of a memory and that was very special to him. (MacInnes 2004)

Because Cape Breton remained relatively isolated as an island until the construction of the causeway to mainland Nova Scotia in 1955, Scotland's musicians are able to experience 'a remembering' as well. Laura Boulton's expedition to Nova Scotia in 1941 was geared to capturing the Gaelic songs that had been forgotten altogether in Scotland but had been preserved in Cape Breton's cultural outpost (Boulton 1941). Kinnon Beaton has been working with Ceolás, a traditional arts school located in the Outer Hebrides. His summer exchanges with dance instructors have led to a re-emergence in Scottish dance circles in the 'close-to-the-floor' style of step-dancing:

Mary Janet talked about the first time she went over to teach there; this fellow was following her to all her workshops and she was wondering if she was being stalked, but he told her, "there's no doubt in my mind, this is what we used to have here [in Scotland], what the old people used to do, and it's not being done anymore." And he reassured her that they did have it now because it's carried on here [in Cape Breton]. (Beaton 2004)

Winnie Chafe expressed a similar experience of 'transnational remembering' during her trips to Scotland over the years. Her first tour in 1974 represented Nova Scotia in the first ceilidh to be held in Edinburgh Castle, and she returned several times in subsequent years:

In concerts that we did when Buddy and I were on tour there, we met with and played with some of the Shetland Island Fiddlers and we went on a cruise one night down Loch Ness River and we met

and talked with older people, some of which would say, “When I was little child, I remember this music, because I remember it was not only sung, but it was played on the pipes and it was played on the fiddle the same ways you’d sing it. And this is something I didn’t expect to hear from you.” (Chafe 2004)

Modern exchanges through travel, the media, and recordings has certainly paved the way for a dialogue between the Cape Breton and Scottish music traditions, yet it is significant that musicians have repeatedly sought out face-to-face exchanges in order to share in mutual exchanges of “remembrance.”

Web of Connections

While interviewing Doug MacPhee at his home in New Waterford, Cape Breton, on March 24th, 2005, MacPhee received a phone call from friend and fiddler Liz Doherty. Doherty was calling from Ireland to relay the death of renowned Irish fiddler Sean Maguire, who had suffered a major stroke months prior in January. Two days later, Cape Breton fiddler Wilfred Prospect passed away as well. Within the 48 hours of the fiddlers’ passing, word had gotten around the transnational Celtic music community that these legendary figures were gone. An online tune database, www.thesession.org, also hosts a discussion board where members may post their questions or comments for the rest of the website’s registered users. On the day of Maguire’s passing, a thread⁶ was posted by a button accordion player from Cavan, Ireland: “Word is coming through that Sean McGuire died Today in Belfast at 8.30.” Over a dozen condolences rolled in over the next twenty-four hours from England, Ireland, Northern Ireland,

Scotland, the United States, Canada, and even Tasmania.⁷ Similar responses were posted for Prospect days later that spanned from Montreal to California,⁸

Mi'kmaq, husband, father, grandfather, elder, character, fiddler.
2001 - Eskasoni High School students choose Elder Wilfred
Prosper as Role Model of the Year, exemplifying the Mi'kmaq
attributes of wisdom, humility, honesty, patience, truth, and love.
(www.thesession.org)

The timing of these two fiddlers' passing was uncanny; both across "the pond" from each other, their fiddle styles and personalities could not have been any farther apart than their geographical separation, and yet they were still very much a part of the same transnational Celtic music community.

If there are any questions as to whether or not web forums such as www.thesession.org serve as a true community site, the discussions that followed in the subsequent days of the fiddlers' passing revealed the discursive power of the forum in terms of critiquing its member's social behavior. In life, Wilfred Prospect was well-known among the fiddling community as a mentor and ambassador to the Mi'kmaq people living in Cape Breton; his gentleness and dedication to Cape Breton music was appreciated by the Cape Breton Fiddlers Association for his decades of service to the community. In contrast, Sean Maguire's flashy playing was quite notorious, and his stories of inappropriate, outlandish, and self-centered behavior murmured in quiet chuckles among Cape Breton musicians, remembering his past performances at the Celtic Colours Festival in prior years. With all the kind condolences offered for Maguire, and many unable to pass up the comparison between degrees of difference in personal

character between Maguire and Prospect, one prolific online member chimed in on the illegitimacy of Maguire's kind epitaphs:

Hey, taking this in the spirit of a wake, stirring up a bit of the muck to balance the quantity of honey laid on above, something has to be aired of his demons, which were quite powerful. I pray that in later life he softened and found a greater consideration for others than himself. Such an overpowering will and ego.
(www.thesession.org).

While this particular member has contributed a great deal to the online community by submitting over two hundred newly transcribed tunes to the site, he was quickly chastised by other members. One member returned the chilling entry with an evocation that "what should be remembered is that when he taught his students, he made sure they got the basics right first before going on to the 'Maguire' thing on the fiddle."⁹ Other site members tended to agree with the more realistic tributes to the brash musician. This heated discussion quickly revealed a community of practice through its persuasive chain of dialogue, maintained across the limits of time and space through the internet. News that took months to travel across the seas in 'coffin ships' just 150 years ago, now only takes 15 seconds to reach the opposite coast of the Atlantic, allowing for the shared traditions and social dialogue to expand in various trajectories around the world.

The *Wanderyahr*

Wanderjahr: (German)

1) a year or period of travel following one's schooling and before practicing a profession. 2) a year in which an apprentice traveled and improved his skills before settling down to the practice.

Traveling to Scotland, Boston, or other European destinations before settling back down to life in Cape Breton is a shared experience for many younger musicians today, and likewise, for Gaelic-speaking traditional musicians in Scotland, Cape Breton is an important destination to recapture old-world idioms which have remained relatively isolated among Cape Breton's tradition bearers. The notion of "wanderjahr," a year to travel and study at important sister institutions or cultural sites, has been a contributing factor to the growing sense of transnationalism in Cape Breton. This is especially true of Cape Breton's younger musicians; fiddler and pianists Glenn Graham, Jackie Dunn MacIssac, Troy MacGillvray, and Kimberly Fraser, are most well-known for their fiddle recordings, yet each has 'gone away' to universities to study music and folklore. Glenn Graham's master's thesis (2004) explores the importance of familial ties within the Cape Breton music community, while Jackie Dunn's thesis (1991) investigates the relationship between the Gaelic language and Cape Breton's idiomatic fiddling style. Troy MacGillvray and Kimberley Fraser have both recently completed degrees at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish through the Jazz Studies programs, and where Fraser completed an honors thesis researching the influence of bagpipes on the island's fiddle music. For young

Cape Bretoners, certification in music and folkloric research is an important distinction in preparing for work in the music industry and tourism, for they are only following in the footsteps of Nova Scotia's former Minister of Tourism, Rodney MacDonald (elected in 2003), a renowned fiddler and recording artist who also studied at 'St. FX.'¹⁰

The *wanderjahr* is also important for young traditional musicians and artists, who come from Ireland and Scotland to find the traditions of the ancient Celts locked away in the insular Gaelic-speaking circles of Cape Breton.¹¹ Popular recording and touring artist, Liz Doherty's dissertation research on Cape Breton music has added to her depth and understanding of the connections between Ireland's Donegal style fiddling and Cape Breton's unique blend of Irish, Scottish, and French Acadian cultural sources; during her heavily attended fiddle workshops, musicians come to hear not only her expert playing, but her unique perspective on Donegal 'highlands' and the Cape Breton 'strathspey.'¹² Students from Sabhal Mór Ostaig, Scotland's only Gaelic-speaking university (founded in 1973), also travel to Cape Breton for an exchange program with the University College of Cape Breton (now known as Cape Breton University), in Sydney, Cape Breton. During the 2004-2005 school year, four Gaelic-speaking students from the Scottish university attended UCCB in order to participate in the Celtic Studies Program and attend local Gaelic-speaking gatherings, including milling frolics and house ceilidhs. 'Going away' to study constellation practices in this way serves a cultural marker of both specialization and authorization, essentially becoming "intermediaries" or "cultural brokers." Not only does this next

generation of young traditional musicians and artists gain favor with their native community by going away to romanticized motherlands, they receive special favor for returning home to be with ‘their people.’ By obtaining certification in music and Celtic studies, they are equipped to speak the language of intelligencia as well as to the broader audience of the international recording industry.¹³

The Festival Circuit

The featured concert of the 2006 International Celtic Colours Festival held in Cape Breton showcased fiddler Natalie MacMaster in “Bringing the World Home.” She partnered with Galician piper Carlos Núñez (Spain), banjo player Béla Fleck (USA), and young singer Hayley Westentra (New Zealand). In 2005, Celtic Colours hosted a concert series titled “Full Circle,” featuring Phil Cunningham (Scotland) as the Composer in Residence which emphasized the ongoing musical dialogue between Cape Breton and its Scottish motherland. Festivals provide another transnational stage for the reenactment of the Ürttext travel narrative of economic hardship, exile, and finally a return to ancestral veneration of the ancient Celts. By hosting the same musicians in different locations, the Tønder Festival in Denmark, the Celtic Connections Festival in Scotland, and the Milwaukee Irish Fest in Wisconsin, both fans and festival performers are able to develop transnational relationships; as the diverse group of musicians and enthusiasts come together for a compressed experience of time, location, and practice, an on-site community develops that has been sustained from year to year since their inception three decades ago.

The first Celtic Connections Festival was held in Glasgow, Scotland in 1994, billing artists from the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Quebec. Since then, their Celtic connections have grown to include Celtic Zydeco from Canada (The Duhks), the Celt's Nordic influences felt in the Eastern block (The Ukrainians), and Celtic bluegrass with New Jersey's Railroad Earth and Cape Breton's crossover traditional artist, J.P. Cormier.¹⁴ Rather than consider these extended connections as purely commercial, festival proprietors may simply be responding to the growing popularity of fusion, crossover, and other inventive productions of traditional music. Case in point, audiences are more well traveled through tourism and other elective travel than even a decade ago, and "trad" musicians who have begun to book the 'festival circuit' find themselves in familiar company from one location to the next. Lisa Gallant from Slainte Mhath (Cape Breton) recounts their summer festival tour of 2003:

We've done a few of them before, but this summer we did 'boom, boom, boom', a pile of them. That was one of the funnest summers of my life. It's just that you see the same people at the festivals you go to...you can't help but know the people more because you see them more often doing shows, so just relaxing back stage with the musicians and performing for familiar audiences is nice.

(Gallant 2004)

Max MacDonald and Joella Foulds of Rave Entertainment, based in Sydney, Cape Breton, attended the Celtic Connections festival in Scotland and were struck by the festival's design. Not only was Celtic Connections organized as a multi-venue, week-long festival with an eye on the international market, the after-hours concert structure was hugely successful as well. In addition to the normal concert

hours, matinee and evening (3pm and 8pm), festival goers are able to experience a planned ‘back stage’ event after hours beginning at 11pm. Billed as “The Club,” the late-night concert series was designed to mimic an ad-hoc pub session, where performers from different venues meet up after their evening concerts and ‘jam’ together. In all actuality, it is more equivocal to an all-inclusive beer garden with a potpourri of artists taking their turn at a short set for the night.

MacDonald and Foulds created the International Celtic Colours Festival in 1997, modeling the weeklong multi-sited festival after its sister in Glasgow, but with several changes. Rather than situate the festival in one city, they planned for smaller local towns to host individual concerts around the island, but “The Club” remained closer to the original model as “The Festival Club.” Nestled in the heart of the island, the Festival Club is held in St. Ann’s at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts, where the majority of performers are housed. This allows performers to continue to play and socialize until breakfast time rolls around; late-night *seisiúneers*¹⁵ are able to catch the early-bird breakfast offered in the cafeteria before heading to bed. The two proprietors are in tune with the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, Culture, and Heritage by identifying their market by using tracking measurements to follow visitor’s origins and economic impact; their series of workshops, jam sessions, and after hours concerts caters performing enthusiasts and enthusiastic performers, paving the way for a temporarily engaged community of practice.¹⁶ Although the Tønder Festival and the Milwaukee Irish Fest were born in the early eighties before the establishment of the Celtic Colours and Celtic Connections festivals, they now help to form an important web of

seasonal work for traditional musicians who, through festival exposure to different world music genres, are increasingly familiar with the repertoire and aesthetics of traditional music far-removed geographically from their home of origin. Celtic music festivals have created new spaces for artists to hear each other and play together in dislocated spaces that are compressed in time and submerged in the specialized practice of music-making.

After After-Hours: The Greenroom

The festival greenroom can provide a significant social space for members of the transnational Celtic music community.¹⁷ At the 2006 International Celtic Colours Festival (ICCF) in Cape Breton, demand was so high for audience members, local community musicians, and otherwise unauthorized *seisiúneers* to find a way in the greenroom, stage managers were forced to place armed guards outside the greenroom for security reasons. Although the popularity of the folk musicians performing for the festival hardly ever reached beyond its community of practice into national or international pop culture media coverage, during the festival, the security measures taken by the ICCF were necessary to keep non-performers out of the room. Case in point, one festival-attendee who had traveled over three-thousand miles to come to the festival was able to obtain a backstage bracelet from another festival performer; with fiddle in-hand, she attempted to start her own session in the greenroom with other festival performers. In less than an hour, her awkward playing style had given herself away, and she was quietly escorted out of the room by security. While the threatening presence of the guards

might contribute to the room's mystique, the popularity of the clandestine space reveals its role as a type of transnational summit for the "who's who" of traditional Celtic music-making.

At international festivals, the greenroom is a coveted space in which top performing artists can banter casually about tunes, catch up on old times, and appreciate the differences between local practices. Hidden back in the Gaelic College's Hall of the Clans, the ICCF's greenroom transforms from a summer classroom into a respectable receiving room for the Festival Club's performers. Having traveled from an evening concert elsewhere on the island, the performing musicians are greeted with fruit trays, a sandwich bar, wine, and an empty keg cooler. A black and white mural dons a facing lengthwise wall—the floor to ceiling artwork drawn by the Gaelic College's resident Gaelic scholar, Angus MacLeod, depicts the hardships of the Highlanders crossing the Atlantic to Cape Breton Island in a pastiche of interwoven iconic figures and portraits. The only light comes from a small table lamp that allows the artists to barely make out faces lining the room. As artists settle in for the after-hours concert, some groups warm up together by playing a tune together. In other cases, individuals play through tunes on their own quietly to avoid bleeding their sound out into the performing hall where the concert is taking place. Amidst the shuffling in and out of the room to go on stage, the musicians have a place to catch up on friendships built over the years, teach each other new dance steps, or hear a new tune from a colleague. In the process, time and space are compressed in a way that allows for

musicians residing on opposite sides of the Atlantic or across national borders to work out freely the important issues surrounding music practice.

During the 2005 International Celtic Colours Festival, many telling exchanges took place in the greenroom between dancers and musicians who came to perform at the Festival Club, but one in particular describes the transnational community of practice that grows out of sharing a private warm-up room.

Joe Derrane, a Boston native born to Irish immigrants, brought his legendary accordion playing to the festival greenroom in 2005. As he led the darkened faces dotting the greenroom in a traditional strathspey known as “Sterling Castle,” others with their instruments out and ready to play joined in. Derrane’s expert technical performance of this more difficult tune seemed to be contagious; even though the tune is printed in Scottish manuscripts as a strathspey,¹⁸ his Irish translation of the tune into a clog rhythm was little hindrance to Scottish players in the room. After the tune had run its course, conversations began to bubble up in its place, and a voice from across the room rang out, “It’s too slow, I dunno...” After a few giggles and a courteous pause, Derrane cheerfully piped back, “Oh, I don’t know, I thought it was quite alright!” As insignificant as that exchange might appear, tempo is consistently one of the major distinctions between local practices that share a common repertoire. Mastery and decades of experience lends greenroom players the authority to work out issues (in this case) of tempo and style simply by playing together. Body language, timbre, volume, rhythmic emphasis, and eye contact are communicatively bundled together in an informal seisiún exchange; players allowed into the greenroom are experts at

interpreting performances like these as instructive. To have a verbal exchange after a performing a tune together quite explicitly lays out directions from one performer to the next; symbolically, Derrane’s comments call to order the transnational summit to (gently) direct the committee members in how to play a “notey” tune such as “Sterling Castle” in a session gathering.

At one o’clock in the morning, the final set wraps up the official end to the evening at the Festival Club. In a sort of ‘round’em up’ ceildh, all the performers showcased that particular evening decide on a set of common denominator tunes that everyone knows. With over a dozen performers on stage, the popular tunes and the rarely seen together set of star musicians bring the house down (Figure 18). With a standing ovation, all the performers shuffle back into the greenroom to unwind. The keg cooler that has sat empty all evening soon is filled with a brew for the musicians’ second wind—having performed all day and night for others on stage, the transnational collection of long-distant friendships now have



18. Festival Club round-up at the Celtic Colours Festival.

the time and space to play with and for each other. The after-after hours greenroom sessions can last a few hours or all the way to breakfast, fueled by the chance to play long forgotten tunes and hear the different musical dialects of their Celtic relatives. Figure 19

illustrates the interesting listening appreciation that takes place at the after-after hours greenroom session; here the members of the Old Blind Dogs from Scotland



19. The band Old Bind Dogs from Scotland enjoying a few tunes from local Cape Bretoners after a Festival Club performance at Celtic Colours.

are enjoying the local Cape Bretoners sessioning around the green room piano.

Oddly enough, the fiddle players here are Cape Breton transplants from Edinburgh, Vancouver B.C., Toronto, and Minnesota. This session is one of the most important social and musical exchanges for festival musicians, because the tunes, ornamentation, and rhythmic character heard between influential performers underscores the value of transnational collaborations between across the Atlantic and throughout North America.

The Dating Scene

Personal and intimate relationships provide an important trajectory into this transnational community of practice; a surprising number of this study's participants found their way to the world of Celtic music practice through transnational, long distance relationships. Whether amateur or professional, many informants describe their *raison d'être* into a new community of practice came from the energy and enthusiasm for the music shared by their spouse or partner. Etienne Wenger recognizes this phenomenon of knowledge-based practices in *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* that "...we are half a mason, half a lawyer, half a nurse, or half an engineer, because our better half is the real thing" (1998:111). Our intimate partnerships outside our communities of practice are often times subject to learning about our individual practices, whether the other likes it or not. In the case of traveling musicians, meeting a potential partner is as simple as attending a house ceildh or attending a concert, yet because the meeting takes place on the road instead of home, it becomes a likely possibility that musical practices are only partially shared—at first.

Paul MacDonald is one of Cape Breton's most respected regional music scholars, and played a key role in the success of the International Celtic Colours Festival in Cape Breton. Though he teaches courses at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, he is more known for his touring career with Cape Breton fiddlers as a guitar accompanist. MacDonald explains that many of his travels included developing close relationships with other musicians along the way:

That seems to be what got me into trouble every time. That's what got me to Montreal, was a fiddle player. I went to Ireland to play with Jerry Holland, but no, I didn't really ever have girlfriends in Ireland, but my last girlfriend was from Denmark. I went to play there with Jerry [Holland], we went to Copenhagen to play. She came up...there's a whole CB fan club in Denmark, there's like a society of CB music lovers, so Jerry's like a household word over there. So when we went to play there, there was a whole room full of people who knew the music pretty well. Actually that was one of the best gigs I ever had in that pub that night, the Bartok Café, a room full of great listeners. (MacDonald 2004)

While on tour, developing relationships, intimate or otherwise, is an important process in the progression of the transnational Celtic music community. Sharing tunes from home together can be an important bonding experience between members of the TCMC, serving as a type of musical home-away-from-home and a spring board for a new learning trajectory into a boundary practice. In the most practical sense, "sharing tunes" (teaching each other tunes) is a way to spend more time together doing what musicians love to do best, play music.

Transnational musical relationships that spring forth from social intimacy, although common, are not always as visible to other members of their local communities. For those who travel away and return home, those who have stayed behind often miss the shift in negotiating new 'horizons;' what may seem natural and obvious in terms of the transnationality of Celtic music to those who travel, non-travelers may find it harder to relate between boundary practices and miss their traveling contemporary's ability to do so. Alfred Schutz recognized the opacity of one's shifting horizons in *The Phenomenology of the Social World*:

Far from being homogenous, the social world is given to us in a complex system of perspectives: my partner and I, for instance, have an intimate and rich experience of each other as we talk together, where as we both appear to a detached observer in an aura of ‘flatness’ and ‘anonymity.’ (Schutz 1967:8)

What Schutz may be alluding here is that we experience *horizons*, or worldly perspectives, through intimate relationships with others. Rather than simply imagined, we see the world through the eyes of our own experiences; since human experience is fundamentally inimitable, great work is required to communicate that experience to another human being. Close, intimate relationships are then the basis for even the broadest of perspectives, including our place in the world. Paul Cranford describes his experience in learning Irish music as a process of seeking intimacy with the community of people who practiced the dialect he wished to learn:

I had an Irish girlfriend for maybe seven or eight, ten years, I don't know, and was over there a lot. And that's the way you have to learn music, be living in a place, not that I was living there, but I'd go over for a month or two at a time. Multiple times in fact. Eight or ten trips like that, where I was over there for long periods of time, like at least more than three weeks. The lighthouse gives me month on month off, so I do the twenty-five day trips to Ireland. But I also every year get a twelve-week stretch so I had two or three long stretches as well. Never any longer than that though, I never had the six months or year or something, which really is probably what you need. (Cranford 2005)

For traveling musicians like Cranford, maintaining a consistent presence among the ‘away’ community is a means to achieving greater transparency as a transnational community member. Cranford's travels to Ireland from Cape Breton

on a semi-regular basis had a significant impact on his musical horizons, yet his changing perspectives on the connectivity between Cape Breton and Ireland may have gone somewhat unnoticed by seisiúneers in Ireland. Cranford's prescription to stay for longer periods of time perhaps underscores the unrequited desire by many traveling musicians to be seen and understood as a just that—a traveling musician—where their horizontal view of the transnational community would be valued as a resource to reluctant travelers, rather than perceived a Johnny-come-lately due to their spotty session attendance.

Experiencing a Transnational Community

Horizons are situated in relational experiences: what we do in practice shapes our identity, and conversely, our identity shapes what we do in practice—this is what constitutes our worldview. The musical practice (the repertoire, ornamentation, and even social etiquette) that develops among the traveling musicians of a transnational Celtic music community cannot be separated from the cultural context in which the musical practice is situated. Harris Berger has named this principle “situational phenomenology,” where the study object “includes both the rich experience of expressive culture and their situated constitution by subjects living in society and history” (Berger 1999:23). Considering the whole context of performance practice as created in the time and place in which it is situated is an apt reflection of how we experience horizons: *personal, relative, and immutable*.

Communities of practice are the testing ground for our horizons— theories about our lives, the meaning of the past, and the interpretation of the future are worked out socially through learning and teaching each other how to be a member of a knowledge-based community. The earliest phenomenologists intuited as much and described a way of experiencing the world as fundamentally relational. Husserl related this idea as “communalized intentionality” that is born from “a community of Egos existing with each other and for each other” which constitutes one identical world (Husserl 1999:145). The transnational Celtic music community shares a mutual engagement in a joint enterprise, in a sense living *with* and *for* each other, as they hash out the specifics of a shared repertoire between constellation practices (1998 Wenger). Martin Heidegger expressed the fundamentality of human relationships as “relevance:”

Beings are discovered with regard to the fact that they are referred, as those beings which they are, to something. They are relevant *together with* something else. (Heidegger 1996:78)

Heidegger found that we discover our identity in letting something or someone become relevant or important to us.¹⁹ Our encountering the world is self-referential; what we make of our encounters with others reveals our self concept in the world, and this is our horizon. Resonating with the intuition that humans understand their world and their place in it through experiencing each other, Schutz assumed that our world is available to experience together;

Living in the world, we live with others and for others, orienting our lives to them. In experiencing them as *others*, as contemporaries and fellow creatures, as predecessors and successors, by joining with them in common activity and work,

influencing them and being influenced by them it turn—in doing all these things we *understand* the behaviors of others and assume they understand ours. (Schutz 1967:9)

Members of the transnational Celtic community are gifted with a worldly perspective that emerges from the social situations where music is practiced together: Cape Breton's diasporic communities, wanderjahr schools, the international festival circuit, and intimate relationships that develop while 'on the road.' They are the social situations that give life to a shared understanding of each other, the past, and the future to come.

Projections of Time and Place

Negotiating time and place among transnational music-makers leaves a distinct imprint of reconciled contradictions, where "home sweet home" supersedes geography by way of a priori human relationships. In other words, *nearness* is a degree of human connectedness rather than geographic proximity. In terms of experiencing a sense of community or connectedness, Heidegger proposed that "remoteness is never understood as a measurable distance" (Stambaugh 1996:98). Distances, he explained, are experienced as relative to other experiences; one can know it is a mile to the store, but will experience walking that mile in relation to prior experiences of walking a mile (Stambaugh 1996:99). The advent of international flights, the Internet, the world recording industry, and real-time media communications, have made it possible to remain relationally close to other human beings half way across the world. Engaged in mutual interests and shared practices, transnational communities are able to

sidestep the issue of overcoming great geographic distances and grow closer through cyberspace, telecommunications, and radio broadcasts.

In Cape Breton, recordings and radio have crossed the waters of the Atlantic and the Maritimes to knit the community of Celtic musicians together despite the long distances and harsh climates. Station CJFX in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, first broadcast to the region on March 25, 1943. While the station began to broadcast everything from country to rock and pop, the station has specialized in Celtic music from its inception. The program “Celtic Serenade” featured Irish musician Michael Coleman and Bill Lamey in Boston, Ron Gonnella from Scotland, and Cape Breton greats like Winston Fitzgerald. Today the radio station is home to one of the largest collections of Celtic music for purchase in their “Ceilidh Music Store;” currently they hold 41 Irish titles, 125 Scottish albums, and 482 Maritime recordings from Cape Breton and New England. For fiddlers like Stan Chapman and Kinnon Beaton, CJFX was an important link to the Celtic community across the waters while they were growing up with in the tradition of Cape Breton fiddle playing.²⁰ In terms of nearness, being able to access live performances on CJFX from well-known fiddlers too far away to visit in person, the radio station was a way to learn more about the transnational community of practice. What Heidegger calls the ‘circumspection of taking care of things’ mirrors the process of becoming a full member of a community of practice (Heidegger 1996:100). In practice, the transnational Celtic music community requires ‘taking care,’ or keeping track, of artists and repertoires that represent

each region, and learning the appropriate tunes that allow for greater recognition among both local players and listeners abroad.

If a sense of place is experienced as a relational nearness, then time too can be felt as being ‘near’ or ‘far’ as degrees of meaningfulness. Horizons (our view of the world) spring forth from our sense of relational nearness to a certain perceived time and place. For the transnational Celtic musician, festivals and camps are way to experience time and space in a compressed and accelerated way; staying up until 6 am playing tunes together with friends overseas, fueled by the desire to bring home stories that will last until the next year, is certainly not ‘everyday living’ and is nearly impossible for students and performers to maintain on an extended basis. ‘*Sleep Optional*’ is a common slogan of encouragement to traveling seisúneers who, because there are many less opportunities to play together with so many other like-minded musicians back home, go without needed sleep during the week-long event, clinging to the hope that ‘*I can sleep on the plane.*’ For students, performers, and instructors, schools and festivals create a new horizon that seems to temporarily stretch and bend in order to meet the expectations of its participants.

Locating Horizons in Practice

Conceptual horizons are located at the crossroads of identity and practice. Where Wenger’s *Communities of Practice* (1998) describes a **mutual engagement** in a **joint enterprise** through a **shared repertoire**, the transnational Celtic music community is similarly drawn together into a social contract through

1) participation in festivals, schools, and tours, 2) in the process of learning and performing the 3) repertoire of tunes, ornamentation, and rhythmic underpinnings shared by the Celtic constellation practices of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the North Atlantic seaboard of the United States, Galatia, Brittany, New Zealand, Australia, and all other local practices that stake claim in performing “Celtic” traditional music. Intellectual horizons are the ways members of a community of practice think about the world and their place in it; transnational community members, then, draw from two or more located practices to form their view of life. The concept of *experiencing* horizons was not unfamiliar to Martin Heidegger. In terms of mutual engagement, Heidegger described an “authentic alliance” in “being with” members of the same knowledge-based practices; “This *authentic* alliance first makes possible the proper kind of objectivity which frees the other for himself in his freedom” (Heidegger 1996:115, 152). Heidegger is perhaps pointing here to the tension between two realities of conceptual horizons: competition or alliance. In a transnational community of practice, two or more local practices vie for a member’s allegiance, and it is the traveler’s job to work out a negotiation or reconciliation between the two world views.

In any community of practice (COP), the tension between rigid traditionality and obscure creativity, authenticity and inauthenticity, old-timers and newcomers, all mirror the bi-focal vision of the transnational Celtic musician. A community of practice, however, is uniquely suited to provide the conceptual space for an authentic (chosen nearness) and relatively more authentic rule-

abiding (authentic agreement) with Heidegger's "They-self." Because individuals may assume they are free to choose a community of practice in which to belong, they may also assume in the beginning that the COP is aligned with their own worldview, and discover unhappily that this is a false assumption as they commit more deeply into the COP. Their false assumption becomes the fruit of diversity within the practice, and the road to negotiating between polarized worldviews begins as they continue to participate in the community through performance.

Two Myths

There are two common myths that shroud the TCMC in a state of romantic bemusement, where the false assumptions of new participants are reconciled with the stark reality of experience. The first myth is what James Clifford calls "The Travel Myth," where historians have glossed over the forced migration of millions of poverty-stricken or enslaved peoples in order to glamorize the international diversity of contemporary cosmopolitan cities;

The political disciplines and economic pressures that control migrant-labor regimes pull very strongly against any overtly sanguine view of the mobility of poor, usually non-white, people who *must* leave home in order to survive. The traveler, by definition, is someone who has the security and privilege to move about in relatively unconstrained ways. This, at any rate, is the travel myth. (Clifford 1997:34)

The popularity of Irish and Scottish music in the United States is no doubt fueled by a romantic view of the 'old world' way of life, a time-out-of-time, and hardships faced by the starving and homeless Celts who found solace in the

America's 'land of the free.' Large-scale Hollywood productions such as *The Titanic*, *Far and Away*, and *The Gangs of New York* portray the blood, dirt, and death rife in the poverty-stricken Irish ghettos of Boston and New York following the Potato Famine in Ireland. Today the total number of Irish music sessions in the United States outnumbers the combined sessions in all of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Scotland put together by a ratio 3:2 (cf. figure 2). This phenomenon is less the product of second and third generation immigrants adamantly preserving their Celtic heritage than it is a modern fascination with spontaneous group performance and the idealization of a time and place far removed from contemporary urban sprawl. Participating in festivals, schools, and other types of musical tourism reveals a stark contrast in the social context between the forced-migration of centuries past and the elite, elective travel that endows today's travelers with social recognition for having obtaining a 'traveled,' transnational worldview.

The second fabrication might be called the "Back to the Land" myth. Many of the transplant residents along Cape Breton's North Shore have at one time identified with the back-to-the-land and homesteading movement, and chose Cape Breton for its close-knit communities, vibrant musical life, and pristine coastlines. Rollie's session host, David Papazian, sees his personal history with the fiddle as being serendipitously linked to moving to nearby Prince Edward Island:

In 1973, I moved to PEI, to buy some land and build a cabin, “Back to the land” type thing...I helped a guy move from PEI to Nova Scotia, and he had a fiddle that was quite a nice fiddle actually, and he gave it to me for helping him move. (Papazian 2005)

Papazian’s journey from PEI and then Cape Breton is similar to other transplants in the area in that moving to the North Shore was a lifestyle choice that reflected a complex dissatisfaction with the quality of life in urban cities like Toronto during the 1970s. In *Back from the Land: How Young Americans Went to Nature in the 1970s and Why They Came Back*, Eleanor Agnew explains that

for most people, dogma played an even stronger role [than inflation] as our disaffection from American culture and Western ways peaked in response to the confluence of environmental, economic, and social woes of the seventies. (Agnew 2005:7)

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the North Shore of Cape Breton began to see an influx of residents from Toronto, Quebec, British Columbia, and New England who were dedicated to learning the local musical traditions and contributing to the rural communities along Cape Breton’s western Highlands. The somewhat sudden influx of ‘outsiders’ was an unexpected surprise to the third generation Scottish Highland immigrants who had settled in the area dating back to the 1820s. Papazian explains how their worldliness and contrary purview to the Cape Breton locals was socially jarring on the parts of both groups:

This happens to be one of the places where the so-called ‘back-to-the-landers’ or the hippies at the time came to homestead, right? And if you talk to the locals, they were shocked, you know, because it was the first influx of people from the outside in anyone’s memory, and they’d have been here several three-to four-to five generations, in the 1820s. So when I moved there, and being young and long hair and all the rest of it, it was an issue

fitting in, you know, and it wasn't that easy. It's much more understandable to me now, what was going on, but at the time, it was difficult. (Papazian 2005)

Papazian's experience is similar to other homesteaders that arrived in the 1970s and 80s; the new homesteaders assumed that they were choosing a community of practice with similar values and appreciation of the land, the community's 'smallness,' and the economic tradeoff of self-sufficiency for the convenience of strip-malls and super-stores. In short, their romantic view of homesteading allowed them to commit to the new North Shore community, and even while their assumptions of allied horizons began to fall short in practice, they chose to stay and contribute to the growing diversity of Cape Breton's social landscape.

Today, their place in the larger Cape Breton community is honored and their diverse opinions and playing styles are respected as a different part of the same whole. Instead of the referring to their clan by tartan, native Cape Bretoners have been known to refer to them as 'Otis's people' or 'Cranford's bunch,' naming them as very much part of the contemporary local music scene. In terms of experiencing horizons or competing worldviews, these transnational Celtic musicians have been reconciling their early ideals of homesteading with the economic and social realities of living in Cape Breton through the daily, relational practice of playing music together.

Slip Sliding Away

Like the physical horizon we experience, either from a setting sun or airplane ride, psychological horizons telescope away from us the closer we come to approaching them. Husserl describes conceptual horizons as a fog of unrealized actualities, an “empty mist,” out of which time and place are perceived (Husserl 1999:61). Despite the elusive nature of horizons, at least two points of reference secure our sense of time and place: hindsight and foresight. The old adage that ‘*hindsight is 20/20*’ rings true in that we are able to experience our past as meaningful by reflecting on a series of experiences and rendering them as a natural sequencing of events leading to an unmistakable outcome. For example, up-and-coming fiddlers in Cape Breton are finding it important to garner perspective on the history of Cape Breton’s recording industry in order to envision their place in the future of the international Celtic recording market. Jennifer Rolland explains that the popularity of Celtic moves in ‘cycles,’ catalyzed by musicians who are able to breakout of the traditional mold into crossover markets outside the United States and Canada;

I think the Rankin Family and the Barra MacNeils and different groups like that, and of course Natalie MacMaster and Ashley MacIssac, as well as some of the older players, the Barra MacNeils and so on, I think they defiantly helped expand the market for Celtic music in North America. Now there’s actually major labels picking up Celtic artists, such as EMI and Warner, of course, but there’s only some many record companies, and tons of instrumental artists coming out of Cape Breton alone. I’ve seen those changes growing up, it becoming an actually industry. But now it seems to be slowing up a little bit in this part of the world. (Rolland 2005)

Linked with the recording industry are the international tours that allow many young Cape Breton musicians to travel to far away places, seemingly unrelated to Celtic constellation practices. From Sweden to Germany, the Netherlands, and even Japan, recent tours marketing Celtic ‘boutique’ record labels draw young blue-nose fiddlers out into a global arena myopically geared towards Cape Breton’s musical community of practice. Lisa Gallant of Slante Mvath recounts a recent tour to Japan:

In Japan I’m positive that there were some girls over there that had come to Cape Breton and came to the shows and were really interested. Me and Boyd played the fiddle with Miho. She knows so much about this culture and the music here it, was so nice to play with her. It was something else to be in Tokyo playing Cape Breton tunes. It was really nice her and her friend were there, the two of them came over to Cape Breton a few times.
(Gallant 2004)

Coming home to the sight of Tim Horton’s coffee houses that dot the Canadian countryside is a canonic narrative shared among Cape Breton’s traveling youth. Like the homesteading North Shore transplants, their horizons are now decidedly transnational, and require an ongoing negotiation of home and away. Their experiences away on tour add to their memories of growing up in Cape Breton’s tightly knit musical community; reflecting back on both sets of experiences allows each performer to draw their own conclusions about the past and their place in among two horizons—the very local and the widely transnational.

Foresight, the ability to predict or draw expectations into the future, is a second frame of reference in discerning meaning from a situated time and place. What Husserl called ‘protention,’ Heidegger described as the phenomenon of

drawing conclusions about the future based on the past; “The interpretation of something as something is essentially grounded in fore-having, fore-sight, and fore-conception” (Heidegger 1996:141). Our ability to *interpret* is very much the work of a knowledge-based community of practice. In learning to belong, we are trained from the beginning of our practice by masters how exactly to proceed, when and how to correct mistakes, and what lies in the range of acceptable behavior. Through this training, we learn to *interpret* based on our past experiences of our successful (and unsuccessful) performances. In other words, we draw upon our discerned meanings of the past in order to interpret the future, in order to predict and expect the places and experiences towards which our trajectory is headed. Schutz shrewdly comments that “meaning elevates experiences into action” (Schutz 1967:215). In total, our horizons are the protention of our caring in the world—a bundling of our past experiences and future expectations into meaning about the world and our place in it. As soon as we draw near to our horizon, transnational or otherwise, it melts away into the sunset of our trajectory, waiting to be born again each new day.

Notes

¹ Heidegger's "Dasein," being-in-the-world, is a way of conceptualizing human experience as essentially relational, expressing concern or care for the world in which one finds oneself: "Dasein tends to understand its own being in terms of that being to which it is essentially, continuously, and most closely related—the 'world.'" (Stambaugh 1996:14)

² Here nearness is a function of relational closeness rather than geographic distance. See Heidegger p. 95.

³ Clifford is referring specifically to William Safran's essay in the first issue of *Diaspora*, where Safran itemizes the necessary characteristics of an 'ideal' diasporic community (Safran 1991:83-84).

⁴ "Busking" is a term describing a semi-impromptu performance in a public square or busy street where musicians are paid by donation. They may put out a hat or empty fiddle case for passers-by to drop in change after stopping to listen.

⁵ Beaton is referring to a pub called "Am Politician" located in the Western Hebrides on the Isle of Eriskay, just south of the Isle of Uist.

⁶ A "thread" is a term describing online discussion boards, where a series of newsgroup messages follow a single topic posted by a member of that group. The webmaster, the attending sponsor of the site, has the ultimate authority in posting the thread or deleting it from the website.

⁷ Drawn from postings listed under the thread, "Sean Maguire, fiddler, RIP." Online, <http://www.thesession.org/discussions/display/6177/comments#comment131893>. (March 24, 2005)

⁸ Comments can be found under the heading of "Wilfred Prospect passed away this morning at 8am." <http://www.thesession.org/discussions/display/6194/comments#comment131925>.

⁹ Drawn from postings listed under the thread, "Sean Maguire, fiddler, RIP." Online, <http://www.thesession.org/discussions/display/6177/comments#comment132246> (March 26, 2005).

¹⁰ Departments of Celtic (or Irish) Studies in the United States also encourage travel to Cape Breton, Ireland, and Scotland to attend music programs as part of their education. Courses taught in American Universities include: Anne Morrison Spinney's course at Boston College titled, "Introduction to Celtic Musics." The course covers "the Celtic fringe" of Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall, Isle of Man, Brittany, and Galatia. Spinney has aimed the course at locating "Celtic music in the contemporary world music landscape."¹ Alan Ng (course author) and Bob Newton (instructor) offer a course through University of Wisconsin-Madison's

Continuing Education Department titled “Celtic Music: Regional Cultures and Modern Success.” This on-line course attempts to answer “Is there really such a thing as ‘Celtic?’ As well as offering units on “the Current Celtic Craze,” and “Writing Critically about Celtic Music.”¹¹ Both course are taught by music scholars and are musicians themselves, while students are graded primarily in response to literature analysis. Mick Maloney, both a folklorist and performer, teaches a Celtic performance ensemble through the World Music Ensemble Program (Department of Music) at New York University. The NYU world music ensemble endeavors to “deepen an appreciation for the complexities of musical sound, aesthetics, and performance practice,” while “preparing graduate students how to teach similar ensembles.”¹² Alternatively from Spinney and Ng’s theoretical courses, Maloney’s course focuses primarily on performance rather than Celtic constructions in the globalization, consumerism, and modification of Celtic musics.

¹¹ Sheldon MacInnes refers to these insular Gaelic-speaking circles in *A Journey in Celtic Music, Cape Breton Style*. Sydney: University College of Cape Breton.

¹² Workshops where Doherty has explained the similarities in playing style between Ireland’s northern county Donegal and Cape Breton’s Irish and Scottish influences include the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts in St. Ann’s Nova Scotia (2004 “Irish Week”) and a workshop for the 2005 International Celtic Colours Festival given at the Celtic Music Interpretive Center of Judique, Nova Scotia.

¹³ Hannerz has this to say about the certification of laypeople in complex cultures: “The threat of cultural disconnectedness also provides the basis for different kinds of intermediaries who engage in a variety of coherence activities in the management of complex culture, thereby developing their own niches in the cultural economy. They can build those bridges of understanding between laymen, on the one hand, and intelligentsia and intellectuals, on the other, which the members of the later categories do not want to be bothered with constructing themselves.” (Hannerz 1992:166)

¹⁴ Artist biographies and concert schedules for 2007 provided by www.celticconnections.com (December 18, 2006).

¹⁵ *Seisiún* is the Irish-Gaelic term for ‘session,’ “a gathering of Irish traditional musicians for the purpose of celebrating their common interest in music by playing it together in a relaxed, in formal setting.” (Foy 1999:12)

¹⁶ See further “Who is Advancing the Vision?” published online by *Nova Scotia Vision for Tourism*, <http://www.nstourismvision.com/vision/profiles.php?alpha=>

M&mode=, and the “2000 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Survey” published by the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, Culture, and Heritage, also available online at <http://www.gov.ns.ca/dtc/pubs/insights/AbsPage.aspx?siteid=1&lang=1&id=6>.

¹⁷“Greenroom” refers to a private backstage room for performing artists to relax in-between performance, as well as warm-up before going on stage.

¹⁸ The tune “Sterling Castle” can be found in *The Skye Collection*, 2nd edition, on page 55. Noted along with the tune are the distinctions “strathspey,” “According to Doig, Arranged by Mr. Armit.” “Sterling Castle is also reprinted in Sandy MacIntyre’s 2002 tutor on page 55, again as a strathspey.

¹⁹“Dasein has always already referred to itself through an encounter with ‘the world.’ This *dependency of being referred* belongs essentially to its’ being.” (Heidegger 1996:81)

²⁰ See the official CJFX radio station at www.989xfm.supremeserver11.com/history.htm.

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APPENDIX A: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SELECTED TUNE COLLECTIONS FROM THE BEATON ARCHIVES, CAPE BRETON UNIVERSITY

A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes. Dundee: Charles Duff. (M41 D954)

Contains strathspeys, reels, jigs, minuets, and marches for violin and bass (violincello or harpsichord). Includes “Reel of Tulloch.”

Allan’s Collection of Reels and Strathspeys. Glasgow: Mozart Allen. (M30 A4)

Contains reels, strathspeys, hornpipes, jigs, country dances, quadrilles, highland schottisches, waltzes, and miscellaneous tunes including “The German Schottische,” the polka “Jenny Lind,” and “Jacobina Mazurka.”

Beaton’s Collection of Cape Breton Scottish Violin Music. Kinnon Beaton, ed.

Arichat, Nova Scotia: Richmond Print, 1984. (M41 B43 v.1)

100 Compositions by Kinnon Beaton, consisting of strathspeys, marches, clogs, reels, and jigs. These tunes are a tribute to many local Cape Breton musicians, Beaton family friends, and places on Cape Breton Island as in “Ingonish” (reel), “Doryman Tavern” (reel), and “Scotsville” (jig).

Braemar Collection of Highland Music for the Piano. Arranged by Alfred Moffat.

Glasgow: Bayley and Ferguson. (M32.8 M6)

Contains pipe tunes, marching airs, Gaelic songs, strathspeys, reels, pibrochs, and laments. Full piano arrangements (no chords given). Tunes include “De’il Amang the Tailors,” “Inverness Gathering,” “Wind that Shakes the Barley,” and “Speed the Plough.”

Canadian Fiddle Music, Volume 1: What Is It?—Who Plays it? Ed Whitcomb, Ed. Ottawa: Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data. (M40 W34 1990 v.1) Gives historical background on the diverse styles of Canadian fiddling, including tunes from Cape Breton, Scotland, Ireland, French-Canadian, Métis, PEI, and Ontario. Contains newly composed Hornpipes, Strathspeys, Polkas, Waltzes, Clogs, Reels, Calypsos, Two-steps, Jigs, Airs, Breakdowns, Schottisches, Marches, Rags, and Laments. Also includes Bibliography and Discography.

Cape Breton Collection of Scottish Melodies for the Violin. Gordon F. MacQuarrie, Ed. Medford, Mass: J. Beaton, 1940. (M41 M36 c.1) Contains Marches, Slow Airs, Strathspeys, Reels, Jigs, and Hornpipes, primarily by Cape Breton composers such as G. MacQuarrie, Ronald MacLellan, D.H. MacEachern, J.D. Kennedy, Peter MacPhee, and Sandy MacLean.

Elmer Briand's Collection of Cape Breton Style Musical Compositions. (M41 B75) Original compositions by French Acadian fiddler, Elmer Briand, born in Richmond County, 1922. He composed instrumentals for Don Messer, and regularly performed with him as a guest on Messer's radio show, as well as the CBC radio program, "Country Roads."

Fiddle Music of Scotland. James Hunter, Ed. Edinburgh: T & A Constable Ltd, 1979. (M41 H85) Contains historical background, forward by Yehudi Menuhin, and advice on performance technique. Tunes include airs, pastorals, strathspeys, reels, rants, jigs, country dances, Scot measures, hornpipes, and marches.

Gesto Collection of Highland Music. Keith Norman MacDonald, Ed. Leipzig: Oscar Brandstetter, 1895. (M40 M3) Excellent source for words that accompany popular tunes. Many tunes originate from Gaelic songs, and this compilation is a great resource. Historical information is given on individual tunes when available (eg., For “The Battle of Killiecrankie,” the author notes the date and circumstances of the battle commemorated by the tune).

Glen Collection of Scottish Dance Music. Edinburgh: Glen. (M1450 G54)
This collection was first published in 1891, contains extensive biographical information on musicians and music sellers of early Scottish music, including William Marshall, The Gow Family, Nathaniel Gow, and John Walton. Arranged for piano, tunes include “Mrs. Moray of Abercarney” and “Miss Sophia Campbell.”

Inverness Collection of Highland Pibrochs, Laments, Quicksteps and Marches.
Inverness: Logan & Co. Music Sellers, Date Unknown. (M20 I5 v.1)
Scottish Highland tunes arranged for piano. Contains Gaelic airs and arrangements of “Johnny Cope” in the key of A, as well as “Killikrankie.” Some performance directions are given.

Kerr’s Collection of Reels and Strathspeys, Highland Schottisches, Contra Dances, Jigs, Hornpipes, Flirtations, &c. Glasgow: J.S. Kerr. (M30 K4)
Arranged for piano (no chords given), and in sets for dancing. The inscription reads, “Each set contains 6 airs for changing during one dance. Reel and strathspey alternately.” Instructions are given that although it is customary to play an entire set in one key, this collection assembles medleys so that each tune is in a relative key to provide “a freshness and variety which it would not otherwise have.”

Kerr's Caledonian Collection. Glasgow: James S Kerr. (M20 K4)

Contains Highland airs, quicksteps, hornpipes, Scotch and Irish reels, Irish jigs, reels and strathspeys, and country dances. Full piano arrangements with chords. Great classics such as "Cameron's got his wife again," "Hills of Glenorcky" (in D), "Lord Moira," and "Devil in the Kitchen."

Lowe's Collection of Reels, Strathspeys, and Jigs. Edinburgh: Paterson and Sons.

(M40 L6) Six volumes are bound here together. Arranged for piano and violincello. Tunes tend to be grouped by key area, including reels, strathspeys, and jigs.

MacEachern's Collection: Cape Breton Scottish Music for the Violin.

Queensville, NS: D.H. MacEachern, 1975. (M40 M33) Tunes composed by Dan Hughie MacEachern in Queensville, Nova Scotia. Contains strathspeys, marches, reels, jigs, slow airs, and hornpipes. Great tunes in G minor and D minor, including "Land of My Love" and "Fraser's Jig."

Marr & Company's Royal Collection of Highland Airs. Glasgow: Mozart Allan.

(M20 M37) Quicksteps, marches, strathspeys, reels, and country dances. Piano arrangements plus chords. Tunes include "The Flowers of Edinburgh," "Miss Drummond of Perth," and "Stumpie" (in the key of A).

Master Collection of Dance Music for Violin. Richard Carlin, Ed. Pacific, MO:

Mel Bay, 1984. (M40 C7) The inscription reads, "299 traditional tunes of the British Isles and French Canada." Contains a preface and introduction explaining the various dance forms and types, tune transcriptions, and guitar chords. Dance types include hornpipe, fling, contra, jig, march, mazurka, Morris, polka, quadrille, rant, reel, schottische, and strathspey. Also contains annotated discography, anthologies, bibliography, and

index. Instructions and tunes are given in sections dedicated to English, Scottish, and Irish dance music, respectively.

Mitchison's Collection of Scotch Reels, Strathspeys, Country Dances &c.

Glasgow: W. & H.B. Mitchison. (M40 M5) Tunes selected from composers including Neil Gow, Marshall, and Thomson. Arranged for piano (no chords), and set in more brilliant keys for the piano. Also bound with this collection are two quadrilles by Charles D'Albert; "The Cameronians," and "Edinburgh." Each quadrille contains five parts.

Old-Time Fiddling Across America. David Reiner and Peter Anick, Eds. Pacific:

MO: Mel Bay Publications, 1989. (M40 R45) Includes introduction, discography, and instructions on "how to learn a fiddle tune."

Northeastern fiddling style include New England, Cape Breton, Maritimes, and French Canadian. Three tunes by John Campbell included are "Mrs. Greig's Strathspey," "Reel in F," and "Inverness Lasses."

Strathspey, Reel, and Hornpipe Tutor. Newport, Scotland: Honeyman Music

Publishing. (M40 H65) Bowings provided for 153 tunes and explanatory notes. A good tutor for beginners, including the up-driven bow found in Cape Breton fiddling. A note of caution is warranted against the strict method this tutor endorses.

Syke Collection of the Best Reels and Strathspeys, Extant. Keith Norman

MacDonald, Ed. (Third Edition) St. Paul's Island: Cranford Publishing, 1979. (M40 M34) The original print appeared in 1887, was reprinted in part a second time, and this third edition contains all the tunes printed in the original printing. Arranged for piano (without chords), contains over 400 strathspeys, reels, solos (slow strathspeys), country dances, hornpipes, and jigs. Because of the compilation's extensive selection, it makes for a good first book for those first starting out.

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE BADDECK GATHERING CEILIDHS

Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs: St. Michael's Hall, Baddeck, Nova Scotia.

July 23, 2004. 7:30-9:30pm.

Headlining performers: Jennifer Bowman (JB) and Susan MacLean (SM)

Proprietor: Nancy MacLean (NM)

Additional performer: Kathleen Lavengood (KL)

Audience Members (AM)

NM:they (JB and SM) can and will probably switch roles after a bit, and we'll see what happens, sometimes people drop in here to play, and we invite the audience, if you have a talent to play, if you can sing or play an instrument, let us know. There might be a guitar player coming tonight, because they just popped in to say they were here last year, and so he'll be joining us. And if you're uncomfortable sitting where you are sitting, is the fan bothering you there? So we'll let the ceilidh begin with some good tunes, and then feel free to ask questions...

AM: Are we allowed to take pictures?

NM: Yes that's fine. They'll tell their stories as we go along and you can ask questions.

JB: [♪ Tuning ♪] As Nancy mentioned, welcome to the Baddeck Gathering Ceilidh. Tonight's ceilidh's named after a gig of the same name, "The Baddeck Gathering Jig." So I'll start off with that one to give you a little window or insight into her inspiration. Followed by some more traditional jigs, unknown names.

[♪ S

[♪ M and JB play set. Jennifer's right foot is quite audible on downbeats. ♪]

AM: Applause

SM: Thank you and welcome. Again my name is Susan and I just came back from Halifax, from the university, and I have a job [cheers from the audience] I'm back

here for the month of August and I play with Jennifer, we're both fiddlers. [before?] I start my new career I'll be teaching at the Gaelic College, teaching piano, a summer camp here at St. Ann's for fiddling and piano. It's a good spot. I grew up listening to this music and I love it, and music is... my family was full of music, and I learned by ear.

JB: My name is Jennifer Bowman, and I'm from Kansas City, and I also play by ear. How long have you been playing?

SM: I started on piano, probably when I was this high when I started, I was fourteen. I started at the Gaelic College, I learned at the Gaelic College.

JB: I started fiddle when I was fourteen as well. Pretty self-taught; I had some classical violin at the beginning, but all the fiddle music I learned by ear. Anyways, I live here now, not traveling from here to Missouri or anything [audience laughs] I went to school up here, and I met my husband. So now I'm settled here, and I just had a little baby girl, now I'm very very settled here, much to the chagrin of my mom and dad, but uh... I'll start the next set of tunes with a strathspey I actually learned from an Irish fiddle player, Tommy Peoples, if you've heard Irish music you've probably come across that name. It's a strathspey call "Fisherman's Rant," and it'll follow up with some more Scottish music.

[♪ Tuning, noodling notes. JB makes side notes about tunes to SM]

JB: Does everyone here know the word 'ceilidh' and what it means?

AM: No.

JB: It starts with a kay-lee, not see-lid [audience laughs] or whatever else you want... Ceilidh is a Gaelic word, and the literal translation is 'a visit or gathering.' But since Cape Bretoners are so musical, now they have come to be associated with it. That's the more the modern connotation of it. This is a relaxed atmosphere; it's not like a proper concert, if you will. Susan and I will do our best to answer any questions or comments.. so rest and relax. Are there any other Americans here by chance tonight?

AM: YES!

JB: Where from?

AMs: California! Quebec! Connecticut! Over here!!! Delaware! Pennsylvania!
Atlanta! Minnesota! Indiana! Ontario! Paris! Paris? Paris, Ontario! Alberta!
Winnipeg!

JB Any other non-North Americans?

AMs: London, England!

JB: Did you hear about this ceilidh *in London, England?* [Lot of laughter] Good marketing there Nancy!

SM: Yes, I'll take a moment to do the opening, since some of you have come in since then. It's certainly great to have you all visiting our area, especially here in Baddeck and Cape Breton in general. I think you'll enjoy it as you travel around. I hope you go away with a good feeling about our music tonight. We're presenting just as it is, fiddle with piano accompaniment, and we'll have some dancing that's very simple, and we keep the program that way because it's based on a house party. That's what ceilidh means, a gathering at a house that would start with a visit, and storytelling and songs, and music and drinks, usually tea [loud laughter] So we're serving tea tonight too and eight-thirty. Tea and oatcakes, for a price. Anyway, that's the basic outline of the evening, and I also wanted to check and see if there were empty chairs in the audience so if people come in I can tell them yes there are empty chairs. And I know some are reserved yet. So it's Jennifer Bowman on fiddle and Susan MacLean on piano, and they'll both tell you how they get around this music. They just have to listen to each other, especially the piano player especially has to listen for what's coming up, it's never really reversed, it kind of just happens. As Jenny decides what tunes she's gonna play, she'll just play them. And Susan is going to hit the right chords to sound good. It will all sound good. OK, we'll have some more tunes and then we'll get a square set organized.

JB: [♪ Tuning, noodling] Ok, that one's called a diddle. [Laughter] That told her what key I'm going to be playing it. That is all now she has to go on. I'm playing in E minor, that's all she knows so far.

[♪ E minor set ♪]

JB: The first strathspey was made by Wendy MacIsaac and it's called "Bacon and Eggs," and the second "Mabel Chissom's" and then "Laura MacDonald" Oh and other one I don't know the name, and then there was another one "Down the Broomstick."

SM: Can everybody hear when the girls are speaking? There's a mic here.

JB: Just speak up! I can speak up. Should we do some square sets? It everyone very excited to dance? This is actually dance music, so if you're not compelled to dance, I'm not actually doing my job. [laughter] No offense!

AM: How many people?

JB: Four couples, four couples? Four couples. It's really not difficult, if you can walk you can do the set, we'll lead you through it. We'll show you what to do.

[Picking couples...]

NM: This will be a short version, not short short, but a little shorter than what we usually do. In a square set there are three different figures. We'll do the first figure, and then sort of have a break, about two seconds, and then have a second figure, then the third. The first figure is quite simple, they're all quite simple. So you start.... Everybody join hands, ok. First we do forward and back and then right-arm your partner. Go around, and the way around... You stay there, then we go back, and then you swing your corner, and then you swing your partner...[laughter] then we go again, and then your left,

And so on. See pictures taken on 7/23/04

Full square set.

SM: I'll make some announcements and then we'll hear some more music.

JB: Me? I'll play an air I learned down through the years, then build up speed as we go along with some clogs, some reels will be good icing on the tune cake.

[♪ Plays set, no diddle ♪]

SM: Again, if any of you feel like waltzing or step dance or anything, there's a space here if the music moves you. We'll be seeing some step dancing, our Cape Breton-style step dancing after the break. You can enter a drawing to win a CD, just fill out a form here, and put it in the box that says enter to win. Put your name on one side and some comments on the other side if you have time. Keep the other half yourself because it has information about ceilidhs and there's a web address there. Check the webpage, there's a guest book there. Put your name in the box, after we'll have a draw. And the winner will get a Baddeck Gathering CD. Jennifer plays on it, and so does Susan, she plays a solo that you'll probably hear...

INTERMISSION

SM (on fiddle now): The first two gigs I'm going to play, Howie MacDonald, as very well-known Cape Breton fiddler and comedian, took his show on the road, 'Celtic Brew, or Crew?' It's a phenomenal Cape Breton comedy show and he's a wonderful musician, and these two tunes he composed, I can't think of the name of them. And the third one, if I get it, and I don't play the fiddle often, I only get it out when I teach, so I'll see how it goes. Playing someone else's fiddle is like driving someone else's car...

[♪ Set with JB on piano, SM on fiddle ♪]

SM: "Shins around the fireside." I learned that one off a Wendy MacIssac CD. WHHOoooo. Piano players are actually pretty scarce. I never really got the opportunity to play the fiddle because I had three brothers and sisters and they play and my grandfather lived next door, and so I never got to play the fiddle that much until I started teaching piano myself and my students play with me.

JB: That's when I started to play the piano!

SM: I'm going to try a couple of reels, I don't know if I'll get through them, I'll see how it goes, I've been working on these, I'm kind of nervous.

[♪ Set with JB on piano, SM on fiddle ♪]

SM: That tune has actually written for my grandfather, Anthony Michael MacLean, he's 92 and he's still playing the fiddle. "Dan R MacDonald" was that last reel.

NM: Is it for your grandfather?

SM: Yes, it's called "Michael A. MacLean's Reel."

NM: OK, Thank you Susan. Now we have Kathleen, and she's going to play a tune or too.

JB: Go for it baby!

[♪ "Rose of Avendale," KL on fiddle, JB on piano ♪]

KL: This is really fun, I don't get to do this.

NM: Great! More?

[♪ John Morris Rankin set ♪]

JB: How long have you been playing? Cape Breton music?

KL: Maybe two years now? I actually have been playing Cape Breton tunes with my bluegrass band [laughter] It's fun.

AM: Where are you from?

KL: I grew up in Oregon, went to school in Indiana, and live with my husband in North Carolina.

AM: What's your bluegrass band's name?

KL: Half the band are ethnomusicologists from my school, in Indiana, in Bloomington, so we're called the Bloomingtones. [laughter]

NM: Susan, do you want to dance while Jennifer plays?

SM: Generally the step dancer comes first, the fiddler has to keep playing until the dancer stops. I've been playing for different functions, and the dancers keep dancing, and they think that they have to dance until the tune is finished, but the dancer controls when they're going to stop. Most dancers will dance to a strathspey, it's a very bouncy beat, one turn which means one strathspey played twice, and then go into two reels, so I'll try to demonstrate that for you.

[♪ Dance set ♪]

JB: If it weren't for that baby I might be dancing too. [Laughter] She's not sleeping through yet, so...

NM: We have this video put together by Jean MacNeil, she's an excellent step dancer, and teacher of step dancing, and she sell it for thirty dollars, and it's a good winter past-time. Jean MacNeil is Susan's aunt. So if you want to take that home, we have them available. We also have other CD's, the latest of the Cottars, the young group that's entertaining around the world, their latest CD is here for twenty, and this is a Gaelic CD, it was recorded in the community of Christmas Island, which has a lot of Gaelic compared to other areas, and there are several numbers in Gaelic song, fiddle, and that kind of thing. It's a fundraiser to keep this kind of culture alive.

SM: I am going to give Jennifer a little break and play a tune I composed for my Grandmother, Rose, and it's on that CD.

[♪ Piano solo by SM ♪]

SM: My grandmother used to love piano solos, and when I used to go up and practice with grampy, only about a half hour or so, ...she didn't like the fiddle much, she like the parties and the socializing, but she loved to listen to piano solos, so I was more than happy to compose that for her. Sometimes you might

get a little confused between jigs, reels, and strathspeys, and all that. Is everyone familiar with “Let it Be” by the Beatles?

AM: Yes.

SM: Well, one of my cousins who went to the university and has a music degree, one of the projects that he did was he took that song and turned it into a gig. So I’m going to play a little bit of “Let it be for you” and then flip it into gig time.

[♪ Piano solo by SM ♪]

APPENDIX C: CURRICULUM VITA

Professional Experience

Director. (2007) Augusta Heritage Center, Davis and Elkins College.

- Duties include artistic leadership, advancing a teaching mission, fundraising, preserving Appalachian culture, and integrating the program more fully with the College's academic program.

Education

Ph.D. Doctoral Program in Ethnomusicology, Indiana University—Bloomington.

- Awards: Laura Boulton Jr. Research Fellowship, Graduate Teaching Fellowships, Diversity Education Specialist for Residential Programs/
- Coursework: Private Sector Folklore; Phenomenology of Music, Performance Theory, Theoretical Perspectives in Ethnomusicology, Multimedia, Fieldwork, Histories of the Field, Transcription and Analysis.
- Minor: Music History and Literature; Duke Ellington, Musical Borrowing, Beethoven Quartets, and History of the Romantic Period.

Masters Degree in Orchestral Studies (2000) University of Nevada—Reno.

- Awards: Barringer Music Scholarship, Avasino Music Scholarship, James Dick Foundation Scholarship, Graduate Teaching Assistantships.
- Coursework: Orchestral Repertoire, Violin Studio with Phillip Ruder, Orchestral Ensemble, Music Research, Theory, Music History.

Bachelors of Music in Violin Performance (1998) University of Oregon—Eugene.

- Awards: Aspen Music Festival Scholarship, Dean's List
- Coursework: World Music, African American History, World Religions, Women's Studies, Music Theory, Music History, Aural and Keyboard Skills, Violin Studio with Kathryn Lucktenberg, Orchestral Ensemble.

Grant & Fellowship Funded Research

Fulbright Canada-US Program Dissertation Field Research Grant & Canadian Embassy Dissertation Fellowship (Both grants held contiguously in 2004-05)

- Interviewed and surveyed over 150 folk musicians about transnational community-building through traditional arts camps, international festival workshops, and community outreach programs through local universities.
- Observed and participated in over eight weeks of traditional musical arts camps at the Gaelic College of Celtic Arts and Crafts (St. Ann's) and the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music (Inverness), attended a semester-long performance course on traditional fiddle offered at the University College of Cape Breton, and attended music workshops held by the International Celtic Colours Festival.
- Repatriated the digitized and edited recording of fiddler Sandy MacLean (1941) to his son, Kenny MacLean in Port Hood, the Beaton Archives, and the Judique Cultural Center, including an informational CD booklet and Resound article featuring the newly remastered recording. Collaborated with the Beaton Institute's Archive at the University College of Cape Breton in digitizing recordings of prominent Cape Breton folk musicians.

Indiana University International Programs, Pre-Dissertation Grant (2003)

- Interviewed and surveyed over 30 musicians, traditional music camp directors, government tourism managers, and folk music faculty about the influences of tourism on regional music practices and community building among campers.
- Identified vital concerns of camp directors, local and provincial tourism boards, campers, and local musicians in terms of regional tourism.
- Received letters of recommendation for further research from the Nova Scotian Minister of Cultural Trade, the Nova Scotia Department of Culture and Tourism, the Cape Breton Fiddler's Association, and University College of Cape Breton.

Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music; Laura Boulton Jr. Research Fellowship (2002-03)

- Addressed the musical life of Cape Breton fiddler, Sandy MacLean in a public lecture-recital given at the Archives of Traditional Music.
- Digitized and remastered a reel-to-reel recording of Sandy MacLean made by Laura Boulton while filming the documentary *New Scotland* in 1941.
- Composed an instructional CD booklet explaining Sandy MacLean's role in the history of Cape Breton fiddling as both a composer and musician.
- Transcribed each set of recorded fiddle tunes and collaborated with Cape Breton folk music publisher Paul Cranford to identify tune names and tune collections in which the tunes were originally published.

Publication and Editorial Experience

Individual Publications and Theses

- "Transnational Communities and Global Tourism: Experiencing Celtic Culture through Music Practice on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia." Ph.D. Dissertation. Indiana University Bloomington.
- "A Journey through Time and Tradition: Laura Boulton's Discovery of Cape Breton Fiddler Sandy MacLean." *Resound* 22(3/4): 1-6. (2004)
- "Film Music." In *Musical Borrowing Bibliography: An Annotated Bibliography*. J. Peter Burkholder, Andreas Giger, and David C. Birchler, eds. (Online: <http://www.music.indiana.edu/borrowing/>). (2003)

Editor, Majority Report, Office for Women's Affairs, Indiana University (2001)

- Profiled newly appointed women faculty and highlighted the lifetime achievements of senior faculty members in a quarterly color mailer.
- Represented diverse perspectives of campus women on issues such as healthcare, childcare, and under-represented disciplines of study.
- Prepared and presented up-to-date statistics on the status of women in Indiana for IU's faculty, staff, and graduate student women.

Teaching Experience

“Women in Folk Music.” Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (2006)

- World musics to be covered will include Mediterranean music traditions, women in Appalachian music history, women’s expressions of the Celt, and the musical experiences of women Shoshone tribal members.
- Conceptual frameworks will foster critical thinking on issues of music as political campaign, the construction of identity through performance, and the ways in which apprenticeship develops community-building.

“Indiana Folklore.” Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (2006)

- Lectured on the history of folklore as a discipline, folkloric genres of studies, and the theoretical basis for studying regional folklore.
- Inspired students to explore their local communities through a fieldwork and analysis assignment addressing Indiana’s storytelling, material culture, foodways, folk music, and festival traditions.
- Encouraged students to develop their own experiences of Indiana into a portfolio addressing regional folklore as a window to broader concepts of tradition, apprenticeship, and community.

“Introduction to Folklore and Folk Music.” IUPUI (2005-06)

- Challenged students to get their feet wet as folklorists by proposing a fieldwork project on a topic of their choice, composing a mock grant proposal, conducting short interviews, and presenting their findings in a final analysis paper.
- Coached students through collaborative learning projects and developing discussion skills through brainstorming, goal setting and group feedback.
- Encouraged students to design their fieldwork projects on personally interesting and meaningful subjects, which consistently produced high quality and creative research projects.

“World Music and Culture.” Indiana University Bloomington (2003-04, 2001-02)

- Deepened student’s world view through the eyes of folk musicians from around the world, including Japan, African, Eastern Europe, South America, North American First Nations, and American folk music.
- Emphasized the importance of locating world musics in the realm of human experience, native meanings, and the diversity of identities.
- Evaluated students’ understanding through a fieldwork and analysis research final paper and exams combining multiple choice and essay.

“McNair/MEDIC-B Scholars Teaching Workshop and Summer Retreat.”

Teaching Resources Center, Indiana University Bloomington (2001)

- Collaborated as a graduate assistant with staff members in designing and implementing a week-long seminar for incoming graduate students on teaching methods for undergraduate courses.

“Music Appreciation,” University of Nevada Reno (1998-00)

- Introduced students to the major composers in western art music history, historical periods, and conceptual frameworks of nationalism, religion, politics, and interdisciplinary artistic influences.
- Integrated concepts of cultural aesthetics, performance practices, and personal identity into case studies of world folk music traditions.
- Assessed student performance through exams and a research paper exploring the aesthetics and performance practices among a specific composer or musician.

“Studio Violin,” University of Nevada Reno (1998-00)

- Taught classical violin technique and repertoire to non-major students.
- Prepared students for a final jury performance given for faculty.
- Evaluated students on preparation and personal improvement.
- Advised students preparing for entrance into the music program.

Lecture-Demonstrations on Cape Breton and Irish Fiddle Traditions

- University College of Cape Breton; Sydney, Nova Scotia. (2005)
- Indiana University's Archives of Traditional Music; Bloomington. (2004)
- Indiana University's Diversity Education Program; Bloomington. (2001)
- University of Nevada; Reno, Nevada. (1999)
- Eastern Oregon State University; La Grande, Oregon. (1999)
- University of Oregon; Eugene, Oregon. (1997)

Performance Experience

Traditional Folk Fiddle

- Columbia-Pacific Fiddle Competition, First Place in Open Class. (2006)
- Indiana State Fair, Bluegrass Fiddle; Indianapolis, Indiana. (2006)
- Grandfather Highland Games, Scottish Fiddle; Lineville, NC. (2005)
- Baddeck Gathering Ceilidhs, Cape Breton Fiddle; Cape Breton, NS. (2003-4)
- Irish Session with Grey Larson, Irish Fiddle; Bloomington, Indiana. (2003-4)
- The Bloomingtones, Bluegrass Fiddle; Bloomington, Indiana. (2001-04)
- Mariachi De La Flor, Mariachi Fiddle ; Bloomington, Indiana. (2001)
- The Kilkinney Lassies, Irish Fiddle; Eugene, Oregon. (1997)

Classical Violin

- Cape Breton Chamber Orchestra, Guest Concertmaster; Sydney, NS. (2004-5)
- Richmond Symphony Orchestra, Assist. Principal 2nd; Richmond, IN (2000-4)
- Lafayette Symphony Orchestra; Lafayette, Indiana. (2001)
- Reno Symphony Orchestra; Reno, Nevada. Contract Member. (1998-00)
- Reno Chamber Orchestra; Reno, Nevada. Contract Member. (1998-00)
- Yaquina Bay Chamber Orchestra; Newport, Oregon. (1998)

Festival Performances

- International Celtic Colours Festival; Cape Breton, Nova Scotia (2005)
- Bean Blossom Bluegrass Hillbilly Jamboree; Bean Blossom, Indiana. (2003)
- International Festival Institute at Round Top, Round Top, Texas. (1999, 2000)
- Aspen Music Festival and School; Aspen, Colorado. (1996, 1997)

Technical Skills

Technology

- Adobe Audition (Sound Editing), Adobe Premier (Video Editing), Quark and Microsoft Publisher (Publishing), Microsoft Powerpoint (Presentation).
- Depth of experience producing dynamic, colorful, and instructive multimedia presentations that incorporate video and audio sound-clips or soundtracks.
- Proficient in digitizing audio and video analog recordings from a variety of sources including Hi8, reel-to-reel, mini-disc, vinyl, and cassette tape.

Languages

- French ; Reading knowledge, able to translate academic articles in my field.
- Spanish; Reading knowledge, able to translate academic articles in my field.
- German; Rudimentary speaking and reading knowledge.
- Scottish Gaelic; Beginning conversational skills.