Routes & Roots

edited by Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen

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Fiddle and Dance Studies
from around the North Atlantic 4

The Elphinstone Institute

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The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen

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Routes and roots

IAN RUSSELL and CHRIS GOERTZEN

This volume, the fourth in our series of selected papers that have resulted from the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, represents the pick of the crop from the Aberdeen meeting, 14–18 July 2010, on the theme of 'Roots and Routes'. This well-trodden postmodern theme was chosen to encourage presenters to focus on the ways in which music and dance items or repertoires with local roots have been transformed, through passage along transnational routes and through time, in countries and communities that border or access the North Atlantic. Contributors explored the interrelatedness of fiddle and dance traditions and how they are or have been changed by processes of globalisation as well as complementary processes of self-conscious localization. Some of the topics also addressed in this volume include: historical influences and voices of change; the importance of place and how this relates to identity; the nature of performance and the role of the individual; innovation and virtuosity; socialisation and competition; the interplay of dance and music; and the natures of performance styles and of transmission.

The title of this collection deliberately inverts the customary order of the two thematic terms to suggest a different relative weighting, informed by the writing of James Clifford.[1] As a conceptual starting point, 'roots' may be interpreted as dwelling, belonging, and attachment to place, suggesting fixity, whereas 'routes' encompasses travel, migration, and displacement, implying movement. These terms are not, however, dichotomous, but rather denote emphases within the roiling spectrum of human experience. Clifford argues: 'Stasis and purity are asserted – creatively and violently against historical forces of movement and contamination'.[2] Within the several subjects of our volume such ideas resonate, whether it be in the Irishness of session music in St. John's, the Englishness of contra dancing in New England, or the Scottishness of dance music in Cape Breton. Where does purity end and hybridisation start? When can revivalism be said to have succeeded? When and how does a *new* authenticity coalesce?

Clifford also observes that, traditionally, 'Dwelling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes'.[3] He then proceeds to conjecture if matters were ever really that simple, which certainly reflects our growing understanding of the interactions of fiddle and dance traditions, whether we approach the issues as folklorists, ethnomusicologists, or ethnochoreologists. Are our collective life experiences or cultural traditions formed

from the start by routes of encounter and migration, and moulded by movements, ever fluid and dynamic? Are our roots, in fact, better understood as routes? The point is that musical identity, manifested in repertoire, style, performance, context, meaning, and function, is as much a product of cultural encounters and experiences outside of group or community life as it reflects 'trueness' to tradition and individual creativity within it. If we take this proposition further, it is not difficult to see that the musical identities of our antecedents in a tradition – the so-called 'tradition bearers' – were shaped by similar dynamics according to the relative ascendancy of insider/outsider variables, and that conceptualising a given tradition must incorporate a careful appraisal of such forces.

The composite activity of collectors, teachers, scholars, composers, and cultural revivalists of folk and traditional music at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century was a massive quest to reconnect with the roots of their nation's musical 'soul' by documenting and cultivating repertoires that otherwise might have been lost. But roots quickly became routes – the music was not just memorialized, but also appropriated, mediated, and reinterpreted. It was taken from country to town, from a vernacular context to the world of polite society, from the self-taught to the educated, from oral transmission to musical score, from periphery to centre. But we also see a cyclical movement in that the collected music might be repatriated to and reconnected with the communities from which it had been 'taken', through, for example, formal education. In this volume, Lisa Morrissey discusses how Patrick Weston Joyce gathered and published folk songs and tunes from Limerick and contiguous counties in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Ireland. In a nicely complementary essay, Colette Moloney examines how a collector in much the same territory but belonging to the next generation, Frank Roche, assembled and published tunes, and also helped repatriate them through his energetic and influential teaching. At about this same time, English fiddler John Robbins was seeking out melodies associated with the venerable morris dance in connection with a revival and rather free re-invention of that tradition by the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers, promoted by romantic revivalist, Ernest Richard D'Arcy Ferris. Elaine Bradtke relates that history with reference to the field recordings of James Madison Carpenter, and studies the new set of tunes through comparison with alternative versions.

In the later twentieth and early twenty-first century, much of the recognition previously granted to the collectors of folk music has shifted to the traditional musicians themselves through awards and titles, such as the National Endowment for the Arts 'National Heritage Fellowships' in the USA[4] or the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity as promoted by UNESCO.[5] This healthy shift has been facilitated by the availability of recordings and other media, plus the influence of festivals of traditional music. The role of individual tradition bearers has been brought to the fore; a number of studies have sought to document their identities not simply as artists but also as influential members of their communities who integrate the sounds and social functions of their music into community life.

Indeed, Gregory Hansen's discussion of Florida fiddler Richard Seaman focuses not on Seaman as a musician, but rather on how the pranks and tall tales, that he links with tunes, express communicative norms and wider patterns of local culture.

In our next section, writers contribute to our knowledge of performance style, virtuosity, and artistry. In the early 1900s, when Béla Bartók[6] and Percy Grainger,[7] struggled with the technology of the Edison Phonograph, as James Madison Carpenter did later with the Dictaphone,[8] to record and transcribe traditional music, they cannot have imagined the sophisticated audio and music writing computer software that allows contemporary ethnomusicologists to represent, analyse, and detail individual fiddle performance with such elegance. Not only can such tools allow for an insight into the intricacies of a soloist's virtuosity and the motifs and markers that make up a style, but they enable, for example, a clearer understanding of the role of double stopping styles and part playing in ensembles. Discussions of fiddling from three very different environments and representing remarkably different playing techniques appear here. Gaila Kirdienė meticulously documents fiddlers' usage of several drone techniques in various regions of Lithuania through history. In recent times, younger fiddlers have revived these techniques in the service of novelty, virtuosity, and overall excitement. Chris Goertzen analyses techniques of melodic variation characteristic of the best modern Texas contest fiddling. He finds that delicately-nuanced choices made within that elaborate practice reveal what fiddlers consider to be the most important features of given seminal melodies. Emma Nixon parsed recordings of Scottish fiddle workshops in order to discover how ornaments and bowing patterns were explained, demonstrated, or taught through various combinations of pedagogical techniques. Each of these studies might have been possible in earlier decades, but advances in technology in terms of ease of collecting and fidelity of the recordings make doing such work much more efficient and thus much more likely to take place.

As with our fiddle traditions, travel along geographic and conceptual routes has shaped the associated dance traditions, whether they concern solo or couple dancing. Practices have moved both westwards and eastwards across the North Atlantic, and, more generally, away from and back towards cultural gravitational centres. For example, Lesley Ham finds that New England fiddling could be better understood through the study of contra dances and associated tunes held at the Grange hall in Greenfield, Massachusetts. Just as the dancing has become trickier and faster in revival, the body of tunes, already eclectic in source, has grown through the addition of new compositions. Both dance and music are now being disseminated from this influential centre, gradually creating a healthy new tradition. Mats Melin demonstrates that Cape Breton step dance, while sharing a common ancestry with Scottish Highland dance, not only became distinct from it but maintained a percussive style of performance that has since been reintroduced into Scottish solo dance tradition. And Catherine Foley discusses the dynamics of the MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at the University of Limerick, a course of study she founded and leads. In that programme, students learn more about their

very modern identities as dancers by studying Irish step dance from all angles – in short, how this local-became-global practice may be simultaneously maintained and challenged in an atmosphere of profound respect for the tradition.

The final section in this anthology focuses on transmission and performance today. Playing tunes in these early years of the twenty-first century can simultaneously assert new and older aspects of identity, pass by or return to traditional functions, and sound both familiar and surprising. Samantha Breslin sifted the geographic associations of fiddle tunes played in Newfoundland, finding that repertoires commonly played in sessions included both tunes thought of as Newfoundland melodies (though it was understood that many of these hailed from Ireland) and quite a few tunes more recently imported from Ireland and referred to as Irish. The analysis gives an insight into how a sense of place and identity can influence and affect local fiddle styles over a comparatively short period of time. Pat Ballantyne found that current Scottish piping, though consisting mostly of tunes with an explicit historical association with dance genres, has adopted slower tempi due to being generously packed with ornaments to accommodate the aesthetics of competition. Scottish step dance has slowed, too, but still requires a steady pulse, often hard to elicit from ornate modern piping – the music's routes have parted it from its roots. However, some piping is being readjusted to fit its historical function of dance accompaniment. Chris Stone listened to contemporary Scottish fiddler Aidan O'Rourke performing with the band Lau. In most cases, in audibly modern fiddle ensemble performances, the fiddle remains wedded to traditional style; the new sounds consist of harmonic, timbral, and rhythmic aspects of the accompaniments. But here, the fiddler takes up the challenge of musical innovation breaking out of the mould of rigid eight or sixteen bar phrases.

The last entry in this volume is a panel of four short, very different contributions concerning aspects of teaching fiddling. Claire White traces the career and legacy of fiddler and pedagogue Dr Tom Anderson, the key figure in the renaissance of Shetland fiddling. James Alexander explains the nuts of bolts of his fiddle teaching in Fochabers, Scotland, emphasizing how youngsters are inspired to take up the fiddle and to persist in this demanding pursuit. Cameron Baggins describes cultivating a far-flung fiddle environment among First Nations and Métis communities in rural Manitoba, Canada. Finally, the leader of the panel, Anne Lederman, explains how she uses rhythm as the starting point in teaching the diverse styles that make up Canadian fiddling.

Scholars, professional and amateur performers, and enthusiasts who know and love fiddling and associated dancing worry less than they used to that their cherished fiddle and dance traditions are in danger of 'dying out'. As we come to understand the past better through recent scholarship such as that contained in this volume, simplistic romanticism yields to more nuanced understanding – 'roots' have always been lively and multifarious, quite intertwined with 'routes'. We have come to realize that potentially worrisome changes that we witness often echo earlier

transformations. Indeed, there seems to be no end to the ways routes and roots can mesh in modern incarnations of traditional fiddling and dancing.

Notes

[1] James Clifford, *Routes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[2] Clifford, p. 7.

[3] Clifford, p. 3.

[4] See <http://www.folkways.si.edu/explore_folkways/heritage.aspx> [accessed 10 March 2012].

[5] See <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00103> [accessed 10 March 2012].

[6] See, for example, Sylvia Parker, 'Béla Bartók's Arab Music Research and Composition', *Studia Musicologica*, 49, nos 3–4 (2008), 407–58.

[7] Michael Yates, 'Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph', *Folk Music Journal, 4* (1982), 265–75.

[8] Julia C. Bishop, 'The Tunes of the English and Scottish Ballads in the James Madison Carpenter Collection', *Folk Music Journal, 7* (1998), 450–70.

2

'The paper fiddle': reconstructing the repertoire of late nineteenth-century fiddling in Limerick from the music collection of Patrick Weston Joyce (1827–1914)

LISA MORRISSEY

1.1 Biography

Born in 1827 in Ballyorgan, County Limerick, Patrick Weston Joyce was the son of Garrett and Elizabeth Joyce.[1] It is not known when the Joyce family moved to Ballyorgan but they appear in the 1821 Census of Ireland for the area.[2] Four members of the Joyce family are noted in this census: Garrett Joyce (twenty-seven) who was a shoemaker and occasionally employed, his wife Betty (twenty-seven), and their sons Michael (three) and John (one).

Most of what we know about the Joyce family history comes from a pedigree of the family that was compiled by Patrick's brother, Michael Joyce, in 1898 and which is discussed in detail by Mainchín Seoighe in his book, *The Joyce Brothers of Glenosheen* (1987).[3] Patrick Joyce was descended from Seán Mór Seoighe, who came to live in County Limerick from Galway in 1680. Mainchín notes that 'Roibeard an Gaeilgeoir', Patrick Weston's grandfather, had settled in Glenosheen, County Limerick in 1783.[4] The Joyce family had most likely lived in the Ballyorgan-Glenosheen area from that time.

Unfortunately the first birth and baptismal records for Ballyorgan, County Limerick date from 1856 and 1853, respectively; therefore there is no official record available of Patrick Weston's birth. In the Census of Ireland for 1901 and 1911, Joyce's age is given as seventy four and eighty four years, respectively, thereby indicating that he was born *c*.1827. However, his death certificate appears to contradict the 1827 year of birth: Patrick died on the 7 January 1914 and his age is noted as eighty six on his death certificate, thereby implying his year of birth was *c*.1828. This discrepancy could have been caused by the fact that he died at the beginning of 1914: he could indeed have been eighty-six years when he died, but if his birthday was after 7

January, he would have died before reaching his eighty-seventh birthday. If this is the case, he would have been eighty-seven at some stage during 1914, had he lived, thus indicating an 1827 year of birth. Taking into account that the Censuses of 1901 and 1911 were taken on 31 March 1901 and 2 April 1911 respectively, it would appear that Joyce's birth date may have between 7 January and the 31 March 1827.

Patrick Weston Joyce received his education in hedge schools in Mitchelstown in County Cork; and Fanningstown, Galbally, Kilfinane and Kilmallock in County Limerick.[5] Under the Penal Laws, enforced in Ireland in the seventeenth century, Catholics were forbidden to attend school. The hedge schools therefore were unofficial schools which were organised in secret by Catholics who wished to have their children educated. These schools were generally concealed in mountains or remote areas and Joyce describes how a few local men would erect, what he terms a 'rude cabin', in the shelter of a wall or hedge, which acted as a temporary schoolhouse.[6]

When Joyce was just eighteen years old he began his career as a teacher in the National School in Glenroe, County Limerick.[7] Around this time, Joyce also travelled to Dublin where he spent four and a half months training in Marlborough Street Training College, before returning to the school in Glenroe to teach.[8] Joyce's next teaching position was in the Mechanics' Institute in Clonmel,[9] where he remained for only a year. In 1851 he became headmaster of the West Dublin Model School, where he remained until 1856.[10]

In that year Joyce was appointed 'Organiser', along with fourteen others, to assist in coordinating and arranging the Irish Education System.[11] This was a key position in the development of the education system in Ireland and it involved travelling to schools to advise teachers on how to manage their classes and schools more efficiently. In 1858 Joyce became a student at Trinity College, Dublin, receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1861, and his Master of Arts in 1864. In 1870 he was awarded an honorary degree, a Doctor of Laws, from the same university.[12] Joyce's penultimate teaching position was in the Science Department in the State Training Institute from 1873 until 1888.[13] Finally, he was appointed principal of the female branch of the teacher training college, a position in which he remained until his retirement in 1893,[14] after spending forty-eight years in the service of the Commissioners of National Education.

Although it is not known when Patrick Weston Joyce moved to live in Dublin permanently, he married Caroline Jessie Waters, from Baltinglass, County Wicklow, in 1856.[15] Patrick and Caroline Joyce had seven children: Garrett Weston (*c.* 1868[16] – date of death unknown); Robert Dwyer (*c.* 1875[17] – date of death unknown); Weston St. John (*c.* 1859[18]–1939[19]); Richard (*c.* 1874–1875[20]); Elizabeth (also known as 'Bessie Emily') (*c.* 1867[21] – date of death unknown); Kathleen Maureen[22] (sometimes known as Kathleen Meave) (*c.* 1875[23]–1956[24]); and Caroline Jessie (born *c.* 1863–1870).[25] Unfortunately Richard died when he was only seventeen months old on 26 December 1875, and Caroline Jessie (junior) died when she was nine years and five months on 29 May 1870.

Joyce's wife, Caroline, died on the 28 March 1909[26] and Patrick himself followed on the 7 January 1914. According to an article in the *Irish Times* on 10 January 1914, Joyce's funeral took place from the Church of the Three Patrons in Rathgar and he was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery. Patrick Weston Joyce was a prolific writer during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Ireland. He wrote and had published more than thirty books between 1863 and 1911 on a variety of subjects, including pedagogy and school management, school textbooks, historical publications, and place names (see Figure 1). Joyce also produced four collections of Irish music − *Ancient Irish Music* (1873),[27] *Irish Music and Song* (1888),[28] *Irish Peasant Songs in the English Language* (1906),[29] and *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (1909)[30] − which will be discussed in more detail later.

Figure 1 Patrick Weston Joyce

1.2 Joyce as a Collector

While Joyce's professional career was in primary education, we know from his accounts of his youth that he was also a musician, playing his fife at school in County Limerick.

> I was the delight and joy of that school; for I generally carried in my pocket a little fife for which I could roll off jigs, reels, hornpipes, hop-jigs, song tunes &c., without limit.[31]

Joyce began noting the music of his native County Limerick when he moved to Dublin and became aware of the work of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland. The Society was founded in 1851 and, as the title suggests, was set up to conserve and publish Irish music.[32] Encouraged by George Petrie, the President of the Society, Joyce transcribed the tunes that he remembered from his youth. He contributed freely to Petrie's collection, *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855), but after Petrie's death Joyce undertook the publication of the airs himself.

Joyce's first musical publication, *Ancient Irish Music* (1873), contains one hundred tunes that were harmonised by Professor John William Glover. According to information provided by Joyce on the flyleaf of the book, the publication contains 'many of the old popular songs; and several new songs'.[33] The vast majority of items in this collection were transcribed from individuals in County Limerick, including items from Joyce's father Garrett, David Grady, James Buckley, Nora Dwane, Lewis O'Brien, and Ned Goggin.

Published in 1888, Joyce's *Irish Music and Song* contains twenty tunes which have the lyrics underlaid. Printing the text directly under the music notation, according to Joyce, was highly significant and he holds that his was the first publication to print the words in this way. Joyce also notes that the airs of the songs in this collection are generally older than the words and although most of the authors of the words are known, the origins of the airs cannot be traced.

Irish Peasant Songs in the English Language (1906), containing only seven items, is the smallest of Joyce's publications. It includes six items, which were remembered by Joyce from his childhood, and one item transcribed from the singing of Dave Dwane from Glenosheen. According to Joyce, it was the first publication to print only 'peasant' songs. Joyce further adds that, although the majority of Anglo-Irish peasant songs are in his opinion tasteless, he believes the songs in this collection are superior to most. The songs are set to the old Irish airs to which they were sung and all contain verses in English.

Old Irish Folk Music and Songs (1909) is Joyce's largest printed collection of Irish music and song. A significant part of the work consists of airs transcribed from the manuscripts of other collectors: three hundred items from the manuscript collection of James Goodman (1828–1896), and one hundred items from those of William Forde (1795–1850) and John Edward Pigot (1822–1871). According to Joyce, the object of this

book was to print 'hitherto unpublished' airs and songs, although he does note that the publication includes different settings or versions of tunes already published.[34]

The Joyce publications contain a total of nine hundred and sixty-nine items including variants: one hundred items in *Ancient Irish Music*; twenty items in *Irish Music and Song*; seven items in *Irish Peasant Songs in the English Language*; and eight hundred and forty-two items in *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*.

Apart from Joyce's musical publications, a number of his original music manuscripts are also extant: MSS 2982, 2983 and Joly 25, which are held in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, and a photocopy of a small music manuscript held by University College Dublin. The manuscripts contain a total of one thousand and three items including variants: three hundred and fifty-two items in NLI MS 2982; five hundred and forty-four items in NLI MS 2983; sixty-nine items in NLI MS Joly 25; seventeen items in UCD MS 22.1; and twenty-one items in UCD MS 22.2.

The items in the Joyce collection come from a large variety of sources: Joyce noted tunes that he remembered from his youth or that he transcribed from the performance of others, either in his native area of County Limerick or in other parts of Ireland; he also received tunes from other collectors, family members and correspondents, either as single items or as existing manuscript collections; and, in addition, there are a small number of items copied from printed books or newspapers.

1.3 Fiddle Music

There are one hundred and twenty-two items in the Joyce published collection and one hundred and eighteen items in the Joyce manuscript collection that appear to have been received, or transcribed, directly from fiddle players; obtained from manuscripts composed by fiddle players; or transcribed from manuscripts which were originally collected from fiddle players. Unfortunately there are a number of items in the Joyce published collections and manuscripts that have no inscriptions and therefore the sources of the items are unknown. A number of these items may also have been obtained directly or indirectly from fiddle players, but it is not possible to be conclusive on this. Figure 2 gives the items in the Joyce published collections, and Figure 3 the items in the Joyce manuscripts, which are known to be from fiddle players.

In total thirteen items were obtained from the fiddle player Ned Goggin; two items from Denis Cleary; five items from Victor Power; four items from Michael Walsh; and eleven items that were learned from 'fiddlers and pipers' in Limerick. Although Joyce does not specify from whom he learned the latter items, from fiddle players or pipers, the tunes may have been played by both groups of instrumentalists. According to information provided by Joyce in his manuscripts and publications, Ned Goggin was a professional fiddle player from Glenosheen; Denis Cleary a fiddler from Kilfinane, County Limerick; Victor Power an amateur violinist from Leap, County Cork; and Michael Walsh a professional fiddler from Strokestown, County Roscommon.

Items direct from fiddle players	Items from MSS written by fiddle players	Items from MSS collected from fiddle players
Learned from fiddlers/pipers: 7 items	MS written by a skilled fiddler [Limerick]: 8 items	Pigot MS: 1 item
Ned Goggin [Glenosheen, Co. Limerick]: 10 items		Forde MS: 87 items
Victor Power [Leap, Co. Cork]: 5 items		
Michael Walsh [Strokestown, Co. Roscommon]: 4 items		
Total: 26 items	Total: 8 items	Total: 88 items

Figure 2 Items from Fiddle Players in the Joyce Published Collection

Items direct from fiddle players	Items transcribed from MSS written by fiddle players	Items transcribed from MSS collected from fiddle players
Ned Goggin [Glenosheen, Co. Limerick]: 3 items	MS written by unknown fiddler: 25 items	Goodman MS: 9 items
Denis Cleary [Ballyorgan, Co. Limerick]: 2 items	Whiteside MS: 68 items	
Learned from fiddlers/ pipers: 4 items	McGrath MS: 7 items	
Total: 9 items	Total: 100 items	Total: 9 items

Figure 3 Items from Fiddle Players in the Joyce Manuscript Collection

There are one hundred and eight items in the Joyce collection that have been transcribed from manuscripts which had been compiled by fiddle players. Eight of these appear in his published collections and were transcribed from a manuscript that was, according to Joyce, 'written by a skilled fiddler with much musical taste, from Limerick, but the name of the writer nowhere appears'.[35] Of the items in NLI MSS 2982 and 2983 that have been transcribed from manuscripts written by fiddle players: twenty-five items were from a manuscript written by an unknown fiddle player for the use of his students; sixty-eight items from the Whiteside manuscript; and seven items from the McGrath manuscript.

The only information provided by Joyce about the manuscript written by the unknown fiddle player for the use of his students, is that it was lent to him by a Mr Patrick Delany from Dungarvan, County Waterford. The Whiteside manuscript,

according to inscriptions in NLI MS 2983, was lent to Joyce by Mr James Whiteside of Bray, formerly a national teacher and fiddle player from County Monaghan. The Whiteside tunes appear to originate from fiddle players in County Monaghan and include six items which were collected from two named fiddle players: Mick Rooney, a blind itinerant fiddler; and Mr Fitzgerald, who according to Joyce was a famous fiddler. The McGrath manuscript was lent to Joyce by the Rev. W. Hickey from Green Lane in Leeds, England, and had been compiled by a Mr McGrath, a fiddle teacher from Mitchelstown, County Cork, for the use of his pupils.

There are ninety-seven items in the Joyce collection that were transcribed from existing manuscripts, which were collected from fiddle players: eighty-seven items from the manuscripts of Cork-born collector William Forde (*c*.1795–1850);[36] one item from the manuscripts of John Edward Pigot (1822–1871),[37] another native of County Cork; and nine items from the manuscripts of James Goodman (1828–1896),[38] a piper and collector also from County Cork. Of the nine fiddle items that Joyce transcribed from the manuscripts of James Goodman, six items were from a fiddler with the initials G. S. and three items from a fiddler with the initials O. D.

1.4 Key Signatures

Of the one hundred and twenty-two items in the Joyce published collections from fiddle players, forty-one items are transcribed in flat keys: thirty-five items in F major and six items in Bb major. Forty-one items are written in sharp keys: twenty-nine items in G major; ten items in D major and two items in A major. There are also forty items transcribed in C major. Figure 4 gives the key signatures of items from fiddle players in the Joyce published collection.

Number of items	Key signatures
40 items	C+
41 items	b key signatures (35 in F+ and 6 in Bb+)
41 items	# key signatures (29 in G+; 10 in D+; and 2 in A+)

Figure 4 Key Signatures of Items from Fiddle Players in the Joyce Published Collection

In comparison, of the one hundred and eighteen items in the Joyce manuscript collection from fiddle players, only eleven items are transcribed in flat keys: 10 items in F major and 1 item in Bb major. This includes one item, NLI MS 2983/488, which was originally transcribed without a key signature but needs to be in F major to make melodic sense. There are also ninety-seven items from fiddle players in the Joyce manuscript collection that are transcribed in sharp keys: sixty-seven items in G major; twenty-nine items in D major; and one item in A major. This also includes one item, NLI MS 2983/399, which was originally noted in a void key signature. Figure 5 shows the key signatures of items from fiddle players in the Joyce manuscript collection.

Number of items	Key signatures
10 items	C+
11 items	b key signatures (10 in F+ and 1 in Bb+)
97 items	# key signatures (67 in G+; 29 in D+; and 1 in A+)

Figure 5 Key Signatures of Items from Fiddle Players in the Joyce Manuscript Collection

Almost 22% of the tunes in the Joyce collection are transcribed in F major or Bb major, which could indicate that flat key signatures were reasonably popular amongst fiddle players. At the very least, the presence of such a number of items in flat keys, suggest that fiddle players had the capabilities to play in these keys. However, it is possible that the tunes in the Joyce manuscript and published collections, may not have been transcribed at the pitch in which they were originally played, therefore the number of tunes in each key signature may not be fully representative of the performance practice of the era. Also, as the majority of the tunes in flat keys appear in Joyce's printed collections, it is possible that the tunes may have been transposed in preparation for publication.

Considering that G major and D major are the most common key signatures amongst traditional fiddle players in Ireland today, it is not surprising to find that the majority of tunes in the Joyce published and manuscript collection, 58%, are in G or D major. A further 21% have a key signature of C major, which is a key also found in the tradition today.

1.5 Range of Tunes

The majority of tunes from fiddle players in the Joyce collection are within the standard range of traditional music today, from middle C to the B almost two octaves above. Only thirteen items exceed this range, seven of which go above high B and necessitate hand positions above first position. These tunes are a mixture of classical and traditional arrangements or airs and dance tunes, and indicate that at least some traditional fiddler players must have had the facility to play above first position. The other six items extend below middle C and suggest that at least these particular tunes were idiomatic to the fiddle. It would seem therefore that the majority of the fiddle players' repertoire was shared and possibly performed with other traditional instruments as part of a common repertoire at the time, but notwithstanding most examples sit well on the fiddle and are technically comfortable to play.

1.6 Tune Types

The most common tune types in the Joyce manuscripts which were collected from fiddle players are reels, making up 42% of the fiddle repertoire in the manuscripts. Air playing also seems to have been very popular with airs, laments, and drinking songs making up 25% of the repertoire. The hornpipe, at 16%, was the next most popular dance tune, which was followed by jigs (11%), and slip jigs (just less than 2%). In addition there were two set dances and one march.

Tune type	Number of tunes
Reels	50 (42%)
Airs, Laments and Drinking Songs	29 (25%)
Hornpipes	19 (16%)
Jigs	13 (11%)
Slip Jigs	2 (>2%)
Set Dances	2 (>2%)
Non-Irish Tunes	2 (>2%)
March	1 (>1%)

Figure 6 Tune Types in the Joyce Manuscript Collection

In comparison, the majority of tunes from fiddle players in the Joyce published collection are airs. Of the one hundred and twenty-two items published from fiddle players 83% are airs. The remainder of the items are jigs, hornpipes, reels, set dances, country dances, and children's or work songs.

Figure 7 Tune Types in the Joyce Published Collection

Tune type	Number of tunes
Airs	101 (83%)
Jigs	10 (8%)
Hornpipes	3 (2%)
Reels	2 (>2%)
Set Dances	2 (>2%)
Country Dances	2 (>2%)
Children's or Work Songs	2 (>2%)

As can be seen from Figures 6 and 7, there is a remarkable difference between the types of tunes transcribed from fiddle players in the Joyce published and manuscript collections. Considering that seventy-one percent of the items in the Joyce published collection from fiddle players, are transcribed from the Forde manuscripts, either Joyce or Forde could have made editorial decisions about the type of tune collected or selected for publication. It could also be that the fiddle material was collected in different areas and hence represents regional preferences.

Although the Joyce manuscript collection does contain a variety of different tune types from fiddle players, all items from the Goodman and McGrath manuscripts are reels. This could suggest that reels were the most popular type of tune, when Goodman and McGrath were compiling their manuscripts, or, alternatively, they could have made an editorial decision about the type of tunes they collected. Similarly, Joyce may also have made parallel editorial decisions. In the Joyce manuscript collection, items from fiddle players appear to be grouped according to tune types in several instances. For example, items from the Whiteside manuscript consist of a block of thirteen hornpipes, which is followed by blocks of twenty-four reels, six airs, another reel, and fourteen more airs.

1.7 Bowing

Bowing is generally not indicated in the items noted from fiddle players in the Joyce collection. In the few examples that do indicate bowing, most notes are played separately with just the occasional pair of slurred quavers or some off-beat slurring. The majority of slurs are over triplets and therefore may just be indicating the presence of triplets rather than suggesting bowing.

1.8 Ornamentation

In NLI MSS 2982 and 2983, only eight items out of the one hundred and eighteen items from fiddle players have ornamentation, this includes the use of single grace notes or cuts; lower grace notes or 'pats' as in Figure 8; and trills as in Figure 9. There is no indication though as to whether the standard trill of Western Art music tradition or another ornament was implied by the 'tr' sign.

Figure 8 Lower Grace Note NLI MS 2982/409

Figure 9 Trill NLI MS 2983/360

Figure 10 Appoggiaturas NLI MS 2983/449

Figure 10 is an extract from NLI MS 2983/449, a tune which also has ornamentation included. As written, these ornaments could be appoggiaturas and hence played as even quavers. The tune though is meant to imitate the cuckoo and from Joyce's description the ornament would appear to be played in the style of an acciaccatura:

> The grace notes over the cuckoo call are to be barely touched, so as not to break the call. Observe: the artificiality of this cuckoo does not interfere with the melody which is a very good one. The original composer was correct in his imitation of the cuckoo: for the two notes of the bird are separated by a minor third (a tone and a half), the same as the tune.[39]

Figure 11 Turn NLI MS 2983/451

NLI MS 2983/451 also contains ornamentation as seen in Figure 11. Although the ornament symbol indicates a turn, it is unclear how the ornament should be played in the traditional music context. It is possible that the ornament may be indicating a single grace note to be played between the repeated E quavers or perhaps a half roll or triplet. Considering that this item is transcribed from the Whiteside manuscript, Whiteside could have employed an individual system, whereby he used the standard ornament symbols from Western Art music to denote particular traditional ornaments.

Figure 12 Triplets NLI MS 2983/449

In Figures 12 and 13, although the tunes have no ornamentation, both have figurations that transcribe ornaments. In Figure 12 there are triplets at the beginning of bars 1–3 and another triplet figure in bar 4, which would be very effective bowed or slurred on the fiddle. In Figure 13, bar 1, beat 2 and bar 3, beat 2, appear to be bowed trebles.
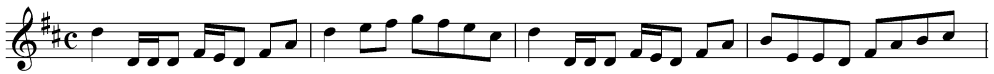
Figure 13 Bowed Trebles NLI MS 2983/54

In comparison, forty-nine of the items from fiddle players in the Joyce published collection contain ornaments, all of which can be found in Joyce's *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*. As with the items from Joyce's manuscript collection, the majority of the ornaments are single grace notes. However, ornament symbols that appear to indicate mordents, turns, and trills are also present. Again, it could be a case of employing the standard symbols from classical music to denote individual traditional ornaments, but not providing a legend to explain their meaning in the context.

1.9 Other Observations

The fact that there were only two non-Irish items in the Joyce manuscripts from fiddle players is noteworthy. From other contemporary collections, such as those of Boss Murphy (1875–1955)[40] and Frank Roche (1866–1961),[41] we know that non-Irish items such as flings, gallops, Moore's melodies, and such-like were popular among Irish musicians. Quadrilles were also widely played but none of these items can be found among the fiddle music in the Joyce manuscript collection. It is possible that the fiddle players, from whom Joyce received and collected material, may not have played these types of tunes, alternatively Joyce and/or his sources, may have made editorial decisions on the type of music they collected and transcribed, and

neglected to collect what they considered non-Irish items such as the quadrilles, flings, and so on.

The majority of collectors of Irish music in the nineteenth century were antiquarians and were from Ireland's middle classes or above. From Bunting through Petrie and others to Joyce, folk music collectors, who were generally trained in the European classical music tradition, visited the remotest parts of the country to collect and notate music, directly from the people who played and sang it. The adjective 'ancient' is used by several collectors to describe their music and it appears that Petrie was particularly strong in his belief, that the older the tune was perceived, the more valuable it was. Several collectors, including Joyce, used the term 'ancient' to describe their music, despite the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that most of the repertoire which they collected, was indeed ancient. The collectors were gathering and publishing Irish music from the survivors of the Famine and collecting a repertoire, which was in danger of being lost. The emphasis on preserving what the collectors considered as the older and more purely Irish elements of this repertoire influenced the type of music being collected by Joyce, as well as other collectors of Irish music in Ireland.

In conclusion, therefore, it appears that the fiddle music in the Joyce collection contains a variety of dance tunes and airs, including jigs, reels, laments, lullabies, and drinking songs. If the breakdown of the tune types is taken as an exemplar of common practice, it would appear that the reel was by far the most common dance tune and that air playing was very popular amongst traditional fiddlers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Joyce's tendency to collect only repertoire he perceived as purely Irish may give an incomplete snapshot of the repertoire of a traditional fiddle player at the time. Given the predominance of G and D major and the range of the music collected from fiddle players, it would appear that, apart from the thirteen tunes which require the use of the G string or have a wider range, the repertoire was not purely idiomatic to the fiddle but could be performed by other traditional instruments. There is very limited evidence from the manuscripts of ornamentation being used, but this does not mean that, outside of the examples quoted, ornamentation was not employed: it could simply be the case that the collector decided just to notate a skeletal version of the tune, a common way of notating Irish music at the time. When ornamentation is indicated, single grace notes, lower grace notes, trills, turns, and mordents can be found in tunes, though it is not certain in the case of the trill, turn, and mordent that the standard Western Art music ornament was employed. The Joyce collection of Irish music therefore provides us with an invaluable insight into the technique, repertoire, and ornamentation of fiddle players at the time. It also preserves a repertoire from the era, particularly from the area of County Limerick, which does not survive in other sources or in the aural repertoire, at least in the same settings.

Notes
[1] Mainchín Seoighe, *The Joyce Brothers of Glenosheen* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1987), p. 1.

[2] Mainchín Seoighe, 'Fragments from the Lost Census Returns: Entries to the Kilfinane District', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 17 (1975), 83–90.

[3] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, pp. 1–4.

[4] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 4.

[5] Patrick Weston Joyce , *English as We Speak It in Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1910), pp. 156–62.

[6] Joyce, *English as We Speak It*, p. 150.

[7] The National School system in Ireland was established in 1831 when the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Stanley, sent a letter to the Duke of Leinster which contained the principal ideas for what was to be the New National School System.

[8] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 14.

[9] The Commissions of National Education in Ireland [C. N. E. I.], Seventeenth Report, for the year ending 1850 (H. C., 1851), p. xxiv.

[10] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 14.

[11] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 32.

[12] George Damus Burchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, eds, *Alumni Dublinenses; A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593–1860)* (Dublin: Trinity College); see C. T. O'Doherty, 'The Contribution of Patrick Weston Joyce to the Irish Educational System' (unpublished bachelor of education thesis, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1989), p. 9.

[13] O'Doherty, 'The Contribution of Patrick Weston Joyce to the Irish Educational System', p. 237.

[14] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 14.

[15] Seoighe, *Joyce Brothers*, p. 32.

[16] In the 1911 Census, Garrett's age is given as forty-three, therefore indicating that he was born *c.*1868.

[17] In the 1901 Census, Robert's age is given as twenty-six, therefore indicating that he was born *c.*1875.

[18] In the 1911 Census, Weston's age is given as fifty-two, therefore indicating that he was born *c.*1859.

[19] Date of death obtained from the index of deaths in Dublin City Library.

[20] Date of death obtained from the headstone on the Joyce family grave, which is in Glasnevin Cemetery, NC 20 South Section.

[21] In the 1911 Census, Bessie's age is given as forty-four, therefore indicating that she was born *c.*1867.

[22] According to the 1911 census, her name was Kathleen Maureen Healy, but the *Irish Independent*, 1 March 1956, calls her Kathleen Meave Healy.

[23] In the 1911 Census, Kathleen's age is given as thirty-six therefore indicating that she was born c. 1875.

[24] Date of death obtained from the *Irish Independent*, 1 March 1956.

[25] Date of birth and death obtained from the headstone on the Joyce family grave, which is in Glasnevin Cemetery, NC 20 South Section.

[26] Gravestone, Glasnevin Cemetery, NC 20, South Section.

[27] Patrick Weston Joyce, *Ancient Irish Music: Comprising One Hundred Airs hitherto Unpublished, Many of the Old Popular Songs, and Several New Songs* (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill; London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1873).

[28] Patrick Weston Joyce, *Irish Music and Song: A Collection of Songs in the Irish Language* (Dublin: Gill, 1888).

[29] Patrick Weston Joyce, *Irish Peasant Songs in the English Language, the Words Set to the Proper Old Irish Airs* (London: Longmans, Green, 1906).

[30] Patrick Weston Joyce, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs: A Collection of 842 Irish Airs and Songs, hitherto of Antiquaries of Ireland* (London: Longmans, Green; Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1909).

[31] Joyce, *English as We Speak It*, p. 158.

[32] David Cooper, ed., *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002), Appendix A 263.

[33] Joyce, *Ancient Irish Music*, flyleaf.

[34] Joyce, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*, preface, p. v.

[35] Joyce, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*, p. 149.

[36] Nicholas Carolan, 'The Forde-Pigot Collection of Irish Traditional Music', in *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library*, ed. by Bernadette Cunningham, Siobhán Fitzpatrick, and Petra Schnabel (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), pp. 23–25. William Forde was one of the few professional musicians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ireland, amongst the collectors. Forde's methodologies and ideas about traditional music were advanced beyond his time and he identified the principal features of Irish music, which included the use of gapped scales and simple modes, etc. His manuscript collection comprises of twelve volumes, with different versions of the same tunes transcribed together.

[37] Ibid. John Edward Pigot was born in Kilworth in County Cork and although an amateur musician, Pigot was an active collector and editor of Irish music. His manuscript collection comprises of four volumes, which are currently held in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

[38] Goodman was born in County Kerry and was the son of the Rector of Dingle. He studied at Trinity College Dublin and was ordained curate of the Church of Ireland. According to Donal O'Sullivan in *Irish Folk Music and Song* (Dublin: Colm O'Lochlainn for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland, 1952), Goodman compiled a large collection of airs while working in Ardgroom, many of which were transcribed from the playing of Tom Kennedy, a friend and piper. The Goodman manuscripts are currently held in Trinity College Dublin and contain over 2000 items.

[39] National Library of Ireland, Joyce MSS, NLI MS 2983/449, f. 140r.

[40] Colette Moloney, ed., *The 'Boss' Murphy Musical Legacy* (Cork: Noah's Ark Press, 2003).

[41] Frank Roche, *The Roche Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, 2 vols (Dublin: Pigot, 1912).

3

Frank Roche – fiddler, dancer, and music collector: a musical life in turn-of-the-twentieth-century rural Ireland

COLETTE MOLONEY

Frank Roche (1866–1961) was a musician, dancer, and music collector who resided for most of his life in the village of Elton, near Knocklong, County Limerick. He is best known for his publications *The Roche Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, 2 vols (1912); *The Roche Collection of Traditional Irish Music* (1927);[1] and *Airs and Fantasias* (1932).[2] His multifarious activities cast a fascinating light on the music, dance, and social contexts of these indispensible entertainments in rural Ireland of the turn of the twentieth century.

When I was growing up, older musicians in the area often spoke of Frank Roche and indeed one fiddle player, Eugene McGrath, described the attic full of music, both printed and manuscript, which had been in Frank's home. In the mid-1990s, I decided to try to locate the Roche music manuscripts, if indeed they were still extant. Armed with a knowledge of the area and a number of local contacts, I did manage to unearth Roche manuscripts but not those for which I had hoped: what were found were short stories and folklore in Irish, which had been noted by Roche *c*.1930–1939. These manuscripts had been given on loan to a local historian, Mainchín Seoighe, about 1950, and had then remained amongst the latter's personal collection of local-interest material. The stories were subsequently edited by Dáithí Ó hÓgáin and published under the title *Binsín Luachra* in 2001. In addition, the Roche family held a notebook which contained comments by Frank Roche on the piano arrangements made by Dr Annie Patterson of items in the Roche publications, a small number of John and Frank Roche compositions, a number of song texts translated by Frank, a draft of what appeared to be an adjudicator's appraisal of a dancing competition in Frank's handwriting, and a copy of the scarce 1932 Roche publication. Furthermore, I made the acquaintance of Frank Roche's nephews and nieces who were able to provide biographical detail about their uncles, father, and grandfather which hitherto had not been recorded.[3]

Francis Roche, or Frank as he was better known, was born on 13 August 1866[4] in the townland of Knocktoran in the parish of Knocklong, County Limerick, which is situated on the outskirts of the village of Elton. Frank was the fourth of nine children born to John Roche and Margaret Walsh Roche. John Roche was both a dancer and a musician, and, according to his descendents, supported his family by teaching. John taught traditional and modern dancing, and classical, traditional, and modern music on piano and violin, in addition to deportment. His services were valued by both his well-off and not so well-off students, as these accomplishments helped some to climb the social ladder and were deemed normal for those who did not need to climb. He was well paid for his classes, which ensured that the Roche family lived in comfort even in difficult times. Two of John's brothers were also musicians, but both died on the passage to America.

In the 1901 Census of Ireland John Roche gives his occupation as a farmer.[5] At that stage, though, he also indicated that he was 78 years of age and may have ceased teaching, and, as was common at the time, the family may have kept some livestock and poultry, mainly for household use, on their small holding. John's grandchildren commented that the Roches always maintained a good garden in the home place and that the house itself was tastefully furnished. John's wife, Margaret Roche, had died in the summer of 1878, shortly after giving birth to a baby daughter. The baby also died; indeed only six of the Roche children lived to adulthood: Ann (known as Alice), James (Jim), Mary, Francis (Frank), Nora (known as Nonie), and John. The young Frank's own health was not good in childhood as he apparently suffered from asthma.

The three Roche boys – James, Frank, and John – all shared their father's interest in music. They presumably received their early music education from their father, but the three boys were subsequently dispatched to Cork city every Saturday on the train (a round journey of 100 miles) to learn classical music from a German teacher who taught there. The lessons and the train trip must have been expensive and this underlines the financial security which the family enjoyed.

It would appear that Frank was sixteen years of age before he finally left the National School in Bottomstown, near Hospital, County Limerick. This was possibly due to his ill-health; alternatively he may also have missed school if he accompanied his father on his travels as a teacher, perhaps accompanying his dancing classes. Indeed, Frank spent five years in fifth class with an attendance pattern of 136, 77, 54, 114 and 42 days:[6] the average school year at the time would have been *c.*200 days. Once Frank left school he worked with his father as a teacher and accompanist for dancing. Frank was noted as a dancer himself, for which he won the Munster Belt.[7] He apparently always had an interest in new tunes, or tunes which he had not heard before, and he was noting examples which he came across from a young age.

In 1892, John senior and his three sons decided to move to Limerick to teach music and dance full-time in the city. They established an Academy of Music and Dance in Charles Street. In the late nineteenth century, there was a decline in interest in Irish dancing coupled with a declining rural population. The demand

for the travelling teacher also diminished or was oversupplied, as John Roche now had three sons in the profession. The move to Limerick therefore may have been an effort to secure employment for all the family in a large centre of population. The father primarily taught dancing and his sons music, but they also provided the music for his dance classes. Their sister Mary had by this stage joined a convent to become a nun; Nora moved to Limerick to keep house for her father and brothers, initially at number 3 the Crescent and then at 20 Roches Street; while the eldest sibling, Alice, remained in the home place in Knocktoran. The Roches apparently never fully settled in Limerick and regularly came to Knocktoran for the weekends on a pony and trap, a journey of three or four hours. John Roche senior was born in 1822/23;[8] therefore he would have been *c*. 70 years of age when the Academy was set up in Limerick. When the Census was taken on 31 March 1901 all the Roche family, apart from James and Mary, were at the family home in Knocktoran. This is perhaps not surprising as the Census was taken on a Sunday night and they may have been in Elton for the weekend. As mentioned earlier though John describes himself as a farmer rather than a 'teacher of music' or a 'teacher of music and dance', which is how his sons are described. He may therefore have retired from teaching by this stage and perhaps have returned to live permanently, or at least intermittently, in Knocktoran. John's grandchildren though believe that he continued to work until his death in 1911, remaining seated while he taught the steps in the later years. Alice and Nora are also both described as a 'teacher of music' in the Census return for 1901: their descendants, however, hold that neither of the women ever taught music.

The Roches regularly played for concerts: Frank preferred the violin, though he also played the piano; John junior usually played the piano in the family group, though he was also a violinist and was active as a composer; James played the violin when performing with his brothers, but he was employed as a church organist at the Redemptorist Church in Limerick during the Academy years. The Academy in Limerick was very successful and was attended by many of the best families in the city, including Lord and Lady Nash. When John senior died, however, it began to decline. It may be that it could not function satisfactorily without him, but it is also possible that the three brothers needed his controlling influence. They were generally regarded as being high-spirited and quick-tempered, so much so that, when they performed on stage together, agreement on even the choice of tune was difficult.

Conradh na Gaeilge or the Gaelic League was an organisation founded in Dublin in 1893 by Douglas Hyde, who was later to become the first President of Ireland. It aimed to revive and promote the Irish language, but eventually also turned its attention to Irish music, song and dance.[9] This organization, above any other, was to have a major cultural influence on Frank Roche. The Roches were particularly conscious of the decline in interest in Irish culture as it affected their livelihood and the way in which their livelihood was earned.

An initiative by the London branch of the Gaelic League in 1897 was to have a profound effect on Irish music and dance for many decades to follow. The Irish

language classes at the London branch were flourishing but it was felt that it needed to encourage more social interaction, particularly as they had experienced the Scottish *Céilithe* in London. The first Irish *ceilí* was held by the London branch on 30 October 1897. The actual participation of the dancers at this was problematic as most of the Gaelic League members were at least middle class professionals whose knowledge of Irish dance was very limited. The dancing therefore comprised only of a very simple double jig, danced in couples, and the quadrille and waltz.[10]

One of the Gaelic League's lasting interventions was in promoting a form of social dancing it considered uniquely Irish. The League's dancing commission denounced as 'foreign' the most popular social dances of the day – quadrille sets – in favour of what they described as 'ancient' figure-dances, newly choreographed for the urban ballroom. These later became known as *ceilí* dances, referring to their performance at Gaelic League social nights or *ceilí*.[11] It seems ironic that the sets of quadrilles, which were danced throughout rural Ireland, were considered more foreign than the new hybrids of dances promoted by the Gaelic League, which often owed much to Scottish dancing and even ballet movements. Hornpipes and reels, which had been introduced into Ireland from England and Scotland respectively, in the 1700s, were as 'foreign' as the quadrille, but escaped the Gaelic League's purges. In many rural areas, however, people continued to dance 'the sets'.[12]

The quadrilles were prohibited at Gaelic League *Céilithe* as 'foreign dances'. Also excluded were dances such as the highland fling, schottische, and the barn dance, which were part of the repertoire of traditional musicians and dancers in rural Ireland at the time. Hostility towards 'foreign dance' persisted into more modern times and there are accounts of dancers being asked to leave the floor for attempting to dance a set, highland fling, or schottische at a *ceilí*, even as late as the 1950s.[13] The *ceilí* dances – 'The Walls of Limerick', 'The Siege of Ennis', and so on – still survive and are regularly danced at dances organised by the Gaelic League *Céilí* Clubs and taught at Irish-language summer schools in the *Gaeltacht* areas.

Frank Roche was just as interested in the Irish language as in music, and collected folklore and stories. The Elton area of county Limerick was originally Irish speaking but by Frank's lifetime English would have been the spoken language. In the 1901 Census of Ireland return for the Roches, only the father John and Frank are listed as being able to speak English and Irish – the remainder of the family are given as English speakers only. This would suggest that Irish was the spoken language in the area in the father's youth, born *c.*1822/23, but that by the time of the Roche siblings, Irish was not the spoken language – Frank's fluency in the language appears to have been as a result of his own specific interest in the subject. The Census statistics for 1851 indicate that by that year 53.3% of the population of Knocktoran spoke Irish, but by 1891 only 14.3% were Irish speakers.[14]

Even as early as 1900, when he was living in Limerick, Frank was actively involved in organising and adjudicating at *feiseanna* for the Gaelic League. In an effort to link Irish music with Irish texts, Frank translated English songs, which were common in the locality, into Irish. In order to collect music and to improve his own

Irish, he travelled to county Kerry several times in the late 1920s. In addition, a close friendship developed between himself and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, a native Irish speaker who was working for farmers in the Elton area. When there was land being distributed by the Land Commission near Elton, Frank arranged for Ó Súilleabháin to be given an allocation, in an effort to encourage the Irish language in the area by having a native speaker resident.

John Roche senior purchased the house and land in Elton, which he had previously leased, from the landlord Charles Coote Webb for the sum of £60 in 1907, under the auspices of the Irish Land Commission.[15] The agreement indicates that the Roche family had previously leased the property from about 1878,[16] though the Roche descendants were not aware that John Roche and family had lived anywhere other than the Knocktoran address. John Roche senior died on 3 March 1911. In his will, dated 14 December 1908, John senior bequeathed the house, its contents, and land in Elton, in addition to 'any money that may remain after the payment of [his] just debts and funeral expenses', to his eldest daughter Alice and his youngest son John. His other sons do not receive a mention in his will, apart from a provision in the eventuality that they did not pay his expenses:

> I direct that all my just debts & funeral expenses be paid and satisfied by my Executor as soon as possible after my decease. If my sons don't discharge these obligations I direct that the said expenses be paid from the proceeds of my Insurance Policy.[17]

It is not known when exactly the Roches returned to live permanently in Elton, but, in the 1911 Census of Ireland, James, Frank (who by this stage had started to use the Irish form of his name Proinnsias de Roiste), Nora, and John junior were still resident at 20 Roches Street in Limerick.

As in many parts of rural Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century the social life of the Elton area was largely dependent on house dances. These dances, which frequently included refreshments and card playing, were usually all-night affairs, concluding around 6:00 am to allow for the commencement of farm duties. There was a strong social and musical bond between the musicians and dancers at these events in the small domestic setting. The musicians were not paid for their services, and generally alternated between playing and dancing. We do not know if the Roches were involved in playing for house dances, but we do know that they regularly played for hall dances in the neighbouring towns. This is perhaps understandable as the Roches were professional musicians who needed to make their living from music and would perhaps have been more inclined to play at the hall dances for payment.

While living in Limerick, the surroundings and clientele demanded a high standard of living, and the Roches maintained this 'comfortable' style when they returned to Elton. The Roche house was noted for music, but not for holding house dances, as other houses in the locality at the time were known. Musical entertainment

in the Roche household usually occurred on a Sunday, when the brothers returned from Mass in Knocklong. They then regularly played music to entertain the numerous visitors who came from far and near to listen until the dinner was ready at 3.30 pm. Often car loads of people descended, including the famous Countess Markievicz, and all then had dinner with the household.

It was during this period that Frank met Patrick Joseph Joyce from Glenosheen, a nephew of the Irish music collector Patrick Weston Joyce. Frank himself tells us that he spent a week on business in Dublin in 1907 and he may indeed have met P. W. Joyce on this or another occasion.[18] At any rate Patrick Joseph Joyce lent Frank manuscript copies of ballads and tunes which P. W. Joyce had collected. Frank was helped by his brother John in compiling volumes 1 and 2 of the Roche collection which was published in 1912. The foreword to the edition was written by the well-known music scholar, Cathal Ó Braonáin, a friend of Frank's, who at that time was resident in Millstreet, County Cork. It is not clear why volumes 1 and 2 were published together as one book. Volume 1 perhaps predated volume 2 and Frank may originally have intended to publish it earlier, but for some reason its publication was delayed. In the preface to volume 1, Frank gives the reasoning behind his publication; basically that it was requested by friends, pupils, other teachers, and members of the Gaelic League:

> The present collection was begun about 20 years ago, and its production has been undertaken at the request of numerous friends and pupils of mine, as well as many teachers, and members of various branches of the Gaelic League, who wish to possess, something, so far, not obtainable, a handy, and at the same time comprehensive volume of reliable Irish music at a moderate price.[19]

It seems that his reasoning for selecting material for inclusion was to avoid duplicating material already published:

> Being anxious to first avoid cases of duplication, I thought to give only what, as far as I knew, had not hitherto been published, and to exclude pieces of doubtful national origin, but in order to produce the book required, I had perforce to alter my intention. Where however, such cases occur, it will be seen that the settings in this volume, as a rule, either differ from what have appeared in previous publications, or are better variants of them, and therefore, I hope that their inclusion will be excused.[20]

It would also appear from the preface that he obtained much of his material from manuscripts given or lent to him:

> In preparing this Collection for publication, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness in the first place to Father Brennan for his admirable essay, and to the following ladies and gentlemen for MSS. either lent or bestowed. Father Malachy O'Callaghan, Gormanstown; Surgeon Major Bourke, U. S.

Army; Mrs. Jas. Hickey, Killonan; Messrs. Path. Joyce, Glenisheen [sic]; John Martin, Kilfanane [sic]; Dan O'Leary, Knockaney; Ml. Mulvihill, Newcastle West; Path. Barry N. T. Drumkeen; Joseph Hurley, Glenbrohane; P. C. Dwane, Pallasgreen; James Noonan, N. T. Garrydoolis, and Wm. Merrick, Tower Hill; and of County Limerick. Messrs. T. Bernard, Peter McMahon, Joseph Halpin, E. B. Duggan, James McMahon, and Martin Clancy – all of Limerick city. Miss F. Donovan, Seafield, Tralee; Messrs. Michael Disette, Ventry, and P. Kirby Rathea, County Karry [sic], An Paorach, Nenagh, County Tipperary, Miss Hannah Coughlan, Cork; Messrs. Jas. Sheehan, and Ml. Spillane, Castletown Bere, County Cork, Mr. Ml. Dwane, Four Mile Water, County Waterford; Messrs. M. Flanagan, Kilmainham, and P. J. Griffith, Rathmines, Dublin, and Dr. Annie Patterson, and Messrs. Boosey and County, for permission to include the original Irish air by Dr. Patterson.[21]

Most of the manuscripts obtained appear to be from Limerick city or county, though he did obtain others from further afield. Frank does not generally give the source of individual tunes in his publications, apart from those composed by family members or some items by Thomas Moore. It would appear that he utilized items supplied to him by Patrick Joseph Joyce, as Joyce is included in the list of contributors. It is not clear, however, if these Patrick Joseph Joyce items were items obtained from Patrick Weston Joyce or not.

Roche also appears to have noted tunes from musicians in the locality and included the compositions by his brother John and others:

For tunes taken down from the playing of Messrs. Wm. Guerin, Knocktoran, Edmund Quinlan, Glenlara and from the singing of John Walsh, Elton, County Limerick; For airs and pipe marches recently composed by my brother John, and Gillabridghe O Cathain, St. Munchin's College, and to my father for airs and dance tunes.[22]

The first part (titled volume 1) of his 1912 publication contains 79 airs, 52 jigs, and 68 reels. The second section (titled volume 2) contains additional tunes thus: 39 hornpipes, 13 single jigs, 18 hop jigs, 14 set dances, 6 flings; 9 country dances (long dances and sets of quadrilles), 16 old set tunes, and 40 marches (including a version of 'The Fox Chase', a piece imitating a fox hunt, which is generally associated with pipers).

Eighteenth and nineteenth century collectors of Irish music, such as Edward Bunting, George Petrie, Henry Hudson, and even Patrick Weston Joyce were selective in the material that they collected, at the very least restricting their collections to what they saw as truly Irish items. It is therefore noteworthy, particularly given Roche's strong involvement with the Gaelic League, that he included items from Moore, flings, and sets of quadrilles in his 1912 publication. The inclusion though was a conscious one which he seeks to justify in the introduction to the volume by stressing that the tunes had become Irish by association:

> It may be objected to by some that the work contains matter foreign to a collection of Irish music, such as Quadrilles, or 'Sets' as they are popularly called, and other dance tunes also. That objection may be admitted as regards their origin, but they have become Irish by association, and so long as the people dance Sets, etc., it is better they should do so to the old tunes in which their parents delighted, rather than be left depending on those books from across the water containing the most hackneyed of Moore's Melodies mixed up with music hall trash, and, perhaps a few faked jigs and reels thrown in by way of padding.[23]

Roche, therefore, would seem less puritanical in his outlook than his Gaelic League colleagues and displayed an understanding of Irish music as a practitioner. Like his contemporary, Captain Francis O'Neill, he notated the repertory of traditional musicians at the time, be its origins Irish or not.

In 1915, John Roche, the only member of the Roche family to marry, married Brid O'Flynn, a school teacher. The couple lived in different parishes where Brid taught until they finally settled in Emily, County Limerick. John transferred full ownership of the Roche homestead to his sister Alice on 5 February 1916. He continued his occupation as a music teacher and, as his family grew, John regularly took his children by horse and trap to the Knocktoran house, where the brothers played music together.

James Roche spent some time as an organist in Tipperary town and also in Drogheda, County Louth. He lost the latter post during the War of Independence *c.*1922, when he apparently played the 'Death March' in the middle of a church service, while the funeral of an IRA volunteer was passing the church.[24] From that point on James, Frank, and their sisters, Alice and Nora, all lived together in the old house in Knocktoran. James taught music, primarily piano but also violin on occasion, travelling from house to house in the local area on a bicycle. Frank did most of his teaching further afield, spending days in colleges such as Roscrea, County Tipperary, and Drishane, County Cork. He also taught dancing and music in primary schools in Herbertstown, County Limerick, and Kanturk, County Cork. The Roches purchased a car in the 1920s, one of the first in the area, but none of the four family members ever learned to drive. Their niece Margaret remembered the family being driven to Ballyorgan, a nearby village, on one of the few occasions that the car was ever used. The Roche brothers travelled mainly by bicycle or horse and trap, and then by bus or train, while the car languished in the garage.

After his 1912 publication Frank became well known as a music scholar and known to collectors of music such as Rev. Richard Henebry, Carl Hardebeck, and Séamus Clandillon. Roche and Hardebeck had a particular respect for one another and in 1921, while Hardebeck was teaching music at University College Cork, Frank published a piece titled *Fantasia* for violin with piano accompaniment by Hardebeck:

A Fantasia for Violin and Piano on Irish airs by F. Roche, accompaniment by Carl G. Hardebeck, will be welcomed by Irish musicians. It can be had from Messrs. Piggott and County, Dublin, Cork and Limerick at 2/6 net. The harmony and the excellence of the new composition will be greatly appreciated.[25]

Roche's second collection of music was published in 1927. According to Roche in the preface to this volume:

The first Edition (4,000) which appeared early in January, 1912, was so well received as to render a reprint of the work necessary after a few months, the entire issue having been sold out. Two further reprints have since been called for.[26]

The 1927 publication contained volumes 1 and 2 of the 1912 publication with an additional volume 3 added, which contained 70 airs, 18 reels, 18 double jigs, 9 single jigs, 21 hop jigs, 7 long dances, 25 old dances (most non-Irish in origin – mainly waltzes, barn dances, mazurkas, and schottisches), 19 hornpipes, 9 set dances, 4 sets of quadrilles, and 20 marches. According to Roche:

The Collection has been completely revised and enlarged by more than 200 Airs and various pieces taken down and collected during the past few years, amongst them some fine settings of Airs from an old MS. of my father's which was not available when the first edition was being prepared.[27]

He also acknowledges the loan of manuscripts or contribution of tunes from a Mr O'Donoghue of Ballyneety; Patrick Joseph Joyce, Glenosheen; Tim Crowe of Dundrum, County Tipperary; and his own brother John:

I have gratefully to acknowledge my thanks for the loan of an old MS book belonging to the late Mr. P. O'Donoghue, Ballyneety, Limerick, and in particular to Mr. P. J. Joyce (now deceased), Glenisheen [sic], Kilmallock, for many beautiful Airs and Dance Tunes, and for the loan of his fine MS. Collection of Irish Music; to my brother John, and to Mr. Tim Crowe, Dundrum, County Tipperary, for some airs and dance tunes and to any whose names have been inadvertently omitted.[28]

Roche again feels the need to justify the inclusion of the more popular tunes in his collection:

In Compliance with the wishes of many, and in accordance with my own, I have included a selection of old ballroom dance favourites in this volume. In these simple and melodious items, together with the various sets of quadrilles, or lancers, a substitute may be found to some extent for the vulgar, inane, and noisy stuff called dance music in vogue at present. Let us hope that they may

also help in some measure to enkindle a desire for a revival of the rational and artistic style of dancing which obtained before the war.[29]

An old friend of his, Dr Annie Patterson, arranged items in the Roche collection for piano. This edition, as far as we know, was never published, but what does survive are Frank's notes and comments on the arrangements. In the preface to the 1927 edition Roche states:

> Encouraged by that success [the sales of his first edition], and in response to numerous requests, the enterprising publishers had decided some years ago on bringing out another edition of the whole Collection, arranged for the Pianoforte by Dr. Annie Patterson – of whose eminence as a Musician, and enthusiasm in the cause of Irish Music, it is unnecessary to speak – but its publication has been unavoidably delayed by circumstances arising out of the great war.[30]

Roche hoped that Ireland would develop a native art music style, as other countries had, and that a national Irish composer would emerge as Chopin, Grieg, Weber, and so on had in other countries. He saw his collection as providing the basic material from which an emerging composer could draw. He saw the proposed arrangement of the Roche collection for piano as a demonstration that Irish music was as adaptable to full harmonization as the music of other countries and as a stepping stone to having the tunes arranged for other instrumental and orchestral combinations:

> In harmonizing these Airs, it has been the aim of Dr. Patterson to make them – in her own words – 'as Musically as possible' (keeping in view, doubtless, subsequent Instrumental and Orchestra arrangements), and to endeavour to demonstrate their adaptability to as full a harmonization as the Folk Music of other Nations.[31]

He further adds that the publication was a fulfilment of a childhood dream to hear pieces such as 'The Fox Chase' played by full orchestra:

> The compilation involved considerable labour, but it is a labour of love lightened always by the consciousness of its national import and necessity. Looking at it now fully harmonized, I cannot help reflecting how, in boyhood, when listening with delight to many of these fine old Air and pieces – notably 'The Fox Chase' – I used at the same time, feel sad to think that they could never, as it then seemed, be noted down, but would pass away with the old patriots who played them. I little thought at the time that the day was not so far off, when not alone would they be noted down, but harmonized, and that the performance of the famous old "Fox Chase" by full orchestra would also be made possible.[32]

In November 1927, when the preface to the 1927 publication was written, the publication of Patterson arrangements, with a separate violin part 'for those who play only the Violin, Flute or Pipes, or for any who may object to Pianoforte arrangements on traditional grounds', seemed eminent. Indeed, Roche devoted a considerable amount of space in the 1927 preface to discussion of the upcoming publication. An ominous note however is added in a footnote which reads thus: 'The publication of the Pianoforte arrangement seemed assured at the time the foregoing was written'. The proposed edition does not appear to have been published, or, at least, there are no extant copies of the publication and no references to its release survive. Patterson does appear to have completed the work. Although the music manuscript does not survive, Roche's comments on the individual arrangements do and would seem to suggest that he was looking at manuscript drafts of the arrangements as he wrote. If, as seems likely, it was not published, the reason is not clear: the work on the arrangements appears to have been completed. It may perhaps have proved too expensive to publish the proposed volume or, alternatively, the publication may have been delayed and then World War II intervened.

Roche also provides a valuable note on Irish dancing in the preface to the 1927 publication. In this, he details the dances that were in vogue at the time and the nature of their execution. He also laments the banning of dances such as the set of quadrilles by the Gaelic League (though he does not specifically mention the organization by name) and the inadequacy of their replacements:

> The spectacular and difficult dances for the few were cultivated to the neglect of the simple ones for many leaving the social side untouched, except to criticise, or condemn. The ballroom dances in vogue at the time were all banned and nothing put in their place but a couple of long dances.
>
> An exception should have been made, one would imagine, in favour of the popular old Sets (they had become Irishised), if only on account of the fine old tunes with which they were usually associated; but they were decried amongst the rest.
>
> It seems strange that such a policy should have been decided upon and pursued considering that no substitutes were provided beyond those mentioned. A few years later, however, the *Bridge of Athlone, Siege of Ennis,* and an incomplete form of *Haste to the Wedding* were introduced, but, as might have been expected, these simple contre dances proved inadequate as substitutes for all those that had been prohibited. The showy and intricate four and eight-hand jigs and reels of the Revival, although interesting to the spectator, were generally looked on as designed only for competition or display on account of their difficulty, and, consequently, had no appeal as social dances. [33]

In 1932, Roche published one final collection of music, *Airs and Fantasias,* which was a mixture of ballads, operatic selections, and traditional items for solo violin. Roche would also seem to have been in contact with Captain Francis O'Neill in America, as the latter sent him a copy of his 1913 publication *Irish Minstrels and*

Musicians with the following inscription: 'To Proinnsias De Roiste, a distinguished Knight of the Bow, with cordial regards of the author, Francis O'Neill, Christmas 1933'.

Frank Roche taught only a very limited amount of fiddle (or violin as he liked to call it) in his native area for much of his life, but, when his days as a travelling teacher were at an end, he regularly held classes locally. He would appear to have tutored students individually or in small groups, and the repertoire imparted seems to have been a mixture of Irish, light classical and popular music. Technique wise he taught the use of the different left hand positions on the violin with most students not graduating past fourth position. Given his own classical training, Frank laid particular emphasis on intonation, bow use, and tone (or as he termed it 'touch').[34] There are no extant recordings of Frank Roche performing, though he did record for radio.

Whether it was Roche's style that had a long term influence on the fiddle playing of the area, or simply that he was passing on a style of fiddle playing which already existed in the area, there were a number of common characteristics which linked the few older fiddle players, who remained in the Elton area in the 1970s and early 1980s. Not all of these fiddle players were direct students of Roche, but all had a clear tone, a tendency for longer bow use than the norm in surrounding areas, generally careful tuning, and a predominance of single and double grace notes and slides for ornamentation. Fiddle players who travelled outside of the area to music competitions sometimes used 'rolls', but not the fiddlers who were house musicians or who played only in the locality. There was also a strong tradition of air playing in the area. As the Roches were professional teachers, it is understandable that they would have had a substantial influence on the music of the locality. This has not survived to the present day, as music in the area reached a low ebb in the 1970s with only a few older fiddle players remaining. The current resurgence of interest amongst the youth is often serviced by teachers from other areas.

Frank Roche continued to teach and adjudicate at *Feiseanna* until the 1950s. James, Mary, Nora, and finally Alice died, which left Frank on his own in the house in Knocktoran. Prior to her death, Alice had transferred the family home and land to Frank on 20 January 1951. John and his wife moved to Dublin in 1956. Frank met the aforementioned Limerick scholar and historian Mainchín Seoighe at the county *Feis* in Bruree on 25 June 1950.[35] According to Mainchín, Roche was a low-sized, lively man, who looked twenty years younger than his age, and who spoke fluent Irish. Frank subsequently supplied Mainchín with material for his column *Teoraí Luimní* in the *Limerick Leader* newspaper, including his translation of 'The Galbally Farmer', which was published in the *Limerick Leader* on 16 December 1950. The final time that Seoighe and Roche met was at a commemoration for the Staker Wallace in Martinstown, County Limerick, on 19 June 1955,[36] at which Frank introduced the speakers.

Indeed, most people who remembered Frank were surprised that he was 95 years old when he died. He was small of stature and of light build, and his quick agility of step and movement stayed with him until the end. For many years before

his death Frank met nightly with his friends for a chat in the local pub, O'Sullivan's in Elton. His habit then was to call into the Daverin family on his way home, from where the man of the house, Ned Daverin, would accompany him the rest of the way.

In later years Frank lost most of his vision and hearing, and in September 1960, when his health deteriorated, he was admitted to St Camilius' Home in Limerick. He died there on 11 July 1961. The following obituary appeared in a newspaper at the time and a more detailed appreciation, 'A Tribute to Frank Roche', by Mainchín Seoighe, followed in the *Limerick Leader* of 29 July 1961:

> Mr Frank Roche, Elton, Knocklong, County Limerick, who has died, was a native Irish speaker and a well-known adjudicator at Feiseanna. Aged, 95 he was said to be the last native speaker in County Limerick. A musician and teacher, he compiled and published the Roche collection of Irish airs. He was unmarried and is survived by his brother John.[37]

Roche's musical legacy is undoubtedly his teaching and music collecting. He published almost 600 airs and dance tunes, many of which are not found in other sources, or at least in the same settings. He is the only source for many airs which would otherwise have been lost, such as 'The Lament for the Death of the Staker Wallace'. He provides information on ornamentation used at the time and developed signs to indicate the 'glide' and 'inflection', which he explains in the preface to the 1912 edition:

> There is a peculiar feature of that style [the 'traditional style'] which I have endeavoured to introduce here, and to which I wish to direct attention. It is a curious 'interval' or inflection, that was much used by the old fiddlers with striking and often with charming effect (I now refer to the men *who Could play*). In the absence of a suitable musical symbol with which to indicate it, as neither the appoggiatura, nor the acciaccatura would do (one finger only being employed), I have used an asterisk for the upward, and an arrow for the downward glide [...] The length of the glide, however, varies, but the ear of the experienced player enables him to regulate that quite easily. In quick passages, where the glide is not possible, the * indicates a quarter tone.[38]

Single and double grace notes, triplets, and bowed trebles are also indicated in the printed tunes. The bowing patterns indicated are particularly interesting in dance tunes, where they often suggest an off-beat slurring pattern. Roche includes a very substantial amount of airs and, despite his support of the Gaelic League, does not confine himself to reproducing the dance tunes which the League would have considered truly Irish, but instead includes any dance-tune types which were in vogue at the time. His collections therefore give a snapshot of the repertoire of a fiddler in rural Ireland, particularly County Limerick, in the early twentieth century.

Notes

[1] Frank Roche, *The Roche Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, 2 vols (Dublin: Pigot, 1912; 2nd edn in 3 vols, 1927; repr. Cork: Ossian, 1993).

[2] Frank Roche, *Airs and Fantasias* (Dublin: Pigot, 1932).

[3] The biographical detail on the Roche family in the article, unless otherwise indicated, has been obtained from interviews with John Roche and Margaret (Roche) Earlie.

[4] Birth Certificate for Francis (Frank) Roche.

[5] Return for house No. 3 in Knocktoran (Emlygrennan, Limerick) in the Census of Ireland 1901.

[6] School Register for Bottomstown National School.

[7] The Munster Belt was a Munster championship competition in Irish dancing.

[8] John Roche's age is given as 78 on the return for the Census of Ireland 1901.

[9] Helen Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance* (Kerry: Brandon, 1999), p. 29.

[10] Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance*, p. 30.

[11] Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance*, pp. 32–33.

[12] Liz Doherty, 'Hornpipe' and 'Reel', in *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music,* ed. by Fintan Vallely (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), pp. 190 and 308.

[13] Larry Lynch, *Set Dances of Ireland: Tradition and Evolution* (Miltown Malbay: Séadna Books, 1989), p. 18.

[14] Census of Ireland for the years 1851 and 1891.

[15] Land Registry of Ireland, Schedule S973, Folio 6820: Agreement between Vendor [Charles Coote Webb] and Tenant [John Roche] for Sale of a Holding, dated 1 November 1907.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Will of John Roche, Knocktoran, Elton, County Limerick, dated 14 December 1908.

[18] Proinsias de Róiste, *Binsín Luachra,* ed. by Dáithí Ó hÓgáin (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta, 2001), p. 11.

[19] Roche, *Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, p. v.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Róiste, *Binsín Luachra*, p. 12.

[25] *Irish Independent*, 17 January 1921.

[26] Roche, *Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, p. iii.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Roche, *Collection of Traditional Irish Music,* p. v.

[34] Detail on teaching taken from an interview between Frank Roche and two other unidentified men [probably members of the O'Sullivan family] in O'Sullivan's Pub, Elton, County Limerick, probably in the 1950s.

[35] *Limerick Leader*, 1 July 1950.

[36] *Limerick Leader*, 29 July 1961. Staker Wallace was an Irish patriot who was beheaded by the authorities in 1798.

[37] The Roche family have a newspaper cutting of this obituary for Frank Roche, which appeared in an unidentified newspaper.

[38] Roche, *Collection of Traditional Irish Music*, p. v.

4

John Robbins and the Shakespearean Bidford morris tune repertoire

ELAINE BRADTKE

Introduction

In the 1880s, singer, conductor, composer and 'thoroughgoing romantic'[1] Ernest Richard D'Arcy Ferris (1855-1929) became interested in morris dance as an outgrowth of his interest in English customs and traditions. In addition to being a professional singer, he produced and appeared in pageants – a mixture of history, fancy dress, music, and dance. In these pageants, he combined his antiquarian interests with his musical and artistic abilities and his apparent fondness for appearing in costume.[2] In late August 1885, D'Arcy Ferris attempted to reconstruct morris dances from historical accounts as part of a two-day Elizabethan-style pageant.[3] Dissatisfied with the result, but intrigued by its possibilities, he began to research and make plans for a full-scale, stand-alone production featuring morris dancing.[4] As Judge wrote: 'This then was not simply a matter of restarting one village group of dancers. It was rather concerned with recreating the genuine archetypal English Morris Dance.'[5] To this end, he began searching for a pipe and tabor,[6] sought out retired morris-men to help him enliven the dance and lend it an air of authenticity, and began recruiting local performers. In the winter of 1885–1886, Ferris formed a troupe of men from Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, to perform in the 'ancient' style as he called it. These were to be rustic men performing rustic dances. In order to dispel the disrepute associated with previous generations of morris dancers, Ferris drew up a list of rules by which his men would abide until the end of their contract, 30 June 1886.[7] They were intending to tour the Midlands, and if plans went well, the continent. Ferris played up the Shakespearean connection, and the publicity certainly had a touch of Merry England about it.[8] Thus, the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers were re-invented, based partly on history and partly on fantasy.

Bidford native, seventeen-year-old John (sometimes known as Jack or Tom) Robbins (1868–1948), was their musician. Robbins came from a musical family, was musically literate[9] and was a proficient violinist when Ferris recruited him. His father (also John) was an amateur musician and boot and shoemaker, and young John

followed in his father's footsteps on both counts. Ferris felt the pipe and tabor, with its historic links to morris dancing, was more suited to the Shakespearean theme than the violin. Early in 1886, Robbins was sent to Ilmington (also in Warwickshire) to learn to play the pipe and tabor, and acquire the morris tune repertoire from James John Arthur (1828–1906).[10] There was a great deal of difficulty in obtaining a pipe for him to use on a permanent basis. Robbins, therefore, often played fiddle instead of pipe and tabor.[11] Once the formal contract with Ferris had finished, the troupe retained their name and continued to make public appearances into the early part of the twentieth century. Robbins performed with the Shakespearean troupe for many years after their tour, as the group developed into an independent entity. From photographic evidence,[12] it appears that Robbins continued to play the pipe and tabor for morris dancing at least some of the time.

Figure 1 Bidford Morris Dancers, Redditch, Worcestershire, 8 August 1906.
Photo by Cecil Sharp, from Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, English Folk Dance Song Society

In 1907, John Graham published his notations of the Bidford tunes and description of the dances.[13] The Bidford morris dances and tunes were among the first that Cecil Sharp collected in 1906. He had seen them perform at Foxlydiate House, Redditch, on 8 August 1906, photographed them and collected some of their dances (see Figure 1). In 1907, Cecil Sharp included some items from Bidford in the first edition of *The Morris Book*.[14] It was only later, after corresponding with Ferris that Sharp discovered that these dances were not as old as he had originally believed,

and he withdrew them from his second edition. Mary Neal also published a Bidford dance in the first part of the *Espérance Morris Book*.[15] After an initial flurry of interest from outsiders between 1886 and 1910, the Bidford morris dancers were left up to their own devices. Though the First World War put an end to the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers, Robbins continued to play at local musical events.[16] James Madison Carpenter recorded nine tunes from John Robbins onto wax cylinders in 1933, nearly fifty years after the troupe had formed.[17] All of Carpenter's recordings were of his fiddle playing, and it is assumed that he had ceased playing the pipe and tabor when he stopped playing for morris dancing. The tunes in Robbins' repertoire (see list below) run the range from the ubiquitous 'Constant Billy' and 'Cuckoo's Nest' to the tune he used for 'Merry Go Round' / 'Morris Off', which was not known to be used by any other morris musician of his generation.

The history of the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers has been researched by Roy Judge,[18] Keith Chandler,[19] and J. Philip Taylor.[20] However, up to this point, scrutiny of the repertoire has been from an historical standpoint – based on archival evidence and interviews, rather than musical analysis. Sharp believed Bidford's repertoire was derived from Ilmington, but Judge felt that some of it was learned from Ilmington, some derived from Bledington, and some of it may have been native to Bidford. Roy Judge points out that William Trotman, who worked closely with Ferris, supplied some of the music, and taught the Bidford dancers their steps; he came from the Bledington area and may have been a conduit for the Bledington tunes.[21] In addition, there is archival evidence that Ferris was in contact with elderly Bidford morris dancers who had ceased performing decades earlier. There was also archival evidence of Ferris' interest in the Brackley morris dances, and, of course, his own highly developed artistic imagination and input from historical sources to further complicate matters.

This paper looks at the music as collected from John Robbins and asks if it is possible to learn how he acquired his repertoire by comparing his versions of the tunes with those collected from Ilmington, Brackley, and Bledington.

English Morris Music and Geography

Collectors generally have a geographical focus. As the morris dances were collected and then published and taught, much emphasis was put on the original village from which it was collected. There is a tendency to think of each village's repertoire as a discreet entity. In reality, there was movement between villages of both musicians and dancers, cross-fertilizing as they went. The villages under discussion are not that far apart. It is approximately 12 miles between Bidford and Ilmington, and the morris dancers from both villages were known to have encountered each other on occasion.[22] For convenience, the geographical nomenclature will be retained in this paper.

John Robbins' Morris Repertoire

Of the tunes performed by the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers, there is music for the following, all collected from John Robbins:

'Abraham Brown'
'Billy and Nancy' / 'Brighton Camp'
'Bluff King Hal' ('Staines Morris')
'Constant Billy'
'Cuckoo's Nest'
'Devil among the Tailors' (fragment)
'Heel and Toe'
'Merry Go Round' / 'Morris Off' (Aarbeau's 'Morisque')
'Old Trunko' ('Trunkles')
'Old Woman Tossed Up'
'Princess Royal' / 'Cross Caper'
'Shepherd's Aid' ('Shepherd's Hey')
'Town Morris' / 'Green Garters' / 'Morris On' ('Hey Diddle Dis')
'We Won't Go Home til Morning'

Not all of these tunes that Robbins played for the Bidford Morris were collected. Some had been dropped from the repertoire by the time the collectors began their work. For a list of the contents of the first and second programmes, see Figure 2.

First Programme 21 January 1886, performed at the Falcon Inn, Bidford:	Second Programme as performed on the 21st day of January and repeated in diverse towns.
'Town Morris'	'Town Morris' or 'Green Garter'
'Constant Billy'	'Shepherd's Hey'
'Shepherd's Aid'	'Billy & Nancy'
'Cross Caper'	'Princess Royal'
'Heel & Toe'	'Heel & Toe'
'Merry-go-Round'	'Merry-go-Round'
'In Wooden Shoon'	'In Wooden Shoon'
	'Bluff King Hal'
	'Young Colin'
	'Devil among the Tailors'
	'Morning Star'
	'Valentine'
	'Old Trunko'
	'Saturday Night'
	'Constant Billy'
	'Old Woman tossed up in a Blanket'
	'Black Joke'
	'Molly Oxford'
	'We Won't Go Home till Morning'
	'Brighton Camp'

Figure 2 Titles listed on the first and second programmes for the performances of the Bidford Morris Dancers, 1886

Roy Judge attempted to pinpoint the origins of the Bidford dances, and attributed them thus:[23]

> *Ferris* – 'Merry Go Round' / 'Morris Off' (Aarbeau's 'Morisque'), 'Bluff King Hal' ('Staines Morris')
> *Old Bidford* – 'Constant Billy', 'Shepherd's Aid', 'Cross Caper' / 'Princess Royal', 'Town Morris'
> *Ilmington* – 'The Old Woman Tossed Up in a Blanket', 'We Won't Go Home till Morning' & 'Cuckoo's Nest' (separately or combined), 'Abraham Brown'
> *Bledington* – Judge points out that William Trotman, who led the dancers, supplied some of the music and worked closely with Ferris, grew up in the Bledington area.[24] Judge also mentioned that titles that appear on the second programme, but subsequently ceased to be performed may have been derived from Bledington ('Black Joke', 'Molly Oxford', 'Morning Star', 'Young Colin', 'Saturday Night', 'Valentine'). [25] However he makes no connection between the long-term core repertoire and Trotman's Bledington influence.

Methodology for Musical Analysis

In comparing transcriptions of the Bidford tunes, it became apparent that John Robbins' melodies were very stable, and minor differences in note durations (dotting) are due to the interpretation of individual transcribers. The collected repertoires of Bledington, Brackley, and Ilmington were examined to see where they overlapped with Bidford. The list of Brackley dances in the Ferris MS was a false lead. Brackley was soon eliminated, as there were few titles in common, and their tunes were markedly different from the others. The tunes they held in common were transcribed in parallel notation, transposing as needed to aid in comparison.

The two main areas for attention were pitch and melodic contour. Pitches on strong beats are especially important, as weaker beats may be occupied with ornamentation of the basic melody line. Melodic contour was taken into account, as a similar line in transposition may indicate an adaptation. The Ilmington tunes used were collected from Sam Bennett, a fiddle player who had also learned his morris tunes from the Ilmington pipe and tabor player.[26] James Madison Carpenter recorded both Bennett and Robbins in the spring of 1933. The Bledington tunes were from various sources. Music notation in the Ferris MS was also consulted.

The Tunes

'Abraham Brown (the Sailor)'

Notation of 'Abraham Brown the Sailor' appears in the Ferris MS (42) without reference to the source. The tune was not collected from Bledington, nor does it appear elsewhere in the morris context. Judge notes that according to an 1886 newspaper account, the Ilmington morris men performed a dance with this title, but, unless the notation in the Ferris MS came from the Ilmington pipe player, it was never collected from Ilmington under this title. However, Robbins' playing of 'Abraham Brown' bears a very strong melodic resemblance to 'Bumpus o Stretton',

an Ilmington parody of the well-known song. 'Bumpus o Stretton' was only collected from Sam Bennett, who may have created the parody.[27] While the two tunes share many traits, the third and fourth bar from the end have no notes in common. The rhythm of 'Abraham Brown' is simpler, reflecting the unsung text of the original song (see Figure 3). Robbins opts for a narrower range than Bennett, avoiding both the low d' and high d'''. Bennett played the Ilmington version in G, and this was transposed up to match Robbins' key of D. The tune hints at the close relationship between the Bidford and Ilmington morris repertoires. Although it is in the same tune family as 'Merrily Danced the Quaker's Wife', it does not appear in any guise elsewhere in the morris genre. This item was not listed on either programme.

Figure 3 Extract from B section of 'Bumpus o Stretton' and 'Abraham Brown' showing limited range and fewer notes in the Bidford rendition

'Billy and Nancy' / 'Brighton Camp'

'Brighton Camp' appears to be the tune used for a dance called 'Billy and Nancy' though both titles are listed on the second programme. Also known as 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' it was a hugely popular tune, though there is no record of it in the Ferris MS. Neither Bledington nor Ilmington had a morris dance to this tune. But 'Brighton Camp' was used for a ribbon dance display by Sam Bennett's Morris Dancers (a group of village girls). The transcription used for comparison is from Sam Bennett's performance in a 1926 sound film.[28] The Ilmington and Bidford tunes are nearly identical in the A and B parts (see Figure 4). However, Ilmington also included a C part that was not recorded in Bidford. This tune could have come from Ilmington, and been modified to fit the Bidford dance.

Figure 4 Extract from 'Brighton Camp' showing very similar melodies

'Bluff King Hal'

'Bluff King Hall' is the Bidford title for a tune more widely known as 'Staines Morris'. It did not occur elsewhere in the morris context until the 1950s. It was in the Ferris MS (40) annotated with the statement 'Handkerchiefs – arranged not genuine'. This item was created by Ferris, an old tune to which he added choreography. Judge believes Ferris acquired it from Chappell.[29] In comparing Robbins' playing with the Chappell version, it becomes apparent that he changed it from melodic minor to a major key (see Figure 5). The possible reasons behind this will be discussed later.

Figure 5 Extract from 'Bluff King Hal' / 'Staines Morris' showing altered modality

'Constant Billy'

Figure 6 Extract from 'Constant Billy' showing raised note in Bidford rendition

'Constant Billy' is probably the most popular melody in the morris genre. There is a copy of it (but only the A section) in the Ferris MS (40), it was used in Ilmington and a version of it was known in Bledington as 'Billy Boy'. When all the renditions are lined up, there is very little difference between them, and what there is occurs on unstressed beats. Statistically speaking the Bledington tune differs from the Bidford tune in twice as many places than the Ilmington tune. The Bledington melody replaces the longer notes with passing tones and arpeggios. In five places Ilmington and Bledington use the same pitches, while Bidford uses a different one. Robbins raises the leading tone to the dominant in a certain stepwise run, where the

other two do not (see bar four of Figure 6). Robbins originally played the tune in D; whereas Bennett played it in the more usual key of G. Do a few passing notes more or less point to the source of a tune? It seems a bit risky to say, given that it is one of the most commonly performed morris tunes. As there is no archival evidence of the old Bidford music, there is no proof to support or deny that it came from the old Bidford morris repertoire, as Judge suggested.

'Cuckoo's Nest'

This is another widespread melody, which can be very diverse in interpretation. Robbins' 'Cuckoo's Nest' only uses one strain of the tune, what is usually the B part in Britain. The A part is present in the Ferris MS, but the notation bears scant resemblance to what Robbins played. His tune is more closely related to the Ilmington version; yet again he avoids the minor mode. In bar 5, where the lines do not coincide, they follow the same contour, and Robbins continues this motif instead of following either of the other two lines very closely (see Figure 7). Judge suggested this tune came from Ilmington. If so, the tune diverged between Arthur's teaching and Robbins' and Bennett's performances.

Figure 7 'Cuckoo's Nest'

'Devil among the Tailors'

A popular social dance tune, but not in common use among morris dance musicians. The melody was only collected by Sharp in 1906. The tune does not appear in the Ferris MS, or on the first programme, and, given that neither Graham nor Carpenter collected this item, it seems to have had a very brief tenure in Robbins' repertoire.

'Heel and Toe'

'Heel and Toe' describes the footwork used in the dance. This same melody is known as 'General Monk's March' in Bledington, but was not collected in Ilmington. The

two versions coincide on all the strong beats, and many other notes as well. This title was on the first programme, and musically and historically speaking it is highly likely that it came from Bledington.

'Merry Go Round / Morris Off'

In MS 55, Ferris noted next to this tune 'The air of the Morris dance sometimes – an exact copy of the original – rather odd!', and the music appears two other times in the collection. It was originally published as 'Morisque' in Arbeau's *Orchesography*[30] in the sixteenth century, though Ferris cited Smith's *Festivals, Games, and Amusements* as his source,[31] only Bidford used it for morris dancing, but it persisted throughout the Shakespearean team's life. When Sharp collected it, he believed that it was living proof of the unbroken history of the morris genre. He wrote in the first edition of *The Morris Book*, 'Here in truth is a signal instance of that persistence and continuity which is always cropping up, to the lasting amazement and delight of the student of Folk-music'.[32] Robbins' playing does not vary from the original notation. This item is an unabashed Ferris invention combining an ancient tune with unusual choreography.

'Old Trunko' (*'Trunkles'*)

Sharp collected 'Old Trunko', though it seems to have been on its way out of the repertoire because Graham and Carpenter did not collect the tune. It was a late addition to the tour, as the title is absent from the first programme, and present on the second. The tune was not found in Ilmington, though it was known in Bledington. Between the Bledington and Bidford versions, the A and C sections of the melody are nearly identical, but the B sections are distinctive; matching up only in the last two beats of the second bar, and the final bar. Unlike other instances of divergence, this is not a case of transposition. The tune was fairly common in the morris context. Perhaps this is evidence of the pre-revival Bidford?

'Old Woman Tossed Up in a Blanket'

'Old Woman' was in the Bidford repertoire from the second programme onwards. Judge thought it may have come from Ilmington, as it appears in the Ferris MS (54) in a rough state, which implied it was noted in the field. He cited a newspaper account of Ferris taking down unnamed tunes from unidentified old men, location also unknown. This could have been one of those tunes, but it gets us no closer to identifying the source. This tune is also known as a nursery rhyme. Bidford, Bledington, and Ilmington all had versions. When the three collected tunes are compared (see Figure 8), there are a few more notes in common between Ilmington and Bidford, but not enough to say conclusively that it came from Ilmington. In bars where Bidford differs from the others, Bledington and Ilmington are often in agreement, while Bidford has the same passage transposed down a fourth or fifth. The B section of the tune in the Ferris MS differs substantially from the

version Robbins played. Whatever the source, Robbins appears to have made some adaptations, mainly transposition.

Figure 8 'Old Woman Tossed up in a Blanket'

'Princess Royal / Cross Caper'

'Princess Royal' is another widely distributed tune with many local variations. In Ilmington it went by the title 'Nelson's Praise'. This item appears in Robbins' repertoire from the first programme through to 1933 when Carpenter collected it. A fragment of the tune is included in the Ferris MS (54). The title on this page is 'Cross Caper' and this was a descriptive title associated with the choreography. The Bidford and Ilmington versions are both in a major key; Bledington's is not (see Figure 9). The Bidford version is more ornamented than the Ilmington version, however they almost always coincide on the strong beats. Musically speaking, there is variation enough to indicate that all three renditions had different sources. We cannot claim an Ilmington origin because Ferris did not meet the Ilmington men, and Robbins did not go to Ilmington until after the first programme was printed. If, given the chronology, it did not come from Ilmington, and musically it does not appear to be from Bledington, then Judge's proposal that it is of old Bidford stock looks very attractive, though unverifiable.

Figure 9 'Princess Royal' three distinctive versions

'*Shepherd's Hey*'

This is another popular morris tune, and again the three collected melodies are very close, as is the tune in Ferris' MS (40). Robbins' version is exactly the same as that which appears in the Ferris MS. The first programme lists it as 'Shepherd's Aid' and the second as 'Shepherd's Hey', the latter being the usual title. According to Judge, 'Sharp suggested later that the Bidford "Shepherd's Hey" was derived from Ilmington, but this seems doubtful in view of the fact that at the beginning of the tour Ferris had not yet met Joseph Johnson the foreman, or any other of the Ilmington men'.[33] He also suggests that this may have been from the pre-Ferris Bidford morris,[34] though without providing solid evidence. The Bidford, Ilmington,

and Bledington melodies are nearly identical, so there is no way to determine the source by studying the music. While unlikely that it came from Ilmington, it could have easily been from Bledington.

'Town Morris' / 'Green Garter' / 'Morris On' (*'Hey Diddle Dis'*)
Judge wrote, 'In 1910 de Ferrars gave Sharp the tune for what he called "Bidford Town Morris", which may seem to indicate some kind of local connection for this dance.'[35] Judge surmises that because Ferris called this 'Bidford Town Morris' it may have been part of the original Bidford heritage. Despite its alleged local origins, it faded from the repertoire and was not collected by Carpenter, nor was it ever collected in Ilmington. Passing notes aside, the Bidford and Bledington renditions are nearly identical until the last three bars. In the penultimate bar there is again an example of the same melodic shape transposed down a fourth. As it is not a widespread melody, the close correspondence between the two variants may indicate that the music, at least, was heavily influenced by Bledington and adapted by Robbins (see Figure 10).

Figure 10 'Bidford Town Morris' / 'Hey Diddle Dis'

'We Won't Go Home til Morning'
This was a popular song tune that entered the repertoire of dance musicians. To complicate matters, this tune was combined with 'Cuckoo's Nest' in Bidford's performances. Judge believed both tunes may have come from Ilmington, though only 'Cuckoo's Nest' appears in the MS. As a morris tune, 'We Won't Go Home til Morning' only occurs in the Bidford repertoire, however, Sam Bennett's Ilmington Morris Dancers (pre-teen girls) were filmed performing a hand-clapping dance to this melody.[36] The Ilmington and Bidford versions of the tune include several identical bars, the Bidford version being generally more ornamented. Even when they differ, the strong beats still agree. Judge asserts that it represents part of the Ilmington influence.[37] It could have come from Ilmington, but as it was such a well-known tune outside of the morris context, it is hard to discount another source.

Judge's Suggested Sources versus Musical Analysis

Of Judge's suggestions, the musical evidence supports Ferris as the source for 'Merry Go Round' / 'Morris Off' (Arbeau's 'Morisque'). 'Bluff King Hal' ('Staines Morris') may be also safely viewed as a Ferris addition, with adaptation on the part of Robbins. The latter tune shows how the notations in the Ferris MS do not always reflect the melodies as played by Robbins.

The musical evidence is not very strong for Judge's conjecture that 'Constant Billy', 'Shepherd's Aid', and 'Town Morris' were relics of the older Bidford repertoire. 'Constant Billy' and 'Shepherd's Hey' were too widespread and not distinctive enough to warrant such a conclusion. The latter could have come from Bledington, though, musically speaking, it does not differ significantly from the Ilmington tune. 'Town Morris' on the other hand may have been derived from Bledington. 'Old Trunko' differs significantly from the Bledington version, which may indicate an old Bidford origin, as this tune was not found in Ilmington. 'Cross Caper' / 'Princess Royal', while closely resembling the Ilmington version, was in the repertoire before Ferris and Robbins met the Ilmington men, which makes Judge's assertion of its Bidford origins a strong possibility. But as there is no extant music attributed to the old Bidford tradition, the source of these tunes is still a matter of speculation.

Of the dances he ascribed to Ilmington, 'The Old Woman Tossed Up in a Blanket', is chronologically possible, but the musical analysis is inconclusive. If it came from Ilmington, it was changed during transmission. 'We Won't Go Home til Morning' and 'Cuckoo's Nest' (separately or combined) are feasible. The former was not collected in Bledington and the latter agrees more with the Ilmington version. 'Abraham Brown', when compared to 'Bumpus o Stretton' is a distinct possibility, given the otherwise rarity of the tune in the morris context and its late introduction to the repertoire.

The items that Judge associated with Bledington were never collected from Robbins and are not included here. Of the rest of the tunes, 'Devil Among the Tailors' is a complete unknown, as it did not occur elsewhere in the morris context, and was not in Ferris's notes. 'Billy and Nancy' / 'Brighton Camp' is musically close to Sam Bennett's Ilmington version of 'Brighton Camp' but lacking the C part. It could have been from Ilmington, adapted by Robbins. 'Heel and Toe' bears a strong resemblance to the Bledington tune and was not collected from Ilmington.

Musical Observations

Some generalizations can be made from the results of the musical analysis. When there is a close correspondence between musical examples, it is usually a very well known melody, such as 'Shepherds Hey' and 'Constant Billy'. The points where the Bidford tunes differ from the others fall into the following categories:

1. The Bidford examples often feature transposition of a melodic line ('Old Woman Tossed up in a Blanket', 'Town Morris').
2. The Bidford examples may avoid chromaticism, especially in the raised and lowered pitches of the melodic minor scale ('Bluff King Hal').

3. Although a skilled fiddle player, there are times when Robbins limits the range of pitches he plays ('Abraham Brown', 'Heel and Toe').
4. Robbins sometimes plays in keys not favoured by other morris fiddle players ('Abraham Brown', 'Cuckoo's Nest').
5. Robbins sometimes omitted entire sections of well-known tunes ('Cuckoo's Nest', 'Brighton Camp').
6. Robbins did not always play the tunes as notated in the Ferris MS ('Bluff King Hal', 'Cuckoo's Nest').

All of these traits are evidence of some form of adaptation of the tunes. Abbreviating the melody by leaving out sections was likely done to fit the needs of the choreography. The other adaptations may have derived from Robbins' use of the tabor pipe as a melody instrument.

The Pipe and Tabor Connection

The English tabor pipe was well on its way out of use by morris dancers by the time Ferris began to reconstruct and revive morris dancing.[38] For the earliest performances of the Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dancers, Robbins played the fiddle. But in mid-February 1885 he was sent to Ilmington to study with James Arthur, the local piper. Sam Bennett, the Ilmington fiddle player (and three years Robbins' senior) had also learned the Ilmington morris tunes from Arthur. According to a letter written after the fact from Ferris to Sharp, the instrument used during the tour was in poor playing condition due to age, and he fiddled for most of the dances.[39] It appears that Robbins went on to play the pipe and tabor for at least some of the dancing that took place after the tour. There is a photograph taken by Sir Benjamin Stone at Stratford-upon-Avon of the Bidford dancers and John Robbins with pipe and tabor.[40] Bennett was photographed on two occasions with a tabor drum (but no pipe), and there is no evidence that he played the pipe and tabor in performance.

If these two men learned at least some of the tunes from the same person, why are their renditions different? Bennett learned directly on the fiddle. Arthur probably instructed Robbins to play the tabor pipe itself, imparting both technique and repertoire. The differences between the two instruments used in the learning process may account for some of the differences in the final performance.

Not being a piper, the author consulted with two experts on the English tabor pipe, Steve Rowley, chair of the Taborers Society, and Norman Stanfield, an ethnomusicologist. In an e-mail Rowley wrote:

> We can usually determine pipe and tabor tunes by the way in which they fit on the pipe [. . .] At the turn of the century there were a number of pipes around with slightly (or sometimes greatly) different thumb hole positions and limitations in the upper range. Tunes were adapted to work with these restrictions.[41]

Passages in certain tunes where Robbins plays what appears to be transpositions into a lower register, or alterations to avoid chromatic notes may be due to the restrictions of the tabor pipe. Conversely, Robbins' unusual use of the raised pitches in 'Constant Billy' suggests that this tune was not learned on the tabor pipe, but rather on the fiddle. This may be confirmed by its presence in the first programme – before he went to Ilmington to learn the tabor pipe.

Where the tabor pipe influence is most strongly felt is in Robbins' version of 'Bluff King Hal' ('Staines Morris') (see Figure 5). Taking his cue from the raised f'' and g'' in the first bar, he plays it in a major key, ignoring all the f'' and g'' and c'' naturals in the original melodic minor. This seems odd given Robbins' otherwise proficient fiddle technique. Stanfield explained, 'The pipe has a devil of a time playing music with any chromatic changes, even if it's the two penultimate notes of melodic minor'.[42] Rowley agreed, and supplied a clue as to what sort of pipe Robbins may have played. He wrote,

> It ['Staines Morris'] is not easy on an 'English' tabor pipe, which uses a TTS (tone, tone, semitone) fingering system. To get the g'' sharp you need to play an a'' and place your little finger over the end of the pipe to lower it.[43]

He said this was not a technique used on the common English tabor pipe. However, there was another type of pipe known as the galoubet (which used a tone, tone, tone scale), most widely found in Provence. Rowley wrote 'On a galoubet the Bidford version it is a doddle. The g'' sharp is an open thumb hole.' and 'That version of "Staines" is exactly what you would play on a galoubet. So easy.'[44] Ferris had tried on several occasions to obtain a working English pipe from retired morris musicians with no success. However, the galoubet was commonly found in England and appears to have been a viable alternative.[45]

In answer to the inevitable question, why play a tabor pipe adaptation on a fully chromatic instrument like the violin? Rowley replied: 'I find that the tabor pipe versions become the versions that I play on other instruments, e.g. concertina, even though those instruments don't have the same constraints as the tabor pipe.'[46]

Conclusion

The attempt to discover the origins of John Robbins' morris repertoire through musical analysis has produced mixed results. Although sometimes the music supports the archival evidence, in just as many cases the outcome is inconclusive, or even contradictory. The more popular tunes are so similar to other versions that the slight differences could be a matter of individual style. It is dangerous to put too much emphasis on such minor points of similarity and divergence. Moreover, the restrictions of the tabor pipe used while learning some of the repertoire may account for many of the distinctive passages in Robbins' melodies. While it is tempting to attribute the pipe and tabor influenced music to James Arthur and the Ilmington tradition, it is important to understand that this was not the sole source. Robbins

demonstrated, with his unique interpretation of 'Staines Morris', that he was equal to the task of adapting tunes to the tabor pipe scale.

Notes

[1] Roy Judge, 'D'Arcy Ferris and the Bidford Morris', *Folk Music Journal*, 4 (1984), 443–80 (p. 444).

[2] Judge, p. 446, reproduced a photograph of him in an elaborate Elizabethan-styled costume as the 'Lord of Misrule' complete with staff, crown, and a long, ersatz e rmine-trimmed cape.

[3] Judge, p. 447.

[4] Judge, pp. 447–48.

[5] Judge, p. 448.

[6] The pipe is an end blown duct flute with three or four finger holes, played with one hand. The player typically also strikes a tabor (type of snare drum) with a stick held in the other hand.

[7] Judge, p. 451.

[8] Photographs of the first and second programmes from the 1886 performances are reproduced in Judge, pp. 450 and 458.

[9] Keith Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England: No 16, John Robbins of Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire (1868–1948)', *Musical Traditions, Article MT 189*, 2006 <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/> [accessed 13 January 2010].

[10] Keith Chandler, *Ribbons, Bells, and Squeaking Fiddles: The Social History of Morris Dancing in the English South Midlands, 1660–1900* (Enfield Lock Middlesex UK: Hisarlik Press for the Folklore Society, 1993), pp. 140–41.

[11] Keith Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England: No 16, John Robbins'.

[12] J. Philip Taylor, 'Bidford on Avon and Its Morris Tradition', 1982, unnumbered leaf before p. 82. This is a typescript that may exist in multiple copies, one of which is deposited in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in London.

[13] John Graham, *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances: with an introduction, description of the dresses and the dances, and hints on adaptation to schools* (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1907).

[14] Cecil James Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book: A History of Morris Dancing with a Description of Eleven Dances as Performed by the Morris-Men of England* (London: Novello, 1907). Piano arrangements were also published in *Morris Dance Tunes* (London: Novello, 1907).

[15] Mary Neal, *The Espérance Morris Book: A Manual of Morris Dances, Folk-Songs and Singing Games, Part I* (London: Curwen, 1910).

[16] Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England: No 16, John Robbins'.

[17] James Madison Carpenter, 'The James Madison Carpenter Collection', Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, Archive of Folk Culture, AFC 1972/001.

[18] Judge, pp. 443–80.

[19] Keith Chandler, *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances: A Source Book* (Eynsham, Oxon: Chandler Publications, 1985).

[20] Taylor, 'Bidford on Avon and Its Morris Tradition'.

[21] Judge, p. 449 and endnote 31.

[22] Judge, pp. 471–72.

[23] Judge, pp. 455–56.

[24] Judge, p. 449 and footnote 31.

[25] Judge, p. 466.

[26] Sam Bennett, Letter to Douglas Kennedy, 28 January 1948, VWML Library Collection, AL Bennett.

[27] Bumpus is a popular surname in Stretton-on-Fosse, which is not far from Ilmington, and Bennett had a number of similar ditties in his repertoire.

[28] *Dances by Ilmington Teams in the Grounds of Peter De Montfort's House: Fiddler Sam Bennett* (Lee De Forest, 1926). A DVD copy of this rare sound film is held in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

[29] W. Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time: A History of the Ancient Songs, Ballads, and of the Dance Tunes of England; Also a Short Account of the Minstrels*, 2 vols (London: Chappell, [1859]).

[30] Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography: A Treatise in the Form of a Dialogue: Whereby All Manner of Persons May Easily Acquire and Practice the Honourable Exercise of Dancing ... Now First Translated from the Original Edition Published at Langres, 1588, trans. by Cyril W. Beaumont, preface by Peter Warlock* (London: C. W. Beaumont, 1925), p. 149.

[31] Horatio Smith and G. R. Gleig, *Festivals, Games, and Amusements, Ancient and Modern* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1831), p. 263.

[32] Sharp and MacIlwaine, p. 15.

[33] Judge, p. 455.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Judge, p. 455.

[36] *Dances by Ilmington Teams*.

[37] Judge, p. 466.

[38] Anthony C. B aines and Hélène La Rue, 'Pipe and Tabor', *Grove Music Online*, at *Oxford Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> [accessed 28 February 2011].

[39] 'Extract from letter of Mr. d'Arcy de Ferrars, Dec. 13th 1910'. Cambridge, Archive of Clare College, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, ACC1987/25, Folk Dance Notes, vol. 1, p. 256.

[40] J. Philip Taylor, 'Bidford on Avon and Its Morris Tradition', 1982, unnumbered leaf before p. 82.

[41] Stephen Rowl ey, 'Bidford and Pipe and Tabor Pl ayer s', email , 9 Ju ne 2010.

[42] Norman Stanfield, 'Bidford Tune', email, 27 June 2010.

[43] Stephan Rowley, 'Bidford Tune', email, 27 June 2010.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Baines and La Rue, 'Pipe and Tabor'.

[46] Stephan Rowley, 'Bidford Tune', email, 28 June 2010.

5

Pranking and tall tale telling within Florida's old-time fiddling tradition

GREGORY HANSEN

Old-time fiddling is commonly associated with America's South. Although somewhat overlooked by music historians and folklorists, Florida, the southernmost of all the southeastern states, has a fiddling tradition that likely extends prior to the state's British period of 1763–1783. Many of the oldest tunes recorded in the state are related to Scottish, Scots-Irish, and Irish fiddling traditions, and scholars have documented a vibrant fiddling tradition that was part of the territorial period of 1821–1845 as well as the antebellum era of early statehood.[1] The major influence on the state's early fiddling tradition, however, is connected to migration from southern states during the Reconstruction era following the Civil War. Settlers from Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, and other regions more noted for their fiddling tradition, migrated into the largely rural state as developers opened land for ranching, farming, fruit orchards, timbering, and other industries. Florida's population boom in the early twentieth century contributed to fiddling's popularity throughout the state. The relative lateness of these major influences on the state's musical tradition creates problems for ascertaining a unique style of Florida fiddling. The few old-time fiddlers who maintain the oldest tradition perform in a wide variety of styles, and all have been highly influenced by radio, recordings, and other mass media.

One musician who experienced one of the oldest documented fiddling traditions is Richard Keith Seaman. Born in 1904 in Kissimmee Park in Osceola County, Seaman first learned a core repertoire of old-time hoedown tunes by attending house parties in his rural community. Although he added to his repertoire of nearly 100 tunes through his life, the earliest tunes that he learned stretch back to the state's nineteenth century. He learned hoedown tunes such as 'Shear 'Em', 'Mississippi Sawyer', 'Flop-Eared Mule', 'Sally Gooden', 'Stoney Point', 'Old Hen Cackled', 'Soldier's Joy', and 'Danced All Night with a Bottle in my Hand' directly from older fiddlers rather than through mass media influences. After Seaman moved to Jacksonville in the 1920s, he added waltzes, western swing, hymns, blues, and sentimental parlour tunes to this core repertoire of hoedown tunes. His complete

eclectic repertoire is typical of many fiddlers, as research supports the idea that old-time square dance tunes and country waltzes often constitute less than half the total numbers of tunes in a fiddler's repertoire.[2] During a revival of his career in the late 1980s, Seaman emphasized the older tunes, performing regularly at public folklore events well into his late nineties. He was awarded the prestigious Florida Folk Heritage Award from the State of Florida in 2002. The Governor's Proclamation honoured his contributions to the state's folk culture, recognizing Richard Seaman as a master folk musician and storyteller.

An account of one of his performances shows how his stage patter entertains an audience largely unfamiliar with his music. He blends together descriptions and narratives to provide a context for understanding the tradition's place within his home community. A close analysis reveals that his fiddle tunes and his stories are connected to older European traditions of music and folktales. Along with displaying this continuity, his performance also reflects elements of America's social history

Figure 1 Square Dancing at the Florida Folk Festival, 2001

as well as the fiddler's own individual creativity. Central to understanding the playful way that Seaman blends music and story to craft an engaging stage persona – at the age of 87 – are two folkloric genres that, at first, may seem disconnected to his view of fiddling: namely, the tall tale and the practical joke. Whereas Seaman's interpretation of the fiddle tune within the context of the dance emphasizes the music as a resource for creating and sustaining social cohesion, the practical joke disrupts the usual social order. Likewise, the tall tale also seemingly inverts social norms. Seaman affirms the importance of truth-telling and keeping one's word within the social life of the little community, but his tall tales are predicated on lying. A performance that may first appear to be a highly distorted, even romanticized,

vision of life in Kissimmee actually reveals an intriguing portrait of fiddling that eloquently expresses deeper ideas about connecting music with story in performance as the fiddler's artistry resolves tensions between work and play as well as truth-telling and lying.

Figure 2 Richard Seaman receives a Florida Folk Heritage Award
at the Florida Folk Festival, 2001

The Performance

The 1992 Florida Folk Festival in White Springs is part of a long line of festivals held at the Stephen Foster Folk Cultural Center State Park. Initiated by members of the Florida Federation of Music Clubs in 1953, the festival is one of the longest running statewide festivals in America.[3] Richard Seaman first performed at the festival in 1989, and he continued to perform on stage until 2002 (see Figures 1 and 2). This performance was held in the amphitheatre on a sunny Saturday afternoon in May. The park's main stage is situated along the banks of the Suwannee River at the base of a gently sloping hill, on a clipped lawn shaded by live oaks draped with Spanish moss.[4]

The Richard Seaman Band steps onto the stage to set up their instruments, and the master of ceremonies introduces their act:

> You're in for a treat now. This tall fellow in the black hat here is Richard Seaman, and I understand he's been known to tell a story or two from time to time. This could be one of those times. And he's accompanied by Jack Piccalo – he plays fine guitar – and also by Frank Farley on bass at this moment.
> Now I understand that Richard learned his stuff in Kissimmee. He used to play home square dances, and he was taught by a lot of fiddle players when he

was a younger fellow about how to do what he does. So there's really a history and romance that goes back a hundred years with Richard.

She pauses a moment and checks with the sound crew to see if all of the microphones for the fiddle, guitar, and string bass are properly set. The emcee then asks, 'You about ready, Jack?' He nods, and she continues, 'Okay, Frank, Jack, and Richard. How about a nice, warm welcome for them to our stage!'

Seaman opens the set:

> Well, it's mighty nice to be back here. We wasn't here last year. I guess it was because we was too lazy to get out here. I don't know. I never make excuses, but that's the best I could think of. In other words, we just forgot to put our name in the pot, so we didn't get no peas. But we're here today.
>
> We're going to try to play a few old-time fiddle tunes that was popular way back in the first of the century. Maybe some of you've heard them and some of you haven't. But the old fiddle tunes was played many years ago, in our part of the country, where we would go to a square dance and get out there and dance all night long. And some of us didn't know but one or two tunes to play, but that's what they had to dance by. If they'd get tired of one tune, we'd play the other one.
>
> When I first started learning to play the fiddle, I didn't know much about it. It was one that was in the house where I was born and raised. So when I first started playing, my mother said, 'Look here son, I can't stand that'. She said, 'I can't stand that. That's too much.'
>
> So she wouldn't let me play in the house. She made me go out there and practice, sitting on a stump out in the field. And I went out there to play and to try to play. She finally told me the better that I played, the closer I could get to the house. It was five years before I ever played a tune in the house. Even that was risky!
>
> One of the old tunes we used to play, man, years ago for a square dance was called 'Mississippi Sawyer', and we'd like to try to play that for you today. It goes something like this.

'This was one of these tunes to dance by', Seaman explains after his band completes the tune. He then continues his stage patter by providing a context for the tune:

> Here at the old country dances, we'd have to go to somebody's house, if they'd let us. And about two-thirds of the way through the evening, someone would have a few drinks, and the dance would get right lively. You was lucky if you didn't kick the plaster off the wall. Another little tune we played was called 'Soldier's Joy'.

After the band finishes the hoedown tune, Seaman acknowledges the audience's appreciation for the music, 'When you applaud for us, it's like making love to an old maid: you can't overdo it'. He continues, possibly not recognizing that

the meaning of *making love* has shifted since he used the term in his courting days so many years ago.

> I'd like to introduce these boys that are helping me out so well here. This gentleman on the right, he's a fine guitar player and a master on the five-string banjo. I'd like you to make welcome Mr Jack Piccalo. Look-it here girls, look-it here. He's handsome, and he's single! Yes, sir, he's looking around though. He's got his eye out. He's looking around. He's looking around for a rich widow. If there's any rich widows out there, the line forms on the left: Mr Frank Farley.
>
> He paid me a quarter to say that!
>
> Here's another old one, called 'The Flop-Eared Mule'. We had a few of them around home to work with. Some of them are ornery as the Devil, especially the white ones. This song is called 'The Flop-Eared Mule'.

They play this square dance tune which has an honoured place within his core repertoire. The tune was especially popular when Seaman played it for schoolchildren in the Duval County Folklife in Education Program. The song's imitation of the mule's bray is an especially popular feature. Seaman continues to develop his stage patter and begins telling his tall tales:

> I was raised on a farm down below Kissimmee. Many years ago, it was quite unlike it is today. We had to do everything we did by hand. We didn't have farm tools like front-end loaders or tractors and so forth, and most of it was done by hand.
>
> My sister had a farm down there. It was really the richest soil in that farm of any place I ever saw. That ground was so rich that when we planted corn, we had to plant it on the run because every time you dropped a kernel of corn, and went to kick the dirt over it with your foot, that soil was so rich that that kernel of corn would sprout and run up your britches' leg before you got away from it. So you had to plant it on the run.
>
> And then, when that corn was fully grown, why, the moon had to detour by the way of Georgia to get over it. That's how tall it was.

Let's play 'Westphalia Waltz', Jack Piccalo suggests to Seaman. They play the old-time waltz. Although waltzes were rarely performed at the house parties he attended, Seaman remembers learning to play waltzes early in his career. At the waltz's conclusion, he tells another tale:

> On the farm that my sister had that had such rich soil, she grew some watermelons down there one day, or one season. And she had a little trouble with them. The vines grew so fast and so far until the vines wore the watermelons out, dragging them across the ground, they grew so fast.
>
> But anyhow, she saved a couple of them. So we took a horse and wagon and went down there to take them up to the house. And we had some trouble

getting it on the wagon because it was so big. We didn't have enough neighbours around there to pick it up.

So finally we got enough people around there, around that watermelon, and picked it up. And finally we manned it up on that wagon. And we had a mule hooked to that wagon, and about time we got it up there, it rolled off, busted up, and drowned the mules!

So the other one, we didn't take any chances on that. We rolled it up to the house. And we put it up on a couple of sawhorses, and we screwed in a faucet in it, you see. And we had watermelon juice for two weeks. If that wasn't the truth, I wouldn't have told it.

This is a little tune called 'Up Jumped the Devil'.

The band plays the tune. This tune changes key in the B-part, and the lively hoedown tune is sometimes known by the alternative name, 'Up Jumped Trouble'. Seaman typically referred to it by this name when performing for children's audiences. He shifts the mood of the folk festival performance by introducing a slower tune, 'Thank you. There's a waltz that I like to play called "The Waltz You Saved for Me."' When the band finishes the tune, Seaman tells another story:

I went back to my sister's farm one time after I had left there. I went back to see her one time. I noticed that she was upset when I got there. I said, 'Sis, what's the matter with you?'

She said, 'Well, you know that old abandoned well down there in the field?'

I said, 'Yeah'.

She said, 'My prize milk cow just fell in there. That old cow is in that well, and we don't know how to get her out'. And they was all worried, walking around there, wringing their hand and shedding a tear or two about the old milk cow.

She said, 'That's the best milk cow in the county – everybody knows that and I hate to lose her'. So I went down there, and I looked in the well. And, sure enough, the cow was in the well.

I told her I didn't think that there was anything to worry about. I'd get that old cow out of the well for her.

So, I went to the house, and I got a ladder. And I crawled down the well. And I started milking that old cow, and I milked her, kept right on milking. She was the best milk cow in the county, and that's the truth.

I milked that old cow for an hour or more and kept right on a-milking. And I, finally, I floated that old cow right out of the well. There wasn't a thing to it – just as simple as that.

After they complete the hoedown 'Maple Sugar', Seaman concludes the performance in the hot Florida sun, 'Thank you very much. It's been a pleasure to play for you'.

Tunes, Tales, and Pranks in Context

Seaman had a sharp wit and a playful personality. He crafted delightful performances by recognizing that even a short set of twenty minutes would be difficult to fill only with square dance tunes. The highly rhythmic dance tunes are built on repetition, but even his subtle variations would not hold the attention of a contemporary audience who is sitting down at a folk festival rather than up dancing in a house party. The context of playing tunes for a dance party in which neighbours knew each other and recognized familiar tunes within central Florida's core repertoire had changed drastically by the end of the twentieth century. When he revived his career, Seaman recognized that he could use the tall tales that he learned in his youth to accompany his performance of fiddle tunes.[5] He also recognized that he had to use engaging stage patter to connect to his audience, thereby acting as a cultural interpreter of his own tradition. His seemingly simple presentation of fiddle tunes and tall tales belies a subtle complexity that becomes clearer when we examine salient aspects of this presentation through the lens of performance theory.

Folklorists using performance theory focus on the central idea that 'folklore is folklore when it is performed'.[6] The tunes and tales exist as memories and creative resources for artistic expression, but their performance is the basis for researchers to understand how musicians and storytellers employ an understanding of communicative competence to express themselves artistically and effectively within a social setting.[7] Researchers articulate elements of competence by ascertaining a range of artistic resources and then examining interconnections between these elements to adduce the individual motives and the cultural themes that emerge within a communicative event.[8] In this performance, key elements of Seaman's communicative competence include his musical repertoire, knowledge of tall tales, ability to use formulaic phrases and keying devices within his stage patter, and a variety of other artistic resources that allow him to establish and maintain his role as a performer. Our understanding of this ability to craft an engaging performance becomes enriched when we consider how Seaman's own views about music, storytelling, and history animate his self-presentation.[9] In the dynamic relationships between performance and competence, Seaman's performance reveals a subtle sense of establishing and giving voice to his own role as a traditional artist who paints a portrait of the context for his music through his vivid word pictures.

In this portrait, the performance is a representation of fiddling within the context of Florida folklife. His vision becomes clearer in excerpts from formal interviews. They show how he offers his view of fiddling within the specific context of the house party, or frolic, the local name for Florida's square dance tradition:

> In the old-time dancing, sometimes there wouldn't be enough for two sets. Sometimes there would be more. They would get out there and call their own dances. That would be four couple, eight people. They would have all different calls and a little different names for their sets. I never did know all of them.[10]

Figure 3 Cartoon by Richard Seaman Depicting Square Dancers

Enclosed within a cartoon that he drew are the words to a patter call that Seaman first heard in Kissimmee, in the early years of the twentieth century (see Figure 3):

> Back your ears and go hog wild,
> Swing your partner cowboy style,
> With your left foot down,
> You cut a figure-eight when you come round.
> First couple out and swing.
> Go down the centre and split the ring,
> The lady go 'gee' – the gent go 'haw'.
> Swing on the corner, then swing your partner,
> Run away eight when you get straight.

Seaman further describes the dance:

> Some of the dances were real nice if you could get somebody who knew how to call the dance. Most everybody would try, but there wasn't professional square dance callers like we have today. Most of it was just simple callers who would get up there and would call out the set to the best of his ability. And we'd try to do it – whatever he'd call. It was just whatever come up. That's where the fun was. You could just sort of make your own fun, and if you didn't follow that caller, why, it was no harm done. It just kept on going anyhow.

> They didn't pay no attention to the musicians, once they got started. They was
> too interested in what they were doing. They had established the tempo, and
> they would keep going. Just as long as they could hear some music in the
> background, they weren't caring much what you played. Just so you played.[11]

Seaman first attended the dances as a farm boy. He enjoyed the dancing, but
his main interest was in the fiddling. His idea that the dancing, rather than the
fiddling, was more important to the dancers is supported by his argument that
many fiddlers in the area had small repertoires, sometimes consisting of only one
or two tunes. He also recalls that fiddlers who couldn't keep time were sometimes
replaced by a musician who could tap out the square dancing rhythms with broom
handles on the hardwood floor. Although dancing was as the centre of the event,
rather than hot fiddling, he recollects that the fiddler played an important role in the
community. A more generalized view of the fiddler's role within Kissimmee Park's
little community emerges when he describes the social context of the dance:

> It brought people together for more of a friendship. They were laughing and
> talking and cutting the fool. It'd give them a chance, really, to associate with
> the neighbours. That was the main thing, I guess. It would give the community
> a chance to meet, talk, and associate with each other.
>
> Same way with a picnic. They'd generally have a picnic down at the lake.
> And somebody would take a seine and go out and seine some fish. And they'd
> have a fish fry, and everybody would bring something. The ladies would bring
> pies and cakes and whatever they had. They'd sit all out there, and they'd fry
> them fish and go to eating. And everybody would just be having a big time.
> They did it just to get together and be together.[12]

In his stage patter and during formal interviews, Seaman was highly reflective
in his accounts of the dances. In his view of the fiddler's place within the community,
he emphasizes the theme that the fiddler was more of a participant within the dance
rather than a star performer set apart from the audience on a silver stage. He learned
his tunes within this social context by playing in a community that enjoyed the dance
rather than preparing tunes to perform for a crowd of spectators. His narrative skills
provide a cinematic representation of life in Kissimmee, and he provides a close-up
view in describing the fiddler's contributions to the dance. Neighbours would seine
the fish, fry up the catch, bake the cakes and cookies, and stir up the fruit punch. It
was the fiddler's task to supply the music. His description of the fiddler's musical
offering is further developed in formal interviews, but the sense of the musician as
a contributor to a community's social life emerges in more abstract form in Seaman's
stage patter at folk festivals and other performances that he made decades after the
house parties had died out by the end of the 1940s. He viewed his home community
as a neighbourly place. His numerous stories and descriptions of life in Kissimmee
Park emphasize the importance of an ethic of neighbourliness as both an economic
and social necessity within a harsh environment. He breaks away from the mythic

frontier image of the pioneer as a hardy, self-sufficient individual, offering instead a view of life that centred on mutual cooperation, trust, and social responsibility in a system he called *neighbourly survival*.[13]

At first glance, his representations of the fiddling and its accompanying dance tradition may seem like a highly romanticized view of Florida's history. Seaman's stories and descriptions may appear to reflect the nostalgia of an elderly man looking back on an idyllic childhood, and they may seem to resonate with the myth of the happier past that often enfolds the sentiments supporting stories of square dances, front porch music-making, and reminiscences about fiddlers in ones' family. The perspective that his memories are clouded by nostalgia, however, is more likely a view of the past that is distorted more by cynicism rather than clarified by a deeper understanding of Seaman's accounts of his own history. At the personal level, Seaman took an ambivalent view about the past. Communities were more cohesive one hundred years ago, he believes, because life was harder in the past. On an artistic level, he regards the fiddler's musical abilities as often below contemporary standards as the focus was more on the social elements of the dance rather than on displays of artistic virtuosity. Within the view of Seaman as a witness to history, it is clear that he refused to omit the negative elements of Florida's history as he told vivid stories about sensitive topics such as race relations, gender inequalities, and disparate economic opportunities. Even within the purview of academic scholarship, his characterization of the fiddle tune and square dance as forces for creating and sustaining healthy community life is resonant with conclusions drawn by scholars who have researched similar traditions.[14] The position that Seaman takes is one variation of the view offered by scholars, namely that the fiddle tradition supports and is supported by an ethos that emphasized social connection rather than individual isolation – especially in relation to social norms that support musical performances.

Whereas scholars of fiddling have explored relationships between music-making and social cohesion, they have largely overlooked an element of the house party that appears to be the antithesis of smooth social interaction, the practical joke. Little has been written of a vibrant pranking tradition that was also part of the dance's social context. My first exposure to this element of Florida frolics emerged when Seaman depicted what the grounds outside of the house looked like during a dance:

> Oh sometimes there'd be thirty or forty, I guess, in the little neighbourhood where we lived. And that would be a handful. When I was a kid, we didn't have automobiles. We had to walk or go in horse and wagon – or maybe ride the old mule if you had no other way to go and was just yourself.[15]

In response to my comment that I could picture what the horses and wagons outside of the house looked like, Seaman gave a slightly anthropomorphized view of the scene. 'It'd be all carted-out under the trees. Horses standing there, wishing

to God they could go home'. As we laughed, I quipped that maybe they were also wishing that they could go inside and dance. Our cartoonish interchange, in turn, sparked a memory of a prank that was pulled at the dances:

> With buggy wheels, the back wheels are bigger than the front wheels. Most all people who drove horse and buggies around had a buggy wrench – what they would call a 'buggy wrench'. It fit the nuts to take the wheel off, and they'd have a little old box with a little top to it in the dashboard there to put your buggy wrench in that. In case something would happen, if a wheel come off or would get loose, you could tighten it up.
>
> Well, the threads on the right side had right-hand threads. The wheels on the left side had left-hand threads. So the rotation of the wheel wouldn't roll the nut off. If it happened to hit the nut, it would tighten it.
>
> You'd get someone to help you. Them little buggies wasn't heavy. He could pick up the rear wheel, and you'd loosen the nuts, And you'd take that nut off the little wheel and run it back there and stick it there on that axle and tighten it up. And then you'd put the big wheel up front and tighten it up. You'd put the wrench back in there and go on.
>
> They'd come out there, and there'd be a little wheel and a big wheel and a big wheel and a little wheel.[16]

Following up this recollection with another story, Seaman revealed that other practical jokes were played at the dances:

> Or, you'd take the horse out, turn him around, face him in, and then run the shafts through the holders on the backboard. You'd go out there in a hurry, and you'd danced all night and was tired. And you'd go out there and get in your buggy. And there was that damn horse looking at you.

The light-hearted tone of Seaman's narration suggests that he had been the prankster as well as the prankee. In his view, the practical jokes were carried out in a playful spirit, and it is likely that the victims of pranks gained help from community members to straighten out the disorder created by the practical joke. The actual artistry of creative manipulations of objects, precise timing, and the strategic planning involved in knowing who can be tricked are key elements of the practical joke.[17] As folklorists have found, however, the enduring appeal of the prank also relates to how well it can be recounted in a story long after the prank's execution.[18] In this respect, an effective prank is the fodder for a good story that will be remembered long after the actual event is forgotten. In Seaman's narrative, the actual incident has shifted away from serving as a direct account of a specific event to become part of the more abstract storytelling repertoire. In these stories a basic conundrum emerges that also is evident in his performance of fiddle tunes. Namely, why does he use stories about practical jokes to illustrate his point that the little community was more tightly stitched together back when he was a young man

in the 1910s? As writers such as Patricia Sawin have argued, there is ambivalence within the playing of a practical joke. She asserts that the joke is situated on a fine line between cleverness and cruelty and that the humour of the prank stems from creating discomfort in the prankee.[19]

Richard Tallman contrasts playful pranks with other pranks that are associated with spiteful behaviour. He refers to them as *malevolent pranks* and discusses how they have been used to humiliate and even terrorize victims.[20] There are accounts of malicious pranks within Florida's memory culture, most prominent are the *pranks* associated with the state's violent history of race relations and Ku Klux Klan activity. Seaman's accounts of racial violence in central Florida could even support the idea that some viewed Klan activity as simply a form of pranking.[21] Within the playful context of the dance, however, Seaman's account of the pranks suggest that the jokes were seen as clever inversions of ordinary activities that create, maintain, and manipulate the social relationships forged in play. Because they were carried out in events that were framed as recreation, the pranks were likely literal enactments of what anthropologists term 'joking relationships'. In a joking relationship, individuals have created strong interpersonal connections that provide them with the freedom to violate the normal rules of behaviour and playfully explore the boundaries of their friendships. This negotiation involves rules for norm-making and norm-breaking, and the highly styled, even surreal quality of the well-played practical joke can reinforce close interpersonal relationships as the joke becomes a densely packed symbol that reinforces intra-group connections and establishes relationship centres for community members who define themselves as 'neighbours'. This element of cultural creativity remained a part of Seaman's life as he playfully engaged in teasing his friends, even drawing cartoons that caricatured a friend's dancing at a house party.

It is likely that some pranksters sometimes stepped over the line and offended their neighbours within the Kissimmee Park community one hundred years ago. It would also be difficult to prove that the literal and symbolic inversions of social life did, in fact, contribute to social cohesion. The abstract analysis does not fully resolve the puzzle posed in considering why Seaman used stories of pranks to express the friendly community spirit that he regarded as central to the square dance. This seemingly contradictory view of narrated events versus the reality of social life becomes even more evident when one considers that he is using the highly stylized genre of the tall tale to represent his view of life in Kissimmee Park. He is using the lie to tell the truth.

Seaman's tall tales have a long history in Florida. Specific tale types and motifs in his repertoire have been documented throughout the state within numerous communities.[22] The stories are highly influenced from stories told in Anglo, Celtic, and Irish traditions as many are spun from traditional motifs and tale types rooted in folklore from the British Isles and other European sources.[23] A few of the tales are also part of the African-American tradition of storytelling that Zora Neale Hurston documented in the nearby village of Eatonville.[24] In folklorists' parlance, a tall

tale is a fictional prose narrative in which the teller attempts to 'present the most heightened exaggeration as the sober truth'.[25] Its form is relatively fixed, and the tall tale typically uses hyperbole, and occasionally understatement, for its comic effect. As do many raconteurs, Seaman told his tall tales in the first person. Unlike many other tellers of tall tales, he typically situated himself out of his original community by implicitly placing himself in Jacksonville, Florida, rather than in Kissimmee Park. As is evident in his performance at the Florida Folk Festival, he used the stories to frame his recollections about the past to present his own vision of the original context for his fiddle tunes. The stories are highly stylized fantasies, enriching his presentation of fiddle tunes.

Tall tales also are connected to pranks. A story about a successful prank may involve elaborately stretching the truth, thereby artistically using elements of the tall-tale style to punctuate the story's humour. A story about a prank follows a form similar to that of a tall tale. Both narratives begin with realistic descriptions of quotidian experience. An incident is introduced that establishes a problem. The problem is developed by inverted or highly embellished descriptions of social life, as the narrator spins the story often in a drawn-out, even laconic, style until the initial conflict reaches a climax. Both kinds of stories usually feature a denouement through which the usual social order is restored, or at least resolved, and life's continuity is reasserted as a scene for the telling of more incidents of experience. A final parallel connects the tall tale directly to the prank. Just as the prankster sets up a realistic trap for the prankee to step into, the teller of tall tales must first create a scene of vivid realism in order to trick the listener into believing the lie. When performed, the tall tale undergoes a transformation through a process of metaphrasis in which it shifts genres.[26] As Richard Bauman writes, the tall tale, itself, can be seen less as a narrative and more as a verbal practical joke when its telling becomes the focus of a narrative event.[27]

A tall tale's significance as a verbal prank becomes richer when the stories are connected to Seaman's perspectives on social norms about truth-telling within his home community. Seaman noted that these stories were rarely called *lies* in Kissimmee Park although it was true that tellers of tall tales could playfully be called *liars.* He claimed never to have entered a liar's contest because he admitted that he was afraid he would win. When introduced as a teller of tall tales by presenters at folk festival, Seaman often playfully interjected that the master of ceremonies would make a liar out of him, directly affirming the cultural sanctions against prevarication. He frequently used formulaic phrases, such as 'and that's the truth, if I ever told it', to frame the stories ironically as fiction. He also was a master at using a restrained, even droll tone of narration, to subtly establish his stories as tall tales. Through these and other devices, he clearly resolved the Liar's Paradox, for these framing devices create distinctions between lying as a social taboo versus the artful stretching of the truth. His storytelling aesthetics, thus, were centred on using ironic distance to creatively and convincingly establish the explicit quality of the stories as lies, thereby absolving himself from being cast as a serious liar. Within

this resolution of the paradox, more importantly, Seaman was affirming the value of telling the truth as a personal communicative norm.

The value placed on veracity in word and deed shifted from the individual to the social level when Seaman was asked about the importance of telling the truth in Kissimmee. In a formal interview, he referenced a proverbial saying, 'Your word was your bond' to emphasize the importance of the spoken word.[28] Seaman added, 'If you said you were going to do something, then you did it', to show that truthful speech not only meant speaking honestly, but it also set a standard for social engagement. Blending word with deed, Seaman asserted that one's words also seal social commitments within the family and the wider community. In this way of speaking, the use of words sets a high ideal about accepting one's social responsibilities to one's neighbours. Because he frames the lie clearly and honestly as fiction, Seaman reminds listeners of the importance of keeping one's word. His tall tales emerge as explorations of the rich nuances of telling the truth. The stories are vehicles for conveying values that support the system of neighbourly survival as it is practiced in daily life and acted out in the square dance.

Telling a tall tale and playing a prank support a common cultural theme. The tales and the tricks provide community members with reminders that ordinary social life can be easily disturbed through careless speech and irresponsible deeds. The playful inversions told in the tall tales and acted out in the pranks have potentially serious consequences if they become actual violations of important social norms. The passage of time prevents us from fully discovering how the music, tales, and pranks were received within the Kissimmee Park community, so we must trust the raconteur's knowledge and memory of the history. We can, however, gain a direct understanding of the fiddler's own experience by reading the stories for symbolic clues into his vision of the role of the fiddler in Florida's musical history. Telling his tales and playing his tunes at the end of the twentieth century, Seaman transported his listeners back to the beginning of the century.

The image of the fiddler revealed in his stories is an ambivalent one. As Seaman has told us, the fiddler often was a valued member of a community. His or her musical offering brought people together as the fiddler's gift helped to establish a centre for neighbours to gather around within the square dance. On the other hand, the fiddler could sometimes be seen as a shady character.[29] At the least, fiddle playing tempted workers away from taking care of their daily chores, as Seaman noted. His father quipped, 'Once a man learned to fiddle, he wasn't worth a damn'. The fiddler may be charged with promoting the idea of celebrating frivolous entertainment over completing serious work, the fiddler might also tempt the faithful away from their straight and narrow paths by encouraging indulgence in the pleasures of dancing, feasting, and drinking moonshine whiskey. In his stories, the fiddler's image is even akin to the trickster figure who commonly shows up in myths, legends, and folktales – a figure known for playing pranks and telling lies.[30] Seaman was well aware of the diabolical qualities associated with fiddling:

> There was an old lady that lived down home there that wouldn't let her husband bring the fiddle in the house. She said the fiddle was kin to the Devil, and she wouldn't let him. He had to leave it in the barn. He couldn't bring it in the house.
>
> That was superstitious. The old people had their superstitious ways, and that was hers. She thought it was sinful, but that's the only one I know of. I've heard of different ones claiming that they would hide the fiddle if the preacher came around and stuff like that. Some of them thought that fiddle music was harmful.[31]

These negative connotations are evident in the association of fiddling with Old Scratch and in the fiddle's nickname. Although Seaman hadn't heard the fiddle referred to as the *Devil's box*, he did recognize that the dances had rough reputations, and his second wife, Annie Seaman, remembered that her father refused to let her attend dances because of the drinking and threats of violence. Dancing to the tune of a fiddle was forbidden in many families because it was unChristian, their recollections affirm.

Seaman was a strong believer, but his religious beliefs were sincere, honest, and did not descend into religious arrogance. His view of the fiddler as a trickster is less a commentary on the social tension between opposing religious groups and more a commentary on the psychological tension that envelops the idea of fiddling in Florida. Viewing negative associations with fiddling and superstition, Seaman implicitly contrasts false belief with true faith. Another story also reveals a critique of sanctimonious religious sentiment:

> One day, a preacher was driving from his home to his church, one early Sunday morning. And he happened to look in his rear view mirror of his car – that there was an old drunk driving right behind him. Well, that irritated the preacher, so he decided he didn't like it. So he decided he would speed up a bit and leave him.
>
> So the drunk man, he speeded up too and followed right behind him – right behind the preacher. And that irritated the preacher a little more. So the preacher got driving faster. The drunk kept right in behind him, weaving back and forth back there.
>
> It made the preacher real mad. So he floor-boarded it – floor-boarded that car, and tore out to get away from him. And while he was looking up in the rear view mirror to see what the drunk was doing, he failed to see a sharp curve in the road. He couldn't make that curve, so he went off the road, through the ditch, off through the woods, and he hit a stump and turned his car upside down. Both wheels – straight up.
>
> So the old drunk jumped out and run over there – got down on his knees, looked out at the car. He said, 'Are you all right sir?'
>
> The preacher says, 'Yes, I'm all right, I've got the Good Lord riding with me'.

And the drunk said, 'You'd better let him drive with me because the way you're driving, you're liable to kill him'.[32]

In the content and tone of these stories, Seaman displayed an impatience with a religious sensibility that would sanction fiddling and dancing as immoral activities. This view is complicit with other accounts in which Seaman recalls that the general ambivalence about fiddling was tilted toward a positive view of the musical tradition. The positive aspects of playing music and dancing with neighbours outweighed the potential for dances to slide into evenings of debauchery.

The dances could break down into drunken melees as he explains that the dances sometimes ended late at night when fights broke out between would-be suitors interested in the same woman. He recalls how the dances were also associated with the consumption of illicit alcohol and violence, 'About ten or eleven o'clock, they'd all have a drink, and they'd get more stomped. And then you'd have a scrape or two out there, and that made it more interesting.'[33] He also recounts that the violence was heightened as the house parties met their demise in the late 1930s:

> After later years, when they had roads in there, people began to have cars. More youngster began to be able to buy old junk cars. They'd come from further away because they came in cars, and that sort of messed up some of the dances because some of the toughs would come from town and come out looking for trouble. And they generally found it, too.[34]

This account provides a final resource for understanding why the ambivalent tension about fiddling is central to Seaman's tall tales and accounts of the pranks. As a nonagenarian, he recognized that many in the audience were likely to associate the rural fiddler with the rough reputation of frolics within Florida's 'cracker culture'.[35] He acknowledges that the frolic has a sordid reputation within the historical memory of contemporary Floridians, but he explains the violence was caused largely by outsiders who intruded into a tightly knit community. In accounts about house parties in other areas, outsiders came into rural dances and often caused trouble by looking to turn a frolic into a fight.[36] This memory of the dance remains salient within the popular image of the country dance. Importantly, he attributes the main perpetrators of violence to town kids and young people coming from the cities into a country dance.

When we consider that he is performing primarily for residents of an urbanized Florida, the subtle creativity of his stage persona comes into clear relief. Honestly acknowledging the common perception of dances as rough, he reminds his listeners to also recognize the simple beauty of the dance and the fiddler's contributions to the community. His performance is not a re-enactment of a forgotten past as stage in a living history event. Rather, his performance is a literal enactment of a living tradition that he has sustained throughout a century that has seen vast changes within the social context of musical performance.

Figure 4 Rules of Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

Seaman's role as a fiddler shifted throughout his life. His earliest performances were at the frolics held in rural farmsteads. After he moved to Jacksonville in the 1920s, he continued to perform for dances, but he also performed in fiddle contests (see Figures 4, 5, and 6), on a radio program called *Uncle Josie's Farm*, and in new venues with string bands. By the 1940s, these venues included night clubs and country music shows. When his family band, the South Land Trail Riders, broke up by the end of the 1950s, he put his fiddle away and stopped playing. He kept his interest in music, however, throughout his life and began attending the Florida Folk Festival

Figure 5 Prizes for Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

in White Springs as his music became part of the folk music revival. Eventually, Jack Piccalo encouraged him to pick up his instrument once again, and folklorists found new places for him to play within educational programmes and folk festivals. These public programmes provided new contexts for his old-time tunes, and the folklorists' mediation of the programmes influenced his style of self-presentation and his ideas about the music. This performance demonstrates how he took some of the interests and interpretive approaches of folklorists and transformed them into

OLD TIME FIDDLERS' CONTEST
SQUARE DANCE
HOG CALLERS' CONTEST

DUVAL COUNTY ARMORY   :-:   THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1930

FIDDLERS AND ORDER IN WHICH THEY WILL APPEAR

1. SHORTY EDWARDS,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
2. ALBERT SALONA,
   St. Augustine, Fla.
3. M. B. DRURY,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
4. JACK PITTS,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
5. BROWARD GREEN,
   Lake City, Fla.
6. EDGAR BRIGHTWELL,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
7. C. F. MILTON,
   White Springs, Fla.
8. H. S. KIRKWOOD,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
9. TOM ACOSTA,
   Jacksonville, Fla.
10. Z. S. BRADDOCK,
    Sanderson, Fla.
11. R. T. POWERS,
    St. Augustine, Fla.
12. SAILOR MARKEL,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
13. A. D. KAISER,
    Palatka, Fla.

14. E. O. PURCELL,
    Pensacola, Fla.
15. MITCH HALLBROOK,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
16. N. B. BROCK,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
17. MAX LEWIS,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
18. J. F. BENSON,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
19. J. L. B. HUDGEN,
    Ocala, Fla.
20. R. K. SEAMAN,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
21. McKINLEY CRISWELL,
    Gainesville, Fla.
22. J. M. MORROW,
    Palatka, Fla.
23. F. PAPPY,
    St. Augustine, Fla.
24. F. L. McKENDREE,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
25. GLEN OSBORNE,
    Jacksonville, Fla.
26. W. B. STOUGHTON,
    Jacksonville, Fla.

HOG CALLERS

F. RAYMOND OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
MARVIN OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
J. R. PRINGLE, Crawford, Fla.
W. H. GRIFFIN, Jacksonville, Fla.
LEWIS OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
J. J. MANNING, Maxwell, Fla.
J. J. PARRISH, Jacksonville, Fla.
CLEAT BROOKS, Jacksonville, Fla.

Figure 6 Contestants for Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

elements of his stage patter. Influenced by folklorists to play his tunes and tell his tales on stage, Seaman transformed the stories into a vast resource for creating a context for his experiences as a fiddler.

To relate a sense of this context, Seaman drew from his vast resources and experiences as a performer and honed a character who played tunes and told tales at public folklore events. He drew from a repertoire of over thirty tall tales and one hundred fiddle tunes to cast himself as a witness to elements of Florida's social

history that have all but disappeared. In the festival performance, he carefully sets up a context for his music by situating his fiddle tunes in the community where he first learned them. He then transforms some of the folklorist's insistent questions into stage patter that he can use in his act. In response to the common folkloric question 'Who did you learn from?', Seaman shifts the more pedantic answer into a creative account of how he mastered a challenging instrument. By placing himself out on a stump in this story, Seaman told himself into Florida's tall tale tradition. Telling tales about sitting on stumps to practice, planting corn in rich soil, and rescuing cows from wells provides the fiddler with artistic resources to articulate relevant aspects of the significant past. Within this commemoration, their symbolic resonance parallels the appeal of the old ballads that remain resonant because they embody central values within a community's history.[37] Seaman's tall tales encapsulate the commonplace experiences of everyday life as they toy with the requisite values that are essential to living a neighbourly life as a Florida fiddler.

Blending the true artistry of his fiddling with the whimsical fantasy of the tall tale, Seaman's performance, itself, embodies elements of the practical joke. Just as his telling of tall tales includes clues for learning to separate the truth from the lie, his performance alerts his audience to the need to be a discerning listener. Recognizing that he cannot portray a complete representation of over ninety years of experience, Seaman uses his artistry to spark the imagination of his listeners into an engagement with his past.

Notes

[1] Wiley L. Housewright, *A History of Music and Dance in Florida: 1565–1865* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), p. 294.

[2] Erynn Marshall, *Music in the Air Somewhere: The Shifting Borders of West Virginia's Fiddle and Song Traditions* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), p. 180.

[3] Gregory Hansen, 'In Memoriam: An Interview with J. Russell Reaver (1915–2002)', *Folklore Forum*, 35 (2004), 10–12.

[4] This performance's transcription is from a video recording made on 23 May 1992 in White Springs, Florida. A section of this performance is included in Gregory Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler: The Life and Times of Richard Seaman* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), pp. 182–85.

[5] The blending of tall tales into stage patter is evident in other fiddlers' performances, as Chris Goertzen notes in his analysis of the Mississippi State Fiddlers and Liars Contest, see Chris Goertzen, *Southern Fiddlers and Fiddle Contests* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), p. 58.

[6] Roger D. Abrahams, 'Personal Power and Social Restraint in a Definition of Folklore', *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (1977), 16–30 (p. 28).

[7] Richard Bauman, 'Introduction: Story, Performance, and Event', in *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*, by Richard Bauman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 3; Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: History and Culture of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 111 and 112; and Dell Hymes, 'Breakthrough into Performance', in *'In Vain I Tried to Tell You': Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*, by Dell Hymes (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 79–86.

[8] Richard Bauman, 'Verbal Art as Performance', *American Anthropologist*, 77 (1975), 290–311 (p. 299). Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory is a major influence on performance-centred approaches. Burke's

Dramatism and Development (Barre, MA: Clark University Press, 1972) is a good introduction to his key ideas.

[9] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959; repr. edn, London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.

[10] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler,* p. 22.

[11] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 23.

[12] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 31.

[13] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 29.

[14] Drew Beisswenger, *Fiddling Way Out Yonder: The Life and Music of Melvin Wine* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), p. 18; Joyce Cauthen, *With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: A History of Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), pp. 155–59; Wayne Erbsen, *Log Cabin Pioneers: Stories, Songs, and Sayings* (Asheville, NC: Native Ground Music, 2001), p. 58; Glassie, *Passing the Time,* pp. 148–50; Matthew Guntharp, *Learning the Fiddler's Ways* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), pp. 37 and 38; Kenner C. Karchner, *Frontier Fiddler: The Life of an Arizona Pioneer,* ed. by Larry V. Shumway (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), pp. 234–36; Philip Martin, *Farmhouse Fiddlers: Music and Dance Traditions in the Rural Midwest* (Mount Horeb, WI: Midwest Traditions, 1994), pp. 43–60; Gerald Milnes, *Play of a Fiddle: Traditional Music, Dance, and Folklore of West Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), pp. 113–18; and Jeff Todd Titon, *Old-Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), pp. 8–11.

[15] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 24.

[16] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 24 and 25.

[17] Moira Smith, 'The Art of the Practical Joke', unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Boise, Idaho, 2009, p. 2.

[18] James P. Leary, 'The Boondocks Monster at Camp Wapehani', *Indiana Folklore*, 6 (1973), 174–90 (p. 181).

[19] Patricia Sawin, *Listening for a Life: A Dialogic Ethnography of Bessie Eldreth Through Her Songs and Stories* (Logan: University of Logan Press, 2004), p. 136.

[20] Richard Tallman, 'A Generic Approach to the Practical Joke', *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 38 (1974), 259–74 (p. 264).

[21] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 170–72.

[22] Kristin G. Congdon, *Uncle Monday and Other Tales* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 78–80; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (Tallahassee: Florida A & M University Press, 1942/1982), p. 25; Russell J. Reaver, *Florida Folktales* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987), pp. 77–87.

[23] The stories are from Florida's oral tradition. Various motifs include (Baughman) Motif X1532: *Rich soil produces remarkable crop*; X1455*: Lies about corn*; X1411.1: *Large watermelon*; (Aarne-Thompson) D2156/2: *Miraculous increasing of milk from one cow*; and (Aarne-Thompson) *Tale Type 1960D: The great vegetable.* Additional tall tales from Seaman's repertoire and other variations of these stories from other performances can be found in Congdon, *Uncle Monday and Other Tales*, Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, and Gregory Hansen, 'The Relevance of "Authentic Tradition" in Studying an Oldtime Fiddler from Florida', *Southern Folklore*, 53 (1996), 67–89.

[24] Zora Neale Hurston, *Mules and Men* (New York: Harper and Row, 1935/1990), pp. 99–102.

[25] William M. Clements, 'Introduction', in *Arkansas Folklore Sourcebook,* ed. by W. K. McNeil and William M. Clements (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1992), pp. 1–30 (p. 17).

[26] Hymes, p. 87. *Metaphrasis* is a term used in performance theory to describe the creative transformation of genre. Typically it is used to describe verbal forms, such as the legend that can be transformed into another genre such as the joke, but it also can be applied to ways that musical genres also can shift into new forms.

[27] Bauman, *Story, Performance, Event,* pp. 20 and 36.

[28] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 56.

[29] The tension between the fiddler as a central contributor to community life versus the fiddler as an outsider is explored in a number of books and articles. Ken Perlman's interpretation of the fiddler's role in Prince Edward Island, for example, shows that negative images of fiddlers were a prominent element in the image of their ethos, despite the reality that historically most fiddlers were productive members of their communities. See Ken Perlman, 'The Devil's Instrument Revisited: Prince Edward Island as a Case Study', in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3*, ed. by Ian Russell and Anna Kearney Guigne (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, in association with the Department of Folklore, MMaP and the School of Music, Memorial University, Newfoundland, 2010), pp. 228–38.

[30] Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in Native American Mythology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1956), p. ix; Carl G. Jung, 'On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure', trans. by R. F. C. Hull in *The Trickster*, pp. 184–88; and Barre Toelken, *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003), p. 139.

[31] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 26–28.

[32] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 81 and 82.

[33] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 47.

[34] Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 25.

[35] A commonly cited reference for the negative associations about Florida's dances within 'cracker communities' is the writing of George M. Barbour, see George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (New York: D. Appleton, 1882), pp. 54–55. See also Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 18.

[36] Milnes, pp. 119–21.

[37] Glassie, p. 688.

6

The drone styles of Lithuanian folk fiddle music

GAILA KIRDIENĖ

In Lithuania, various folk fiddling styles have developed in response to the intersection of several factors, including broad regional musical traditions, the physical specifications of the instrument, and the personality and experiences of the individual fiddler. The literary sources for Lithuanian fiddle playing date back to 1325, but notations of folk fiddle music appear much later, beginning in 1858. The Lithuanian word for fiddle, *smuikas*, was adopted from the western tribes of the Eastern Slavs, most likely in the tenth century. Recordings of fiddlers have been made from 1908 through to the present day, though, from the 1960s–1970s onwards, the living tradition gradually began to disappear.[1] The present article deals with how various styles of Lithuanian folk fiddle music incorporate drones. The author intends to examine the degree to which these different styles are linked with regionally-defined musical traditions, and also how these styles have changed during the last two centuries.

Researchers have interviewed approximately 700 Lithuanian folk fiddlers, and made some 4000 audio or video recordings of the playing of over 400 of these fiddlers. Drones in folk fiddle music have been documented in four of Lithuania's five ethnographic regions: Dzūkija in the south-east, Aukštaitija in the centre and north-east, Samogitia in the west and north-west, and Sudovia in the south. In the fifth region, Klaipėda, fiddlers (as well as mandolinists) played without open-string drones; bowed string ensembles omitted a bass, and even the voice of the third fiddler, called *bosinimas* ('playing a bass part'), did not incorporate open string enrichment. This aspect of musical performance, as well as the aesthetics of Lietuvininkai, can be associated with a monodic folk singing tradition, Protestantism, and to some extent with relatively strong West-European influences.[2]

The present research is based on the analysis of audio and video recordings, plus transcriptions[3] of performances by two hundred and forty-one fiddlers (see Figure 1). Fifty-seven of these fiddlers, mainly ones from Aukštaitija and Dzūkija, were interviewed and their music recorded by the author. All available materials bearing on the contexts of the music-making have been collated; opinions of the performers and informed listeners were also studied in order to reveal how they

Region	Fiddlers playing in pure drone style	Fiddlers playing in impure drone style	Fiddlers just occasionally using open strings	Fiddlers able to play in different styles	Total number
Dzūkija	3+6+5	2+7+2	2+7+15	0+2+0	51 (7+22+22)
Aukštaitija	1+4+2	1+3+3	6+17+11	4+3+2	57 (12+27+18)
Sudovia	2+2+0	1+3+6	1+5+9	0+2+2	33 (4+12+17)
Samogitia	0+4+2	3+12+13	7+21+33	2+2+1	100 (12+39+49)
Total	6+16+9	7+25+24	16+50+68	6+9+5	241 (35+100+106)

The different numbers in each column reflect the three generations of the fiddlers under consideration.

Figure 1 Usage of the Drone and Occasional Open Strings Enrichment
in the Regions of Lithuania

perceived drone-infused fiddling and how to interpret these insiders' specific uses of terminology. In order to elicit broad trends, the informants were divided into three 'generations', reflecting the periods in which they were born. The majority were born at the beginning of the twentieth century or between the two World Wars. The author has analyzed almost all of the recordings; some of them made in the 1930s – including ones made by fiddlers born in the second half of the nineteenth century, thus constituting the first of the three 'generations' – others during the 1960s–1980s.

From the general history of bowed string instruments, we know that the violin's ancestors were among the drone (bourdon) instruments. According to Walter Bachmann,

> the spread of bowing in Europe can be linked with the widespread medieval convention of bourdon accompaniment or with parallel organum or very early forms of medieval polyphony. The construction of the medieval fiddle with its bridge meant that the bow generally produced sound from more than one string at a time; the bourdon strings accompanying the melody created a drone background. The principle behind the sound production of the fiddle and that of the hurdy-gurdy was thus the same in the early phases. Only with the further evolution of bowing technique did the separate sounding of individual strings and the differentiation of angles in the bow's movement gradually develop.[4]

Thus, playing with a drone might be considered to be intrinsic to the roots of the *bowing* of string instruments.

Rudolf Maria Brandl, author of the most detailed and universal classification of various drone (bourdon) forms, noted that the drone can be interpreted either as being within a system of melodic relations or as a different phenomenon, a harmonic drone. His classification is based on configurations of features of the drone's time structure (rhythm), texture (build-up), succession of the tones, space (vertical) relation to a tune, the timbre (tone colour), mode function, and cognitive function. He also emphasized that drone musical instruments persisted longer in

those European folk traditions where modal scales were used. At the same time that given drone instruments were displaced by other musical instruments, the associated modal tone system changed into the major-minor system coupled with functional harmony.[5]

Latvian ethnomusicologist Martin Boiko has reviewed the origins and meanings of the European definitions of 'drone' ('burdon'),[6] as well as the earliest historical evidence found in music research from the thirteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. He explained semantic connections of these definitions, not only with musical subjects – a deep growling or droning tone, drone devices of musical instruments, for example, a drone pipe of the organ or bagpipe, drone strings of stringed instruments (such as the vielle, the hurdy-gurdy, the fiddle), or a deep sounding bell – but also with animals (mule, donkey), insects (bumblebee, honeybee), and with related mythic beliefs. He concluded:

> During the twentieth century the definition […] has experienced a significant specification and expansion of its meaning. […] From the drone as an archaic relic, a characteristic of primitive cultures and old folk music, along the intellectual ripeness of the multi-part music research it ultimately became a universal basic phenomenon of the music's formation.[7]

Folk fiddle music studies in various European countries have encountered different forms and styles of polyphonic fiddling, the structure of associated music, typical modes, a drone's vertical relation to a tune, articulation (bow-strokes), and changes within time; and symbolism and connections with the customs of, as well as evaluations by, given societies. Researchers agree that polyphonic fiddling, featuring open string drones, belongs to older fiddling styles, ones emphasizing solo playing, and that general forms and specific features of archaic fiddles are connected in significant ways to these styles.[8]

One of the first Lithuanian fiddle music researchers was Rimantas Gučas, who gathered instrumental music intensively in the 1960s. In his article about two tunes by the eastern Lithuanian (Ignalina district) fiddler Petras Kardelis, he wrote that Lithuanian folk fiddlers are used to playing in several voices: basically, the tune presented on one stopped string plus another voice on an open string. He found that it is only in an ensemble that a fiddler plays in just one voice: 'Musicians with less imagination often execute merely a melody, too'.[9] Kardelis was able to play in different ways: he performed a polka mainly in a single voice, but in a wedding march 'polyphony is quite rich, though mostly homophonic […] When there are two tunes subsequently interflowing into one pitch – executed on two strings in unison – it is a typical pattern of the simplest Lithuanian folk polyphony.'[10] In his next article, 'The Fiddle in Lithuania', Gučas asserted that 'when playing alone a musician strives to compensate for the lack of harmony by including more voices. When several musicians play together – along with accordion and other instruments

– the main melody, which is performed more animatedly and brightly, usually falls to the fiddler.'[11]

In her previous works, the author of this article stated that 'throughout Lithuania up until now the old polyphonic styles, having the distinguishing features of more linear playing, heterophony, drone, and parallel fifths, were not completely replaced by homophonic style',[12] and that drone fiddling and active non legato articulation, and intensive, rich sound seem to be linked with a solo fiddling tradition.[13] In her investigations of the Samogitian, Sudovian, and Aukštaitian folk fiddling, she noticed that some fiddlers liked playing open-string drones.[14] However, the current article presents a generalised investigation of the drone styles of Lithuanian folk fiddle music for the first time.

General Characteristics of Lithuanian Drone Fiddling Types
Considering the main character of the Lithuanian folk fiddling drone polyphonic styles, the author divides them into two types: 1) pure[15] or continuous drone; 2) impure or discontinuous drone (see Figure 1). In the first case, fiddlers play almost all of the time on two or more strings and use double-stops, mainly fifths; single voice melodic pitches rarely appear separate from the droning of the open strings. A chord outlining the seventh a^1 to g^2 in the key of G might be interpreted as a hallmark of such a style and of non-homophonic musical thinking. In the second case, the drone is used in sections of music not shorter than a phrase (or two bars), which are usually interrupted by monophonically- or homophonically-structured sections of music, sometimes with occasional open string enrichments and double-stops. Some fiddlers belonging to younger generations play only parts of some bow strokes with drones.

Occasionally or rarely used open strings are striking in a melodic fiddling style which differs markedly from drone fiddling. Double-stopped thirds and especially sixths in parallels may be interpreted as hallmarks of a homophonic texture. Some Lithuanian folk fiddlers were recorded more-or-less consciously playing not only with the bow's hair, but also with its stick. In that way they produced an additional drone *of noise*.

A drone in Lithuanian folk fiddle playing is usually performed below, but occasionally above the melody. It consists of one or two pitches, usually of open strings, or more rarely produced by stopping the string with the first finger. The drone can match the tune's main rhythmical values and nearly always coincides with bow strokes, since non-legato articulation predominates in drone-infused fiddling styles. A sustained pedal in Lithuanian folk fiddling has not been documented, though one could imagine hearing this when listening to the music of fiddlers sharing melodious sound and using more legato (see Figure 2).

The drone is most typical in fiddling in the keys of D and G, and appears more rarely in F, C, and A. However, some skilled fiddlers use it in all of the keys in which they play, as well as in higher registers up to e^3. In pure drone styles, the drone's vertical relation to a tune is not critical. Since the open strings have a

particular sound colour, differing from that of the stopped strings, such drones can be characterised additionally as sound-colour drones, and as such bear a specific psychological function.[16]

Figure 2 *Kadrilius* (third part, second time). MFA KLF 6087/80. Played by Kazimieras Lipkevičius, born in 1925 in Prienai district, Lelionys rural-district, Būda village; recorded by M. Urbaitis, D. Guliokas in 1973. *Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.*

The first Lithuanian folk fiddle music recordings show that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were fiddlers in all regions of Lithuania (many of them born in the nineteenth century) playing in different ways: entirely or occasionally with drone or in a homophony-like build-up with double-stopped notes, or playing a single melody (see Figure 1).

Drone Fiddling in Lithuania's Ethnographic Regions
Aukštaitija is considered Lithuania's main region of multi-part music making: *sutartinės* polyphony, drone (bourdon), and homophony. The bagpipe, dating back to the sixteenth century in Lithuania,[17] was very popular in eastern Aukštaitija, and was used until the middle of the twentieth century in the districts of Ignalina and Švenčionys. It was played solo or along with the fiddle or other instruments.[18]

The hurdy-gurdy, a poorly-researched drone music instrument which appears in Lithuanian literary sources beginning in 1580,[19] was known in the Vilnius district as well as in other areas. A sculpture at St Jonas church in Vilnius represents the poet Ludwik Władysław Franciszek Kondratowicz (Sirokomla)[20] playing the hurdy-gurdy.

Use of drones in Lithuanian vocal music is quite a new topic. Until now, researchers have explored drone-infused vocal music not only from Aukštaitija, but also from other regions of Lithuania.[21] The same might be said about instrumental music which is linked with the vocal music in many genres: songs, marches and some dances. Lithuanian folk fiddlers were usually able to play various musical instruments, not excluding the polyphonic ones, and to sing.

Lithuanian ethnomusicologist Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė agrees with Boiko that conceptualising the drone as a musical idea based on the semantics of folk terminology – but not the specifics of the structure of the tunes or musical texture – associates Latvian drone songs with Lithuanian polyphonic vocal and/or instrumental compositions called *sutartinės* (and some other songs), and incorporates them into a more broadly European drone music context.[22] Both of these Baltic singing traditions have similar terms relating the deep bagpipe-like pedal or syllabic drone and ostinato to the semantic field of real or mythical creatures, for example the biological drone (male bee), owl, bittern, wolf, and devil, or other mythic creatures of the Earth and Underworld as well as to droning, booming, or humming musical instruments such as the humming-top or spinning-top (Lith. *ūkas* or *vilkelis*), bullroarer (Lith. *ūžynė*), bagpipe, and a big bell.[23]

The main Lithuanian word for 'playing the fiddle' (or more rarely another musical instrument) is *griežti* ('to play' or 'to grate'). Its derivations are *griežynė*, *griežtuvas* ('the fiddle, violin') and *griežiklis* ('the bow'). In Gervėčiai rural district (in Belorussia), where a community of mainly Lithuanians live – like an island among the Belorussians, preserving Lithuanian archaic culture into the present – the manner of playing all musical instruments or the sound produced on them is described by the polysemous word *ūžti*, which means:

1) 'to produce a deep sustained sound, boom, thunder, din';
2) 'to hum, boom, buzz';
3) 'to pipe, hoot, ululate' [as in birdsong];
7) 'to sound' [about the various sounds, voices, singing and playing];
11) 'to amuse, revel, bluster';
16) 'to play a musical instrument'.[24]

Also, in other places, eastern Lithuanians used this word to refer to the playing itself. A fiddler from Ukmergė district said: 'When a stringed bass is played in an orchestra, the drum is not used, because together they produce too big a boom (Lith. *per daug ūžima*)'.[25] Eastern Lithuanians say *ūžti* for the singing of the sustained drone-voice on the *ū* sound.[26] The bagpipe's drone pipe is called *ūkas*, in dialect *vūkas* ('a drone'). The same word refers to two birds: the owl and the bittern. Among special musical compositions for multi-pipe whistles called *skudučiai* – which have no vocal versions – there is one, the deepest voice of which has a syllabic drone with a traditional notation 'u, u, ū' and is also named by the same word *ūkas*.[27] Latvians have the related words *dūkt* ('to hum, ping, growl, moo'), *dūkas* ('the bagpipe's drone pipe') and *dūcējas* ('singers performing a sustained drone-voice').[28]

Vocal and instrumental music intertwine in a kind of *sutartinės* called *maišytinės kūlinės* ('mixed, collective'), which features a combined build-up encompassing polyphony, drone, ostinato, and homophony. Some such *sutartinės* types preserve pre-Christian mythical images and symbolism, for example, the vocal one called *Eik, oželi, vandenio* ('Go, Lil' Goat for Water').[29] The young goat is scared to go to the

water, because the wolf and the steward are watching for him. A sustained drone on *ū* of the composition's deepest voice can be understood as the imitation of the wolf's howl. This kind of *sutartinė* presents the myth – which could once have been a real ritual action performed in the late autumn or winter festivities – about the ritual making of a miraculous or magical musical instrument from the bones of a sacrificial young goat. This instrument sings or laments *itself*. In many versions, it is a stringed or wind instrument: the fiddle or Lithuanian zither *kanklės*, more rarely a trumpet, wooden flute, or a bagpipe (Lith. *dūda*).[30]

Another type of collective *sutartinės* is called '*Buvo dūda Vilniuj*' ('There Was a Pipe in Vilnius'). In the version '*Buva dūdaj velnias*' ('There Was a Devil in the Pipe'), the middle voice imitates the bagpipe's melodic pipe and the deepest voice imitates its drone pipe, regarded as the devils' voice.[31] There is some evidence that at the end of the nineteenth century this *sutartinė* was danced in a circle[32] and called *Suktinis* (a ritual turning around dance).[33] A text version of one such *sutartinė* has been documented as an imitation of the bowed string ensemble:

> One fiddle plays:
> 'Was an old woman in Vilnius,
> Was an old woman in Vilnius.'
> Other replies high:
> 'Maybe was, maybe not,
> Maybe was, maybe not.'
> Third fiddle calls:
> 'Was, was, how can be not,
> Was, was, how can be not.'
> The bass calls low:
> 'She was, she was, she was!'[34]

Figure 3 '*Buvo dūda Vilniuj*', LTR F pl. 1170/5, performed by Juozas Gudėnas in 1939.
Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.

The virtuoso fiddler Juozas Gudėnas, then aged fifty-five, was recorded in 1939 in a village called Bajorai in the Daugėliškis rural-district of the district Ignalina.[35]

He played a number of old dances, polkas, and a couple of marches.[36] Among them he performed a two-part dance '*Buvo dūda Vilniuj*' ('There Was a Pipe in Vilnius').[37] Both the tune and text are reminiscent of the first and third voice of the *sutartinė* (see Figure 3).[38] A considerably younger interviewee (born in 1931 in the same village)[39] told me that Gudėnas and his wife, a four-stringed bass player, used to play this tune for older men and women during dance evenings. The dancers used to sing along with the music. The interviewee sang some voices of this dance-song and even remembered that it was called *sutartinė*. Thus, it must have been sung in the multi-part way. At weddings, Gudėnas usually played with an ensemble consisting of a fiddle, a folk accordion, and maybe a clarinet. Ensembles of this type were very popular in Aukštaitija (see Figure 4). Gudėnas performed the vast majority of his repertoire in the key of C, with occasional use of open strings accompaniment. A few pieces by Gudėnas are distinguished by a much greater use of doubled strings[40] and leaps from the higher to the lower strings.[41]

Figure 4 Juozas Gudėnas (fiddle) and Petras Subačius (accordion) playing at a wedding in 1934. Published in Kirdienė, *Traditional Wedding*, p. 35.

A younger fiddler from the same village, Petras Strazdas (1911–1993), was tutored by Gudėnas. Strazdas played everything in the keys of G and D in pure drone style, with frequent leaps from the higher to the lower strings and vice versa. He used to accompany 'in deep voice' (Lith. *storuoju balsu*) in various ensembles consisting of one to three fiddles, a folk accordion, and sometimes a guitar and a small drum with jingles (see Figure 5). Gudėnas had shown him a special 'French method' which he had learned from another musician. According to Strazdas, the essence of this method is multiple leaps: 'the more often you walk across the strings, the nicer it is'. The first out of three Gudėnas's polkas[42] by Strazdas is distinguished

especially by its virtuosic rhythm, occasional transitional chromaticisms, and leaps from the lower to the higher strings (see Figure 6, overleaf). The music and playing style of Strazdas seemed very impressive to me when I visited him in 1989 during a fieldwork expedition. I documented one of his expressions: 'One ought to have a tune in mind'. Having analyzed his tunes, one may assert that they are often based

Figure 5 Petras Strazdas (fiddle) and Petras Subačius (son) playing at a wedding in 1961. Published in Kirdienė, *Traditional Wedding*, p. 46.

on modal scales consisting of all available pitches on the string E or A, usually inclined downwards. This type of melodic structure, along with drone playing style and leaps across the strings, can also be found in Lithuania's other regions, for example northern Samogitia,[43] as well as in other countries, for instance Estonia.[44]

Many older Lithuanian folk fiddles had bridges made by their owners; in eastern Lithuania these were sometimes nearly flat. A flat bridge helps the fiddler to play two, three, and even all four strings at once. Strazdas's son kept his father's fiddle, which has a low, almost completely flat bridge (see Figure 7, overleaf).

In 2011, Strazdas's children gave me a tape to copy containing music by their father and his godson, a skilled accordionist. The fiddle is hardly heard in this recording, but there is no doubt that Strazdas played with open-string drones in all keys, which was remarkable. The A string sounds especially surprising in the key of B flat, as does the D string in the key of F.

In 2005, we recorded a polka called '*Susirinko Grigo gryčia*' ('A Houseful of Guests Gathered at Grigas'), performed by folk fiddler and accordionist Vytautas Rinkevičius from Ukmergė district (see Figure 8).[45] Such a polka was usually performed when a lone fiddler or a mouth organist played at dance evenings for youths. According to Rinkevičius, 'it was rather short music for dancing'. Therefore the young men usually started singing this tune: 'Some of them sang, the others accompanied […] in a deep voice like the basses'. This polka has a collective *sutartinė*-like two-part song

Figure 6 *Gudėnas' Polka 1* (first half), MFA KLF 1500/1, played by Juozas Strazdas, recorded by Daiva Šeškauskaitė in 1985. *Transcribed by Rima Švėgždaitė in 1994.*

with a syllabic drone on words *kumpis* ('Ham') or *tumba* (an onomatopoeic word). When talking about his playing, Rinkevičius used a typical expression for the singing of *sutartinės*, 'to twine':[46] 'I was already able to twine tunes on the fiddle'.

Thus, not only the various multi-part music forms and ensemble music-making, but also the whole integral system of thought including ideas of sounding,

Figure 7 Bridge of Strazdas's fiddle. *Photographed by Arvydas Kirda in 2011.*

Figure 8 Polka '*Susirinko Grigo gryčia*', performed by Vytautas Rinkevičius in 2005.
Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.

aesthetics, and mythical beliefs has the strongest traditions in Aukštaitija. Nevertheless, employing drones in the fiddle music of Aukštaitija was not as popular as it was in Dzūkija (see Figure 1). Only two out of twelve recorded fiddlers born in

the nineteenth century[47] used drones within long sections of music, though quite a number of fiddlers born at the beginning of the twentieth century preferred playing with drones, like Strazdas. All of these fiddlers came from eastern and northern districts; not one was from the western and southern districts of Aukštaitija.[48] Some uncommon viola-like tunings, used by one musician, were also documented there.[49]

A great number of old fiddlers in this region have played in different ways. When we visited Juozas Vrubliauskas in 1997, he played a 'Wedding March when Greeting Newlyweds' that featured a rich build-up of textures. Indeed, marches are an example of a genre of music that many fiddlers usually played employing drones. My colleague asked Vrubliauskas if he played on two and more strings in the local tradition, and also if he could play something on one string. He replied: 'Maybe it's considered better, when [I play] on several strings' and immediately played us a polka with a rare use of open strings enrichment.[50] He also used various playing techniques to perform a tune (see Figure 9).

Figure 9 *Suktinis* (first time), played by Juozas Vrubliauskas, recorded in 1992. Published in Kirdienė, *Lietuvių liaudies smuiko muzika*, no. 66.

Due to the barren land, especially in so-called pinewood areas, Dzūkija is distinguished by its extensive agriculture and conservative culture in which archaic features are preserved.[51] Beliefs in the magical powers of the fiddle, fiddlers, and fiddle music abounded here into the second half of the twentieth century.[52] As late as the 1940s–1950s in this region, the fiddle was played solo, even at weddings (both at the bride's and bridegroom's parties). When the parties came together, musicians would form an ensemble. One of the reasons for inviting more musicians, for example a bassist, was the need to produce a greater volume of sound for the

dancers. The solo fiddling tradition of Dzūkai corresponds with their monophonic singing tradition.

In Dzūkija, pure or impure drone fiddling styles predominated. Many of the recorded fiddlers, born in the nineteenth century or at the beginning of the twentieth century, very often used open-string drones when playing on two to four strings at once. Many fiddlers called the G string *bosas, boselis* ('a bass, little bass'). Only in the second half of the twentieth century did drone fiddling become less popular in Dzūkija, although some skilled fiddlers still preferred to play incorporating drones.

Two talented fiddlers from Merkinė rural-district were recorded in 1935 performing together and alone. The younger one, Izidorius Cilcius, aged around forty, was taught to play the fiddle by his father, especially to accompany the old dances.[53] He played in an impure drone style, with lower or upper drones, unisons, and double-stopped thirds and sixths. The older fiddler, Julius Kopka, aged seventy-two, would only sometimes execute drones above or below the melody. He might have learned his playing style from his tutor, a well-known folk musician and former soldier called Sadauskas,[54] who may have brought some musical innovations to the village.

A number of older fiddlers from Dzūkija tuned their fiddles up to a fifth lower than the norm. Petras Mulerskas, one of the oldest fiddlers recorded (born in 1865 in the Trakai district, Ausieniškės village),[55] performed many ritual songs and other songs as well as polkas, waltzes, and a *Suktinis* dance in pure drone style. However, he and another fiddler, a woman musician called Anelė Žiogelienė (born in 1898, and living in Viečiūnai village in the Ratnyčia rural-district of Druskininkai),[56] were also able to play on one string. Each did this when performing a barely-remembered song.[57] Accompanying well-known songs, like the wedding song, '*Ar žiba žiburėlis*' ('Is There a Light Shining'), which he sang himself, Mulerskas played with drones and also executed an octave e¹ e² on the upper strings (see Figure 10, overleaf). Such pure drone style was also characteristic of a fiddler born in the Seirijai rural district in 1901, Juozas Eimanavičius, who was recorded in 1994. At the age of fifteen, he started fiddling with his father at weddings, which characteristically lasted a week. The son 'played bass voice'. Subsequently, he played a cornet in the brass orchestra of *Jaunalietuviai* ('Young Lithuanians') for twelve years, but also preserved his archaic and very energetic drone fiddling style, particularly when he played solo (see Figure 11, overleaf) or in a duet with another fiddler.

Higher drones, on the E string (and in infrequent cases the A), are used more rarely than lower ones by fiddlers of all generations under consideration. Most typical of two areas, South-East[58] and West Lithuania,[59] such drones are rarely employed in North-East Lithuania[60] (see Figure 2).

Skilled fiddlers of the younger generation were able to execute octaves (at least the octave b¹-b²)[61] and occasionally used a drone on b¹. This way of playing is popular in South Lithuania[62] and in a part of North Lithuania.[63] The location of the well-known cultural centres of Lithuanian folk fiddling in South and West Lithuania (in the districts of Lazdijai, Seinai-Punskas, Marijampolė and Telšiai, Kelmė, and

Figure 10 Wedding song '*Ar žiba žiburužis*' (first stanza), MFA KF 3905/1, performed by
Petras Mulerskas, recorded by B. Ambroziejus and J. Gečas in 1962.
Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.

Figure 11 Wedding March *Oi, laukiu laukiu* ('Oh, I'm waiting') (first time),
played by Juozas Eimanavičius, recorded by G. Kirdienė and A. Kirda in 1994.
Published in Kirdienė, *Smuikas ir smuikavimas lietuvių etninėje kultūroje*, no. 6.

Šiauliai), partially coincides with the widening areas of these two treble drone
styles.

One of the most typical examples of the pure drone style featuring parallel
fifths can be found in the fiddling of Edvardas Kriaučiūnas[64] (see Figure 12). He
grew up in a musical family; two of his brothers played bowed strings. They used
to perform at weddings in an ensemble of two or three fiddles and a stringed bass.

Figure 12 *Kadrilius senoviškas* ('Old Quadrille') (two parts), played by
Edvardas Kriaučiūnas, recorded by L. Purlienė and R. Lukšta in 1991.
Published in Kirdienė, *Lietuvių liaudies smuiko muzika*, no. 87.

When he was recorded, he complained that he was not able to play well anymore; his fingers lacked coordination. As a result, he played more one finger stopped fifths than he intended.

Sudovia is one of the smallest Lithuanian regions, and the one with the most intensive agriculture; it was the first region in Lithuania to adopt innovations from modern culture.[65] Smaller and also larger string music ensembles – consisting of one to three fiddles and a dulcimer, a Lithuanian zither (*kanklės*), and later a mandolin or a guitar – were very popular in this region. Folk accordions and brass bands were also popular in Sudovia. The musical traditions of western Sudovia closely relate to those of Samogitia and Minor Lithuania, and, of the eastern part, to Dzūkija.

Of all parts of Lithuania, Sudovia has been the least-comprehensively researched by ethnomusicologists. Just three fiddlers were recorded in 1936–1937, and, in the second half of the twentieth century, this activity recommenced only in the 1980s. Thus, few older musicians in this region were documented (see Figure 1). Available recordings show that fiddlers born in the nineteenth century had a melodious sound and played very virtuosically, with many double-stops, among them parallel octaves. Nevertheless, these fiddlers liked lower or upper open-string drones, even when playing in the upper register up to d³ (see Figure 13, overleaf).[66] Most fiddlers of the younger generations in this region who played in drone styles come from the area bordering Dzūkija.

Some Sudovian fiddlers had a special 'drone tune' in their repertoires. These tunes were often distinguished by their archaic modes, chromaticisms, and unusual performance practice. Such a polka was recorded in 1937. It was played by Jurgis Gudynas, who was born in 1862 in the village called Veselava in the Javaravas rural-district of the Marijampolė district. Up until the ending, the second part of this polka remains in the major-like A mode with a flat seventh (coinciding with the
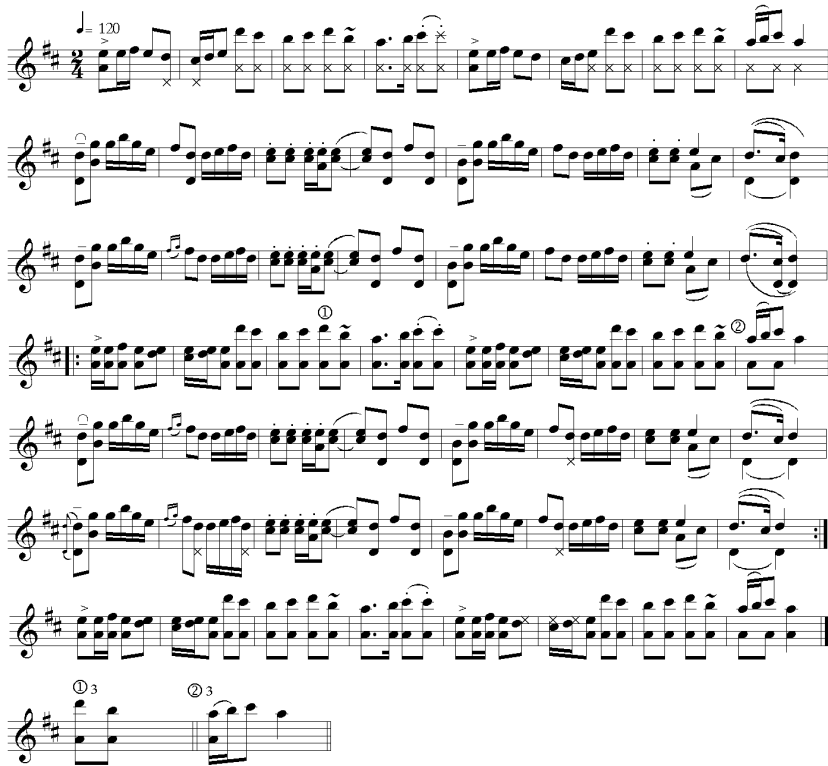
Figure 13 *Polka*, played by Jurgis Gudynas, born in 1862 in Marijampolė district, recorded in 1937, transcribed by Rūta Žarskienė. Published in Nakienė and Žarskienė, *Songs and Music from Suvalkija*, no. 23.

dominant function of the D key). Its most striking feature is that it incorporates left hand pizzicato (see Figure 14).

The very talented younger musician Jonas Ragažinskas (1924–2001) from the same district[67] played 'Old Waltz', taught to him by his father, also named Jonas, who was born around 1875. The tune of the first part of this waltz is in the range of a fifth with a sub-fourth (a fourth below the main step on the last up-beat), and does not modulate. It includes long series of cross-bowed sixteenth notes. The second part incorporates left-hand pizzicato (see Figure 15). If we were to notate the first part of this waltz as if it was performed with appoggiaturas, it would be reminiscent of a bagpipe tune; there is some slight evidence of the bagpipe having being played in this region.

Samogitian folk fiddlers usually played in ensembles. Fiddlers born between 1910 and the 1930s in the Telšiai district typically said: 'One with the fiddle – that is not a musician. The bigger the band, the better […] In our villages almost everybody was able to play. During the dancing evenings it was only important to have the fiddles; [the musicians and dancers] never got tired.'[68] Musicians and the members of their families or communities clearly expressed the attitude that dances and

Figure 14 *Polka*, played by Jurgis Gudynas, transcribed by R. Žarskienė. Published in Nakienė and Žarskienė, *Songs and Music from Suvalkija*, no. 38.
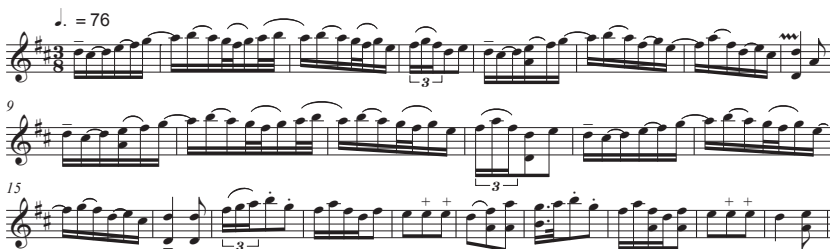
Figure 15 *Senoviškas valsas* ('*Old Waltz*') (second time). LKA V 54/7, played by Jonas Ragažinskas, recorded by E. Vyčinas, R. Kavaliauskas in 1990. *Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.*

marches had to sound as loud as possible. Brass bands were also popular there, as in other districts of Samogitia. Many musicians were able to play from written music, though usually they played by ear. Fiddlers played in diverse keys (G, D, d, A, C, B flat, more rarely F). They called the keys 'letters'; and older fiddlers there knew such 'letters' and a syllabic notation of the strings.

Once I asked the famous fiddler and fiddle maker Stasys Berenis[69] – whose grandfathers, father, and uncles were skilled folk fiddlers – whether he had ever seen a fiddle with a flat bridge. He answered: 'Never. It wouldn't be possible to play with a bridge like that'.[70]

Only three out of the twelve recorded Samogitian fiddlers born in the nineteenth century preferred playing in the impure drone style. However, a more or less constant drone on the open one or two lower strings (and sometimes of the

upper string) was used and could even predominate in the fiddling styles of older fiddlers in many districts of Samogitia.[71] This could be explained by their collective desire to recreate the sounds and harmonies of an ensemble when playing alone. One of these fiddlers[72] was encouraged to use more drones of the open strings by a professionally-taught leader of a folklore ensemble.

In Samogitia, there were many skilled fiddlers with large repertoires, musicians who played masterfully in different ways. Some fiddlers described the performing of older musicians who played in a pure drone style, and could demonstrate how those older fiddlers played.

The majority of the fiddlers who preferred to play tunes in a single voice were documented as coming from Samogitian districts bordering the Klaipėda region (see Figure 16).[73] Many of these musicians were also able to play a brass band instrument. The brass band musicians were proud of being more professional than other folk musicians, and could play from written music.

Figure 16 The band of Izidorius Sabonaitis's family, Tauragė district, Eržvilkas rural-district, Rudžiai village, 1912. Published in Albinas Batavičius, *Tauragė šimtmečių vingiuose: žmonės, įvykiai, vaizdai* [Town of Tauragė during the centuries: people, events, views] (Vilnius: Tauragė, 2007).

The Drone in the Accompanying Voices of the Lithuanian Bowed String Ensembles

In spite of frequent ties with professional and semi-professional music making, Samogitian fiddlers or string ensembles traditionally had one or more pieces in their repertoires – dances or marches – containing a section which was performed incorporating a constant harmonic pedal. Such distinctive drone tunes or the way

they were arranged had local definitions. From an academic point of view, two distinct tonal functions can be seen in tunes which were perceived by the folk musicians themselves as related to a single function (Lith. *be atmainos*, meaning 'without changes'). In Telšiai district, such tunes or the style of the arrangement were called 'in minor mode or key' (Lith. *su minorium, minorinis*; both the minor mode and sustaining of the harmonic pedal are nowadays uncommon in West-Lithuanian folk music). The bass voice of the 'Polka in minor mode or key' was demonstrated separately from the melody by a bass player from the Luokė rural-district of the Telšiai district (recorded in 1973, unfortunately without any explanation).[74] This remained a puzzle to the author until, in 2004, folk fiddlers and other people from Telšiai district clarified what it means. In this area the third fiddle of an ensemble of three fiddles and a bass could play 'in minor mode'. In the second parts of the 'March'[75] and a quadrille-like dance *Šeinas* by the brothers Domininkas and the Jonas Lileikiai group from the same Luokė rural-district, the third fiddler changed from a harmonic pedal on the dominant (a e¹) to the tonic chord right at the end of the piece. The bassist changed the harmonic functions in the usual way, though at first he held the tonic D (see second and sixths bars) before changing it to the dominant function (see Figure 17, overleaf).

This tradition was also known in other parts of Samogitia. In 1937, music performed by a fiddle, concertina, and folk double-bass ensemble from Raseiniai district, Viduklė rural-district, Paalsiai village was recorded. The bass player usually changed the drone's functions similarly (following the concertina player), but in a part of one polka he did not.[76]

In 1923, in the parish of Linkuva in North Aukštaitija, a famous fiddler called Andrius Bujavičius – tutored by a still more esteemed blind musician, Jonas Gervė – was documented. He used to play with his brother Antanas, who preferred playing bass with a drone of all three open strings (C, E, and G) at once. Notations of his playing show that most of the polkas, other dances and their parts that Andrius Bujavičius played are in the keys of C and/or G, with alternating functions of tonic and dominant.

Historical sources concerning the bowed string bass in Lithuania date back to the middle of the seventeenth century.[77] In Dzūkija, a three stringed bass, carved out of a single piece of wood, was called *karvė* ['a cow'], because its deep tones resembled a cow's 'moo'.[78] Though it has not been documented, we can suppose that the Lithuanian musical bow with a bladder resonator (called *pūslė, kiaulės pūslė* 'pig's bladder', *pūslinė, pūslainis* 'made of bladder', *boselis* 'small bass', *naminė besedla* 'home bass') could be played as a drone. The instrument produces a deep sound, and sometimes was played in ensembles like a bowed bass.[79]

The drone in the accompanying parts of Lithuanian string ensembles echoes strong traditions in countries neighboring Lithuania. In Poland, from the end of the seventeenth century up until the end of the nineteenth century, the primary role of an instrument of the *trumscheit* type or a stringed bass player was to 'keep dance time on open strings' with 'pure *sonoric* rhythmic drone'. Piotr Dahlig noted that

Figure 17 *Šeinas* (second part), played by Domininkas Lileikis (first fiddle), 1904–1985, lived in Telšiai district, Luokė village, Jonas Lileikis (second fiddle), born in 1909, lived in Telšiai district, Janapolė rural-district, Kuršai village, Liudvikas Šimkus (third fiddle), 1920–1987, lived in Luokė village, and Fortunatas Sauka (folk double-bass), born in 1923, lived in Luokė village. Published in *Patalkių vakaronė* [Dance Evening after a Collective Workshop], LP, Ryga: Melodija, 1976, track 4. *Transcribed by Gaila Kirdienė.*

the stringed bass instruments replaced the bagpipe and maintained drone music traditions in the dance music sphere: 'Only a very advanced bagpiper could produce a rhythmic drone. It was easier to play such an active drone on *basy* […] The musical mentality was changing much slower than the instrumentarium.'[80] The drone remained important in Hungarian ensemble music up until the early twentieth century. According to Bálint Sárosi, not only the bass players of bowed string

ensembles (consisting of one or two fiddles and a bass), but also the brass orchestras 'were satisfied not with a functional harmonic accompaniment, but drone'.[81] In an Estonian fiddler's duet from Pärnumaa, recorded in 1936, the second fiddler played a sustained drone of D or G and D strings, imitating the drone of the bagpipe.[82]

Concluding Remarks

The playing styles and general history of Lithuanian folk fiddle music are closely related to regional cultures and musical traditions. Drone fiddling styles are most characteristic of South-Eastern Lithuania (Dzūkija), a region notable for its solo fiddling. In North-Eastern Lithuania (Aukštaitija), considered the most important region for multi-part and drone music making, collective *sutartinės*, which folk fiddlers used to perform along with dancers and singers at the same time, have been explored. As late as the end of the twentieth century, it was nevertheless acceptable in various ensembles that some fiddlers still played in drone styles, even ones with modern accordions. Thus, the fiddle was played – in drone style, or not – in diverse ensembles that played polyphonic music.

Eastern Lithuanian folk terminology and semantics include mythical beliefs notably one holding that the deeper tunings of the fiddles, the drone (bourdon) in fiddle music, as in other kinds of music, could be perceived as miraculous, related to a mythic view of the world.

In Southern and Western Lithuania, drone fiddling was not as popular as in the Eastern parts of the country. Some fiddlers, mainly in Sudovia, had a special 'drone tune' distinguished by its archaic melodies and performance practices. Samogitians preserved the drone in the accompanying voices (third fiddle and bass) of the bowed string ensembles. Particular tunes included sections performed without changing the harmonic pedals or the general style of their arrangements.

In recent decades, traditional Lithuanian folk fiddling styles have been gaining in popularity among new performers of folk fiddle music, and in Lithuania in general. Fiddle tunes performed incorporating drones sound refreshing to younger performers, in part because their modes and chords often stand outside of the major-minor system. Indeed, a few contemporary folk fiddle players show great enthusiasm for learning to play 'drone tunes', in spite of their technical challenges. These performers assert that the main reason for taking a fancy to this music is its unusual, extraordinary, and therefore modern sound; they find it attractive and beautiful.

Notes

[1] Gaila Kirdienė, *Smuikas ir smuikavimas lietuvių etninėje kultūroje* [Fiddle and Fiddling in Lithuanian Ethnoculture] (Vilnius: Kronta, 2000), pp. 301–302.

[2] Gaila Kirdienė, 'Smuiko muzika: lietuvininkai ir žemaičiai' [Fiddle Music: *Lietuvininkai* and Samogitians], in *Lietuviai ir lietuvininkai: Etninė kultūra* [The Lithuanians and *Lietuvininkai* Ethnic Culture], no. 24, an appendix *Mokslo darbai* [Scientific Studies] of *Tiltai* [The Bridges], vol. 3, ed. by Stasys Vaitekūnas and Rimantas Balsys (Klaipėda: Klaipėda University, 2004], pp. 118–30, 135–37; Gaila Kirdienė, 'The Folk Fiddle Music of Lithuania's coastal regions', in *Driving the Bow: Fiddle*

and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 2, ed. by Ian Russell and Mary Anne Alburger (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2008), pp. 14–34 (p. 19).

[3] Kazimieras Šermukšnis, *Suktinis: Vieno šokio studija* [*Suktinis*: Investigations of a Single Dance], unpublished bachelor thesis, Supplement, Scientific supervisor Evaldas Vyčinas (Lietuvos muzikos akademija, Vilnius, 1997), 47 fiddle music transcriptions; Gaila Kirdienė (2000), pp. 265–300, 47 transcriptions; Gaila Kirdienė, ed., *Lietuvių liaudies smuiko muzika: 100 kūrinių. Lietuvių liaudies instrumentinė muzik* [Lithuanian Folk Fiddle Music: 100 Compositions: Lithuanian Instrumental Folk Music], (Vilnius: Liaudies liaudies kultūros centras, 2007); Gaila Kirdienė, ed., *Traditional Wedding Music of Eastern Aukštaičiai*, (Vilnius: Kronta, 2009), 20 transcriptions; additional unpublished transcriptions by G. Kirdienė (150), Evaldas Vyčinas (50), Mindaugas Urbaitis (13), Rima Švėgždaitė (10), Feliksas Bajoras (3), kept at MFA (Department of Ethnomusicology, Institut of Musicology, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Vilnius).

[4] Werner Bachmann, 'Bow', in *The New GroveDictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 28 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), IV, 131–32. Compare Werner Bachman, *Die Anfänge des Streichinstrumentenspiels* (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag Leipzig, 1964), pp. 161–62. Klaus Walter, 'Der Bordun im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Renaissance', in *Der Bordun in der europäischen Volksmusik: Schriften zur Volksmusik*, Band 5, ed. by Walter Deutsch (Wien: Schendl, 1981), p. 177.

[5] Rudolf Brandl, 'Über das Phänomen Bordun (drone): Versuch einer Beschreibung von Funktion und Systematik', *Beiträge zur Ethnomusikologie, 4: Studien zur Musik Südost-Europas* (1975), 90–103; 'Bordun', in *Die Musik in Geschichteund Gegenwarţ* 2nd edn, neubearb, Aufl., Sachteil 1, Band 1. L. Finscher (Hg.) 28 vols (Kassel, Basel, London: Barenreiter, 1995), 69–75.

[6] Engl. *burdon* (since the late thirteenth century), Lat. *burdo* (attested since 1240) and *bordunus* (since 1280), Ital. *bordone* (since the early fourteenth century), Fr. *bourdon* (since the early thirteenth century), Neth. *bordoen* (since 1285).

[7] Martin Boiko, *Zum Begriff 'Bordun': Etymologien, Bedeutungen, Geschichte*, 2000, <http://maxpeterbaumann.de/Bordun.htm> [accessed 22 February 2011].

[8] Reidar Sevåg, 'Bordunierende Volksinstrumente in Norwegen', in Walter Deutsch, *Bericht über das 2, Seminar für europäische Musikethnologie 'Der Bordun in der europäischen Volksmusik'* (St Pölten: Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Wien, 1973), abstract no. 2; Reidar Sevåg, 'Die Hardingfele: Instrument-Spieltechnik-Musik', in *Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis*, 6 (Stockholm, 1979), 72–9; Reidar Sevåg, 'Tanzmusik auf der Hardangerfiedel – eine hochentwickelte solistische Spielpraxis', in *Volks- und Popularmusik in Europa*, ed. by Doris Stockmann (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992), pp. 123–30. Peter Cooke, *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 103; Peter Cooke, Alastair Dick and others, 'Violin II: Extra-European and Folk Usage', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 2nd edn, 28 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), XXVI, 740–41; Tatyana Kazanskaya, 'Tradicii narodnogo skripicznogo iskusstva smolenskoj oblasti' [Traditions of Folk Fiddle Art of Smolensk District), in *Narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty i instrumental'naya muzyka* [Folk Musical Instruments and Instrumental Music] (Moscow: Sov. Kompozitor, 1987), pp. 72–106 (pp. 84, 87–88); Ina Nazina, 'Ab dyalektycy tradycyinaga i novaga: z gistorii skrypki na Belarusi' [On the Dialectics of the Traditional and Modernity], in *Muzycznaya kul'tura Belarusi: Prablemy gistoryi i teoryi* […] [Musical Culture of Byelorussia: Problems of the History and Theory] (Minsk: Ministerstva kultury respubliki Belarus, Belaruskaya dziarzhavnaya akademia muzyki, 1999), pp. 73–84.

[9] Rimantas Gučas, 'Dvi smuikininko Petro Kardelio melodijos', in *Gaidės ir Rimšės apylinkės,* ed. by Vanda Barauskienė, Jadvyga Kardelytė, Vacys Milius, Antanas Stravinskas, Antanas Tyla (chairman), Norbertas Vėlius, Aloyzas Vidugiris (Vilnius: Vaga, 1969), pp. 263–66 (p. 265).

[10] Gučas (1969), p. 266.

[11] Rimantas Gučas, 'Smuikas Lietuvoje', in Liaudies kūryba, 1 (Vilnius: Mintis, 1969), 208–12 (p. 211).

[12] Kirdienė (2000), p. 302.

[13] Kirdienė (2000), p. 107.

[14] Gaila Kirdienė , 'A Polka "In Minor Mode": Fiddle Music Style of West Lithuania (District Telšiai)', in *Lithuanian Musicology*, 6 (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, 2006), 120–41 (p. 141); Gaila Kirdienė , 'Suvalkieč ių tradicinio smuikavimo ypatybė s' [Features of Sudovian Traditional Fiddling], in *Sūduvos krašto tradicinis muzikavimas ir senej i instrumentai: Seminaro medžiaga* [Traditional Music Making and Old Musical Instruments of Sudovia: Materials of the Seminar] (Marijampolė, 2006, in CD-r), pp. 1–3; Gaila Kirdienė , 'Aukštaič ių instrumentinis šokių repertuaras' [Instrumental Dance Repertoire of the *Aukštaičiai*], in Aukštaičių tapatumo paieškos [In Search for the Identity of the *Aukštaičiai*], by Vitalija Vasiliauskaite (Kaunas: Žiemgalos leidykla, 2006), pp. 150–60 (p. 158).

[15] This term has been used by Tatyana Kazanskaya (1988).

[16] This idea was expressed by Professor M. Rudolf Brandl, 26 February 1996, during G. Kirdienė's research stay at the University of Gő ingen (Germany).

[17] Marija Baltrė nienė and Romualdas Apanavič ius, *Lietuvių liaudies muzikos instrumentai* [Lithuanian Folk Music Instruments] (Vilnius: Mintis, 1991), pp. 163–64.

[18] *The Phonograms of Lithuanian Ethnographic Music 1908–1942*, ed. by Austė Nakienė and Rūta Žarskienė , pp. 61–62, nos 11–13; Gaila Kirdienė (2009), pp. 21–22.

[19] Baltrė nienė, Apanavičius (1991), p. 160.

[20] Born in 1823 in the district of Minsk (Byelorussia), died in 1862 in Vilnius.

[21] Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė , 'Aukštaitija: daugiabalsio dainavimo tradicija' [Aukštaitija: Multi-part Singing Tradition], in Vasiliauskaite, *Aukštaičių tapatumo paieškos* [In Search for the Identity of the *Aukštaičiai*] (Kaunas: Žiemgalos leidykla, 2006), pp. 134–49 (p. 140). Martin Boiko, 'Alte vokale Mehrstimmigkeit im Baltikum', in *Litauische Musik: Idee und Geschichte einer musikalischen Nationalbewegung in ihrem europäischem Kontext* (Leipz ig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2010), pp. 25–47 (pp. 41–42).

[22] Daiva Račiūnaitė -Vyčinienė , 'Beieškant lietuvių ir latvių daugiabalsių dainų bendrybė s' [In Search of a Kinship of the Lithuanian and Latvian Multi-Part Songs], in *Liaudies kultūra* [Folk Culture], no. 4 (Vilnius: Lietuvos liaudies kultūros centras, 2004), pp. 20–23.

[23] Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė (2004), pp. 20–23.

[24] Lietuviy kalbos žodunas <http://www.lkz.lt/startas.htm> [accessed 22 February 2011]; first attested evidence in *Postilla Lietvwiszka ... išduota ... Wilnivy per Jokubą Morkuną ... Metuose Diewa* [Lithuanian Postilla], (Vilnius: Jokubas Morkunas, 1600), p. 126.

[25] Kirdienė (2009), p. 23.

[26] Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė (2006), p. 146.

[27] Stasys Paliulis, *Lietuvių liaudies instrumentinė muzika* ['Lithuanian Instrumental Folk Music'] (Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1959), p. 388.

[28] Boiko (2010), p. 33.

[29] *Sutartinės, Daugiabalsės lietuvių liaudies dainos* [Lithuanian Multi-Part Folk Songs], vol. 3, ed. by Zenonas Slaviūnas (Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1959), no. 1772, pp. 602–3 (documented in 1929 in the Švenčionys district, Tverečius rural district).

[30] Kirdienė (2000), p. 117; Evaldas Vyčinas, '*Skambančių kaulų* motyvo apraiškos lietuvių tautosakoje' [Manifestations of the Sounding Bones Motif in Lithuanian Folklore], in *Lithuanian Musicology*, 5 (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, 2004), 179–200.

[31] Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė, *Sutartinės: Lithuanian Polyphonic Songs* (Vilnius: Vaga, 2002), pp. 312–14, (recorded 1986 in the Švenčionys district, Ceikiniai village).

[32] Stasys Paliulis (1959), p. 405, 415, no. 339; the singer called this dance '*Vilniaus dūda*' ('Vilnius pipe').

[33] Sutartinės (1959), vol. 3, no. 1785.

[34] K. Korsakas, ed., *Smulkioji tautosaka, žaidimai ir šokiai* [Short Folklore Genres, Games and Dances]: *Lietuvių tautosaka* (Lithuanian Folklore), vol. 5 (Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1968), no. 8526; compare Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė (2002), p. 313.

[35] Born in the Švenčionys district, Vidiškė's rural district, Dūdos village; died in 1946.

[36] LTR F [Lithuanian Folklore Archive at the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, Vilnius] pl. [phonograph disc] 1169/1–4, 1170/1–5, 1171/1–2, 1172/2, 1173/1–5, 1176/3, 5, 6. Two dances ('*O žiukas*' 'Lil' Goat' and *Ratasiai* 'Slow Dance' are published in *Songs, Sutartinė s and Instrumental Music from Aukštaitija*, Phonograph Records of 1935–1941, ed. by Austė Nakienė and Rūta Žarskienė (Vilnius: Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2004), nos 70, 71.

[37] LTR F pl. 1170/5.

[38] Compare *Sutartinė s* (1959), vol. 3, no. 1784.

[39] Algirdas Gruslys; documented by Kirdienė in 2011.

[40] Polka LTR F pl. 1173/3, March 1176/5.

[41] Polka LTR F pl. 1173/5, March 1176/6.

[42] MFA KLF (Sound Recordings Archive of the Departament of Ethnomusicology, Institut of Musicology, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Vilnius) 1500/1–3, recorded in 1985 by Daiva Šeškauskaitė.

[43] Kirdienė (2008), p. 27.

[44] *Lietuviy kalbos žodunas* <http://www.eestiviiul.rahvamuusika.ee> ('*Riia ahtsam*'), [accessed 30 March 2011].

[45] Born in 1933 in the Ukmergė district, Vepriai rural distric, Bečiai village.

[46] Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė (2002), pp. 11–12.

[47] From the districts of Kupiškis and Ukmergė .

[48] The districts of Pasvalys, Kupiškis, Ignalina, Švenč ionys, Anykščiai, Molė tai, Ukmergė.

[49] B flat, F, D^1, A^1 and B flat, C^1, G^1, C^2, see in *Aukštaitijos* (2004), nos 53, 54.

[50] MFA A 117/22–23, recorded by Kaz imieras Šermukšnis, Vida Palubinskienė, Dalia Reklaitytė, G. Kirdienė .

[51] Žilvytis Šaknys, 'Foreword', in *Lietuvos kultūra: Dz ūkijos ir Suvalkijos papročiai* [Lithuanian culture: Customs of Dzūkija and Suvalkija], ed. by Rasa Paukštytė Saknienė and others (Vilnius, 2009), p. 15.

[52] Kirdienė (2000), p. 112; Vyčinas (2004), pp. 184–85.

[53] LTR, documented in 1935. EIA (Archive of the Institute of Ethnic Music), documented in 1995. 54 LTR, documented in 1935.

[55] MFA KF 3905/1, 2, 5, 7, 3906/4, 5, 3908/10, 11, 3909/2, 3910/6, 3911/8, recorded by B. Ambraz iej us and J. Geč as in 1962.

[56] MFA KF 3768/1–2, recorded in 1961.

[57] Song '*Kad aš turė j au kaime mergelę*' ('When I Had a Maiden in a Village') by Mulerskas (KF 3910) and first song by Žiogelienė (KF 3768).

[58] Mainly the districts of Trakai, Kaišiadorys, Druskininkai, Prienai, and Marijampolė, more rarely Gervėčiai, Varėna and Lazdijai.

[59] Districts of Telšiai and Kelmė, more rarely Šiauliai and Šilalė .

[60] In the districts of Ignalina, Švenčionys and Rokiškis.

[61] The note 'h' represents 'B natural'.

[62] In the districts of Laz dijai, Druskininkai, Seinai-Punskas, and Marijampolė, rarely Šilalė .

[63] The districts of Anykščiai (Svė dasai), Zarasai, Rokiškis, Šiauliai, Telšiai and Skuodas.

[64] Born in 1910 in Kaišiadorys district, Žasliai rural-district, Karsakai village.

[65] Šaknys (2009), p. 15.

[66] See further examples published in Austė Nakienė and Rūta Žarskienė , eds, Songs and Music from Suvalkija: Phonograph records of 1935–1939 (Vilnius: The Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2003), nos 19, 22, 26.

[67] Born in the Seinai district, Punskas rural district, Kalinavas village, lived in the Marijampolė district, Sangrūda rural district, Naujoji Radiškė village.

[68] Aleksas Vilimavičius, born in 1918 in the Varniai rural district, Baltlaukis village, lived in Janapolė village, documented by Kirdienė, Vytautas Musteikis a.o. in 2004.

[69] Born in 1922 in Telšiai district, Nevarėnai rural-district, Mitkaičiai village, lived in Klaipėda. 70 Documented by G. Kirdienė in 1998.

[71] In the districts of Šilalė, Kelmė, Šiauliai, Telšiai, Plungė, Kretinga, Skuodas, Akmenė and Mažeikiai. Compare Kirdienė (2008), pp. 26–27.

[72] Born in 1935, lived in Klaipėda.

[73] Today's districts of Šilutė, Klaipėda, Tauragė, Raseiniai, Kretinga, Plungė, and Skuodas.

[74] MFA KF 6096/37, played by Bronislava Žilvitienė-Butkevičiūtė, 1910–1994, born in the Telšiai district, Luokė rural district, Degsnė village, lived in Luokė rural district, Šilai village, recorded by Laima Burkšaitienė and Danutė Krištopaitė.

[75] See *Luokės muzikantai* [Musicians of Luokė], vinyl L.P. disc (Ryga: Melodija, 1976), no. 7; Kirdienė, *Lietuvių* (2007), no. 11.

[76] Mindaugas Karčemarskas, 'Lietuvių bosiniai strykiniai chordofonai: Basetlė' [Lithuanian Bass Bowed String Instruments: *Basetlė*], in *Lietuvos Muzikologija* [Lithuanian Musicology], 6 (Vilnius: Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, 2005), 161–89 (p. 184).

[77] Karčemarskas (2005), p. 163.

[78] EIA, documented in 1994 in the district of Lazdijai by Romualdas Apanavičius, Gvidas Vilys, Lina Kirsnytė, G. Kirdienė, and Arvydas Kirda.

[79] Zenonas Slaviūnas-Slavinskas, 'Lankas: pirmykštis lietuvių muzikos instrumentas' [The Bow: A Primitive Lithuanian Musical Instrument], in *Gimtasai kraštas* [Native Country], no. 1 (21) (Šiauliai, 1939), pp. 525–31 (pp. 526–27); Curt Sachs, 'Die litauischen Musikinstrumente in der Kng: Sammlung für deutsche Volkskunde zu Berlin', in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Bd. 23, Hft. 1, 1916, 1–5 (pp. 1–3).

[80] Piotr Dahlig, 'The *Basy* in Peasant and Highlander's Music in Poland', in *Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis*, 12 (Leipzig: J. Stekovics, 2004), 143–50 (p. 146, compare p. 149).

[81] Bálint Sárosi, 'Instrumentalensambles in Ungarn', in *Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis*, 2 (Stockholm: Musikhistoriska museet, 1972), 116–36 (pp. 128, 130–131); Bálint Sárosi, 'Instrumentale Volksmusik in Ungarn', in *Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis*, 4 (Stockholm: Musikhistoriska museet, 1976), 115–41 (p. 124).

[82] *Pärnumaa viiuldajad: Esimene*, ed. by Krista Sildoja and Raivo Sildoja (Viljandi: K. Sildoja, R. Sildoja, 1997), nos. 3, 5, 11, 19, 21.

7

Texas contest fiddling: what modern variation technique tells us

CHRIS GOERTZEN

Texas fiddling is virtuosic both technically and musically, and has gradually captured the imaginations of legions of American fiddlers. Indeed, if we could magically total up the man hours spent cultivating the various fiddle styles of North America during the last few decades, this would be revealed as the dominant style. Though clearly originating in Texas, this elaborate approach to fiddling has spread through much of the United States, and it and its younger regional variations are often casually grouped together under the name 'contest style'. It has attracted converts and aroused resentment where it has supplemented or, indeed, supplanted older styles. The youngest of the major American fiddle styles, and the least wedded to dance, it is the most display-oriented, listening-oriented style. Audience members tap their feet, savour contestant face-offs, and cheer. And the fiddlers themselves, although they join fiddlers in all of the international fiddle contest systems in believing that jamming in the parking lot is much more important than what happens on stage, do really seem to dig in and truly enjoy competing. What marks the winners? In addition to mastering bowing technique, timing and tone, the better fiddlers weave speedy but intricate structures of variations. This essay concerns how that variation technique works on a broad level, and also how analyzing these rapid-fire expositions reveals fiddlers' beliefs concerning what constitutes the essences of given tunes.

     I will illustrate my points through reference to performances from the Texas State Fiddlers' Championship, 22–25 April 2010 (official name that year: 'Texas State Championship Fiddlers' Frolics & Songwriters Serenade').[1] The annual contest takes place in Hallettsville, a town of two-to-three thousand midway between Houston and San Antonio. Most American fiddle contests are fundraisers for small-town Chambers of Commerce or benevolent organizations. The Hallettsville Knights of Columbus, a quasi-masonic group with much the same membership as the local business community, hosts this one. The Hallettsville Knights built and expanded their meeting hall with the funds generated by this and related events; they host an annual domino championship, a buck-hunting contest – participants compare the

antler spans of their prey and buy dinner – and a polka and sausage festival (which includes what is advertised as a polka mass – I don't know *exactly* what that entails, and don't want to find out, lest the reality not be as colorful as what my imagination conjures). The fiddle contest weekend in late April also includes subsidiary fundraisers. There is a crawfish feast, a song-writing contest, a craft fair, a modest carnival, and a big BBQ contest involving big fleets of cast iron smokers (large grills on wheels, constituting trailers pulled behind the cooks' trucks). But the weekend's anchor remains the fiddle contest. The senior fiddlers play Friday evening (along with a category for trick fiddling), the kids' bracket and the out-of-state competition both take place on Saturday, and a guitar accompaniment contest and a hall of fame induction fill Sunday morning. Then comes the climax, the State Championship, in which Texas fiddlers – validated as Texans by their driver's licenses – aged between 16 and 64 compete on Sunday from noon until about 6 pm.

All good Texas fiddlers know the same twenty or so tunes very, very well. True, many of these fiddlers also enjoy playing at least a handful of less well-known tunes, and the best fiddlers have extraordinarily large repertoires under their fingers. However, as suspense builds late on Sunday afternoon, the champions do not dig deep in their memories for rarities. Instead, they home in on the surprisingly small group of tunes that have grown over the history of Texas fiddling to be the very richest in total musical content. These fiddlers agree on roughly how to play the initial presentations of the two main strains of these tunes, and they also agree on the main procedures fuelling their shared exuberant and detailed variation technique. Each fiddler/arranger works securely within several levels of context – first, concerning how the variation proceeds for all core tunes and second, typical variation behaviour for the specific tune in question. Over the history of Texas fiddling, this pair of factors gradually grew in importance, becoming as much a part of the style and of specific tune's identities as is how the two main strains are played the first time in given performances. What separates merely competent from truly good and in turn good from excellent performances is what happens *after* each strain has been performed the first pair of times, that is, how the fiddler balances conventions of variation technique with freedoms s/he takes with those norms to express regional, personal, and spur-of-the-moment takes on a tune. Near the very end of the state contest, the panel of judges asks the three finalists to remain on stage and to play tunes in given genres; that is, all three will play, for example, a rag, then all three will play, for example, a waltz, and so on. Each fiddler chooses which tune within the specified genre to perform, and there are plenty of times that at least two of the three fiddlers will select the same tune. Audiences love this, because the face-offs are especially direct, and most of the tunes chosen issue from that tiny batch of content-rich ones.

Texas fiddling techniques of building performances were not brand new when they were first distributed through the mass media – that is, in the 'hillbilly' recordings starting in 1922 – but have mushroomed since. The two tunes featured in this essay, both among the handful most frequently played in the finals of Texas

fiddle contests, were indeed first recorded back then. The Texas fiddler who got into a studio first was also the one recorded most in those early years. Alexander Camel Robertson, nicknamed 'Eck', grew up in a family full of fiddlers in Texas near the Oklahoma border. He became a medicine show and vaudeville musician (and piano tuner). He made some recordings with a friend in 1922 in New York; these were the very first 'hillbilly' recordings, thus the earliest Country Music. He made another set in Dallas in 1929, near the *end* of that one decade during which fiddling had a major presence on national radio (Country Music was changing).[2] Though off the national stage after that, he remained well-known in the fiddle subculture, and played in contests most of his life; we have a last set of recordings from a session at a contest but off the stage from the 1960s.[3]

‘Eck’ Robertson’s tunes as documented in the 1920s reveal a repertoire in dramatic flux. Some of those performances remain old style: he repeated the two strains unchanged in the usual pattern (AABBAABB etc.) until time was up, which for much of fiddle history meant until a dance ended, but here meant until the 78 rpm record side was full. But he, like other seminal Texas fiddlers, sought more musical content than un- or modestly-varied alternating of strains offered. He patched a few tunes into medleys, and in others explored an early form of Texas variation. Both practices mark his ‘Sally Johnson’, one of the most common Texas fiddle tunes today; he placed it in a simple medley – two tunes back-to-back – and varied it too; see Figure 1.

The strains I labelled A and B start in different ranges, as do the main strains in most tunes in most fiddle repertoires. After twice through A and twice through B, Robertson varies A in the earliest typical way of doing so in Texas style – he thins the rhythm. He will go on to do roughly the same thing with the B strain. Another neat thing happens in that second pair of B strains – some minor melodic variation, a factor to become pervasive in later Texas fiddling. And Eck also introduces a strain I labelled C. Remember that the A and B strains contrasted in initial tessitura, with the A strain on the D string and above, with the B strain sitting higher. This third, C strain busies itself down on the G string. Noticing the rhythm of the C strain, and the initial double stop on a third, one could argue that C grew from A. All of these factors matter for later Texas fiddling. Almost every common tune behaves like ‘Sally Johnson’ in several ways. Main strains exploit contrasting pitch ranges. There are both minor and dramatic variations. Rhythmic thinning, that is, stretching notes or double stops, remains an important variation technique. Significantly, the central variation techniques *do not* transform a tune all the way from a simple, two-strain pulsation into an actual medley. Instead, each strain that on initial hearing cannot be classified as a straightforward variation of one of the basic two will have *something* to do with one of those two principal – and thus seminal – strains.

I transcribed two performances of ‘Sally Johnson’ from April 2010s Texas State Championship. One is by Mia Orosco, then sixteen years old, in her first year in the adult competition bracket.[4] She is a diminutive, soft-spoken, and rather elegant young woman. When she mounts the stage, her guitar accompanists loom

Figure 1 'Sally Johnson', as recorded by 'Eck' Robertson (1922)

over her. Prior to the start of the music, this appears to be an ominous mismatch, but her playing is aggressive and her sound robust. Like lots of kids who fiddle really well, she belongs to a family that has made fiddling a family priority. Many fiddle-oriented families come to these contests. The children are often home schooled – as indeed, Mia has been– in a politically and religiously conservative atmosphere. The parents seek out wholesome family activities, and are pleased to note that teenagers immersed in music have little time to get into trouble.

Like dozens of the stronger young fiddlers, Orosco began playing the violin with formal lessons in the Suzuki Method. Many Suzuki teachers in the USA are

inclined to employ simple versions of fiddle tunes in a patronizing way, as a brief, useful repertorial waystation punctuating a student's unswerving march towards emulating Paganini. But some youngsters stay in the fiddle world, bringing with them the flexible bow arm and overall search for relaxed and effective technique characteristic of the Suzuki Method, but in every other way taking a one-way trip to fiddling.

Mia Orosco's 'Sally Johnson' appears as Figure 2. Her version is more detailed in every way than is Eck Robertson's. Of course, many aspects of her technique are not made visible in the transcription; the printed page does not notice that her playing is authentic and highly nuanced in terms of intonation, rhythm, and attack (that is, in the aspects of fiddling that classical violinists converting late to or temporarily slumming in contest fiddling seldom get right). And the variations are right on target for modern Texas fiddling. First, her dose of variation represents a

A, exactly as first notated; A', exactly as previously notated; B, exactly as the first B strain notated; B, exactly as the second B strain notated. Her performance ends with a version of the traditional 'shave and a haircut' tag.

Figure 2 'Sally Johnson', as played by Mia Orosco (Texas, 2010)

ration typical for modern times. Far fewer measures are exact repetitions of earlier measures than we see in older Texas playing. The strains that Robertson played are all echoed in Orosco's performance, and the possibility that strain C evolved over the decades from strain A receives further buttressing by the fact that she also plays a strain appropriately labelled C8va (that is, C up an octave) right after the A strain and with the same opening rhythm. In fact, even a cursory glance down the left-hand side of the transcription reveals many held thirds. That idea and the shape of the cadence stick out – those are the topics this tune has come to be 'about'. The prominent thirds and persistent phrase-ending formula in Eck Robertson's version suggested this destiny for 'Sally Johnson', but modern versions like Mia's offer explicit confirmation.

About an hour later at this same contest, a veteran fiddler named Wes Westmoreland III also played a version of 'Sally Johnson'. Westmoreland would go on to win the event for the fifth time. He is a stout, smiling, witty guy, in his early forties as of this writing. He played for ten years with Mel Tillis's Country Western band in Branson, Missouri, and now is a pharmacist who moonlights as a fiddler. His upbringing as a fiddler was more traditional, eschewing music reading and other factors common in today's training of younger fiddlers. He learned primarily through immersion

as a young man in the practical jokes/drinking/otherwise-testosterone-fuelled fiddlers' environment typical of his generation.[5] His 'Sally Johnson' appears as Figure 3.

Westmoreland's performance of 'Sally Johnson' both parallels and differs from Orosco's version. The two master fiddlers present basically the same strains (deployed in pairs, of course), in addition to variations that are also rather similar in both nature and in the order in which they are played. Indeed, what these versions *share* we see in dozens of performances: this material held in common constitutes the somewhat fluid but certainly stable and recognizable identity of the modern 'Sally Johnson'. What are the differences? Westmoreland places less emphasis on the interval of a third (though still plenty). There is more incidental variation (and thus fewer measures precisely duplicating previous ones), yet tighter formal construction

Figure 3 'Sally Johnson', as played by Wes Westmoreland (Texas, 2010)

containing more neat symmetries. For instance, the first four strains, A A' B B', form a group because A and B both start with mostly short notes, then A' and B' start with held notes. Next, the first six strains form a broad ternary ABA, and the first ten strains a rondo. At that point, we witness something of a mirror effect: after that return to the basic A strain at about the golden mean in the performance, we 'retreat' through A'' to B' to B. Westmoreland shapes performances in ways congruent with this one all the time, both broadly – as discussed here – and in intimate details.[6] In conversation, he denies deliberately carving out these internal symmetries, and *our* noticing them has to be a matter of painstaking, after-the-fact analysis. But whether he is conscious of these formal nuances or not, they are an important part of what makes his playing powerful, part of why he won first place and Orosco won fourth in April of 2010. This formal shaping is a procedure that mature Texas fiddlers do more and better than younger ones and that Westmoreland does especially well.

Figure 4 'The Miller of Drone', as published by Niel Gow (1802)

Figure 5 'Grey Eagle', as published by George H. Coes (1876)

The other tune chosen for analysis in this essay is a bit harder to parse. 'Grey Eagle', unlike 'Sally Johnson', is among the American fiddle tunes with a lengthy history in print. It was and still is called 'The Miller of Drone' in Scottish fiddling (both at home and as exported to Scottish-derived communities across the Atlantic). In the 1830s, a horse race in Kentucky donated the current title of the main American incarnation of the tune: one horse was named Grey Eagle, and the other Wagner (hence 'Wagoner's Hornpipe', another common Texas fiddle tune).[7] The following examples illustrate the long history of the tune: 'The Miller of Drone' from Niel Gow (the likely composer; that version dates from 1802),[8] then 'Grey Eagle' from nineteenth-century blackface minstrel fiddling (from a collection assembled by Goerge H. Coes),[9] from early Texas fiddling, and from a senior old-time fiddler I heard in the early 1980s, Irving Berge. The fiddler in that early Texas recording, Samuel Peacock, played with his brothers in Smith's Garage Fiddle Band. Peacock was a prosperous barber – Smith's Garage, owned by a local sheriff, sponsored the band on Fort Worth radio. This is from the late 1920s.[10]

Old-time versions had added the A strain up an octave. In fact, that general idea was already around in Scotland in the late eighteenth century – think of 'Lord MacDonald's Reel', which lives on both as itself in Scotland (both in Scotland proper

Strains played in this order: A8va A8va B B A A B A8va A8va C C D D C C A8va A8va E E A8va

Figure 6 'Grey Eagle', as recorded by Samuel Peacock (1929)

Exact form not remembered; tape a victim of Mississippi weather

Figure 7 'Grey Eagle', as played by Irving Berge (Illinois, 1983)

and in Scottish communities across the water) and as 'Leather Britches' in both old-time southern fiddling and Texas fiddling. The octave A of 'Grey Eagle' is striking, and Peacock starts with it. He follows that with a strain recognizable as the historic B strain, and then the historic A strain. And more strains follow, maybe coming out of A or B, but these probable links are not as clear as connections within the 'Sally Johnson' complex. Some 'Grey Eagle' strains have harmonic underpinnings more

like A or more like B, but the alliances are not strong. Notably, only A (including octave A of course), and B have the musical heft of main strains. What can a modern version tell us? I transcribed one by Bubba Hopkins (that is, Zirl Hopkins, III) at the same contest, about an hour before Orosco would first be on deck. Bubba won second prize at this contest, a coup for one so young: he is a recent college graduate and a fiddle teacher, closer to Orosco than to Westmoreland in age and in background.[11] Like Orosco, he fiddles well in Texas style and also plays classical violin; they constitute rare examples of being successfully bilingual in that pair of musical dialects.

The version in Figure 8 is flashy and fun, but far from straightforward in terms of form. My take on it is this: the A strain of 'Grey Eagle' is a sweeping arpeggio,

Figure 8 'Grey Eagle', as played by Bubba Hopkins (Texas, 2010)

and B starts by outlining a chord, too. Bubba emphasizes that: most of what happens outside of A and B proper involves broad arpeggios or other chord outlining. Listening to dozens of other modern Texas versions of 'Grey Eagle' confirms this as typical. Bubba's 'Grey Eagle' fits the mainstream; those are exactly the factors that 'Grey Eagle' is about. Now, this permeation with arpeggios was not the only thing that *could* have happened to the tune in Texas; it was not musically or historically inevitable. In the opening measure of 'The Miller of Drone' and of most versions of 'Grey Eagle', the note f sticks out. In another history of the tune – in another cumulative set of choices – that sixth degree of the scale could have attracted more

attention. Exactly that does happen in another common Texas tune. In 'Billy in the Low Ground's' ancestors, and in early recordings of 'Billy', including ones in nascent Texas style, the sixth degree sticks out in the melody, but is harmonized with the subdominant. That is, we are in the key of C, and one hears lots of F chords. But in the tune's evolution in Texas fiddling, the prominent note 'a', the sixth degree, soon inspired accompaniment with an A minor chord instead of an F major chord, and 'Billy in the Low Ground's' typical cluster of variations emphasizes that.[12]

To summarize: In modern Texas fiddling, 'Sally Johnson' is mostly 'about' the major third sitting on the tonic, 'Grey Eagle' mostly explores arpeggios, and 'Billy in the Low Ground' emphasizes the harmonic axis joining C Major with its relative minor, A Minor. Each of the most common tunes in Texas fiddling could be characterized similarly. All of them start with two distinctive strains; all add parts, some of which obviously stem from the opening two strains, others the sources of which remain less clear. In most cases, the added parts are not meaty enough to stand alone. Instead, they are variations in one or another meaning of that word. That is, the arrays of variations associated with each of the main Texas tunes do take off from and elaborately emphasize something about the opening strains. An aficionado of Texas fiddling can be presented with 10-15 seconds of music excerpted from anywhere within a performance of 'Sally Johnson', or 'Sally Goodin', or 'Billy in the Low Ground', or 'Tom and Jerry', and recognize the tune. Wes, Mia, Bubba, and every accomplished Texas fiddler play all of these hit tunes, and their versions are both wonderfully personal and group nicely within the broadly accepted identity of each tune. Each performance is thus a little like one of an Indian raga – some parts remain fairly fixed, while other parts are elaborated in ways associated with the style, or with the tune, or with the performer, yet unique to the specific performance.

One of the accusations regularly levelled against Texas contest fiddling is that 'it all sounds alike'. Yes, there is a stylistic wash that distinguishes Texas fiddling from older styles, and that constitutes a high percentage of what one hears. And this surface is as deep into a given performance of a given tune as many ears travel on first hearing – the long bows, the Texas Swing chords on the guitars, the general nature of variation. But many criticisms averring that multiple putatively contrasting things actually sound or smell or taste alike are temporary symptoms of an early stage in acquaintance. This is not to say that education and intimacy automatically yield affection – my own repeated experiences with college songs, with liver and onions, with the family of conditions called the flu, and with politicians, still leave me cold. But I have come to like Texas fiddling. It is adventurous, exciting for the fiddlers and for experienced audiences. And it is musically rich, with a variation technique that both impresses as such and as it produces a set of sonic historically-informed documents. Each solid performance is a cumulative interpretation and elaboration of some essence of a tune, an interpretation reaching back in time, a route to the roots of Texas fiddling.

Notes

[1] For more information on this exciting and important contest, consult <http://www.fiddlersfrolics.com> [accessed 23 July 2011].

[2] Eck Robertson's 1922 and 1929 recordings are available on *Eck Robertson: Old-Time Texas Fiddler*, County Records, CO-3515-CD, 1999.

[3] *Eck Robertson: Famous Cowboy Fiddler, Talking Machine and Radio Artist*, County LP 202, 1989 [recorded 1963].

[4] Like many prominent younger fiddlers, Orosco maintains a website including biographical information as well as links to several of her performances: <http://miaorosco.com/MiaOrosco.com/Welcome.html> [accessed 23 July 2011].

[5] Westmoreland is in the Texas Fiddlers Hall of Fame, known officially as the Fiddlers' Frolics Hall of Fame. The information posted there – a nice biography and photograph – is available at <http://www.fiddlersfrolics.com/wes-westmoreland.html> [accessed 23 July 2011].

[6] For a close analysis of one performance by Westmoreland of another of the top Texas fiddle tunes, 'Dusty Miller', see Chris Goertzen, 'Texas Contest Fiddling: Moving the Focus of Contrast and Change to Inner Variations', in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3*, ed. by Ian Russell and Anna Kearney Guigné (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, in association with the Department of Folklore, MMaP and the School of Music, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2010), pp. 239–49. Goertzen also discusses Westmoreland's fiddling in several spots in *Southern Fiddlers and Fiddle Contests* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008). That book closes with a transcription of a lengthy interview with Westmoreland.

[7] 'Grey Eagle' is most thoroughly treated by Andrew Kuntz in his encyclopaedic *The Fiddler's Companion*, copyrighted when this author consulted it 1996–2010 (probably to be kept current for some time after 2010 by Kuntz; it is an online reference source). The section on 'Grey Eagle' is available at <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/GREET_GRUM.htm> [accessed 23 July 2011].

[8] Nathaniel Gow, *Part Second of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Tunes, Strathspeys, Jigs, and Dances* (Edinburgh: Gow and Shepherd, [1802]), p. 25.

[9] George H. Coes, *George H. Coes' Album of Music for the Violin* (Boston: Goullard, 1876), p. 58.

[10] See *Texas Fiddle Bands, Volume 1, 1925–30*, Document Records DOCD-8038, 1999, cut 11. I thank Paul F. Wells for drawing my a ention to this recording.

[11] See Hopkins's website <http://www.hopkinsmusic.net/> [accessed 23 July 2011]. He is an endearing extrovert with great promise as both fiddler and teacher.

[12] Transcriptions of 'Billy in the Low Ground' are available in Chris Goertzen, 'The Transformation of American Contest Fiddling', *The Journal of Musicology*, 6, no. 1 (1988), 107–29.

8

The transmission of style in Scottish fiddling[1]

EMMA NIXON

This paper concerns the study of the transmission of stylistic performance elements in Scottish fiddle music. The study arises from the oral/aural tradition of such transmission and presents fieldwork methods to identify stylistic elements of Scottish fiddling and to investigate some dimensions of transmission of these elements.

An initial question for this study, regarding Scottish fiddle style, arose from a general insistence by tutors at workshops and summer schools that there are no rules in the application of stylistic elements such as bowing features and ornamentation. However, there are accepted sounds ('that sounds right/wrong to my ear') that are acknowledged and categorised as more Scottish. If this is so, then it follows that there are rules or guidelines or accepted norms for the use of such features. A number of authors, for example Joyner[2] and Hobsbawm,[3] have stressed the behavioural, rule-based nature of traditions. Traditional music-making in every culture can be seen as an evolving social construct which encompasses a rule-based set of practices.

Great variety can be observed in the traditional music of Scotland, which can be attributed to language, and social and geographical factors.[4] However, there are particular structural, melodic, and rhythmic features which make the music recognisably Scottish.[5] Some of these features include the use of double-tonic, changing modality, wide-gapped scales, bipartite form, and the Scotch or Scots snap.[6] These characteristics were not necessarily Scottish in origin, and are not generally exclusive to Scottish music. However, the repeated use of combinations of these features has rendered them as signs of 'Scottishness'. Additionally, there is a distinctive ornamentation evident in performances of Scottish traditional music which is also subject to a set of conventionalised practices.

In Scotland, the fiddle has played a significant role in social and cultural life since the seventeenth century, with fiddlers playing at most important social gatherings, such as weddings, funerals, and fairs, as well as local dances, ceilidhs, and family gatherings.[7] Much musical transmission occurred in informal domestic settings in a process of enculturation or through a master-apprentice system.[8]

Players continue to be encouraged to immerse themselves in the sounds of a particular style, and absorb the features of the idiom through a combination of

listening and copying[9] as a means 'to get into the character of Scottish music.'[10] Georgina Boyes recommends using source recordings as they capture 'subtleties of tune and rhythm which defy notation'.[11]

Written collections of Scottish music began appearing early in the eighteenth century and included tunes that had previously been transmitted aurally.[12] However, there has been little notation to guide the player in ornamentation and this has continued to be a feature of Scottish fiddle music that is generally transmitted aurally.

J. Scott Skinner's *A Guide to Bowing* is an obvious example of right-hand techniques from the early twentieth century; James Hunter, Alastair J. Hardie, Christine Martin, and David Johnson have all included, throughout their more recent publications, descriptions and examples of left-hand ornaments as well as bowing patterns; Paul Anderson has thoroughly examined the ornaments of the North-East Scottish style; and Stuart Eydmann has analysed the distinctive feature called the birl.[13] Common left-hand techniques addressed in these collections include trills, grace notes, and vibrato, whereas right-hand techniques are bowed triplets (birls), double stopping, slurring, and methods of playing the Scotch snap.

The ornaments and bowings of Scottish fiddle styles may not be codified linguistically or in notation, but may still be used to authenticate particular interpretations. Although individual style, through the personalised use of stylistic elements, is promoted through workshops, it is contrary to the concept of authenticated style. One outcome of the *fèis* movement in Scotland has been the development of stylistic norms.[14] The so-called *fèis* style promotes and legitimises some ways of playing, while others are delegitimised or marginalised. Judgement of 'authenticity of execution', or the ability to accurately recreate a legitimised style, is then sanctioned.[15] Performers playing in legitimised styles are then given the authority to act as vehicles for the tradition and are entrusted with the responsibility of sharing and passing that tradition on.[16] It follows that workshops conducted in what is considered an authentic way, that is, using aural transmission and immersion, also have the capacity to legitimise ways of playing.

One purpose of this study was to establish the extent to which ornamentation and bowing techniques and applications are transmitted not only aurally but also orally in formal teaching workshops which are becoming increasingly popular. Six commonly used traditional ornaments as well as slurs and general bowing techniques were selected to be studied. I have defined the six specific ornaments, slurs, and general bowing techniques as they have been used in this study.

Ornamentation refers to the embellishment or decoration of a tune, such that the pitch and rhythm of that tune are generally not distorted or interrupted. Fiddle ornaments tend to be categorised into two types: left-hand techniques, which are pitched embellishments, and include unisons, various grace notes, and cuts; and right-hand, or bowed techniques, which are tonal and/ or rhythmic embellishments and include the Scotch snap, birls, and chords. Additionally, slurs and other bowing techniques can be used to further elaborate tunes. I have created the following

descriptions for use in this study as there are no definitive definitions, or consistent use of names of these features, in use among Scottish fiddlers.[17]

Unison occurs when two notes of the same pitch are played simultaneously. To achieve this, the fiddler must play an 'open' or unfingered string at the same time as fingering the same pitch on the adjacent lower pitched string.

A grace note is a short note played immediately before the tune note. It is usually the pitch immediately below the tune note and the two notes are generally played with one bow stroke (slur).

The cut is another ornament played in a single bow stroke or slur. After the tune note is played, another finger flicks on and off the string extremely quickly, producing a slight glitch in the original note, rather than an extra definite pitched note.

The Scotch or Scots snap is a rhythmic feature used predominantly in strathspeys. The rhythm consists of four notes which are usually written as semiquaver-quaver-quaver-semiquaver (short long long short); the semiquavers are generally shortened and the quavers lengthened when played.

The birl, or bowed triplet, is an ornament consisting of three notes of the same pitch played very fast, with very short bow strokes. The last note tends to be longer than the first two. Occasionally, a birl consists of three different notes, although the bow strokes remain the same.

Chords are the result of bowing two strings simultaneously. They are sometimes referred to as double stops, indicating the playing of two strings. The most common chords occur when one string is fingered and the other is open or unfingered.

Playing more than one note in a single bow stroke is a slur. The use of slurs results in smooth articulation. By varying single bowed and slurred notes, a variety of articulation and emphasis can be achieved.

General bowing includes nuances of bow weight, speed, and distance that effect the sound quality. For example, use of greater weight and distance travelled along the bow results in a louder sound. Varying the combination of weight, speed, and distance results in textural variety of the sound, and can be used to create tonal variety in a tune. The notation of the ornaments and bowing is also inconsistent and problematic, partly because established musical notation is inadequate to describe this style and partly because of the performance variations that exist both within and between individual players.

Fieldwork

During 2007 and 2008 I collected data as a participant observer in short one-off workshops at festivals in Scotland. Recordings of workshops were made and analysed by tabulating the occurrence of each of the stylistic elements.

In addition to identifying the stylistic elements data was kept on the timing to the nearest second from the start of each recording of the occurrence of each of the elements. Further, the format of the occurrence including whether it was played

in context (embedded), isolated for demonstration or practice purposes (explicit), or commented on orally (verbal explanation).

Results of the transcription were verified by an independent musician by re-tabulating samples from the recording of each workshop. This project identified differences in both definition and naming of ornaments when verification of data was undertaken. Discussion between the researcher and the verifier showed that agreement using written and verbal definitions was difficult to achieve and that practical demonstration of ornaments followed by discussion was the final arbiter.[18] Further reasons for discrepancies in results could be attributed to individual experiential differences relating to listening and interpretation.[19] Although discrepancies in interpretation were reconciled in the main, it is believed that the method could have been improved by developing a consensus view. While numbers of occurrences differed for some of the ornaments, the relationship between embedded and explicit occurrences was constant for both observers. Thus, one of the main findings of the results, the predominance of embedded examples over explicit examples, remains sound.

Results

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the selected elements across the variety of music played in the workshops. A total of 1528 played occurrences of the stylistic features were counted across the three workshops. Of these, 275 or 18% were explicit demonstrations by the instructor where the ornament or bowing technique was repeated for emphasis or class practice purposes; 68 or less than 5% were the subject for verbal discussion or explanation by the instructor. The remainder of occurrences were embedded in the playing of the tutor, generally in the context of a complete tune or phrase.

	Unison	Grace	Cut	Snap	Birl	Slur	Chord	Bowing	Total
Embedded	13	201	105	141	22	712	52	7	1253
Explicit/ Demonstration	4 (24%)	60 (23%)	113 (52%)	37 (21%)	26 (54%)	19 (3%)	11 (17%)	5 (42%)	275 (18%)
Total played occurrences	17 100%	261 100%	218 100%	178 100%	48 100%	731 100%	63 100%	12 100%	1528 100%
Verbal Explanation	1 (6%)	14 (5%)	15 (7%)	14 (8%)	7 (15%)	3 (>1%)	5 (8%)	9 (75%)	68 (4%)

Figure 1 Distribution of the Presentation of Selected Elements across Three Workshops

Figure 2 shows the distribution of played stylistic elements across all of the music played in the three workshops. Slurs (731 played occurrences) were the most common element used, accounting for almost half of the played examples (47.8%). Of course, these are often used as part of a number of other elements, accounting for the high rate of occurrence. It is not surprising that the snap is well represented
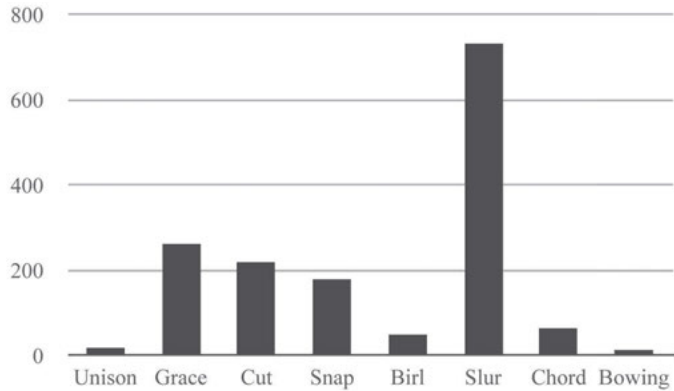
Figure 2 Number of Played Occurrences Across Three Workshops
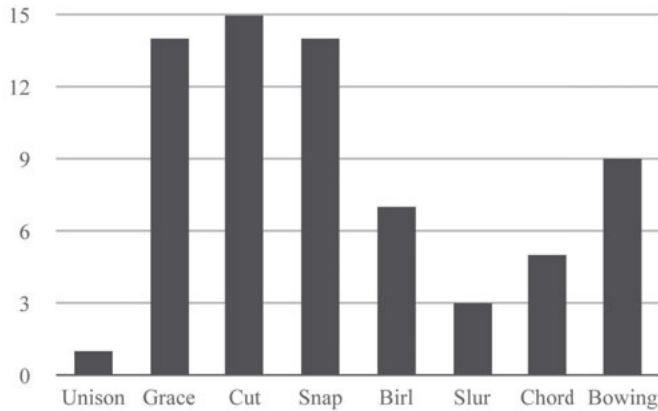
Figure 3 Number of Verbal Explanations Across Three Workshops

(178 played occurrences), as one of the workshops was devoted to strathspey playing. While the birl is a distinctive feature of Scottish fiddling, it occurred less (48 occurrences) in the playing of the tutors in these particular workshops than the left hand techniques of cuts (218 occurrences) and graces (261 occurrences).

The distribution for verbal explanations of elements is shown in Figure 3. These range from less than 1% (for unison notes) of total played occurrences of that feature to 75 percent (bowing) with only two features attracting explanation more than 8% of the total played occurrences of that feature: the birl (15%) and general bowing (75%). Within all of the verbal explanations, cuts, snaps, and grace notes were most frequently the subject of discussion while unisons, slurs, and chords were the least discussed.

The largest discrepancy between total played examples and total verbal explanation was for general bowing, where this was the least played but relatively more discussed. Slurs were the most played element but the second lowest element commented on. More than half of the verbal explanations were of cuts, snaps, and birls, while these elements accounted for about a third of the played examples.

The ornamental feature occurring least in both playing and verbal explanation was the unison. Slurs were proportionally the least demonstrated (3%) or commented on (>1%). The cut was the most demonstrated ornament in the combined workshops (113 times), which was 52% of the total number of occurrences (218) during the workshops. Also, more verbal explanations were given for the cut (15) than for any other ornament. However, the cut ranked only third in use overall or fourth in embedded use of the ornaments represented in this combined sample of playing. The birl was demonstrated more than the cut proportionally to its occurrence in the original music, although it occurred much less overall.

Discussion

An important finding from this study was the small amount of verbal explanation or teaching devoted to ornamentation and particularly to bowing, relative to the number of occurrences of such features in the pieces played in the workshops. Examples of specific comments are presented in Figure 4. The approaches to the verbal instructions reflected positive encouragement, for example, '[I'll play it] quite steady so you can start to hear the patterns'. Comments ranged from specific practice instruction , 'It's one of those things that just needs a bit of slow practice in between playing the tunes up to speed', to a less formal method of learning by osmosis.

Topics	Comments
Aural transmission/ learning	'[I'll play it] quite steady so you can start to hear the patterns.'
Ornaments	'This tune's just bursting with details there […] I'll just throw them all at you and see what sticks.'
Personal use of ornaments	'If you feel that any of these are not right, or are in the wrong place, feel free to just experiment yourself.'
Use of ornaments	'it's up to yourselves what you feel is appropriate'
Experiment with interpretations	'experiment at home with your own interpretations'

Figure 4 Examples of Comments Made by Workshop Tutors on Various Topics

The relatively small amount of verbal discussion of ornaments could also be related to the observation and absorption approach of the aural tradition, and the incorporation of this approach in the teaching technique of the workshop tutors observed. Reliance on aural transmission by the tutors may not be a conscious decision and there may be a number of different associated reasons as to why the tutors relied more on aural transmission of stylistic elements. The tutors, being experienced players, may not be consciously aware of all of the stylistic features in their own playing; stylistic interpretation can become second nature to those experts

who have been immersed in a musical tradition. As a result, tutors do not discuss what they are not noticing. Alternatively, tutors may not have a language available for explanations of performance style, particularly if they were not exposed to such linguistic descriptions themselves. Tutors referred more frequently to freedom of interpretation through personalised ornament and bowing choices with comments such as 'It's up to yourselves what you feel is appropriate' in regard to the use of ornaments.

Other considerations include the points that ornamentation is not generally documented in published collections of Scottish fiddle music, and its use may vary over time depending on fashion and the playing style of particular fiddlers. Tutors tacitly supported such points in their avoidance of a prescriptive approach.

This project identified differences in both definition and naming of ornaments when verification of data was undertaken. Discussion between the researcher and the verifier showed that agreement using written and verbal definitions was difficult to achieve and that practical demonstration of ornaments followed by discussion was the final arbiter.[20] Further reasons for discrepancies in results could be attributed to individual experiential differences relating to listening and interpretation.[21]

While numbers of occurrences differed for some of the ornaments, the relationship between embedded and explicit occurrences was constant for both observers. Thus, one of the main findings of the results, the predominance of embedded examples over explicit examples, remains sound.

Implications

The revival of Scottish traditional music has led to an enthusiasm for preservation of the art of Scottish fiddling. By definition, traditional methods of learning the essential sounds and ornaments of Scottish fiddle are transmitted aurally and orally, but mainly through aural methods. Indeed, the Scottish fiddle sound is one that must involve aural training and replication. Because of the favoured use of aural methods of transmission over written text, there is the potential for evolution and change in style.

Findings from this study have implications for teaching Scottish fiddle. It is evident that in the context of fiddle workshops, teaching ornaments is not often made explicit thus emphasising the aural aspects of the transmission. In contexts where there is limited access to fiddle tuition or to authentic aural experiences, the training experience could benefit from more explicit examples and perhaps also from verbal discussion of the features. Additionally, according to current educational practice, different learning styles of the student should be taken into account by the teacher.[22]

The wide variation in teaching styles is one aspect of this study which lends itself to further research. It was clear in this study that not all of the variation in explicit training was associated with the music chosen, but in large part was associated with teacher style.

The use of a written system for ornaments has been, and continues to be debated. Arguments for and against can be raised on many levels, including traditional, political, cultural, and artistic. The question for this research is, 'Can a study of this type contribute to the debate?' This study has certainly highlighted the differences in nomenclature and definition that exist within Scottish fiddle tradition. One advantage of written or verbal codification of stylistic elements could be the increased ease of communication about these elements. However, 'the way music is taught and transmitted is an integral part of the musical culture' and is unlikely to change suddenly.[23] It is likely that any move to codified nomenclature and definitions of stylistic practices would meet strong resistance, as it could be seen as a way of legitimising some naming systems and, therefore, by extension, the associated playing styles. Also, because the music and its transmission are inextricably linked,[24] a change in the means of transmission may result in unforeseen changes to the music.

A number of issues are highlighted by this study. Firstly, traditional Scottish music is, at formalised workshops at least, predominantly taught in what is considered the traditional imitative way. This study suggests that attitudes of tutors and players may also contribute to the transmission of style in ways which can be further explored. Secondly, there is scope to develop a consensus view of definitions, techniques, and sounds that make up the styles of Scottish fiddling while remaining sensitive to the various traditions of naming and producing those styles.

Notes

[1] Study for this paper was undertaken at Newcastle University (UK) towards a Master of Music. I acknowledge the supervision of Dr Vic Gammon. I also acknowledge the contribution of workshop providers and tutors to the data collection phase of the study.

[2] Charles Joyner, 'A Model for the Analysis of Folklore Performance in Historical Context', *Journal of American Folklore*, 88 (1975), 349, 254–65.

[3] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (1983; repr. edn, Cambridge, New York and Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–14.

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9

The end of a revival: contemporary New England contra dancing and fiddling[1]

LESLEY HAM

When does a revival end and a new tradition start? It has now been almost half a century since the beginning of the latest contra dance revival movement in New England and across the United States. Since then, new dance compositions and original tunes created by fiddlers and callers such as David Kaynor have formed a new tradition of their own. Dancing styles are faster and more athletic than ever before, and new tunes incorporate international influences. The popular weekly contra dance in Greenfield, Massachusetts (MA) is one example of that new tradition.

Figure 1 David Kaynor and the Greenfield Dance Band at the Greenfield Grange
Photo by Jeff Hinrichs

Contra Dancing in Greenfield
Greenfield, MA, is, at the time of writing, the hotbed of contra dancing in Northeast America. Located in the northwest part of the state, Greenfield attracts dancers from across New England and the Northeast, including Vermont, New York, and Canada.

Every Friday and Saturday night throughout the year, about fifty to one hundred people gather at the Greenfield Grange to dance contra sets to live music and the infectious rhythms of bands like the Greenfield Dance Band (headed by long-time fiddler and caller David Kaynor – see Figures 1 and 2), the Moving Violations, and Wild Asparagus. While contra dance popularity waned after the Second World War in America, it experienced a revival in the 1970s parallel to the international folk music and folk song revivals. David Kaynor and other musicians who play at the Greenfield Grange were an instrumental part of this revival. Like the rural square dance traditions in New England and New York state, contemporary contra dancing has its own unique conventions, musical idioms, and dance styles. As in most revival movements, it continually incorporates innovations in newly composed dances and tunes. Both veteran musician David Kaynor and Lissa Schneckenburger, an accomplished fiddler of the younger generation, perform their own compositions along with traditional tunes at contra dances across New England.

Figure 2 Dancers at the Greenfield Grange *Photo by Jeff Hinrichs*

History of Contra Dancing

Contra dancing is a form of line dancing. Often called 'longways dance,' it is related to square dancing, but danced by couples in a long line to live music. It came to North America with immigrants from the British Isles. According to New Hampshire dance caller extraordinaire Ralph Page, the form was English, the tunes Irish, the Scots had a big influence on the steps and figures, and the French Canadians influenced the fiddling style and the long swings.[2] The Irish 'Chorus Jig' became a favourite in America as did the Scottish 'Lady Walpole's Reel', in New England variously called

'Boston Fancy', 'Lady Washington's Reel', and 'Speed the Plow.'[3] The term 'contra dance' resulted from a cultural exchange between England and France. Country dance was the original English term for general figure dances, including round, square and longways dances. One form of country dance, the square dance for eight, became the *'contre-danse'* in France. Between 1650 and 1728, the longways dance gradually became the most popular dance in both England and France. When the term *'contre-danse'* was retranslated into English as 'contra dance', it came to stand for the type of dance with two lines facing each other, misleading some to think that it referred to dances where couple stood opposite, or contrary, to one another. The contra dance originated in England among the folk, but by the mid-eighteenth century was popular with English, Irish, Scottish, and French people of every rank of life.[4]

Older contra dances were often associated with tunes of the same names. Old favourites, for example 'Money Musk', 'Opera Reel', and 'Chorus Jig' denote both specific tunes and dance figures. However, the tunes and figures were not necessarily fixed to the titles. There were variations and mixing and matching of both the tunes and the dances. Ethnomusicologist James Kimball notes that in Wilson's dance collections of the early nineteenth century, there were at least two sets of figures for almost every tune.[5] Conversely, distinct tunes were often played for the same dance figures. E. T. Root's collections of old fiddle and dance orchestra tunes from the late 1800s lists a 'New Money Musk', a different tune for the same dance. Locally, certain tunes came to be associated with certain dances. The dance figures used for 'Opera Reel' in New York were danced to 'Chorus Jig' in New England.[6] Some common contra dance tunes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that have retained their popularity over the years include 'Money Musk', 'Hull's Victory', 'Petronella', 'Chorus Jig', 'Lady Walpole's Reel', 'Portland Fancy', 'Morning Star', 'Lady of the Lake', 'Lamplighter's Hornpipe', and 'Fisher's Hornpipe'. They are still played regularly at the Greenfield contra dances, though usually danced to new choreography.

Dances and tunes were passed around, borrowed, and modified by various cultural groups. Many times the same tune or dance would appear with a different name in another community. 'Money Musk' was originally a Scottish strathspey called 'Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk's Reel' composed *c*.1775 by Daniel Dow, a butler in his household, and first danced on the village green of Monymusk on the River Don in Aberdeenshire. Its name was later shortened to 'Money Musk'. It became part of the repertoire of most New England fiddlers, who commonly played it as a reel, and was traditionally played to accompany the bride and groom as they left the church after a French-Canadian wedding.[7] 'Hull's Victory' was 'The Scottish Reform' before it crossed the Atlantic.[8] It got its name after the victory of Captain Isaac Hull, commanding the USS *Constitution*, over the British Captain James Richard Dacres and the HMS *Guerriere* in the War of 1812. What is called the 'Virginia Reel' in America is 'Sir Roger de Coverly' in England and 'Haymakers Jig' in Ireland

and Scotland. In Québec, the dance has other titles, such as 'La Contredanse' and 'Brandy Simple'.[9]

In the nineteenth century New England experienced a great deal of immigration from French Canada, especially in New Hampshire. French Canadians came to work in the lumber camps, then textile and shoe factories. They influenced the fiddle repertoire, bringing tunes such as 'St Anne's Reel', 'Glise a Sherbrooke', 'Reel de Montreal', and 'St Lawrence Jig'. They also had a strong influence on the New England swing style, with long swings from eight to sixteen counts, or even longer.

James Kimball writes that in the 1920s and 1930s, as lumber camps were starting to decline, Canadian music influenced American fiddle styles through radio, records, and printed tune books. In particular, fiddler and radio host Don Messer had a huge influence on North-East American fiddle styles in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Kimball writes that Messer 'has been credited with standardizing a "down east" style', both in his playing and repertoire. His style was clean, precise, and uncluttered, and his repertoire included waltzes, jigs, reels, two-steps, polkas, schottisches, as well as original tunes.[10]

Traditional New England style is characterized by strong rhythms played on the beat, with less syncopation and complex bowing than in the southern United States. Kimball notes that it translates easily to the printed page and that 'printed collections of fiddle tunes have been readily available in the north since the early 19th century'.[11] Fiddlers play a wide variety of tune types and metres, and traditionally favour major keys, symmetrical tunes, and uncomplicated bowing styles. It was usual in New England for the fiddler to also be the caller, and sometime in the 1800s calls began to be sung. In contrast, contemporary contra fiddling favours minor or modal keys, syncopation, and extended phrasing that avoids the cadence in order to create tension for the dancers.

The Grange Movement

As in the past, contra dances in New England today are often danced in Grange halls. Granges are social and agricultural organizations formed in the late nineteenth century for farmers and their families. They sponsored non-religious family events with no drinking and their members built beautiful halls. According to the Greenfield, MA, Grange website:

> The roots of the Grange organization are in farming, and while few members now earn their livelihood growing field crops or raising livestock, our collective interest in issues related to food and the land continues. Because all of us do eat, after all, and most of us prefer to breathe clean air, drink good water and live on a nice patch of earth, maybe with a bit of a garden, we all have a reason to care about the world's resources. Recognizing that people are a valuable resource, too, the National Grange now emphasizes 'community' as a raison d'être for local Granges. How to turn that broad directive into focused action is the subject of much discussion.[12]

The Greenfield Grange was founded in June 1873, and because it was the first Grange in Massachusetts, was called the 'Guiding Star Grange No. 1'. The Grange movement was started in 1867 by Oliver H. Kelley in order to promote the spiritual and social well-being of farming families. The Grange's more formal designation is Patrons of Husbandry. The Grange is the country's oldest extant agricultural organization, though many Granges now define themselves more broadly. The current Greenfield Grange hall was dedicated in February 1932 and the crest of the Patrons of Husbandry hangs over the door.

What happened after that is documented on the Greenfield Grange website:

> Over time, active membership in the Grange dwindled. The number of farming families diminished, and members who had joined in their teens and twenties, now getting their 50- and 60-year membership awards, were growing too frail to climb ladders and too stiff to scrub floors. Preserving the hall became a struggle: the will and spirit remained, but the means was fading. Meanwhile, in the fall of 1980, local contra dance caller and musician David Kaynor began renting the hall for Friday night contra dances. In those early years, on nights when so pitifully few dancers tossed their $2.00 into the fiddle case that the band did not make the rent, Grange member Clarence Turner would wave a hand and say, 'Make it up later.' By the mid-1980s, Clarence Turner's 'later' had come to pass. Now contra dance music fills the hall every Friday and Saturday night, and often other times as well.[13]

The dances in this hall, known for consistently good music, good dancing, a relaxed spirit, and a floor, have become a destination for as varied a group as you could find anywhere in semi-rural New England.

David Kaynor and the Greenfield Dance Band

As well as acting as fiddler and caller for the Greenfield Dance Band, David Kaynor also organizes the contra dances on the second, fourth, and fifth Friday nights of the month at the Greenfield Grange. His cousin, Van Kaynor, plays fiddle in the band Moving Violations, on the first Fridays. His cousin, Cammy Kaynor, and uncle, Ed Kaynor, are also fiddlers. His family became involved in music in his father's generation. His father came from a huge household in Springfield, Massachusetts. David's grandfather was a Congressman. When he was killed in a 1929 plane crash, the family's income was cut off. Coupled with the Great Depression, the large family could no longer afford to maintain domestic staff. David's father was one of six siblings. Along with his brother, Van's father, he would have to clean up the dishes after meals for ten to twenty people. The brothers started singing to pass the time. Soon, the kitchen became the place to be, a weekend social scene for the whole neighbourhood where family and friends would sing in harmony. David heard music all throughout his childhood years. Later, he started square dancing in Maine and the Connecticut River Valley in Vermont. He became involved in the modern contra dance scene in Burlington, Vermont, in 1973. He started playing music with

the guitar, but soon switched to the fiddle. He is self-taught, but influenced by his cousins and fiddler Peter Sutherland.

David moved to Montague, MA, a rural town near Greenfield, and joined the local Grange there. After the Second World War, the popularity of contra dances waned. Elderly Grangers associated dances with brawls and rowdy behaviour. David was influenced by legendary New Hampshire caller Dudley Laufman to revive dances in Grange halls. In the early 1980s, he started running contra dances three times a month at the Greenfield Grange, calling and fiddling, with either Nick Hawes or Becky Ashenden on piano and Diane Sanabria on banjo.

David's Greenfield Dance Band now consists of Peter Siegel on mandolin, Stuart Kenney on bass, and Mary Cay on keyboards. David never uses dance notation cards when he calls. He knows so many dances that he says he can call several sessions a week and never repeat a dance. He gets dances from many sources, including other callers, dance books, and occasionally, the internet.

He does not make a specific plan about which dances to call or which tunes to play in advance. He prefers to go by 'the seat of (his) pants'. But he does have an overall pattern in mind for the dance, which he describes as a kind of arc. He starts out with less complex dances that have a lower 'piece content', or fewer figures. Most contra dances have 32 bars consisting of an A one, A two, B one, B two part. Dances with a low 'piece content' might have one figure for each eight beat phrase. As the dancers and musicians get warmed up, David calls more complex dances. Then he ends the evening with easier dances. He mostly calls dances that he has already danced. Around ninety per cent of the dances will be recently or fairly recently composed. He often calls several of his own compositions, plus some 'old chestnuts', such as 'Chorus Jig', 'Lamplighter's Hornpipe', 'Hull's Victory', or 'Petronella'.

The tunes he plays are typically in D, G, A, or the relative and parallel minors, but he also tends to play in E, F, and B-flat more than many other contra dance musicians. The band plays mostly medleys of 2 or 3 tunes which they choose together in the minutes before each dance. They have played together for some time, so are able to communicate non-verbally for changes and solo arrangements.

Lissa Schneckenburger: Carrying on the Tradition
Young fiddler Lissa Schneckenburger stands out among the younger generation of contra dance fiddlers. She often comes down to play at the Greenfield Grange from Brattleboro, Vermont. Originally from a small town in Maine, she comes from a strong musical tradition. She began fiddling at the age of six and attended contra dances with her family when she was growing up. She studied with influential Maine fiddler Greg Boardman and sat in with the Maine County Dance Orchestra, modelled after Dudley Laufman's band, when she was just eight years of age. Like David, she now composes her own tunes. She says she does not consciously stick to one style when composing new tunes and has many influences, although she composes mostly in the style of what is around her, a mix of Irish, Scottish, and

French-Canadian influences. Like typical New England Dance music styles, she likes clear phrasing and an easy to follow rhythm.

The Contra Dance Revival

Newer dances and tunes have become much more complicated in the last fifty years. Modern dancers demand more fancy moves to do, more figures, and longer phrases. Newer tunes are influenced by world music, including Klezmer, African, Balkan, and Scandinavian music. In the book *Zesty Contras*, by Larry Jennings, Petronella includes a variation of balances and turns done with four people instead of the traditional two. First published in 1983, this book documents the new style of modern revivalist contra dancing.[14] Mary Dart notes that today's contra dancers want a high level of activity. They get impatient waiting for other dancers, resulting in few dances with active and inactive couples; they want to be dancing at all times. The choreography of recently composed dances includes an increased number of figures per phrase and more vigorous transitions.[15] In addition, dancers at the Greenfield Grange add to this active choreography by improvising added spins, stomps, and twirls.

In a revival movement an activity is often spurred on by people who did not learn by growing up in a living tradition. They might have learned from teachers, workshops, music camps, books, CD, and most recently, the internet. In the 1920s, industrialist Henry Ford championed square dancing as a way to foster an American identity and instil social manners. He brought New Hampshire fiddler Benjamin B. Lovett from Worcester, MA, to Dearborn, Michigan. In 1926, he published *'Good Morning': After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is Being Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford*.[16] He also founded the Greenfield Village living museum in 1929 in Dearborn, which showcases traditional American activities and is still operating today. A revival is different from revitalization. After the Second World War farmers in upstate New York revitalized a square dance tradition that had fallen out of fashion. Older people who remembered dances from when they were young started participating in dances again. The dances and dance styles changed little in the twentieth century compared to the contemporary contra dances of the 1970s revival movement in places like Greenfield.

Comparing rural old-time square dancing in upstate New York with contemporary contra dancing in Greenfield, MA, sheds light on the changes that characterize the 1970s revival movement. The two types of dances come from similar roots, and often contras and squares are done at the same dance event. Old time square music is usually played at a relaxed tempo, with simple, repetitive figures. There is never a walk through. The calls are usually sung, allowing a lot of variation and spontaneity within the dance. An individual caller might throw in some humour by playing pranks on the dancers, making them go one way, then surprising them by suddenly making them go the other direction. The tunes are generally in major keys with little or no syncopation. Swing position is not a ballroom hold, but with arms crossed in front of the waist.

In contrast, contemporary contra dance music is characterized by fast tempos, syncopated rhythms, minor or modal keys, and extended phrasing. Unlike rural square dancing, all dancers are active at the same time. The tradition of watching and being watched is not popular. Dances that involve active and inactive couples, going up and down the set, and casting off are seldom done. Swings are done with a ballroom hold, rotating in a clockwise direction with a buzz-step turn in which the right foot slides while the left foot creates momentum. Dancers like new and different dances and tunes mixed in with the old favourites. There are usually one or two waltzes, a hambo (a Swedish round dance), and/or a schottische (a German round dance) during the evening.

In the John Bishop film, *New England Fiddles*, folklorist Nicholas Hawes contrasts a 1980s version of the 'Chorus Jig' with a more traditional style:

> Chorus Jig is one of a half dozen traditional contra dances, which are as popular today as they were a century ago. Although the form is the same, the performance style applied to these older dances has changed dramatically to meet the needs of modern dancers. The differences between the two Chorus Jigs in the film are typical of the changes incorporated into old contras by dancers of the new revival. In (the modern dance), there was a greater overall level of activity, more contact between dancers, and a lot of individual variation. In (the more traditional dance), the dance is done as a more relaxing triple minor, there is much less contact between dancers (especially in the cast off and contra corners moves), and individual variation is not encouraged.[17]

The modern style of dancing, choreography, and original tunes constitute quite a different repertoire of dances and tunes than what could be found at local dances prior to the 1970s. The social meaning of the dance experience has changed as well. People come from over a wide area, from different communities, and create a new community that only convenes for the weekly dances. People come to dance, not necessarily to be seen or celebrate a local event. They dress informally, often in athletic wear. The way they learn new dances and tunes has expanded to the utilization of new technology.

The popularity of contra dancing has ebbed and flowed over the last two hundred and fifty years, with the recent trend towards more active involvement. In the post-Revolutionary War era, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, contra dances were 'triple-minor', danced in groups of three couples with one active couple and two inactive couples. Later, in the 1830s–1850s, alternating active and inactive couples came into fashion.[18] Boston caller and choreographer Ted Sannella revived the triple couple formation in the 1980s, setting them to faster jigs and reels, and called them 'triplets'. Contra dance compositions continued to get more and more active throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Chicago based contra dance choreographer Al Olson noted:

Now, in 1988, it is obvious that there have been lots of changes in contra dancing since my introduction to it back in 1962. Dancers now expect a lot of vigorous action, elegance has largely disappeared, a caller has a hard time getting dancers to use a full eight counts for an allemande once around, hey for four have been introduced, contras with much more complex patterns are acceptable, and there are a great many new dances.[19]

So, what are the traditional dances? The dances as danced in Europe, in colonial America, in the 1930s, or the 1980s? The popular dances that came over with British, French, Irish, and Scottish immigrants continue to go in and out of fashion, with some incorporating changes along the way, or being danced to new tunes. Others remained essentially the same. In common with all folklore, contra dancing is part of a continuous cycle of revival, creating and recreating an imagined past. Dances listed by Henry Ford in the 1920s, by Ralph Page in the 1930s, by Rickey Holden in the 1950s, and by Larry Jennings in the 1980s show a pattern of continuity and innovation. An old favourite like 'Hull's Victory' is essentially the same in Page's book of 1937 and Holden's books of 1956, only with different notation. In Holden's notation (beats in parenthesis):

'Hull's Victory'
A1(1–4) Right to your partner left below and
    (5–8) Balance four in line
    (9–12) Turn with the left hand twice around
    (13–16) Reel your outside all around
A2(17–20) Right to your partner all the way round and
    (21–24) Balance four in line once more
    (25–32) Swing your partner in the centre
B1(33–48) Down the centre, other way back and cast off
B2 (49–64) Right and left with the couple above

These days, dancing down the centre and casting off is rarely done at Greenfield Grange. More recently composed dances have more elements. A popular newer dance is 'Mary Cay's Reel', composed by David Kaynor in 1987 for his longtime friend, band mate, and accordion virtuoso, for her birthday. It has become a modern classic and is regularly danced at the New England Folk Festival (NEFFA), the sponsored annual Ralph Page Legacy Weekend dances, and appears on all major contra dances online indexes.[20] In Russell Owen's notation:

'Mary Cay's Reel', by David Kaynor, edited by Russell Owen, from *American Country Dances On-line*
Formation Becket
A1 (6) Circle left 3/4
    (2) Pull by along the line
    (8) With the one you meet allemande left, then return to your neighbour
A2 (4,12) Neighbours balance and swing

B1 (8) Long lines go forward and back
    (4) Ladies allemande right 3/4 to form a long wave of women in the centre
    (4) Left-hand ladies allemande left 3/4, as men slide left a bit to meet them
    End near your partner
B2 (4,12) Partners balance and swing[21]

Instead of one couple dancing down the centre between two lines of dancers, long lines go forward and back, so everybody is participating. There is no casting off, figures flow from one to the next. It represents the aesthetics of contemporary contra dance. If this dance continues to hold the interest of contemporary dancers, perhaps it will someday achieve the status of an 'old chestnut'.

Conclusion

Burt Feintuch writes that 'music revivals create their own canon of repertoire, of style, of authenticity'.[22] Contemporary New England fiddling and contra dancing have their own unique style and forms. Dances in Greenfield, MA, are lively and energetic. Dancers move simultaneously to upbeat live music. Many men commonly wear skirts.[23] Dances contain complex figures and there is always a walk through. The caller rarely sings and usually drops out after the dancers know what they are doing. The fiddle or another melodic instrument like the accordion, rather than the caller, is the main musical focus. Tunes are played in medleys, with arrangements of solos and two part harmony. This style differs considerably from rural New York square dances, where the music tends not to incorporate syncopation, and there is a smaller repertoire of dances with few newer compositions. Dances at the Greenfield Grange are representative of contemporary revival contra dances. There is a high level of musicianship and new tunes and dances continuously composed.

Handler and Linnekin argue that tradition is always defined in the present and 'is not a bounded entity made up of bounded constituent parts, but a process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present though making reference to the past.'[24] David Kaynor and Lissa Schneckenburger are part of the ongoing process of creating a new repertoire of dances and tunes that contribute to the continued popularity of New England fiddling and contra dancing in the United States. The most recent contra dance revival of the twentieth century now has conventions and traditions of its own. Maybe in fifty years from now, it will be called a tradition, not a revival.

Notes

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3 Ralph Page and Beth Tolman, *The Country Dance Book* (New York: Barnes, 1937), pp. 105, 109–10.

4 Rickey Holden,*The Contra Dance Book* (Newark: American Squares, 1956), pp 3–4.

5 Interview with James Kimball, Geneseo, New York, 15 June 2010.

6 Interview with James Kimball, Geneseo, New York, 15 June 2010.

7 Nicholas Hawes, note 17 in annotated transcription to *New England Fiddles*, dir. by John Bishop, VHS film, Multicultural Media, 1984. Annotated transcription to film available at <http://www.media-generation.net/Articles/NEFD.pdf> [accessed 22 April 2011]. Hawes quotes Maine fiddler Ben Guillemette: 'Ben said it was traditional for fiddlers to play *Money Musk* to accompany the bride and groom as they left the church after a French-Canadian wedding'.

8 Holden,*The Contra Dance Book*, p. 4.

9 Dudley Laufman and Jacqueline Laufman, *Traditional Barn Dances with Calls & Fiddling* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2009), p. 98.

10 James Kimball, 'Tunes from the North: Canadian Fiddle Influences', *Fiddlers!* (Roxbury, New York: Roxbury Arts Group, 2002), pp. 1–5.

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10

Local, global, and diasporic interaction in the Cape Breton dance tradition

MATS MELIN

The music and dance genres of Cape Breton Island off the coast of Nova Scotia in Maritime East Coast Canada are noted for their ability to adapt and change with the times.[1] This paper takes a look at some aspects of the island's dance traditions and how internal and external influences have been adapted and thus shaped the local 'dance-scape' as we find it today.

A dance tradition may be a constant 'work in progress' to use Spalding and Woodside's definition of tradition.[2] It is a constant and gradual transformation of material, depending on how the tradition is influenced by internal and external forces. The paradoxical concept of continuity and change in tradition and issues of selectivity, creativity, and ongoing reconstruction within tradition are discussed for example by Feintuch, Rosenberg, Handler and Linnekin, and Nilsson.[3] Even when popular thought dismisses change it still occurs. This paper will concentrate on the current Cape Breton dance traditions in Inverness and Cape Breton Counties, as influenced by the Scottish, French and to a lesser extent by the Irish immigrants. Of course other ethnic groups form part of the Cape Breton make up too, including first nation Mi'kmaq's, but are beyond the scope of this paper.

In 2010, a visitor to Cape Breton Island in search of local cultural expressions in the form of traditional music, song, and dance would find that certain areas of the island promote and celebrate their traditions more than others. It is predominantly the Scottish ethnicity, which alongside the Acadian (French) traditions, which are promoted by local media and the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism leaflets and adverts. Other ethnicities including the first nation Mi'kmaqs, the Irish, English, and Germans are visible but to a lesser extent. Inverness County of the island's west coast is the main area to experience the cultural expressions of the Scots and the Acadians.

It is important to note that some 20,000 mainly Gaelic-speaking Scots settled in Cape Breton between 1802 and 1840. During the late 1820s and early 1830s more Highland Scots emigrated to Cape Breton than to any other destination in British

North America. This was to have a dramatic effect on the population numbers of the island, which increased from about 2,500 in 1801 to almost 55,000 in 1851. Thus, as Hornsby points out, the ethnic composition of the population changed significantly:

> By the early 1820s, Scots made up a majority of the population; by 1871, 50,000 of the 75,000 islanders were of Scottish origin, outnumbering by two to one the descendants of Acadian, Irish, and Loyalist families who had settled in Cape Breton before 1800. In large part, Cape Breton had become a Scottish island.[4]

Theirs was a 'folk culture transplanted', using Charles Dunn's phrase, summing up the nineteenth-century immigrant settlement pattern of Cape Breton which created areas of kin-based communities.[5] In fact, even today, many Cape Bretoners still live where their ancestors settled. As already mentioned, Scots Gaels dominated the island with a few tightly concentrated areas of Acadian and Mi'kmaq settlements. These communities were kept apart by the islands rugged geography. This preserved local traditions and kept outside influences largely at bay. Only the principal ports on the island experienced outside influences.

However, the official English-language-based culture of Nova Scotia would, over time, prove to be a strong assimilating force. The Scots Gaelic culture was very much an orally based one, in which music, song, dance, and customs would be handed down in this way for the next 150 years. For most Scots settlers the everyday language was Gaelic. The Roman Catholic Church helped preserve the Gaelic language, as their culture was mainly oral in contrast to the Presbyterians, who relied on Bibles written in English. With the Cape Breton Catholics' greater tolerance towards music and dance, the house-ceilidh culture where pipes and fiddle music could be heard alongside a rich song repertoire helped to preserve the old traditions.[6]

The Highland Scots dance tradition consisted, according to Frank Rhodes who visited Cape Breton in 1957 in search of links with the older forms of Scottish dancing, of a handful of Gaelic dance games, a selection of named solo dances, and a good number of different versions of four-handed and eight-handed reels. The reels used extempore close-to-the-floor percussive foot movements throughout. Most of the dancing, and the learning thereof, took place in the home. The Cape Breton houses, initially built by the settlers, offered more space for dancing than the old croft houses in Scotland had provided. Other indoor places for dancing were barns and schoolhouses until public halls started to be built in the early 1900s. Outdoor dancing took place on wooden bridges and on open-air dance floors at picnics and frolics in forest clearings during the summer months.[7] None of these dances required much space to be performed. The reels, with their alternating patterns of a recurring tightly danced figure (often a circle), interspersed with step dancing on the spot, were ideally suited for the venues at hand. The tradition was very much orally and visually based with only a handful of individuals, predominantly men, teaching

named solo dances such as 'Seann Triubhas', 'Tulloch Gorm', and 'The Flowers of Edinburgh'.[8] These particular solo dances generally had twelve steps of step patterns on the spot, mixed with some slightly wider movements, alternated with a 'reel' or a small circle, which finished with a percussive motif. They were mainly danced to fiddle accompaniment, and sometimes 'jigging' or 'puirt-a-beul' or mouth-music was used. The latter was more common for the Gaelic dance games.[9]

As with the solo dances, collected by Rhodes and Flett in the Hebrides in the 1950s, these dances were done in hard shoes so they could be heard as well as seen. Dancing was intimate in the home environment where all present took turns playing, dancing, and singing to keep the ceilidh, or 'kitchen racket', going. The dancing style was the same for both men and women.[10]

The Irish formed a much smaller segment of the population of Cape Breton and were never sufficiently concentrated to keep the old customs and their language alive.[11] However, Sheldon MacInnes argues that in areas where they were concentrated, such as North-East Margaree, they may have had an influence on the local square dancing and step dancing tradition.[12] Irish tunes are still very much present in the current dance music repertoire, in particular when playing for square dance jig-time figures. Irish reels, hornpipes, and waltzes also feature. The Irish music was, according to Doherty, absorbed and reshaped by the emerging and distinctive Cape Breton musical sound.[13]

Like the Scots, the Acadians' culture was orally based with a rich musical tradition. Their religion, language, and family links provided them with a social cohesiveness. Even though the Acadian music and dance traditions today are a mixture of Scottish, Irish and French styles, it is worth mentioning that, according to Le Blanc and Sadowsky, early dance in the Cheticamp area consisted of song-dances or *rondes*; '*Le reel à quatre'* and '*Le reel à huit'*, which are both based on cotillion and quadrille dance structures, and a progressive longways dance – *La patate longue*. These dances were referred to as 'the old dances' (*Les vieilles danses*) by Cheticamp residents and are no longer practised.[14]

On the subject of the mixing of traditions, piper John MacLean makes a strong statement regarding the Scottish communities:

> I take great exception to the notion in Scotland [abroad] that the emigrants [heritage] somehow became watered down by mixing with French or Irish. In most places this did not happen. It is a falsehood. Perhaps there was more of this mixing after the 1950s when generations of people had been forced into the steel mill in Sydney and into the coal mines. Until that time, people went away to work but did not mix within or outside of their own communities.[15]

Local, Global, and Diasporaic Interaction

Arguably the biggest impact on the traditional Cape Breton dance scene as a whole was the introduction of square dances to the island at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. This coincides with the construction

of the first parish halls around the island. Up until this point, dancing had mainly featured at home, as previously outlined, and at schoolhouse dances and 'Box and Pie Socials',[16] which were particularly popular in the Scottish communities. The word 'Frolic' was used by the Scots for a day of communal work, for example, haymaking or barn raising, followed by socialising which incorporated music and dance. The once popular parish picnic has since the mid-1950s been transformed into daylong village festivals and concerts that are generally followed by an evening square dance. The Scottish concert at Broad Cove in July has now been going since 1957, shortly followed by others such as Glendale. Feast days and weddings are also popular occasions for dancing in all island communities.

The Cape Breton square sets, as they appear today, are the end product of a long process of 'creolizing' to use Manuel's phrase,[17] or changing conceptions, expressing local identity manifest in the attitude towards executing these dances. The dance form begins as a French modification of the longways English country dance; by the mid-eighteenth century a square form of this dance genre became known as the 'French' style (*contredanse française*). This French *contredanse* would evolve into the quadrille. An early form was called 'le cotillion' and appeared in England in the 1760s as the 'cotillion'.[18] Dancing masters modified this two-couple dance into a four-couple square formation. The French also adapted their tradition of stringing several *contredanses* together as 'potpourris', and by the early nineteenth century the French quadrille had acquired its structure of normally five figures, each originally danced to *contredanse* tunes. During the 1820s the formalization process continued and musicians began composing specific music for each figure, each now having acquired a name, and performed with a short pause in between each figure.[19]

By 1815, quadrilles had been introduced in London, Bristol, and Bath in England and shortly afterwards they appeared in Scotland.[20] They quickly became a standard dance of the upper classes during the Victorian era. They did, however, become popular with the middle and lower classes as well and spread across the European continent. In both Scotland and Ireland quadrilles soon transformed to local preferences of footwork, figuring, and choice of music. A named quadrille – 'The Lancers' – was invented in Ireland in 1817 and was popular in Europe by the 1850s.[21] This dance form soon spread to North America, where a new phase of adaptation began, but it only appears in Cape Breton around the early 1900s.

In Scotland, the quadrille became one of the most popular dances of both the urban ballroom and rural village hall due to its popularisation by dancing masters from the 1820s to the 1940s and 1950s, when it began to decline.[22] Unlike Ireland, where a multitude of different versions emerged, fewer named versions are found with the predominant favourites being the 'The Lancers', 'The Quadrilles' (mostly based on Payne's first set), and the Caledonians, which all morphed locally. Today very few Scottish communities dance quadrille-type dances, but some single quadrille figures, such as 'La Russe', have entered into the domain of Scottish country dancing.[23]

In Ireland, 'set dancing' survived the displeasure of the Gaelic League, who, in the context of an essentialist cultural nationalism, branded it foreign because of its origin and not a suitable dance form in the new nation state. At the time it was probably the most widespread and popular form of social dancing in Ireland. Irish set dancing saw two revivals in the second half of the twentieth century and has currently many local versions involving evolved figures and adapted percussive footwork to suit local and teacher preferences.[24]

By the 1830s and 1840s the quadrilles were evident in fashionable society in colonial capitals, such as Halifax and Charlottetown, but did not spread far outside these urban areas.[25] It is possible that John MacGregor compared the vigorous dancing he gave accounts of in Gaelic Nova Scotia with these 'fashionable' dances.[26] According to Kennedy, the quadrilles and 'The Lancers' did not spread to Cape Breton's rural *Gàidhealtachd* from these urban centres, but would be introduced to Nova Scotia in the early 1900s by 'returning émigrés showing off the latest fashions from Boston. It was one of many new imports from the United States, including waltzes and foxtrots'.[27] During the same period the shift in socialising, concerts, music, and dancing began to move first from the home to schoolhouses and then to the public halls, creating what sociologist Oldenburg termed 'third places'.[28] The change of context saw the demise of 'Scotch Fours' and 'Eight-handed Reels'; the latter, as mentioned above, being also under scrutiny of the Church. Again, according to Kennedy, the change in the dance repertoire did not occur suddenly or without protest from the older generation:

> as [in] 1929, the *Toronto Star Weekly* featured an article on dancing in Glencoe Mills, an area with a particularly strong musical and dance tradition in Inverness County, indicating that there was still some tension associated with the new dance, with the older people heckling the younger square dancers by shouting 'fours' indicating their clear preference for the older more vigorous style dance[29].

As the century progressed, the old dance forms were completely ousted by the square sets, apart from the occasional dancing of 'Scotch Fours' as both a social and a ceremonial dance, ('Wedding Reels' were common until post World War II), but more often performed as an occasional display dance. 'Scotch Reels' have today lost their original social function as an integral part of community interaction, particularly at house ceilidhs. Another change was that an admission fee was charged at the door for the square dances and, according to Rhodes, a small fee was also charged for each square set to be danced.[30]

To begin with, most quadrilles danced in Cape Breton had four to five figures, with a short break in between each, and only four couples to a set was the norm. Prompters, who were all men, kept control of the dancing in the public halls, something the earlier Reel dancing in the kitchen had not required. Prompters learned the calls orally or used 'calling cards', advertised in the local newspapers.

Some prompters were in possession of *Dick's Quadrille Call Book and Ballroom Prompter*, published in the USA in 1878 and republished in 1923.[31] This book was brought back by visiting relatives from Boston or Ontario or ordered through Eaton's Catalogue.[32] The particular sets of quadrilles that became popular, according to Rhodes, were 'The Quadrilles', 'The Lancers', 'The Caledonians', and 'The Saratoga Lancers'. The style of dancing changed too, from percussive footwork, as in the reels, to the use of sedate walking steps, waltz and polka steps. The prompters made sure there were 'four on the floor and no more' in each set and, as dancing had to be 'proper', youngsters were known to practice the figures in the back room until they were good enough to dance in the front room at house dances and 'kitchen rackets'.[33] The square dances spread from one community to the next and many figures came into use as a result of the prompters' preferences.

As was the case in Scotland and Ireland, the music used for the quadrille figures was modified locally. In Cape Breton, jigs and reels came to be favoured. The local Scottish repertoire of jigs was relatively small, so to meet the demand of the new dance form, jigs were imported from the Irish tradition and a considerable number of local compositions augmented the musicians' repertoire.[34] As reels had been one of the core tune types of the reel dancing, the style of playing them remained relatively unchanged. That the style of playing remained closer to the older forms shows that the new dance form was being 'Gaelicized', particularly in Inverness County, where the square sets were effectively and deeply absorbed into the local dance tradition. Even though the style of music took on a local flavour, only certain areas, such as Inverness County, embraced a transition of percussive footwork into the sets. The east side of the island generally kept the walking through the figures, while both jig and reel figures on the west side began to incorporate step dancing at least by the 1940s and 1950s.[35]

Round dances of the 1920s, such as foxtrot, polka, and waltz, were introduced by the mid-1940s and were danced to upbeat Canadian-Scottish music. By the 1950s square sets and round dances alternated on the dance floor, but gradually square sets were losing out to the round dances[36]. In the 1960s 'rock 'n' roll' dances for all ages, done to live bands from, for example, Inverness and Margaree entered the scene.[37]

The introduction of 'Pig 'n' Whistles' and a general decline in traditional fiddle music saw interest in square dancing drop. The idea of 'Pig 'n' Whistles' was based on a CTV show, running from 1967 to 1977, depicting a fictional British pub complete with drinking songs. The local Cape Breton version of 'Pig 'n' Whistles' combined dancing with the selling of alcohol. Rock 'n' roll dances served no alcohol, so the presence of a bar meant that the generations were separated at these social occasions. Both square and rock 'n' roll dances had all generations attending together. Pig 'n' Whistle's saw a good many fights and as they were all the 'rage' they were crowded affairs. This meant a segregation of the community where the youngsters did not go out to dances, but stayed at home watching television, as did many of the older people and married couples. For a time there was only the Thursday night

square dance in Glencoe still running, which mostly featured Buddy MacMaster on the fiddle.[38] Even though alcohol would be present at square dances, it was not for sale in the hall, and drinking and the occasional ensuing fight generally took place outside the hall.

By the 1970s interest in square dances had greatly declined, but by the late 1980s interest was revived after the resurgence of dance music in the mid-1970s. This occurred after the airing of the CBC TV programme *The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, produced by Ron MacInnes in 1972.[39] The actual level of lack of interest in music and step-dancing, and the number of practitioners, put forward in the documentary was questioned by Marie Thompson.[40] Nevertheless, the programme did provide the impetus for the formation of the Cape Breton Fiddlers' Association. The character of the square set dancing also changed. The prompters could easily call from within a square set when dancing at a kitchen racket or a schoolhouse dance, but when calling for larger crowds in the halls they had to move up on the stage next to the musicians. To enable all to hear both the music and prompts clearly; amplification was beginning to be used at this point. From calling a multitude of different figures during an evening's dancing, the prompters felt the dancers were getting mixed up and started reducing the number of figures called.[41] This could partly explain why many communities narrowed down their square set repertoire to one or two sets only, consisting of 3–5 popular figures which would be repeated several times during the evening's dancing.

According to Rhodes, the footwork of the square dances was being greatly neglected too in the mid-1950s.[42] Some communities, in Inverness County in particular, had by the 1980s started using percussive step-dance steps in the square sets. The focus of the dancing was on the socialisation and inclusiveness of the dance to allow outsiders to join in. Sets were no longer prompted (which is still to this day lamented by some dancers and may be the reason why some dancers stay away, particularly in the summertime), and certain parts of each figure are being dropped to simplify the dance.

A good example is the current version of the 'Mabou Set', arguably the most common version of the square set in Cape Breton today. First of all, the sets are no longer danced by four couples only but are danced in large circles forming on the floor, which may split into smaller circles if it gets too unwieldy. The first figure only consists of the first and last parts, the middle parts having been eliminated, as these figures require four couples to work. The second figure has lost one middle part (the right hand and left hand wheel by the ladies in the centre), as it is difficult to dance with more than four couples in the set. The remaining sections are possibly danced for longer to make up for the loss. After the two jig figures, one reel figure has been lost altogether, while probably the most popular figure at present is the current third and last reel figure. One may observe that some couples will sometimes not join on the floor until the reel is played, thus indicating that the jig figures may be seen as merely a lead or warm up to the final figure in their eyes. Also the reel could be seen as more important as it is generally danced for much longer than the jig figures,

and it incorporates a great deal more step dancing than do the jigs.[43] The 'Mabou Set' is commonly repeated 5–7 times during an evening's square dancing. In its current simplified state, this set has become very inclusive in nature, and many summertime tourists and visitors 'returning home' flock to the most popular halls, such as Glencoe Mills, to partake.[44] The result is that many locals now stay away from the dances that become mobbed by visitors and only go to some particular hall, such as Brook Village and West Mabou, or only go dancing in the off-season during the winter months, even though fewer dances are held then. Another recent feature is that during the summer months some halls provide a run-through of the dance for visitors before the dance starts properly.

In other parts of the island, particular sets are still danced but perhaps less regularly than they used to be. In 2002, Jørn Borggreen, a Danish dance enthusiast, published a collection of sixteen local versions of distinctly different square sets from various parts of West and North Cape Breton.[45] Few other printed sources of local sets are available.

In some respects on the sidelines, but still part of the Cape Breton dance tradition, there exist the modern forms of Scottish Country Dancing and Highland Dancing as well as some forms of Irish dancing. Currently, only one Irish dance school exists and it is in Sydney.

While country dancing in mainland Scotland was being taught by dancing masters from the late seventeenth century, it was only introduced to the Highland and Island areas well after the main emigration period to Cape Breton and the rest of North America.[46] In most parts of mainland Scotland it had become a well established dance form by the late nineteenth century and in 1923 a national, now worldwide, organisation – Royal Scottish Country Dance Society (RSCDS) – was set up. Only in 1939 did Scottish Country Dancing appear in Cape Breton when introduced at the Gaelic College at St Ann's. The modern version of Highland Games Dancing appeared at the same time and place. Highland Dancing has, since the 1950s, become a predominantly competitive dance form, governed by official organisations, which have standardised the form worldwide. St Ann's Gaelic College invited teachers from Scotland and mainland Canada from the outset of its existence to promote these two 'Scottish' dance forms. Their appearance should be seen against the backdrop of a constructed Scottishness of the whole of Nova Scotia, and did lead to some locals doubting the Scottish connection with step dancing, for example.[47]

Tartanism

The province of 'Nova Scotia "became Scottish" in the second quarter of the 20th century', writes Ian McKay in his article, 'Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia 1933-1954'.[48] McKay outlines the forces at work in constructing the Scottish identity of Nova Scotia as a whole and how the foundations of this notion are largely built on shifting sands and modified truths, as he outlines the facts which tell of a very different cultural ethnic immigrant reality. No serious historian would dispute that fact that the Scottish presence in the province is both

strong and important, particularly in the northern counties (Antigonish, Pictou, and Cape Breton Island). The current words, objects, symbols, and practices that are summed in the notion of 'The Highland Heart' of Nova Scotia conflict with the origin of the Scottish immigrants, as far from all of them were Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. These notions refer to the idea of a pre-capitalist Highland culture surviving in the midst of an advanced capitalist society. This image of 'Scottishness' was created in a little over three decades where stereotypical ethnic identities and collections of vague generalisations of Nova Scotians were 'transformed into a natural and obvious "common-sense" about Nova Scotia identity'.[49]

McKay gives two main reasons for this: firstly, in a broad sense, this was a local version of an international anti-modernist wave where a general middle class searched for something better from beyond their crisis-ridden modern world. Secondly, the narrow answer to the triumph of tartanism was Premier Angus L. MacDonald's personal romantic framework and essentialist reading of the Scottish tradition, coupled with the redemptive impact of cultural tourism. Thus a constructed anti-modernist influenced Scottish identity came to be diffused. Romantic ideals and invented traditions replaced a culture that needed support to survive. The language and the older customs of the people were exploited rather than sustained by it. The Gaelic language was fast disappearing even as tartanism covered Nova Scotia and in particular Cape Breton. One part of the many facets involved in encouraging North American cultural tourists to Cape Breton (and Nova Scotia as a whole) was the establishment of the Gaelic College at St Ann's in 1939 in the hope that it would become the 'new Scottish Shrine for Cape Breton, if not North America'.[50] The College did initially only engage with selected aspects of the Scottish tradition based on the romantic view in favour. The College has today, however, embraced and now promotes the local step dancing tradition as well as its fiddling and song tradition, which in the early days were not included.

Step Dancing
Alongside the dance forms that the official 'Scottishness' introduced, the local step dancing kept evolving and transforming. The older named step dances, including percussive forms of the popular 'Sword Dance' and the 'Fling', began to decline and the extemporized close-to-the-floor stepping as once used in the old reels took over. Passed on orally and visually in the homes, it began to be taught more formally in classes around the island in the 1970s. Even though women were always part of the informal process of passing on dance skills, the 1970s saw a number of women, including Minnie MacMaster, Geraldine MacIsaac, Margaret Dunn, Jean MacNeil, Betty Matheson, and later Mary Janet MacDonald, start teaching classes.

As other related percussive dance forms became more readily available through media and ease of travel, some outside influences began to be absorbed if deemed acceptable by the dancing community. Currently, a pattern can be detected, in that dancers practising other forms of dance to some degree incorporate those styles in their Cape Breton step dancing. Modified steps from Ottawa Valley and

Irish dance genres have crept in, mainly among the younger generations of step dancers. No doubt the influx of dance enthusiasts from many parts of the world to the Celtic Colours festival, St Ann's Gaelic College, and Cape Breton in general, will have an impact on the dance tradition to some extent. The impact of this, however, calls for a separate study.

Stylistically those who practise Highland dancing can often be seen dancing higher off the ground, which goes against the close-to-the-floor basis of the Cape Breton style. The dancing of ready-made routines is also becoming more common, especially for performances at concerts and festivals. Fewer people learn exclusively at home from family and relatives and instead go to classes round the island, so individual styles are perhaps becoming less common and a pattern of recognition of whom you were taught by is emerging; this is in place of the family or area style one would once have observed. By no means does this account for all dancers, as a fair amount of the old-fashioned personal stamp on the dancing can still be seen in dancers of all ages.

Step dancing is very much the emblem of the local dance tradition as it features at most, if not all, traditional music events on the island. Be it a square dance, an afternoon concert, or a festival, step dancing always features as a natural part of the musical expression of the current Cape Breton identity.

Coda

The difference between contemporary Cape Breton and Scottish dance music and dance was clearly evident at a fiddle concert and dance in Eriskay Community Hall during the South Uist based Ceòlas Summer School, 8 July 2010. The swing and drive of the Cape Breton fiddle and piano-based dance music for a prompted square set and turns of step dancing contrasted with the up-tempo pipe and fiddle led music of the local ceilidh dance tradition, played for couple and set dances. Even though the tune repertoire was in some cases similar and often crossed over, the difference in the two traditions and their style of music was clearly played out as transformed moves from both sides of the Atlantic met on the same dance floor on an island where some Cape Bretoners' ancestors had once lived. Thus two different sound- and dance-scapes, of related backgrounds, were tangible that evening.

This was, however, only a surface level indication of difference between two communities that has developed along separate paths for some 250 years or more, keeping the changes to the Cape Breton Square dance in mind, as detailed earlier, but perhaps best summarized as concentrating on actual 'dancing' (and human interaction) and dance/music relationship; and where the actual dance repertoire is small. The Scottish ceilidh dance scene has, moreover, become greatly diversified. Whereas the old Scotch Reel has disappeared in South Uist and Eriskay, the quadrille, which was introduced in the late 1800s has seen a small resurgence since the mid 1990s. The core social or ceilidh dance material consists of a variety of couple dances and country dances introduced from mainland Scotland and Europe over the last 100 to 150 years. The emphasis here is rather on knowing 'dances' and

movement patterns, placing 'dancing' and human interaction more in second place. In my view, the dance/music relationship in Scotland has become disconnected as the two disciplines are often seen as quite separate entities. It is therefore evident that the local, global, and in the case of Cape Breton dance, diasporic contexts and influences, have had a profoundly different impact on, attitude to, and use of these two dance traditions.

Notes

[1] Elizabeth Anne Doherty, 'The Paradox of the Periphery: Evolution of the Cape Breton Fiddle Tradition *c*.1928–1995' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Limerick, 1996); Burt Feintuch, 'The Conditions for Cape Breton Fiddle Music: The Social and Economic Setting of a Regional Soundscape', *Ethnomusicology,* 48 (2004), 73–104.

[2] Susan Eike Spalding and Jane Harris Woodside, eds, *Communities in Motion: Dance, Community, and Tradition in America's Southeast and Beyond* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. 249.

[3] Burt Feintuch, 'Musical Revival as Musical Transformation', in *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. by Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 183–93; Rosenberg, ed., *Transforming Tradition*, pp. 1–26; Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *Journal of American Folklore,* 97 (1984), 273–90; Mats Nilsson, 'Den Tidlösa Traditionen', in *Brottningar Med Begrepp*, ed. by Birgitta Skarin-Frykman and Helene Brembeck (Gothenburg: Etnologiska Föreningen i Sverige, 1997), pp. 101–14.

[4] Stephen Hornsby, *Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography* (Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p. 31.

[5] Charles W. Dunn, *Highland Settler: A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia* (1953; corrected edn, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968; repr. edn, Vreck Cove, Cape Breton: Breton Books, 1991).

[6] R. J. Morgan, *Rise Again! The Story of Cape Breton Island: Book 1*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Breton Books, 2008), pp. 165–93.

[7] Frank Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia', *Appendix* in *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*, by J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1985), pp. 269–271.

[8] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', pp. 267–85; Allister MacGillivray, *A Cape Breton Ceilidh* (Cape Breton, NS: Sea-Cape Music, 1988), pp. 24–25.

[9] Frank Rhodes, 'Step-Dancing in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia', *Appendix* in *Traditional Step Dancing in Scotland*, by J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), pp. 188–89.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Barbara Le Blanc and Laura Sadowsky, *Inverness County Dance Project, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia* (Quebec: Centre for Canadian Folk Culture Studies, 1986), pp. 11–16; A. A. MacKenzie, *The Irish in Cape Breton* (Wreck Cove, Cape Breton Island, NS: Breton Books, 1999), pp. viii, 152; R. J. Morgan, *Early Cape Breton: From Founding to Famine, 1784-1851 : Essays, Talks and Conversations* ([Canada]: Breton Books, 2000), p. 170; Morgan, *Rise Again! Book 1*, Vol. 1, pp. 179–81; R. J. Morgan, *Rise Again! The Story of Cape Breton Island: From 1900 to Today, Book 2*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: Breton Books, 2009), pp. 185–220.

[12] Sheldon MacInnes, 'Stepdancing: *Gach Taobh Dhe'n Uisge* ("Both Sides of the Water")', in *The Centre of the World at the Edge of a Continent*, ed. by Carol Corbin and Judith A. Rolls (Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1996), p. 114.

[13] Doherty 'The Paradox of the Periphery', p. 75.

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[15] John MacLean, 'Gender Roles in Cape Breton Dance', email, 22 June 2010, Halifax.

[16] Derived from 'Pig 'n' Whistles' CTV show, see below (Mats Melin, fieldwork notes, 2007).

[17] Peter Manuel, ed., *Creolizing Contradance in the Caribbean*: *Studies in Latin American & Caribbean Music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

[18] Manuel, *Creolizing Contradance*, pp. 6–7; Ellis A. Rogers, *The Quadrille: A Practical Guide to its Origin, Development and Performance* (Orpington: C. & E. Rogers, 2003; 4th edn, 2008), pp. 1–37.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Flett and Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (1985).

[21] George Sinclair Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreation* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), pp. 145–48.

[22] Flett and Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (1985); Rogers, *The Quadrille*, pp. 1–37.

[23] Melin, fieldwork observations, 1995–2009.

[24] Rogers, *The Quadrille*, pp. 1–37; Helen Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance* (Kerry: Brandon Press, 1999), pp. 32–37; Pat Murphy, *Toss the Feathers: Irish Set Dancing* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1995), pp. 31–38.

[25] Michael Kennedy, *Gaelic Nova Scotia: An Economic, Cultural and Social Impact Study*, Curatorial Report no. 97 (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia Museum, 2002), pp. 221–22.

[26] John Macgregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828), p. 261.

[27] Kennedy, *Gaelic Nova Scotia*, p. 221–22.

[28] Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day* (New York: Paragon House, 1989).

[29] Kennedy, *Gaelic Nova Scotia*, p. 221–22.

[30] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', p. 274.

[31] *Dick's Quadrille Call-book, and Ball-room Prompter* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald [*c*.1878]), see Library of Congress: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/dihtml/dicatlg.html> [accessed 3 March 2011].

[32] Le Blanc and Sadowsky, 'Inverness County Dance Project', pp. 8–9.

[33] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', p. 274.

[34] Glenn Graham, *The Cape Breton Fiddle: Making and Maintaining Tradition* (Sydney, NS: Cape Breton University Press, 2006), p. 96.

[35] Kennedy, *Gaelic Nova Scotia*, p. 222; Graham, *The Cape Breton Fiddle*, p. 189.

[36] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', p. 274; Le Blanc and Sadowsky, 'Inverness County Dance Project', pp. 8–9.

[37] Feintuch, 'The Conditions for Cape Breton Fiddle Music', p. 130.

[38] Feintuch, 'The Conditions for Cape Breton Fiddle Music', p. 130. The accounts come from an interview with Margie and Jimmie MacInnes, who run the West Mabou Saturday night family dance.

[39] MacGillivray, *A Cape Breton Ceilidh*, p. 25; Graham, *The Cape Breton Fiddle*, pp.100–104.

[40] See Marie Thompson, 'The Myth of the Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler: The Role of a CBC Film in the Cape Breton Fiddle Revival', *Acadiensis*, 35, no. 2 (Spring 2006), 5–26. Thompson's abstract reads: 'In 1972 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) aired a half-hour documentary that conveyed the message that traditional Scottish-style fiddle music in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, was in decline and would soon die out. The film, *Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler*, argued that modern music was more popular with the young generation of the 1960s and 1970s and that, as a result, transmission of the style and tunes handed down from nineteenth-century Scottish immigrants to Cape Breton would be broken. Following the broadcast, momentum gradually developed to counter the message in the documentary. The first Festival of Scottish Fiddling was held in July 1973, the Cape Breton Fiddling Association was established, and opportunities to learn traditional music became more widely accessible to people of all ages, thus allowing the Cape Breton music tradition not only to survive but also to evolve in new and exciting ways.'

[41] Le Blanc and Sadowsky, 'Inverness County Dance Project', p. 9.

[42] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', p. 274.

[43] Melin, fieldwork observations, 1995–2009.

[44] Melin, fieldwork observations, 1995–2009. See also Feintuch, 'The Conditions for Cape Breton Fiddle Music', pp. 73–104; Emily L. Addison, 'The Perception and Value of Dance Halls in Inverness County, Cape Breton' (unpublished honours bachelor thesis, Trent University, 2001), pp. 63–108.

[45] Jørn Borggreen , *Right to the Helm – Cape Breton Square Dances: A Collection of Square Sets* (Jyllinge, Denmark: Jørn Borggreen, 2002).

[46] Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland*, p. 4.

[47] Rhodes, 'Dancing in Cape Breton Island', p. 274.

[48] Ian McKay, 'Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia 1933-1954', *Acadiensis*, 21 (1992), 5–47 (p. 8).

[49] Ibid.

[50] McKay, 'Tartanism', p. 22.

11

The roots and routes of Irish step dancing: issues of identity and participation in a global world[1]

CATHERINE E. FOLEY

Within our modern twenty-first century world we may take the time to ask ourselves to what extent is knowledge, or an understanding, of our roots important to us? Is this word roots something that is perceived to be tied up with a nostalgia for a romanticised past or is it something that enhances our knowledge and understanding of who we are, where we are, and how we are as we are now? Is it, in effect, important to our modern sense of identity? This paper addresses these questions in relation to one specific cultural practice, namely, step dancing, within one specific pedagogical context, the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme, at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, Ireland.

In August, 1967, when the anthropologist, Margaret Mead, was leaving the island of Manus in Samoa – one of her fieldwork sites, for the last time – she urged the people that when bringing new customs to the island, not to forget their ancestors, history, and old traditions. She stated that if they forgot these, they would have no ground beneath their feet or roots in the ground. They would belong only to the present and have no idea of their past. This statement was made in response to changes that Margaret Mead observed and experienced on the island of Manus since her previous visit. In the interim the island had hosted two million American troops for operations in the Pacific after the war, which had influenced the island's cultural life. The islanders were now also going away to be educated, listening to American popular music, smoking cigarettes, and so on.[2] This is an example of how physical contact between cultures can bring about change and today, in our modern global world, contact between cultures and people is either physical contact through travel, economic migration, education, business, tourism, war, and so on, or technological contact through the World Wide Web, YouTube, and social networking.

Today, we experience what Giddens refers to as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations'.[3] We live in a global world culture, which according to Hannerz:

is marked by an organisation of diversity rather than the replication of uniformity. It is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in one territory. These are all becoming 'sub-cultures within the wider whole'.[4]

Such subcultures are referred to as affinity groups, as proposed by Slobin and Cooley.[5] Today we also experience 'the creation of new and the multiplication of existing networks and activities that increasingly overcome traditional political, economic, cultural, and geographical boundaries'.[6]

Irish Step Dancing as a World Dance Practice within a Global World Culture
Within this global world culture, cultural practices need no longer be confined by boundaries such as ethnicity, race, gender, class, or geography. For example, Irish step dancing, as a cultural practice, is no longer confined to Ireland, Irish people and the diaspora. Following the commoditisation and global commercial success of the Irish dance show, *Riverdance*,[7] in the 1990s on the international arena,[8] step dancing as a dance genre became exposed to many different cultures. Also, the newly composed music of *Riverdance* by Bill Whelan, combining Irish traditional dance music with East European rhythms, and the presentation of this in a rock-like manner, provided a new style of music accompaniment for step dancing.[9] Having seen *Riverdance,* people's perceptions in Ireland and abroad changed towards Irish step dancing. *Riverdance* placed Ireland globally and Irish dance had much to offer Irish tourism.[10] *Riverdance* also succeeded within the competitive world of economics, and other sister shows followed in a clone-like manner all employing Irish step dancers and disseminating the dance form further afield.[11]

This was a new era for Irish traditional dancers and musicians that professionalised Irish step dance and also gave Irish traditional musicians a gig that lasted for months, if not, years. These dancers and musicians performed in the USA (Broadway), Russia, China, Japan, and other countries. They performed in different parts of the world for dignitaries, royalty, as well as for others who could afford to pay to see their shows. These institutions were not tied to locality. They were commercial enterprises that competed within the global market.[12] Dancers moved with these shows from place to place; they interacted with the personnel and performers in their show; and they rarely built relationships with people outside their world of performance.

These step dancers attained an unprecedented status in the field of step dance on the global stage. They were perceived as trained, skilled dancers, and were respected for their skill. These step dancers were also exposed to the world of theatre and the personnel who contributed to this world: stage managers, sound engineers, lighting technicians, and wardrobe mistresses, together with other personnel who contributed to maintaining their bodies: physiotherapists. In shows such as *Riverdance*, they were also exposed to other dance forms such as flamenco,

Ukrainian dance, and tap. All of these contributed to these dancers' sense of identity as Irish professional step dancers.

Participation in these shows was considered attractive and relatively lucrative, and step dancers, not only from Ireland but also from the diaspora and further afield, auditioned for places in them. Although there were status and financial rewards, these dancers also performed in *Riverdance* and the other stage shows simply because they could and because they wished to experience dancing in the show. Also, they were only too aware of the impermanence of this lifestyle and wished to avail themselves of the experience while young and fit, and before *Riverdance* and the other shows were no longer economically viable.

Step dance as a dance form was reaching a wide international audience, resulting in a demand for Irish dance teachers and classes. These dance classes were for young and old and were taught both in English language speaking countries and non-English language speaking countries. To meet the demand on mainland Europe, WIDA (World Irish Dancing Association), a new association of Irish dance, emerged. This association organised step dance competitions to promote and elevate the standard of Irish step dancing on mainland Europe. Teachers from step dance organisations in Ireland, *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha*[13] and *Comhdháil Múinteoirí na Rincí Gaelacha*[14] – two of the primary organisations of step dance in Ireland and abroad, also taught classes and organised competitions (*feiseanna*) on mainland Europe and further afield. So popular had Irish dance become that, according to one teacher, there were three generations in one family learning to step dance in one school in Germany.[15] Also, the primary figure and *céilí* dance book of the organisations in Ireland, *Ár Rincidhe Fóirne* ('Our Figure Dances'), was translated into Czech, making these institutionalised group dances available to a wider Irish dance audience.[16] Dancers from the shows, particularly the lead dancers, found themselves in demand as teachers across mainland Europe, including Norway and Russia. Some earned their living as teachers in between gigs and shows. Irish dance had become a transnational dance form.

MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance
In 1999, in the midst of this unprecedented global awareness of Irish step dance and a healthy economic climate in Ireland, popularly called the Celtic Tiger, an MA Dance Performance programme was established at the Irish World Music Centre (now known as the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance), at the University of Limerick. The MA had two separate specialisations: Irish traditional dance and contemporary dance. This paper focuses on the Irish traditional dance stream which was established to provide a strong learning environment for advanced training in Irish dance within a university context. This context would enhance students' knowledge and understanding of the repertoires, styles, and histories of step dance, and, indeed, other dance practices. It would also teach research methods to enable students to do self-directed research, particularly empirical research – fieldwork. As a performance programme, it would also endeavour to assist students to find

their own individual voices through the medium of Irish dance performance, while honouring its artistic integrity, history, and identity. The programme would validate Irish dance within a university context and would provide an alternative route for step dancers. It was the first MA of its type in the world and still remains so today.

As Course Director of the programme, I was responsible for its design and implementation. I wondered about the kinds of students who might avail of this MA. Would they be *Riverdancers*? Would they have undergraduate degrees? Would they be from competition culture? I wondered what the performance and pedagogical needs of these students would be. As a step dancer, teacher, and ethnochoreologist, I was aware of the imbalance in power and representation between practices of step dance, which were considered to be 'core', and those which were considered to be peripheral or marginalised.[17] The 'core' was the institutionalised practice operating within the structures of the step-dance organisation, *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha,* and had, since the early decades of the twentieth century, constructed and maintained a hierarchical system of step-dance competitions under the auspices of the cultural nationalist movement, the Gaelic League. These competitions had been established for ideological purposes.[18] Within these competitions, particularly major competitions, music accompaniment for step dancing was on the piano accordion with piano accompaniment; specific metronomic speeds for playing were designated by the organisation. The majority of the step dancers performing in the globally acclaimed step-dance shows, *Riverdance* et al, had been trained in dance schools registered with *An Coimisiún* and to a lesser extent, *An Comhdháil,* and had competed successfully in competitions, such as the All Irelands, the Worlds, and others, over many years. For step dancers in the commercial shows, and indeed for aspiring

Figure 1 *Sean Nós* dance performance by Patrick Coyne, student on the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme, in the Performing Arts Centre, University of Limerick, Ireland, on 6 December 2005. Musician: Alan Finn. *Photo by Maurice Gunning*

'show' step dancers, the route to becoming one of these 'show' step dancers was through the step-dance organisations, where step dance skills required for these shows were taught. The marginalised practices at the time were those which were associated with local, rural nineteenth-century step-dance practices and which continued to be performed by individuals, but to a lesser degree than before, in predominantly informal, social settings. These individual dancers did not perform in the globally acclaimed commercial step-dance shows. Their repertoires and styles of practice were different but they found themselves in demand for television, concerts, festivals, and step-dance workshops where older, traditional styles of step dance were sought.[19]

In designing the programme, I attempted to address this imbalance of representation. This was achieved by providing various training systems and by selecting tutors who were representative of different dance practices. This included teaching diverse repertoires and styles including *Sean Nós* (old style) dancing (see Figure 1),[20] North Kerry step dancing,[21] festival dancing of Northern Ireland,[22] and competition dancing associated with *An Coimisiún, An Comhdháil* and *CRN*.[23] It also involved short experiences for students in world dance practices, such as Nigerian dance, flamenco, Kathak, Bharatanatyam, and Cape Breton step dancing. The students shared these classes with students on the MA Ethnochoreology programme.[24] The latter dance forms briefly exposed the students to 'other' dancers and 'other' dance cultures, with the intention of extending their horizons, and leading to processes of reflexivity, in attempting to both self-understand and understand others through dance. They therefore provided sites for reflexive interrogation of their own dance practice and a deeper understanding of themselves as Irish step dancers. But who were these step-dance students and where did they come from?

Student Profiles

The MA degree in Irish traditional dance was open to all step dancers who met the requirements of entry to the programme. This entry requirement was an undergraduate degree and/or professional step dancing equivalence in life experience; an interview and audition was required in all cases. For those who were unable to attend a live audition, an audition DVD and interview was acceptable.

The dance backgrounds of the students fell into different categories; these included:

1. Step dancers who had trained for years in Ireland or abroad with one of the step-dance organisations established in Ireland: *An Coimisiún, An Comhdháil*, or *CRN.* Some of these step dancers had either won or were placed high in highly esteemed step-dance competitions such as the All Ireland Championships, the British Championships, the US Nationals, or the World Championships.

2. Step dancers who had trained within one of the existing organisations of step dance and who had also performed professionally with *Riverdance, Lord of the Dance*, or one of the other commercial Irish step-dance stage shows.

3. Step dancers who had seen *Riverdance* and who subsequently trained in the new schools of step dance on mainland Europe, Russia, etc. These dancers also attended step-dance workshops when available and some also travelled to teachers in Ireland for further training. These dancers may or may not have competed in competitions with WIDA;

4. Step dancers who had seen *Riverdance* and who subsequently moved to Ireland to learn directly from teachers in Ireland; and

5. Dancers who had trained in other percussive dance forms, such as tap dance, and who had invested time in making Irish dance their primary dance expression.

The geographical spread of the MA students was also interesting. 40% were Irish born; 30% were from the Irish diaspora; and the remaining 30% were comprised of students from mainland Europe, Japan, and Russia.

The MA students therefore came from different geographical locations and had different educational and dance backgrounds. Some had trained in step dance since the age of four; others took it up at the age of twenty. Some had trained in Irish step dancing alone; the majority had other dance and theatre influences, including tap, jazz, capoeira, and contemporary dance.

Reasons students provided for pursuing the MA included:

1. To spend a year doing something that they really felt passionate about at an advanced level. (The MA provided a one-year duration of intense Irish dance practice which was not available at any other university or institution);

2. To become as good a dancer as they could become;

3. To perform in contexts other than competitions;

4. To learn what there was to learn within the structures of a university MA;

5. To get an MA qualification.

Since 'professional life equivalence' was acceptable as an entry requirement, an undergraduate degree was not obligatory, especially for those who had left school after their Leaving Certificate or before to dance with *Riverdance*, and who, after ten years of dancing professionally and as mature students, decided to return to education.

According to one alumnus of the programme:

> I decided to undertake this course because I saw it as an opportunity to grow further as an Irish dancer. I felt that I needed to do it for myself because I had dedicated so much of life to Irish dance. I felt it would be a waste not to jump at the opportunity and luckily enough I was accepted.

Another alumnus of the programme had this to say:

> I just wanted to take a year for myself, to just dance, because it was something I always loved to do […] I did not think anything would come of it; I just wanted

to have the experience. However, it completely changed the course of my career path.

The MA was perceived by some students as a next step after their years of training in Irish step dance; for others, it was a self-fulfilling challenge: to belong to an affinity group that held meaning for them and with which they wished to identify. These students were all open to meeting the challenges of the MA programme, including practical, theoretical, and technological challenges.

Routes to the Past

In including marginalised step-dance practices in the curriculum, I hoped to provide students with the opportunity to embody knowledge of different step-dance practices and their histories. It was, in effect, a pedagogical and corporeal challenge to draw students' awareness to the past-ness, the histories, and the 'otherness' of step dance. This was not tied up with a sense of nostalgia for a romanticised past; rather, it endeavoured to enhance the students' knowledge of the history of their field and provide them with an understanding of who they were, where they were, and how they were as they were now as step dancers. It also furnished them with a strongly embodied and historical sense of their practice from which they could support future work in the practice.

The practices were taught through a combination of practical dance workshops, lectures and seminars. Specific repertoires and their aesthetic and stylistic systems were transmitted and were contextualised with relevant literature. For example, step dance in North Kerry was informed by my own fieldwork with step dancers in North Kerry from 1983 to 1986. Here I brought together a marginalised step-dance system from elderly step dancers, who had all learned from the itinerant dancing master, Jeremiah Molyneaux (1888–1965). This formed the basis of my PhD thesis in 1988 and this research assisted students with understanding the practice. The repertoire of reels, jigs, and hornpipes prevailed, but certain step-dance choreographies had associations with the region of North Kerry and, in particular, Jeremiah Molyneaux. These steps were taught to the students, as was the style of performance: earthy, close-to-the floor, confined practice space, and loose upper body. The relationship of the dance to the accompanying music was also discussed and practised. This relationship was one of dialogue, whereby the step dancer moved in conscious dialogue with the accompanying musician, often a fiddler or a melodeon player. Improvisation also featured in these performances, demonstrating not only a mastery of the practice but also a familiarity and intimacy with both music and dance practices. The transmission of different marginalised step-dance practices assisted in providing students with a somatic and alternative way of performing step dance from different places and times. Also, they extended students' knowledge of Irish dance and illustrated how step dance could be performed differently, depending on different functions, contexts, and historical times. Improvisation, an important aspect of some of these practices, was also explored.

While the MA step dancers had different degrees of training in Irish dance and had come from diverse dance backgrounds, few had a holistic understanding of the historical and contextual past of step dance. Therefore embodying and performing stylistic differences in step-dance practices proved challenging to them all. Students were required to be able to locate themselves in specific socio-historical step-dance contexts, thus requiring an awareness of different contexts of performance, informal and formal – for example, house dances, concerts[25] – and an ability to perform in an informed and appropriate manner. This included having a knowledge of the vocabulary and aesthetics of the specific system in question and that they have an awareness of the following: the patrons of the dance, age and gender associations of the dance within their respective social groups, respective music accompaniment, music instrumentation, music tempo, spatial requirements of dance, relationships between musicians and dancers, relationships between audiences and dancers, costume, shoes, and such like. Students were required to be aware of step dance as both a presentational practice, where dancer and audience are formally separated, and as a participatory practice, where step dancers perform in contexts which are social by nature and where the division between the dancer and the audience is not formally constructed.[26] Students were required to embody and be historically aware of step-dance practices which were considered to be marginalised, nationalised, and globalized. In doing so, they acquired a stronger sense of the 'roots and routes' of Irish step dance.

The MA students in Irish Traditional Dance Performance also learned ethnochoreological research methods and dance documentation skills, specifically Labanotation, and carried out research in the field in a case study of their choice. This provided an outreach element to the programme, allowing students to engage in a wider world of Irish dance. These opportunities of learning, researching, and embodying different step-dance aesthetic systems challenged students' prior perceptions of step dance while also extending historical and theoretical understandings of these practices within local, national, and global arenas.

Routes to the Future
All living cultural practices change. To facilitate this and to prepare step dancers for a broader professional dancer's life, students were also encouraged to find their own individual voices through the medium of Irish dance within the context of theatre. Ancillary classes were provided including classes in contemporary dance principles, body awareness classes, ballet, and yoga. Tutors and guest choreographers were invited to work with the students to develop and extend their dance vocabulary and techniques. Students also choreographed their own theatrical solos. The practices and perceptions of Irish dance were being challenged and extended to construct alternative contexts and meanings for these Irish dancers.[27]

Although *Riverdance* and the other stage shows had been performed in theatrical contexts, a new emergent Irish step-dance culture was aimed at creating artistic work in the Western sense for smaller theatre venues. Within the context of the MA, the dance work produced was facilitated by the MA programme, the guest

tutors and choreographers, and, indeed, the students themselves. Other step-dance performers outside the MA were also endeavouring to create new theatrical work. These included Colin Dunne,[28] Gene Butler, Breandán de Gallaí, and others.

Within the context of the MA, students were exposed to working with diverse choreographers. Some of these were Irish step dancers; others were tap dancers and contemporary dancers. These choreographers were required to work with the students on a regular basis in the creation of new ensemble theatrical work. While these works challenged perceptions of Irish dance practice, they also provided sites where students could experience dance differently.

The choreographers worked in different ways. Some created the work themselves first and then taught it to the students; some created it in collaboration with the students in the studio, while others combined both methods. The choice to use music – traditional music or any other type of music or not – depended on the choreographer and the choreography. The MA programme therefore provided a site where choreographers could try out their choreographic ideas on a body of step-dance students who were willing to work, who came free, and where studios were provided. This provided choreographers with a unique opportunity to progressively build dance works, which were performed publicly as part of the students' final performances (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Students on the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme performing *Shadow Dolls,* choreographed by Breandán de Gallaí, at the Belltable Theatre, Limerick, Ireland, on 15 May 2008. Dancers are: Neasa Ní Ghiolla Comhgháin (front left), Renske Burghout (front right), Kate Spanos (back left), and Mairéad O'Connor (back right).
Photo by Maurice Gunning

The students also negotiated their step-dance practice through their theatrical solos, which allowed them to express themselves and their practice theatrically. Students selected individual situations, memories, emotions, or a concept of relevance to them in choreographing these theatrical solos. They selected movements from step dance, physical theatre, or the natural world, and utilised contemporary dance principles. They analysed and deconstructed step-dance movements and their associated aesthetics, and focused on developing concepts or ideas through select movements for the new theatrical context. They created their own soundscape by selecting music of their choice (not necessarily Irish music and maybe no music at all), natural sounds, text, film, photography, art, technology, and so on. These solos were representative of who they were and where they came from. They were also representative of changing times and a changed context – a university context.

But to what extent is knowledge, or an understanding, of the roots of Irish dance important to these step dancers? In contributing to the development of an established dance practice, in this instance Irish traditional step dance within a university context, it is important to honour and respect the artistic integrity, history, and identity of that practice. The dancers on the MA need to learn what there is to know in their field: theoretical and practical, although performance takes precedence; this means that they need to embody and know older repertoire as well as being involved in progressing their practice. They need to be aware that, in order to develop the practice into the future, they need knowledge of existing and earlier documented practices within the field. Living traditions are constantly changing and, consequently, dancers need to be knowledgeable of existing and earlier documented step-dance practices in the field. They also need to be informed and engaged in the present, and looking to and contributing to the future.

In our global world culture today, we see the creation of new social networks and an increasing interconnectedness. We see emergent cultures, subcultures, and affinity groups all providing sites for shaping individual and group identities. The MA in Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme at the University of Limerick provides one such site where step dancers, from different geographical and cultural backgrounds, come together to participate in advanced practice in Irish step dance. They are aware that they are part of a specific world dance practice and an emergent Irish step-dance culture. They enjoy participating in this culture with the objective of becoming professional dancers and, after graduating from the MA programme, some remain in Limerick to stay close to what is happening in the field and to maintain their connection with the MA programme, the university, other students, and the wider Irish step dancing community. In 2008, some of these students formed an Irish step-dance company called Stepscene, which received funding from the Irish Arts Council.

It is now ten years since the establishment of the MA programme, and students, tutors, and choreographers have assisted in shaping the programme over this time. The MA students have invested time at the university, learning about step dance and how its practice may be maintained, redefined, shaped, and challenged,

while honouring and respecting the tradition from which it has come. Those who participate in the programme enhance their cognitive and corporeal knowledge of Irish step dance, and they also acquire a deeper understanding of their own modern sense of identity.

Notes

[1] This keynote address is based on a paper I presented as part of a panel at the 26th ICTM Symposium on Ethnochoreology, Třešť, Czech Republic, 19–25 July 2010.

[2] André Singer (director), Bruce Dakowski (writer and presenter), *Coming of Age: Margaret Mead (1901–1978)*, Central Television series, UK, *Strangers Abroad*, Programme 5 (1986), issued as a DVD, Royal Anthropological Institute, RAI-200.279.

[3] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 64.

[4] Ulf Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7, no. 2 (1990), 237–51 (p. 237); quoted in Anthony D. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1991), pp. 16–17.

[5] Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993), pp. 35 and 98; Timothy Cooley, 'Music and Affinity Groups', seminar presented at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, February 2010.

[6] Manfred B. Steger, *Globalisation: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 11.

[7] Riverdance, <http://www.riverdance.com/> [accessed 12 January 2012].

[8] See for example, Frank Hall, 'Your Mr Joyce is a Fine Man, But Have You Seen *Riverdance*?' *New Hibernia Review*, 1, no. 3 (1997), 134–42; Catherine E. Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance: National, Global and Local', *Dance Research Journal*, 33, no. 1 (2001), 33–44; Barra Ó Cinnéide, *Riverdance: The Phenomenon* (Dublin: Blackhall, 2002); Barbara O'Connor, '*Riverdance*', in *Encounters with Modern Ireland*, ed. by Michel Peillon and Eamonn Slater (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1998), pp. 51–62; Helena Wulff, *Dancing at the Crossroads: Memory and Mobility in Ireland* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007).

[9] Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), p. 39.

[10] Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), pp. 39–41.

[11] Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), p. 40.

[12] Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), 40–41.

[13] The step dance organisation, *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha* will be simply referred to from here on in as *An Coimisiún*. It was established in 1930 by the cultural nationalist movement, *Conradh na Gaeilge* (the Gaelic League). See John Cullinane, *An Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha (Irish Dancing Commission): Its Origins and Evolution* (the author: Cork, 2003); Catherine E. Foley, 'Irish Traditional Step Dancing in North Kerry: A Contextual and Structural Analysis' (unpublished doctoral thesis, the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance, Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1988); Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), 33–44; Catherine E. Foley, '…*and then they danced*': *Researching Traditional Step Dancing in Ireland*, Ó Riada Memorial Lecture 21 (University College Cork: Traditional Music Archive and the Irish Traditional Music Society, 2009).

[14] The step dance organisation, *Comhdháil Muinteoirí na Rincí Gaelacha* , will be referred to as *An Comhdháil. An Comhdháil* is a step-dance organisation which was established in 1969 when step dance teachers left or split from *An Coimisiún*, owing to their desire to function and to develop step dancing outside the auspices of the cultural nationalist movement, the Gaelic League.

[15] Michael Donnellan, unpublished essay, MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance, Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, 2008.

[16] Therese Tuohey, unpublished essay, MA Ethnochoreology, Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, 2010.

[17] See Foley, 'Irish Traditional Step Dancing in North Kerry' (1988); Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), p. 34.

[18] See Foley, 'Irish Traditional Step Dancing in North Kerry' (1988), pp. 81–92; Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), pp. 35–38; Foley, *'…and then they danced'* (2009), p. 3; Frank Hall, *Competitive Irish Dance: Art, Sport, Duty* (Wisconsin: Macater Press, 2008), p. 35; Wulff, *Dancing at the Crossroads*, pp. 92–93.

[19] Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), p. 41.

[20] *Sean Nós* dancing is a solo, improvisational style of step dancing, performed in an earthy, close to the floor, style. It has strong associations with the Gaeltacht regions of Conamara on the west coast of Ireland and Rath Cairn in County Meath. See Helen Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance* (County Kerry: Brandon Books, 1999), pp. 136–49; Foley, 'Perceptions of Irish Step Dance (2001), pp. 33–44.

[21] See Foley, 'Irish Traditional Step Dancing in North Kerry' (1988).

[22] See Joyce Ann MacCafferty, *The Deep Green Pool: The Life, Work and Legacy of Patricia* Mulholland (Derry: Guildhall Press, 2007).

[23] CRN means *Cumann Rince Náisiúnta* (The Organisation of National Dance) and this independent organisation of step dance was a split from the organisation *An Comhdháil.*

[24] The MA Ethnochoreology programme I designed in 1996. This was the first programme of its type in Europe. I have course directed this programme to date and there is some sharing of classes between the MA Ethnochoreology programme and the MA Irish Traditional Dance Performance programme.

[25] See Foley, 'Irish Traditional Step Dancing in North Kerry' (1988), pp. 111–12.

[26] See Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 23–65, for a discussion on participatory and presentational performance.

[27] See Catherine E. Foley, 'Maintaining, Redefining and Challenging Dance Boundaries: Irish Traditional Dance within Third Level Education', in *At the Crossroads: Dance and Irish Culture*, ed. by Catherine E. Foley (Limerick: Dance Research Forum Ireland, 1st International Conference Proceedings, 2007), pp. 64–70.

[28] See Catherine E. Foley, 'Negotiating Boundaries in Irish Step-Dance Performance Practice: Colin Dunne and Piano One', *Inbhea: Journal of Irish Music and Dance* (Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, 2010), 56–62, see <http://www.inbhear.ie> [accessed 12 January 2012].

12

Putting down roots: playing Irish and Newfoundland music in St. John's[1]

SAMANTHA BRESLIN

To many people, traditional music originates from and belongs to particular places.[2] In particular, traditional Irish music is often tied to its origins in Ireland and its performance seen as a definitive expression of 'Irishness'. These connections are made as the music is envisioned to be the same as that played across Ireland's rural countryside since past centuries.[3] Similarly, traditional Newfoundland music is often tied to its history in Newfoundland. It is seen as the music that was introduced to the island by early European settlers and that has changed over generations to reflect the character of the place and its people. Although 'Irish' music has a long history in Newfoundland, some musicians argue that it is 'Newfoundland' music and belongs to the island, as opposed to 'Irish' music, which belongs to Ireland.

These associations between music and place have a significant influence on how musicians interpret and experience the music they play. Numerous scholars have explored how, through romantic ideas of Irish music's place in rural Ireland, the performance of traditional Irish music in places outside Ireland often serves as a means to identify with and create a connection to a nostalgic homeland in Ireland.[4] Through these associations, musicians also negotiate different ways of conceiving and representing Newfoundland as a place.[5] Some argue that 'Newfoundland' music is distinct from 'Irish' music in order to counter the widely held notion that traditional music in Newfoundland is a reflection of its Irish heritage and that Newfoundland is a definitively 'Irish place'. Interestingly, in this popular conception of Newfoundland and its music, Irish music continues to be tied to an expression of 'Irishness' through the idea of an Irish Newfoundland.

This focus on musical origins, applied by musicians and scholars alike, however, overlooks the local and personal connections that musicians create through playing traditional music. This article explores the multiple associations with place that musicians in Newfoundland's capital city of St. John's form through playing traditional Irish and Newfoundland music.[6] It is based on fieldwork conducted among these musicians during the spring and summer of 2009. The

research was done primarily through participant observation at local sessions and semi-structured interviews conducted with musicians of a variety of skill levels, backgrounds, and ages. In my research, I sought to understand how musicians defined and distinguished 'Irish' and 'Newfoundland' traditions and the meanings they attributed to traditional music.

Musicians had many interpretations of what Newfoundland music consisted of and they often debated what its relationship is and should be to Irish music. In this article I explore these debates and show how they use ideas of musical origins to place the performance of traditional Irish and Newfoundland music. Yet, the musicians I worked with also spoke of how memories of specific people and places in Newfoundland became entwined with the music they played. I show how, through the performance of music *in* places and the creation of these memories, musicians connect their playing with different places in Newfoundland. This occurred regardless of the music's origins. I also show how, as this process continues through time, music that originated elsewhere is seen to develop roots in Newfoundland. In this manner, musicians' performance of Irish music is not solely related to Ireland or to ideas of an Irish Newfoundland. The associations that musicians make between music and place are multiple and created in multiple ways.

Music and Place: The Debates

The distinctions between Irish, Newfoundland, and Irish Newfoundland music and their relations to Newfoundland and Ireland are not clear-cut, as Irish music has influenced music in Newfoundland throughout much of the island's history.[7] The population of Newfoundland, particularly that of St. John's and the southern part of the Avalon Peninsula, includes many descendants of migrants who arrived from Ireland from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.[8] Presumably, even the earliest Irish settlers brought music, songs, and instruments with them and continued to play this music in local communities. Gearóid ÓhAllmhuráin, for example, discusses the presence of Irish language songs on the island that were likely brought by Irish visitors and settlers beginning in the 1700s, lasting in some communities until the 1970s.[9] In addition, local musician Christina Smith observes in her article, 'Crooked as the Road to Branch', that Newfoundland music has high quantities of singles (related to polkas) and doubles (related to jigs), which is similar to music in Ireland.[10] On the other hand, reels, which were only beginning to gain popularity in Ireland in the late eighteenth century, originating in Scotland, are relatively rare in the Newfoundland repertoire.[11] These examples indicate the influences of early Irish settlers and Irish music on music in Newfoundland.

More recently, imports of Irish and Irish-American music and musicians throughout the twentieth century have also gained considerable popularity in Newfoundland and have influenced music on the island. Evelyn Osborne, for example, suggests that there have been three revivals of Irish music in Newfoundland during this time.[12] The first occurred during the 1940s and 1950s with the influence of the McNulty family from New York. Their Irish-American music was sold and

played on the radio across the island, and they also visited and performed in St. John's in 1953.[13] The second occurred in the 1970s when several Irish musicians moved to Newfoundland and started such bands as the Sons of Erin, Ryan's Fancy, and Sullivan's Gypsies. These bands toured Newfoundland, popularizing Irish and Newfoundland songs. The third revival is ongoing and began through the influence of Irish musicians Rob Murphy and Séamus Creagh, who moved to Newfoundland in 1982 and 1987. While the first two revivals centred primarily on the popularity of Irish and Irish-American songs (vocal music), Creagh and Murphy introduced their repertoire of tunes (instrumental music) to the city and started the first scheduled pub sessions in St. John's.

There were numerous musicians in St. John's who played traditional Irish tunes prior to Murphy and Creagh. In addition to the tunes brought over by early settlers, the McNulty family and the bands of Irish-born players formed in the 1970s did play some instrumental tunes along with their repertoires of songs that remain a part of the current Newfoundland repertoire. For example, the 'Rollicking Skipper Jig' recorded by the McNulty family in 1937 was later recorded by well-known Newfoundland accordion player Frank Maher and his band, the Mahers Bahers, in 2005.[14] More significantly, records, radio programmes, CDs, and sheet music also exposed people in Newfoundland to traditional Irish and Irish-American music that was developing in the twentieth century by bands and musicians such as John Kimmel, the Chieftains, the Bothy Band, and De Dannan.[15] Murphy and Creagh, however, introduced the session as a regular performance context for traditional music to local musicians along with their *Sliabh Luachra* style of Irish music from Counties Cork and Kerry.[16]

These influences have contributed to an active session scene in St. John's, featuring much Irish music. During my fieldwork, for example, there were, at one point, as many as seven regular public sessions per week, most of them featuring Irish music. As an illustration, the Appendix contains a listing of the tunes played over the course of an hour at one of these sessions. Of the fifteen tunes played, all are contemporary or traditional Irish tunes. In 2010, musicians also organized the first '*Feile* Séamus Creagh' to commemorate the Irishman's passing the previous year; the event featured several well-known Irish performers. There were many formal and informal sessions held during this event, demonstrating the continuing connections that musicians establish and maintain with Irish music and musicians from Ireland.

As a result of this long history of Irish music in Newfoundland and its ongoing influences, many musicians contend that Irish and Newfoundland music cannot be easily separated. Several musicians commented that the music is part of a 'spectrum', 'spans the gamut', and that it is 'so hard to separate the two'.[17] One clear example, 'Mussels in the Corner', considered to be the quintessential Newfoundland tune, is also a traditional Irish tune commonly known as 'Maggie in the Woods'.[18] In sessions, Irish and Newfoundland tunes are freely mixed in sets, as are contemporary and traditional Irish tunes from a variety of sources (see Appendix), demonstrating

the close interconnectedness of Irish and Newfoundland music at sessions in St. John's.[19]

The equation of Irish music with Newfoundland music is part of the widely held conception that Newfoundland is an 'Irish place'. A number of factors beyond the realm of music are cited as evidence of this 'Irishness'. The apparent intensity of Irish migration along with the impression that Newfoundland remained isolated from outside influence throughout much of its history created the perception that the 'authentic Irishness' of the island was preserved.[20] This idea is further supported by the fact that the dialects and accents of many Newfoundlanders from some areas are similar to those spoken in parts of South-East Ireland.[21] Even the design, colouring, and meanings associated with the Newfoundland tri-colour flag (popularly called the 'Republic of Newfoundland' or the 'Newfoundland nationalist' flag) are reminiscent of the flag of the Republic of Ireland.[22] In 1996, the Newfoundland and Ireland governments affirmed such connections through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). This led to the formation of the Ireland Newfoundland Partnership (INP) and Ireland Business Partnership (IBP), which aim to support business and cultural exchanges between the two nations and reinforce the idea of an essential connection between Newfoundland and Ireland.[23] The performance of traditional music in Newfoundland is thereby popularly seen as a reflection of the 'Irishness' of the island.

While most people in Newfoundland acknowledge these historical connections between Ireland and Newfoundland, many also contest the idea of Newfoundland music's essential 'Irishness'.[24] Music in Newfoundland has origins in several places other than Ireland, including England, Scotland, and France.[25] More specifically, the English began to settle along the east coast of Newfoundland around 1575, after their fleets were attracted to the area for its fishing grounds. They were soon followed by the French, who settled many areas north and south of English settlements.[26] Settlers from these and other areas continued to arrive in Newfoundland throughout its history. Highland Scots, for example, settled on the south-west coast of Newfoundland from the 1840s to 1860s.[27] Although common tropes portray Newfoundland as being remote and isolated, Newfoundland music has continued to be influenced by music from these places and elsewhere throughout its history. A popular tune played in Newfoundland as 'Auntie Mary', for example, most likely has origins in Scotland where it is known as 'Cock of the North'.[28] In addition, Newfoundland fiddlers Émile Benoit and Rufus Guinchard are considered to be influenced by the French-Newfoundland tradition and by the French and West Country English traditions, respectively.[29] As a result of the aural process and some amalgamated settlement, the variety of music that was brought to Newfoundland by early settlers blended and changed over time. One musician explained he had once been told 'it's like you put it in a bowl for two hundred years and just kept stirring it and then poured it out'.[30] The music that was 'poured out', along with local compositions, is generally considered to be 'traditional Newfoundland music'.

Many musicians argue that this music has become rooted in Newfoundland through its independent development over the centuries to reflect the character of

the people and the place. Newfoundland musician Christina Smith, for example, discusses how Newfoundland has a high quantity of 'crooked' tunes. A crooked tune is one that does not fit within a symmetrical set of eight bars, seen as 'normal' for most dance tunes.[31] The tunes have extra or fewer beats added at the beginning or the end of a strain. Wayne, a professional musician from Newfoundland, for example, explained:

> But Newfoundland tunes […] there's lots of little twists and turns in them, you know, like extra bars and extra beats. […] Like off the surface you'd just say they're fucked up Irish tunes and if you can't get past that you may never appreciate them.[32]

A version of 'Mussels in the Corner' from Fogo Island, Newfoundland, for example, has an extra beat at the end of the first strain that is not played in Irish versions of the tune.[33] Newfoundland fiddler Rufus Guinchard is also well known for his repertoire of crooked tunes.[34] Smith argues that the crookedness of these tunes is tied to local dancing practices that constituted the context and purpose for the performance of this type of music throughout much of Newfoundland's history. As dances were generally accompanied by a solo performer, there was no need for musicians to keep in time with one another as in ensemble playing, allowing musicians to extend or shorten the length of strains based on the needs of the dancers.[35]

Similarly, the style of playing tunes in Newfoundland is also seen as relating to the music's purpose as an accompaniment for dance, where musicians 'have little choice but to shrug your shoulders and realize that the important thing for those on the floor is that their feet hit the ground in time with the music'.[36] Smith suggests that, since few dancers were formally trained, the simplest means for keeping dancers in time with the music is to emphasize each beat equally instead of subdivisions where dancers must complete a figure in a certain amount of time.[37] Smith further explains that, as a result, traditional Newfoundland tunes 'are played with few ornaments […] eighth notes and sixteenth notes are played with no "lilt" or "swing"'.[38] This has led to the performance of polkas as singles – both types of tune are timed in 2/4, but with a single the beats are emphasized differently to produce a straighter sound – a stylistic practice considered to be unique to Newfoundland. 'Crooked' tunes and local styles of performance are therefore seen as tied to the character and history of Newfoundland through their performance by musicians and dancers.

Distinguishing and promoting this local 'Newfoundland' music played an important part in the local folk revival in the 1970s.[39] Lise Saugeres, for example, explores how popular Newfoundland revival band Figgy Duff fostered a 'nationalist identity' through the promotion of 'Newfoundland' music. They simultaneously promoted the legitimacy of such a form of self-representation by collecting tunes and songs from rural communities throughout Newfoundland and performing them in local communities, along with larger formal venues such as the Arts and Culture Centres and internationally.

Yet, the promotion of a distinct Newfoundland style is often made in contradistinction to other genres of music. In particular, despite the many connections between Irish and Newfoundland music, the music of Newfoundland is often understood as distinct from and competing with Irish music, which has been seen to dominate musically as well as culturally. In other words, a significant factor in defining Newfoundland music, for some musicians, is precisely that it is *not* Irish music. Newfoundland singer Anita Best, for example, has argued against what she sees as 'Irish cultural imperialism', asserting that Newfoundland's cultural traditions, including its music, should be understood as distinct from their Irish heritage.[40] Similarly, in Wayne's comment above, he distinguishes Newfoundland tunes as interesting and unique, and not simply a degenerate version of Irish music.

These debates over the 'Irishness' of Newfoundland and its music relate to different interpretations of how Irish and Newfoundland music is associated with Ireland and with Newfoundland. In one interpretation, Newfoundland music is distinct because of its historical associations to Newfoundland and its people, as opposed to Irish music, which is associated with Ireland and its people. Alternatively, traditional music in Newfoundland is associated with the 'Irishness' of the island through historical ties with Ireland and Irish music. Yet, the perspectives are similar in that the music is tied to the place or places from which it is seen to have originated and developed.

Making these distinctions is an important part of many musicians' performance of Irish and Newfoundland music. Several musicians, for example, expressed an attachment specifically to Newfoundland music as a result of its association with the island. Frank, a self-proclaimed amateur musician from Newfoundland, for example, commented on his preference for playing Newfoundland tunes:

> I think maybe it's just a sentimental attachment. See, if they're Newfoundland tunes, then maybe that's when I feel like I have to try a bit harder to know them all, because of that. […] I'm not sure what it is but like there's some other reason to [learn Newfoundland tunes]. There's some extra meaning to a Newfoundland tune.[41]

Through ideas that Newfoundland tunes 'belong' to Newfoundland, Frank suggests that there is a special meaning attached to them. Similarly, musicians create and maintain connections with Ireland, to their heritage and to friends and family there, through playing Irish music. Musicians, however, also create more localized relations with place that are often overlooked in debates over the 'Irishness' of the island and its music, which focus on musical origins and belonging in Ireland or Newfoundland.

Playing *in* Places and Creating Memories
When I asked musicians about whether they associated tunes with people and places, many of them recalled a great session down at so-and-so's house a few years

back or a night at the pub during a snow-storm when no one was there but the musicians and the bartender. Gerry Strong, a Newfoundland flute-player who is also a member of Newfoundland band Tickle Harbour, for example, expressed:

> There are so many it's hard to pick one out. One that comes to mind is the 'Dionne Reel'. I always think of the Harbour Inn when I play it. The Harbour Inn is where Frank Maher used to be a barman until it burned down back in the 1980s and was probably the only bar in town that was open to people going in and having a session in those days, thanks to Frank. It was there that I first got to play a session with Jackie Daly during which he played the 'Dionne Reel'. I didn't know it but Rob Murphy (a flute player from Cork who played with Tickle Harbour at the time) had his tape recorder going. After the session we listened to that tune in the car and got to work learning it. Now whenever I play it I can see us all around the table at the Harbour Inn and can almost smell the place – fond memories.[42]

Musicians also talked about memories of tunes they learned from their parents when they were young children, or from friends who have now passed on. Ian, for example, spoke of music he learned from his mother who has passed on:

> I think the first memory I have of music being connected at all was my mother was always humming and singing Newfoundland songs when I was a kid. I remember sometimes getting sung or hummed to sleep. […] Then, when I was still a child, my mother ordered me a little tiny piano accordion from a Sears catalogue […] and my mother would show me stuff occasionally. I learned the 'Squid Jiggin' Ground' [from her]. […] [Playing] it's a connection with my mother, my past, so that's important. It's the best connection I have really.[43]

These associations, created as sounds and tunes that musicians learn and play, are integrated into musicians' lives and their memories.

As Sally K. Sommers Smith observes of the performance of traditional Irish music:

> Often, the people who have played the tune […] are recalled in the making and remaking of the music. A traditional performer can be relied upon to add a personal stamp to the performance of the tune, but the musician from whom the tune was learned will also be recalled and named when the music is played in public.[44]

Ian's first memories of music are associated with his mother who sung and hummed to him as a child. Similarly, the places where musicians learn and play tunes are recalled in the making and remaking of music. Gerry, for example, associated the 'Dionne Reel' with both who he learned it from and where he first heard and learned it. As one young Newfoundland musician told me: 'It's hard to put in words what I know about certain tunes, but it's about the experience of learning them, like who

did you learn them off of, or where did you, what was it used for'.[45] Thus, through the experience of playing tunes in particular places and with particular people, musicians create memories that link the music with those people and places.

This process is clearly seen in the photographs I asked two musicians, Rachel and Sandra, to take to represent what playing Irish and Newfoundland music meant to them.[46] Rachel and Sandra are both from 'away', meaning not from Newfoundland, but have lived in St. John's for nearly a decade. They are both members of Fiddle Group, an informal music group that meets every week at a member's home to play Irish and Newfoundland music. Fiddle Group plays many 'Newfoundland tunes' that members have learned from local musicians, recordings, and sheet music. Most members also learn tunes that are part of the standard Irish session repertoire. Some have picked up tunes, for example, from the *Foinn Seisiún* tune books published by *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* or from recordings of contemporary Irish bands. However, I discuss below how most of these musicians see all this music as being a part of the St. John's music scene and relate their performance of it to their lives in Newfoundland. I also discuss how, for Rachel and Sandra, playing Irish and Newfoundland music provided them with a means to develop a sense of place in Newfoundland after having moved there and struggling to feel they belonged on the island.

Both musicians provided me with photographs of places in Newfoundland. For example, Rachel took a photograph of the dining room where Fiddle Group is often held. On the table, amongst other objects, are scattered sheets of music and her fiddle and bow. She associates the process of learning and playing traditional music with this particular room, describing the photo as 'the room where the music has grown'.[47] The association of music with particular places spreads out from that single room. Rachel also took a photograph of the house where the group meets and socializes. She also mentioned how the specific tune 'Auntie Mary' – one of the first tunes that the group learned – reminded her of Sally's kitchen. (Sally is a mother of another member of Fiddle Group and the group first met to play at her house.) Similarly, Sandra took a picture of drawings that were compiled into a tableau of many of the locations that Fiddle Group has met throughout St. John's, primarily the houses of members of the group, including Sally's house, but also significant public locations associated with their music within St. John's such as the Ship pub, O'Reilly's Irish and Newfoundland pub, and the Duke pub.

As Ruth Finnegan observes in her analysis of musicians' musical pathways – their musical experiences throughout their lives – in Milton Keynes, England:

> The musical pathways […] can be envisaged as stretching out and crisscrossing through the town. […] from the viewpoint of those with experience their pathways were punctuated by known landmarks. There were the houses of friends, colleagues and teachers, churches, schools or pubs where people had heard or given performances, halls where they had rehearsed, streets or squares where they had witnessed a brass band or a Morris group performance,

> shops where they had bought music or displayed their posters. […] Musical participants marked out their own social and spatial settings by the pathways they drew through the town and in the venues and actions which in a sense constituted and sanctified these paths.[48]

Thus, as depicted in Sandra's tableau, music becomes not only associated with a room in a house, but also with particular buildings, venues, and other meeting places throughout St. John's. These places are thereby incorporated as part of musicians' lives, becoming familiar and meaningful as musicians play in them or pass through them at sessions each week.

These experiences and associations can also be recalled through playing music. Sara Cohen considers the vivid evocation of memories that occurs through listening to, dancing to, and playing music seen through the life of an elderly Jewish man.[49] 'Just one simple musical phrase can simultaneously represent a private world of memory and desire' through which musicians thereby recall the places where that music was previously produced.[50] This is seen, for example, in Ben's recollections of when he moved away to the Canadian mainland for a time. Ben is a musician who was born and grew up in Newfoundland and has played traditional music since he was a young child. Ben recalled that when he moved away for university, 'that's when I really started to practice, 'cause I was homesick, oh my, was I ever homesick. And I found a really good therapy for me was to play music from here [Newfoundland], you know'.[51] Ben specifically recalls the tune 'Johnny Has Gone Away', which he learned from a recording of his grandfather. He noted:

> When I play it now, I think of him of course, I think of the fact that I never played until after he had passed away which means that he never got to hear me play. Kind of makes me a bit sad. […] In terms of a time in my life, this was one of the first tunes I ever learned, so in addition to associating it with my grandfather, I also associate it with a time in my life when I had just left home to attend university. […] When I look back on those times, I realize how lucky I was then to have as much time to play then as I did. […] 'Johnny Has Gone Away' brings back all those feelings and memories and it will forever be a special tune to me because of it.[52]

This tune evokes for Ben multiple meanings and associations. It is tied in with his grandfather and his home, and reminds him of his times on the mainland at university.

While Ben made these local and personal associations with the music he plays, he also told me that he often prefers playing Irish music because he finds it fun. He associates it with the history of his community and of his family, seeing many connections between Ireland and Newfoundland and their music. In our talks Ben suggested that there may only be a Newfoundland *style* of playing, rather than Newfoundland music as such, since all music in Newfoundland had influences from elsewhere. He comments that the Newfoundland style is 'very fast, very

driving', similar to Smith's description above.[53] In distinguishing Newfoundland music based on style alone, Ben emphasizes the Irish influence on Newfoundland music. Even so, while he was away on the mainland, Ben recalled connections to local places: to his home and to his grandfather and his family on the island. Now, he also thinks of his time away at university learning this music. These recollections occurred as he played the music he learned in those places and with those people.

Thus, through the performance of 'Newfoundland', 'Irish', and other music, musicians create associations between specific locations and the music they play. They do so as they play the music in these places and through the memories and stories they form about them. They re-establish these connections and associations, as well as create new ones, as tunes are played at a later date and in new locations. The ties between memories, music, and place are therefore continuously changing and evolving throughout musicians' lives. The music Ben associates with home is different if he is playing in St. John's than if he is playing on the Canadian mainland. New associations are also incorporated and interwoven in complex ways as he continues to play in new places. As this process continues through time, Irish and Newfoundland music become part of musicians' experiences of Newfoundland and the associations between music and place extend to represent Newfoundland as a whole. The idea that Irish and Newfoundland music 'belongs' to the island is thereby created, even as it is acknowledged that the music may not have originated in Newfoundland.

Creating Musical Roots

As a result of the various local connections that musicians form through the performance of traditional Irish and Newfoundland music, it is often difficult to separate precisely where musicians situate their music. Some would jump between talking about music in Ireland to talking about the same music in Newfoundland, discussing the historical ties of the music and personal relations in particular places on both sides of the Atlantic. A discussion I had with Billy Sutton will clarify my point. Billy plays at and hosts many sessions in St. John's and has a varied repertoire of Irish and Newfoundland music, as well as musical genres other than traditional music. In our discussions Billy moved between talking about the history of music in Newfoundland and regional styles in Ireland almost seamlessly. He talked about the *Sliabh Luachra* style of music from County Kerry and Cork in Ireland and simultaneously about its performance in Newfoundland, introduced by Séamus Creagh and Rob Murphy in the 1980s and 1990s.

These complexities are created as musicians continue to play music in particular places across Newfoundland, creating ties between music and local places regardless of tune origins. The music thereby becomes part of the music scene in these places and shapes musicians' own and others' experiences of it alongside of the island's music. For musicians entering the St. John's music scene, for example, Irish music is often simply a part of their experiences of playing with other musicians and at sessions. As one member of Fiddle Group expressed, 'you can't

live in St. John's and not be affected by Irish music and the whole Irish culture. It's an underpinning of this particular area'.[54] The music itself is thereby seen as local through its performance by local musicians at sessions in St. John's.

Music from Irish recordings played on 'Irish' instruments, such as the uilleann pipes and Irish-tuned accordions is then seen as an extension of these ties. An extract from a discussion found on 'The Session' website regarding the import of a C#/D accordion to the local music scene by accordion player Graham Wells is particularly illustrative of how influences from Ireland are adapted by Newfoundland musicians and related to Newfoundland.[55]

> Stjohnsman [9 February 2008]: Speaking from experience, the vast bulk of older accordions in Newfoundland are either C/G or A/D. Single row accordions are either D, G or A, with the odd C turning up as well. Graham Wells and a few other younger guys who are into emulating Irish players are moving into C#/D, but that is a very recent phenomena. Bob Hallett of Great Big Sea plays two-row Hohners, as does Mark Hiscock of Shanneyganock. Their wet-tuned sound would probably be considered 'Newfoundland style' by most locals who have any interest in this. [...]

> Buck [28 February 2008]: [...] By the way, st.john'sman. The number of players learning or switching to C#/D or B/C is a lot higher than you seem to know. These players are not emulating Irish players, they are playing Newfoundland music. The box is evolving in Newfoundland my friend. The capabilities of the Irish tuned boxes are a tremendous advantage and are in my opinion better suited to Newfoundland dance music.[56]

Stjohnsman suggests that players in Newfoundland are simply 'emulating' Irish players by using 'Irish' instruments and playing 'Irish' tunes. Buck, however, argues they are not playing them simply because they are 'Irish'. He maintains links of continuity in suggesting that musicians 'are playing Newfoundland music' but are adapting new instruments to the music and to the local music scene. The capabilities of the C#/D box refer to the recognition that it is more versatile in sessions, allowing musicians to play in multiple keys, whereas the 'older' accordions, in two keys, limit the breadth of tunes a musician can play and thereby their ability to participate. In this manner, while the music and the instruments are acknowledged to be 'Irish' in origin, they are also considered to be part of Newfoundland music as musicians relate the music's performance to their experiences and lives in Newfoundland and to the music's history on the island.

Musicians come to associate the Irish music that they play not just with specific places in Newfoundland, but with Newfoundland as a whole. For example, in addition to the photographs of particular rooms, houses and other buildings in St. John's, Rachel also provided photographs of two popular St. John's landmarks – evening settings of both St. John's harbour and Signal Hill. Signal Hill is one of the best-known sights in St. John's. It is often taken to stand for 'historic St. John's' and

is therefore a symbol for the city and for Newfoundland. Ideas that I have already discussed, about how traditional music is associated with certain places, shape Rachel's association of the music she plays with the island. Rachel, however, does not simply relate the music to Signal Hill as a landmark, but to her experience of the place. She says, 'the music has a sense of old in it always, just like an evening walk up Signal Hill'.[57] Through her experiences of playing music in specific locations and of living in Newfoundland, she links the island with the music.

Thus, as music is played in various places throughout Newfoundland, the idea that particular tunes and music originates from and belongs to Newfoundland is established and maintained. Yet, new ties between music and place are also created. Tunes that may have originated in Ireland are associated with a new context in Newfoundland through musicians' experiences of playing in St. John's or elsewhere in Newfoundland. The 'Squid Jiggin' Ground' that Ian mentions is originally an Irish tune known as 'Larry O'Gaff'.[58] These origins, however, are of little significance compared to the connection to his mother and his past. Similarly, the 'Dionne Reel', discussed by Gerry, is generally considered to be a French Canadian tune, which he learned from Irish accordion player Jackie Daly and alongside Irish musician Rob Murphy, who I discussed above. Yet, the tune also evokes for Gerry memories of the Harbour Inn, a pub in St. John's that is no longer in existence. The music is thereby seen to have roots on the island. Of course, these new ties between music and place contribute to the debates over Irish and Newfoundland music and their relation to Ireland and Newfoundland. Nevertheless, through this process, musicians are able to establish a sense of rootedness in Newfoundland.

Creating Personal Roots

Most musicians in St. John's were clear in identifying themselves as being from Newfoundland, or as relating to Newfoundland because of residence here, even as they played both 'Irish' and 'Newfoundland' music. For example, I asked Billy Sutton, 'Do you ever find that people sort of assume you're Irish or try to be Irish because you play this music?' He responded that he had not thought about it much but that people were free to assume what they wanted. I followed up wondering whether any assumptions bothered him and he said 'it doesn't bother me at all, no, doesn't bother me at all. I'm from Newfoundland and I'll be quick to tell somebody really fast where I'm from'.[59] From Billy's discussions, it is clear he knows much about Ireland and has a relationship with the place through people and knowledge of its history. Yet, Billy also identifies with Newfoundland, 'where I'm from'.

In their critique of ideas of identification and belonging that are commonly explored in relation to musical performance, Keith Negus and Patria Román Velázquez argue that scholars have the tendency to assume a homologous relationship between musical identification and musical genre.[60] In particular, in order to understand the form of identification expressed through the performance of Irish music, scholars must necessarily assume that those performing the music are 'Irish' in turn. In other words, there is a tendency to focus on meanings and

identifications that are associated with where a particular musical genre is seen to originate and belong. Certainly, many scholars see the playing of Irish music in areas of the Irish diaspora as a way for musicians to reclaim their Irish roots and its performance is seen as tied to an expression of 'Irishness'.[61] Negus and Velázquez say that to take a thoroughly non-essentialist stance, 'then we would have to accept that *any* type of musical sound (however categorised) could "construct" us *any* type of social identity'.[62] It is precisely the perspective necessary to understand the performance of traditional music by musicians like Billy in Newfoundland.

Regardless of tune origins, through the performance of music *in* places, musicians are able to construct a sense of identification and connectedness in Newfoundland. This is clearly seen with Rachel and Sandra who moved to Newfoundland 'from away'. Rachel discussed:

> It really does put you more in this place. If I didn't have that [the music] I don't know that I would feel as connected to Newfoundland, definitely, definitely. Yeah, East Coast trail or not, I don't think I'd feel as connected to this place. I almost feel in some ways that I have a bigger connection than some people who are from here who don't know what 'Auntie Mary' is.[63]

As discussed above, the tune 'Auntie Mary', to which Rachel refers, is common in the Newfoundland repertoire, yet, it has origins in Scotland.[64] Interestingly, the connection Rachel makes to Newfoundland through the music she plays is stronger than the connection she feels experiencing the physical geography of the island represented by the East Coast trail, which she sometimes hikes.

Sheaukang Hew, an ethnomusicologist who grew up in Malaysia, makes a similar conclusion in locating the music she played in central Oklahoma. She reflects, 'this music, be it Irish, Celtic, or old-time has helped me cross the ethnic boundary and find my place in American society'.[65] Sandra also discussed how she felt when she was learning and becoming a part of Newfoundland 'culture', as she met other musicians and learned about the place and its people, including how to make local Newfoundland dishes such as toutons and moose stew.[66] As seen in Ben's discussion, musicians who were born in Newfoundland maintain a sense of rootedness in the island through playing Irish and Newfoundland music. The connections musicians create through playing this music are therefore an important part of their lives in Newfoundland. As a result, the connections and identifications that musicians create through the performance of traditional Irish music are not necessarily related to Ireland, nor are they always tied to an expression of 'Irishness'. These connections are local and specific to musicians' experiences of playing in the city of St. John's.

Conclusion: Multiple Roots

There has been much debate in Newfoundland about the legitimacy and implication of describing Newfoundland music as 'Irish'. Likewise, the playing of Irish music

outside of Ireland is often taken as a way of claiming a connection to Ireland. However, these approaches to placing Irish music – by associating it with Ireland or ideas of an Irish Newfoundland – miss the more localized and personal meanings that musicians create through their music. They also miss the multiple ways that musicians can use music to create ties to multiple places. Music in Newfoundland means different things to different musicians and in many cases it means multiple things to a single musician. Ties between music and place are formed based on from where the music is considered to have originated and from where it developed – but also in where it is now played and where musicians place the music in terms of their performance of it and in their memories and experiences.

Appendix

This appendix contains an annotated listing of tunes and their origins from one hour of a Friday night session at Erin's Pub, St. John's, Newfoundland. Tunes found in well-known Irish collections such as Francis O'Neill's *The Dance Music of Ireland. 1001 Gems* (henceforth referred to as O'Neill's DMOI), and Breandán Breathnach's five-volume *Ceol Rince na hÉireann* are considered to be traditional Irish tunes. However, tunes with known composers from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are considered contemporary. Alan Ng's index of Irish tunes was an invaluable resource and used extensively in tracing tune origins.[67]

Set 1:   'Old Tipperary': Traditional Irish tune – Breathnach, I, no. 23.
          'Rose in the Heather': Traditional Irish tune – Breathnach, I, no. 37.
          'Up in the Air': Contemporary Irish tune – composed and recorded by Irish musicians Kevin Burke and Mícheál Ó Domhnaill in 1982.[68]
Set 2:   'Martin Wynne's no.1': Contemporary Irish tune – composed by Irish musician Martin Wynne.[69]
          'College Groves': Traditional Irish tune – O'Neill's DMOI, no. 485.
          'Pinch of Snuff': Traditional Irish tune – Breathnach, II, no. 182.[70]
Set 3:   'Snowy Path': Contemporary Irish tune – composed by Mark Kelly of Irish band Altan in 1992.[71]
Set 4:   'The Silver Slipper': Irish tune, likely traditional – composer unknown.[72]
          'The Boys of Ballisodare': Traditional Irish tune – O'Neill's DMOI, no. 587.
Set 5:   'Bunch of Keys': Traditional Irish tune – recorded by Irish musician Michael Coleman 1921–1936.[73]
          'Duke of Leinster': Traditional Irish tune – recorded by Francis O'Neill 1902-1904.[74]
Set 6:   'Collier's Reel': Traditional Irish tune – O'Neill's DMOI, no. 646.
          'The Shaskeen Reel': Traditional Irish tune – O'Neill's DMOI, no. 802.
Set 7:   'Paddy from Portlaw': Traditional Irish tune – O'Neill's DMOI, no. 47.
          'Whistler at the Wake': Contemporary Irish tune – composed by Irish flute player Vincent Broderick.[75]

Notes

and Economic Research (ISER), and the A.G. Hatcher Memorial Scholarship for their generous funding provided in support of this project, completed as part of my Master's research.

[2] A common definition of belonging used in Newfoundland relates to ideas of place. As described by the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, to belong is 'to be a native of; to come from'. G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson, eds, *Dictionary of Newfoundland English Online*, 2nd edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), s.v. 'belong'.

[3] Deborah L. Rapuano, 'Every Drop Hollows the Stone: An Ethnographic Study of Traditional Irish Music Pub Sessions' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2005), p. 57.

[4] Marion Leonard, 'Performing Identities: Music and Dance in the Irish Communities of Coventry and Liverpool', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6 (2005), 515–29; Helen O'Shea, *The Making of Irish Traditional Music* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2008); Deborah L. Rapuano, 'Every Drop Hollows the Stone'; Graeme Smith, '"My Love Is in America": Migration and Irish Music', in *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Simon Frith, 4 vols (London: Routledge, 2004), IV, 164–81.

[5] I am following Margaret C. Rodman's work on 'multi-vocality' and 'multi-locality' where she argues for scholars to consider the multiple ways in which physical space can be imbued with meaning. She explores how 'places, like voices, are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places' (p. 643). That is, places are experienced and conceptualized in multiple and sometimes contested ways and through various means, which are based on connections among people, places, and historical contexts. For some, Newfoundland is an 'Irish place', whereas others in Newfoundland see it as unique and distinct from its Irish heritage. Margaret C. Rodman, 'Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality', *American Anthropologist*, 94 (1992), 640–56.

[6] St. John's is the capital city of a province whose political boundaries encompass both Newfoundland and Labrador. My research, however, focuses specifically on the island of Newfoundland. I frequently use 'the island' to refer to this particular part of the province.

[7] I focus on 'Newfoundland' and 'Irish' categories. It is, however, important to note that it is equally difficult to distinguish 'Newfoundland' music from 'English' music or 'US American' music, which have also significantly influenced music in Newfoundland. 'Irish music' is similarly ill-defined as a category since traditional music in Ireland is an amalgam of influences from places such as Scotland, England, and the United States over many centuries. See, for example, Helen O'Shea, *The Making of Irish Traditional Music*, pp. 5–52; Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, 'Irish Music Defined', *The Crane Bag*, 5 (1981), 83–87.

[8] Thomas F. Nemec, 'Irish Settlement in Newfoundland', in *The Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. by Joseph Roberts Smallwood, Cyril F. Poole and Robert Cuff (St. John's: Harry Cuff, 1991), pp. 71–77.

[9] Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, 'Soundscape of the Wintermen: Irish Traditional Music in Newfoundland Revisited', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 34 (2008), 33–46 (pp. 35–36).

[10] Christina Smith, 'Crooked as the Road to Branch: Asymmetry in Newfoundland Dance Music', *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 22 (2007), 139–64 (pp. 140–41).

[11] Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, p. 84; Christina Smith, pp. 140–41, 160–61.

[12] Evelyn Osborne, 'Crossing Over through the Recording Studio: The *Island to Island: Traditional Music from Ireland and Newfoundland* CD Project', in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3*, ed. by Ian Russell and Anna Kearney Guigne (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, in association with the Department of Folklore, MMaP and the School of Music, Memorial University, Newfoundland, 2010), 49–67 (pp. 52–55).

[13] Pat Byrne, '"Stage Irish" in "Britain's Oldest Colony": Towards an Analysis of the Influence of the McNulty Family on Newfoundland Music', *Canadian Folklore*, 13 (1991), 59–68 (p. 63).

[14] Ted McGraw, 'The McNulty Family', *Journal of the Society for American Music*, 4 (2010), 451–73 (p. 465).

[15] For example, Kevin Broderick from Bay de Verde was well-known locally and in St. John's for his repertoire of Irish tunes learned from recordings and the radio. Evelyn Osborne, 'Fiddling with Technology: The Effect of Media on Newfoundland Traditional Musicians', *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 22 (2007), 187–204 (p. 198). Newfoundland band Tickle Harbour also learned many of their tunes from recordings of Irish groups. Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009. Their first album – Don Walsh, Des Walsh, Gerry Strong, and Rick Hiscott, *The Hares Ears*, Quay CS 7955, Stephenville, Newfoundland, Canada, 1979 – includes some Newfoundland tunes such as 'Brother's Jig', written by Newfoundland musician Émile Benoit. Yet, it also includes traditional Irish tunes such as 'Morrison's Jig', recorded by the Bothy Band in 1976, and 'Drowsy Maggie', found in O'Neill's collection and recorded by the Chieftains in 1973, among several others. See Kelly Russell, *Kelly Russell's Collection: The Fiddle Music of Newfoundland & Labrador*, Vol. 1 (St. John's, NL: Pigeon Inlet, 2000), p. 55; The Bothy Band, *Old Hag You Have Killed Me*, Mulligan LUN 007, Dublin, Ireland, 1976; Capt. Francis O'Neill, *The Dance Music of Ireland: 1001 Gems* (Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1907; repr. Dublin: Walton's Musical Instrument Galleries, 1965), no. 662; The Chieftains, *The Chieftains 4*, Claddagh CC14, Dublin, Ireland, 1974. Furthermore, gramophones or phonographs were widely available throughout Newfoundland by the 1920s and 1930s. Radio was also widely available by the 1920s and provided people with access to a wide variety of styles from Ireland and the US, as well as Canada, England, and elsewhere. Evelyn Osborne, 'Fiddling with Technology', p. 190; Jeff A. Webb, 'Repertoire and Reception: Radio and Music in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1930–1945', *Journal of Canadian Studies/Refue d'Études Canadiennes*, 42 (2008), 117–39.

[16] Informal sessions previously took place at the Harbour Inn, a pub managed by well-known Newfoundland musician Frank Maher beginning in 1959. He would often allow musicians to bring their instruments and hold unscheduled sessions, joining in himself sometimes. However, only with Murphy and Creagh's influence did sessions become a regular feature of venues where musicians could gather, socialize and perform traditional music. Interviews by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[17] Interviews by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[18] 'Mussels in the Corner' has only appeared in Newfoundland printed sources since 1970, although variations of the tune are widespread throughout Newfoundland, suggesting the tune likely has a much older history on the island. Emeline Dehn-Reynolds, ' "Mussels in the Corner": Cultural Implications of Historical and Contemporary Documentation' (unpublished essay, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2011), p. 2. As an Irish tune it appears in print as early as 1914 under another title, 'Nancy Wants her Own Share'. *The Feis Ceóil Collection of Irish Airs* (Dublin, Ireland: Feis Ceóil Association, 1914); repr. Arthur Warren Darley and Patrick Joseph McCall, *The Darley & McCall Collection of Traditional Irish Music* (Cork, Ireland: Ossian Publications, 1984).

[19] A session held at the Georgetown Pub on Tuesday evening, for example, offers an online listing of the tunes and sets that are commonly played there. One set consists of 'Cooley's Reel'/'Jim Hodder's Reel'/'The Banshee'. 'Cooley's Reel' and 'The Banshee' are common Irish tunes, both found in Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol Rince na hÉireann*, trans by Paul de Grae online <http://www.nigelgatherer.com/books/CRE/>, 5 vols (Baile Átha Cliath [Dublin]: An G m, 1963–1999) , I (1963), no. 200, II (1976), no. 273 [accessed 2 December 2009]. 'Jim Hodder's', on the other hand, was composed by Newfoundland fiddler Émile Benoit. Kelly Russell, p. 49.

[20] Joshua D. Lalor, 'Exploring the Implications of "Policy" through the Memorandum of Understanding between Newfoundland and Labrador and Ireland' (unpublished master's report, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), p. 15.

[21] Johanne Devlin Trew, 'The Forgotten Irish? Contested Sites and Narratives of a Nation in Newfoundland', *Ethnologies*, 27 (2005), 43–77 (p. 47).

[22] This tri-color flag is not the official flag of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, but is nonetheless commonly seen around the island. Johanne Devlin Trew, p. 54.

[23] Joshua D. Lalor, 'Exploring the Implications of "Policy"'.

[24] Johanne Devlin Trew, p. 44.

[25] Evelyn Osborne, 'Fiddling with Technology', p. 189.

[26] John Mannion, 'Tracing the Irish: A Geographical Guide', <http://www.inp.ie?q=tracing-irish> [accessed 2 December 2009]; Thomas Nemec, p. 71.

[27] Jenny Higgins, 'Scottish in NL' (2009), <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/scottish.html> [accessed 18 May 2010].

[28] It is found, for example, in *Scottish Fiddle Tunes* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1903; repr. Cork: Ossian, 1985), no. 53.

[29] Evelyn Osborne, 'Crossing Over', p. 58.

[30] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[31] Christina Smith, p. 142.

[32] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009. I use pseudonyms throughout this article in order to protect musicians' privacy, except where I have received explicit permission to use musicians' real names or their names are already found on the public record. In these exceptional cases, I will introduce musicians using both their first and last names.

[33] Evelyn Osborne, 'Crossing Over', p. 60.

[34] Evelyn Osborne, 'Fiddling with Technology', p. 189; Christina Smith, pp. 146–47.

[35] Christina Smith, pp. 151, 153–54.

[36] Christina Smith, p. 158.

[37] Christina Smith, pp. 157–58.

[38] Christina Smith, p. 142. For a more detailed discussion of performance styles in Newfoundland and how they relate to Irish performance styles, see Bridget O'Connell, 'A Comparative Study of Newfoundland and Irish Fiddle Styles', in *Transcultural Perspectives on Canada*, ed. by Klaus-Dieter Ertler and Paulina Mickiewicz (Brno, Czech Republic: Central European Association for Canadian Studies in collaboration with Masaryk University, 2007), pp. 89–111.

[39] Lise Saugeres, 'Figgy Duff and Newfoundland Culture' (unpublished master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

[40] Anita Best, quoted in Lise Saugeres, p. 103.

[41] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[42] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2012.

[43] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[44] Sally K. Sommers Smith, 'Irish Traditional Music in a Modern World', *New Hibernia Review / Iris Eireannach Nua*, 5 (2001), 111–25 (p. 112).

[45] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[46] For a more thorough description of self-reporting projects that is reflective of the way I used them with Rachel and Sandra, see Wayne Fife, *Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 107–16. These projects were conducted as an assignment for a course entitled 'Fieldwork and Interpretation of Culture' from Dr Wayne Fife as part of my degree and prior to my formal fieldwork period.

[47] Self-reporting project, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2008.

[48] Ruth H Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 317–18.

[50] Sara Cohen, p. 444.

[51] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[52] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2012.

[53] While an increasing number of tunes in Newfoundland are written down, when performed in an aural context alone there is limited separation between the structure of tunes and their performance. Bridget O'Connell, for example, includes tune structure in her description of style (p. 91). Nevertheless, musicians like Ben use these ideas separately in trying to understand and define the music they play.

[54] Interview by Gregory Gan, *Session Talks*, film, 12 mins, Gregory Gan Films, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2007.

[55] Accordions in Newfoundland prior to the past decade were primarily diatonic, known elsewhere as melodeons. These were single row or double row accordions able to play in one or two keys. Graham Wells is said to have introduced the first chromatically tuned button accordion to the St. John's music scene. Doris Maul Fair provides a thorough discussion of how these accordions became associated with Irish music, such that they are often referred to as 'Irish tuned' button accordions. These double-row accordions are able to play in any key and are generally tuned either C#/D or B/C along the rows. Fair similarly shows how this accordion has uncertain but likely European origins and argues 'when the Irish got their hands on the instrument, accordion music in Ireland changed, and with it, the traditional music' (p. 118). Irish musicians adopted and adapted this instrument into their music thereby making it a part of the music scenes in Ireland. The instrument and the music was also picked up by other musicians and continued to develop in new contexts around the world, including Newfoundland. See Doris Maul Fair, 'Billy's Box: Material Culture, Musical Idiom, and Musicianship in Irish Button Accordion' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009).

[56] I have copied this excerpt as it was posted, including spelling and typographic errors: '2 Row Accordion Tunings for Newfoundland Traditional Music', discussions (2007–2009), see <https://thesession.org/discussions/13294#comment274031> [accessed 23 November 2010].

[57] Self-reporting project, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2008.

[58] O'Neill, no. 128.

[59] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[60] Keith Negus and Patria Román Velázquez, 'Belonging and Detachment: Musical Experience and the Limits of Identity', *Poetics*, 30 (2002), 133–45.

[61] Marion Leonard, 'Performing Identities', pp. 526–27; Helen O'Shea, *The Making of Irish Traditional Music*, pp. 9, 45; Deboray L. Rapuano, 'Every Drop Hollows the Stone', pp. 57–121; Graeme Smith, '"My Love is in America"', p. 165.

[62] Negus and Velázquez , p. 137.

[63] Interview by author, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2009.

[64] These musicians acknowledge differences between 'Irish' and 'Newfoundland' music and generally have an understanding of the significance of such distinctions and the significance of debates over what constitutes the music of Newfoundland. Nevertheless, the music (be it Irish or Newfoundland) is all a part of their experiences of living in Newfoundland.

[65] Sheaukang Hew,'Irish Music in Central Oklahoma: An Ethnographic Study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2006), p. 211.

[66] Self-reporting project, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, 2008.

[67] Alan Ng, 'irishtune.info Irish Traditional Music Tune Index', <htttp://www.irishtune.info> [accessed 1 April, 2012].

[68] Kevin Burke and Mícheál Ó Domhnaill, *Portland*, Green Linnet GLCD 1041, Nashville, Tennessee, USA, 1982.

[69] Alan Ng, 'Tune ID#2107 (Martin Wynne's)', <www.irishtune.info/tune/2107/> [accessed 14 April, 2012].

[70] The particular setting played in the session, which features key changes between six parts, seems to originate from Kevin Burke, *If the Cap Fits*, Green Linnet, GLCD 3009, Nashville, Tennessee, US, 1978.

[71] Altan, *Harvest Storm*, Green Linnet, GLCD 1117, Nashville, Tennessee, 1992.

[72] This tune does not appear in any of the standard collections of Irish tunes. The earliest recording of it is from Donegal fiddler John Doherty, *The Floating Bow*, Claddagh Records CCF 31CD, Dublin, 1996 (recorded 1968–1974).

[73] Michael Coleman, Michael Coleman 1891–1945, Gael-Linn/Viva Voce CEFCD 161, Dublin, 1992 (recorded 1921–1936).

[74] *The Francis O'Neill Cylinders: Thirty-Two Recordings of Irish Traditional Music in America circa 1904*, Ward Irish Music Archives WIMA 002, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 2010.

[75] Vincent Broderick, *Traditional Irish Flute Solos: The Turoe Stone Collection* (Dublin: Walton Manufacturing, 1990), p. 15.

13

Why can't you dance to the piper?

PATRICIA H. BALLANTYNE

In this paper, I shall consider the question of why it can be difficult to dance to bagpipe music, and will examine the effectiveness of recent initiatives to bring dance and music closer together in Scotland, from a dancer's perspective. Piping and Highland dancing have been inextricably linked since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the early piping and dancing competitions. As an instrument for dancing to, the Great Highland Bagpipe has immense power and can cut through the rowdiest of crowds, unlike the fiddle, which does not have the same natural amplification. When the dance music is played with the right tempo, a strong and steady pulse, and is entirely suited to the dance being performed, whether a solo or a group dance, the bagpipe is capable of stirring the most reluctant dancer into taking part.

A large part of the body of pipe music is dance music, but the way in which this music is played currently means that it is not always easy to dance to it. There is a strong competition culture in bagpipe music today, such that the prevailing ethic is that training for and taking part in piping competitions promotes technical excellence. This is the route that many pipers tend to follow during the course of their musical development. It is not uncommon for competition pipers, who have a great technical command of their instrument, to stretch the pulse of the music. This allows the player time to insert the many, multi-note gracings and ornaments that characterize Scottish pipe music. This elastic pulse, combined with slow musical speeds of playing what was originally dance music, means that competitive pipe music has become so stylised that it has become increasingly difficult to dance to. This applies to any form of Scottish dancing other than the highly specialized competitive Highland dancing. Ask any competition piper if there is a connection between piping and dance, and the response will be an emphatic 'yes'; but why should the competition piper believe this when the evidence appears to point to the contrary?

The dance tunes, commonly known by pipers as *ceòl beag*, or 'light music', comprise mainly of marches, strathspeys, reels, jigs, and hornpipes. These are all used for social dances in Scotland. If the link between the dancing and piping

traditions is weak then the long-standing cultural connection between much of our dance and its associated music is in danger of breaking. But why should this be the case? As a dancer myself, I am particularly interested in this problem.[1] In researching this paper, I have spoken to a number of prominent pipers, all trained in the conventional competition style of playing, each of whom has a different view of the problem.

Background

In 1805, Francis Peacock, the official dancing master employed by the town of Aberdeen, wrote that certain 'Scotch Reel' dance steps were 'best adapted to those lively tunes to which they gave birth'.[2] This concept of lively steps fitting lively music lasted well into the twentieth century until the influence of the various official regulatory bodies, set up during the last hundred years or so to preserve and authenticate the piping and dance traditions of Scotland, became pervasive.[3] These bodies fiercely guard their perceived heritage, or what Richard Blaustein has termed their 'selective reconstruction of tradition'.[4] They are uncomfortable with attempts to challenge their beliefs as they have constructed forms of music and dance which they deem to be based on historical fact. It has been suggested that the bagpipe Piobaireachd Society, the oldest of the regulatory bodies, was 'in search of a personal authenticity in historical forms, constructing rather than finding tradition', and that this constructed form of tradition was intended to have different functions and audiences than the earlier style of playing would have had.[5]

Adherence to standards prescribed by experts as well as to a climate of competition, has led to a globalization of these music and dance forms. As a result, it could be argued that they have become somewhat disassociated from their host country. A competitive Highland dancer from South Africa, for example, should be indistinguishable from a Highland dancer from Scotland; the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing (SOBHD) does after all liken itself to 'a very large family'.[6] Billy Forsyth, former chairman of the SOBHD, suggests that as a result of the introduction of the Board's textbook, which attempted to standardize Highland dancing, it is no longer possible 'to label a competitor as Australian, South African, Canadian, or American because of the steps used or differences in technical approach'.[7] The same could also be said in relation to the competitive piping world, in which it is common for pipers from many parts of the world to compete in the same competitions as native Scottish pipers, and on the same terms. Strict controls imposed by the competitive piping regulatory bodies mean that regional stylistic variations are minimised.

Piping Embellishments

The College of Piping was established to 'raise the prestige of piping and the status of the piper and to improve the overall standard of piping, particularly by systematic instruction'.[8] The Piping and Drumming Qualifications Board runs a series of graded examinations in much the same way as the dance examining bodies do

with Highland dancing. The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (1930) performs a similar function for pipe bands.

The College of Piping's grade examinations include the use of embellishments from the very first of its series of eight grades. The ornaments found in Grade 1 include single grace notes, GDE grace-note groupings, the *throw* on D from low A, strikes on E and F and half double F. Single grace notes are usually formed by lifting and quickly returning the relevant finger to the chanter. The important part is to ensure that the grace note sounds *with* the note and not before or after it. The *strike*, also of short duration, is more complicated. In general, it is formed by striking the chanter firmly and lightly with a finger which is already off the chanter and therefore not needed to form the melody note being sounded. A different movement is used depending on which note the strike relates to. Meanwhile the *throw*, which is a very common ornament, produces a rippling effect and tends to be the domain of the lower hand on the chanter. For right-handed players, the 'bottom hand' as it is commonly termed, is the right hand. The *throw* is a triple gracing consisting of three notes which immediately precede the melody note. A *doubling* also has three grace notes which alter according to the note they precede. A *half doubling* has two.

These gracings are complicated and much emphasis is placed on assimilating them right from the start of a novice piper's journey. Unlike other instruments, all four of the bagpipe's reeds – the chanter reed and each of the three drone reeds (two tenors and a bass), are sounded by air from the bag which sits under the player's arm. This bag is kept continuously filled by a reservoir of air blown through the mouthpiece. For the piper to get a consistent and musical tone, the pressure on the bag, which is controlled by the piper's arm, must be kept as constant as possible. In order to stop the sound, the pressure on the bag has to drop, but in performance, this would only happen at the end of a set of tunes. It is not easy to drop the pressure, stop the sound and then resume mid-melody, and in addition, dynamic contrasts are extremely difficult to obtain, as are fast repetitions of certain notes. The complicated gracing system exists therefore, as the piper's musical punctuation. However, in some areas of the piping world, so much emphasis is placed on the correct assimilation of gracings in the early stages that such intrinsic considerations as the importance of setting and maintaining a steady pulse often appear to be overlooked.

Donal Brown, a piper, pipe tutor, and dancer, who plays for Highland dancing competitions, has concerns about this aspect of pipe tuition as he believes that if he had not had a background in dance, he would not be equipped to play for dancing.

> Because I had a background in dance anyway, it seemed fairly obvious. But if piping was the only thing that I'd done, and competition piping, then I would have found it quite hard because you're moulded into one thing with piping, and quite often, because of the way piping is taught, there's a big focus on the rudiments and the ornamentation before the music. So you're teaching […] for example, you could be teaching a kid ornaments before they even had an idea of keeping a beat. If you're a piper that's learned ornaments, you've been

pounded with all that stuff before you've even developed an idea of musicality
or playing to a beat.[9]

There are many more gracings than those already mentioned; each has a different
function and each displays a varying degree of complexity. A *throw,* for example,
is most commonly used to emphasize a longer melody note. The three-noted *grip*
provides a powerful emphasis to a melody note. It alters according to the grace note
preceding it. A *taorluath* builds on the *grip* by adding a further grace note at the end
of the movement. The *birl* is a difficult ornament for the beginner. It consists of a
four notes grouping which can itself be preceded by a further grace note which can
change the notes required to make up the ornament. What makes this ornament
difficult to learn is the precise shape of the finger movement required to execute it.
There are five-note ornaments, such as the *darodo* or *bubbly note*, and the closed and
open *shakes*. *Shakes* are commonly used in hornpipes, but are not to be confused
with the baroque ornament known as a shake. A *closed shake* often has the span of
an octave between first and last notes, and the *open shake* can resemble the baroque
ornament known as a turn, but is preceded by the note a fourth higher than the
melody note.[10]

These are by no means all of the gracings used by pipers, but it is usual for
many or most of these to be learnt by pipers in the early stages of learning to play
the instrument. Although the pipes have only a single, nine-note scale, acquiring
dexterity in ornamentation is an onerous task, for the complete opus of competition
pipe music is very highly ornamented.

Over the last one hundred years the use of grace notes has gradually increased
along with a more pronounced dotting of melodies and slower tempi. One of the
pioneers of this heavily ornamented style of piping was George S. MacLennan
(1883–1929). George and his elder cousin, the piper, dancer, and theatre impresario
Willie MacLennan (1860–1892), were taught to play by George's father, Lieutenant
John MacLennan. Like George, Willie favoured the highly ornamented competitive
style of playing.[11] Willie and his younger brother Donald G. (1869–1965) were
champion Highland dancers and both studied ballet: Willie in Paris, and Donald in
London. Between them, the brothers introduced numerous balletic movements and
influences into Highland dancing.

The Military Background
Allan MacDonald, a piper and lecturer for the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and
Drama's Traditional Music BA course at the Piping Centre,[12] has pointed out that
until relatively recently, if anyone wished to make a comfortable living as a piper,
the only route open to them was to join the army. This meant that:

> Anyone who learnt pipes, learnt pipes with people who were in the army or had
> been in the army. That goes right back to the nineteenth century, and so the styles
> that were created in the military became the standard format and the standard

performance style, so much so that all the texts and all the music written was written by people who had gone through this school of standardization. I'll say there are some advantages, in that with standardization, and focus through competitions, you get a higher technicality. That theory may be rebuffed, but I don't think so, because even in the uillean [Irish] piping tradition, which never went through that process of militarization, and other piping traditions, you don't get the same exact precision as you do get in the Scots bagpipe tradition. So it's very ornate and highly structured.[13]

John G. Gibson also suggests that the British army has had a major influence on the development of piping, and that this influence has been, 'intense, innovative and eventually harmful to the little that remained of tradition'.[14] The intense, innovative pursuit of a greater degree of technique, formed through participation in competitions, is one of the main reasons that the regulatory piping and dancing bodies set themselves up, and this, as Gibson suggests, had an effect on local styles of playing and dancing.

MacDonald observes that the once-close links between piping and dance have been broken, not just through the nineteenth and twentieth century Gaelic diaspora, but also because the community aspect of piping – that is, playing for dancing, has disappeared, as everyone is taught according to the rules of the regulatory bodies. In addition, he states that the dance music genre itself has changed through a separation of dance from the competition and separation of the competition from the community with the result that, 'Pipers don't play for dancers; they don't know what that is'.[15]

	Mackenzie 1910	SOBDH 1993	SOBDH (web) 2011	Pipers current tempi (2011)
Highland Fling	152 (allegro)	124 (allegro)	112-124 (moderato – allegro)	106-108 (andante) but can be between 102 (andante) and 112 (moderato)
Sword Dance	144/168 (allegro/ presto)	116/144 (moderato/ allegro)	104-116/120-144 (andante-moderato/ allegro)	72/96 (andante)
Sean Triubhas	Not given	104/124 (andante/ allegro)	92-104/112-124 (andante/moderato-allegro)	96/108 (andante)
Strathspey	152 (allegro)	124 (allegro)	112-124 (moderato-allegro)	106-108 (andante)
Reel of Tulloch	140 (allegro)	108 (moderato)	100-108 (andante)	120 but can be 132 (allegro)
'Scotch' or Highland Reel	136 (allegro)	108 (moderato)	100-108 (andante)	120 but can be 132 (allegro)

Figure 1 Changes in Highland Dancing Tempi (showing beats per minute)[16]

A Change in Tempo

Over time, competitive pipe tunes and competitive Highland dances have become very much slower in tempo. In 1910 Donald Richard Mackenzie (1847–1931), a dancing master based in Stirling, suggested suitable tunes and metronome speeds for each of the Highland dances he described in his instruction manual.[17] 'The Marquis of Huntly', he suggested, should be played at a speed of 152 beats per minute to accompany 'The Highland Fling'.[18] In 1993, the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing's textbook, suggests that the same dance should be performed at 124 beats per minute. This is significantly slower and suggests a change in the style of dancing.[19] The same organization's website currently suggests 112–124 beats per minute.[20] Pipe Major Bruce Campbell, a piper and former dancer, who has spent many years playing exclusively for Highland Dancing and has published a music book for pipers on the same subject, recently carried out a survey of the speeds pipers normally play for Highland dancing.[21] He notes that 'The Highland Fling' is most commonly played at the remarkably slow speeds of 106–108 beats per minute, and notes that whilst the dance may be played, 'as slow as 102bpm, some [pipers play] as fast as 112bpm'.[22]

In one hundred years then, the dance has slowed down from a sprightly 152 beats per minute (allegro) to the significantly more sedate tempo of 102 beats per minute (andante). The style of 'lively music' and associated lively steps noted by Francis Peacock two hundred years ago seems to have disappeared.[23] Naturally, the style of dancing has altered significantly within that time to suit the slower tempi. The lively dances which varied according to region have been replaced by a much altered, highly technical form of dancing which takes many years to learn. There are no regional or stylistic variations as the method of execution is closely controlled. In that respect it has become very close to stage dancing, in that it is a sophisticated form of dance, with graded levels and exams. The stage aspect happens in formal performance situations, at exclusive Highland dancing competitions and on the open stage at Highland Games. Contemporary Highland dance is performed more slowly to allow the dancer time to elevate or jump, as high as possible on every beat, which also informs the dancer's technical ability.

It is not merely 'The Highland Fling' which displays this tendency toward a slower tempo: Mackenzie taught 'The Sword Dance' at 144 beats per minute (allegro) rising to 168 (presto) for the final, 'quickstep'.[24] According to Bruce Campbell, pipers now play it at 72 beats per minute (adagio), and the quickstep at 96 (andante).[25] Again, this is now significantly slower and suggests that the dance, over the years has assumed a different character, having lost the excitement that fleet-footed speed imparts into the dance. This is in spite of the dance retaining its first step which circles around the outside of the swords, known as 'Addressing the Swords', and the final quickstep which is danced at a faster pace. In describing the quickstep, Mackenzie says that the dancer should begin the step by clapping to signify the tempo change, remove his bonnet with the right hand and commence the step. This would all have been carried out without any break in the pulse and the gesture

would have provided an exciting flourish to the dance. It also suggests that 'The Sword Dance' was not a woman's dance.[26]

Mackenzie was writing in 1910, at the same time as D. G. MacLennan was making radical changes to Highland dancing with the adoption of balletic movements, carrying on what his late brother Willie had started in the 1880s.[27] The MacLennan brothers influenced the course of Highland Dancing in much the same way as their cousin G. S. MacLennan had influenced piping and were largely responsible for the way 'The Sean Triubhas', another of the competition Highland dances, is performed today. D. G. MacLennan stated that the first, circle step:

> was composed by myself many years ago, and in my own day no dancer ever copied it, likewise, 'high cutting' and 'side cutting', double beats back and front. My brother [William] was the only one to use entrechat in his day. The first step was always 'pas de basque' from side to side.[28]

The accentuation of the 'pas de basque from side to side' as opposed to the softer fluidity of the brushing circle step that replaced it can be heard in James Scott Skinner's 1920 fiddle recording of 'The Sean Triubhas', in which he plays in a faster and more strongly accented manner than would be heard today.[29]

In spite of these developments, Mackenzie believed that the Highland dancer should, 'beware of affectation, and of theatrical or ballet styles of movement. The manly, civilian style of dancing is more characteristic of the Highlander'.[30] Francis Peacock had made a similar suggestion one hundred years earlier when he stated that beginning a step with 'the point of the toes' had 'an air of theatrical affectation'.[31]

The reel is the only dance type that appears not to have been significantly affected by a slower tempo. Mackenzie suggests 140 beats per minute – a lively allegro, whilst pipers currently play it at speeds of between 120 and 132 beats per minute.[32] Although this tempo is still allegro, it contradicts SOBDH tempo guidelines: they advocate a speed of 100–108 beats per minute, which constitutes a very much slower andante.

Just as the dances have slowed down to accommodate a more balletic and elevated style of dancing, the pipe tunes have slowed down to allow complex gracings or ornaments of anything from six to eight notes, which precede the melody notes. Pipe melodies also have a very pronounced 'dot and cut': dotted quavers followed by semiquavers, where the dotted note is exaggerated in length and the short note is made even shorter or more 'pointed', to use piping terminology. This often results in a stretching of the pulse in competitive playing. Gone is the regular, steady pulse which is so necessary to the dancer; in its place is, as one of my respondents so eloquently put it, 'a sink and sag'.[33]

Piping for Dancing

In Highland dancing, which was traditionally associated with piping, we see many similarities to competition piping. This includes its strict control by the SOBHD,

set up in 1950 to regulate dancing. The Board's Technical Committee includes representatives from each of the Dance Examining Bodies that hold Highland Dancing examinations: the British Association of Teachers of Dance, the Scottish Dance Teachers Alliance, and the United Kingdom Alliance Ltd. It also includes Highland Dancing associations in Australia, the United States, South Africa, Canada, and New Zealand as affiliated members.[34]

As we have seen, a competition piper may come from any country in the world and play in a very similar style to a Scottish piper, and a Highland dancer may do likewise. As with piping, the dance tempi have slowed down over the years, ostensibly to allow for higher leaping by the dancers, but this does raise the question of the extent to which competition piping may have influenced Highland dancing. As with piping, technical execution is what gains a dancer marks in Highland dancing, so a dancer will often attempt to elevate, or jump as high as possible with almost every movement. The dancer's foot must be sharply in position with the musical beat, although this commonly results in a jerky, unmusical style of dancing. Dancers practice to recorded music, so are used to hearing the same music played in exactly the same way for every dance. Donal Brown finds that dancers are not always dancing *with* the music because often one dancer is trying to jump higher than the person dancing next to them. He believes in trying to help dancers to dance *with*, rather than against the music, and for that reason will go to great lengths to tap his foot strongly in an effort to help them to dance with the beat:

> Playing a strathspey for a Highland Fling – it's a very slow tempo. I think part of that is the competition side of things because I believe that the dancers are always just a little bit off the beat and that's because they're trying to get a bit of extra height and they look like they're jumping higher than the person next to them. If you get someone who takes dancing very seriously, who's dancing next to someone who maybe dances once a week or is just doing it for a bit of fun, quite often they'll be dancing behind the beat – the one that's taking it very seriously and is very good, very technical. And then the person next to them is actually sometimes a bit in front of the beat which is very difficult to play for.[35]

'The Reel of Tulloch' and 'The Highland Reel' can also be difficult for the piper to play for in Highland dancing competitions. This is largely because four dancers must dance together, rather than individually. The dancers are soloists and not used to working with other dancers as part of a unified group. As they are unlikely to have rehearsed together and are competing against one another, this can create a problem for the piper, especially if the piper is watching the dancers' feet in order to keep the beat steady. This is one dance where the dancers are not always closely synchronized with each other. As Brown stated in the same interview:

> If you've got dancers dancing at different tempos, it's hard to get an average speed because I really like to play my best, and give them nice music and play

at a good tempo for them. But that's really tricky, so there's more skills than technical skills. You have to be able to try and suit different needs.

He raises concerns about the excessively slow tempo of the dances because he feels that the essence of the actual music is lost as a result. To this end, the dancing becomes a mere exercise:

> It's slow. I think it's too slow and you lose the music. I'm trying to pipe and put some music into the tunes. And if it's too slow, the tunes become a bit of a dirge – like the sword dance. But a lot of people say the same about the sword dance – it's their least favourite dance. It's difficult to do; it's a bit of a dirge if the tune is that slow as well.[36]

Bruce Campbell takes this same consideration somewhat further. Like Donal Brown, he believes that pipe tunes must be played differently for competition and for dance, and feels very strongly about using suitable pipe music for dance:

> I never found it good enough just to do what anybody else was doing – that's just to rattle out a tune. I wanted to play *the* tune that fitted the dance, at the tempo that suited the dance, with the expression of the big, back notes that suited the dance […] If you're looking for a tune to go with, say, the Hornpipe, and you've got six dancers up and each of them is doing something totally different, right from start to finish, it's really, really hard to get the tune that fits. So I spent a bit of time trying to work my head through how to present that as a piper in the best possible fashion before I finally came up with a solution.[37]

Campbell's solution was to produce a book of what he felt were suitable tunes for the various Highland dances, along with recommendations for pipers about playing for dancing. Like Donal Brown, he stresses the necessity for the piper to maintain a steady beat whilst accompanying dancers. He also explains why some tunes are more suitable than others for certain dances: he feels they should not have too many notes as this can confuse the steady beat so necessary for dancers.[38] He suggests that:

> The good piper is more than somebody who can twiddle his fingers. A good piper is somebody who understands how to accent a tune properly and that's what you try and do for a dancer. It's not just playing a reel, it's playing a reel to suit the kind of dance step that in some reels should be open and flowing and at other times should be staccato and heavily accented. So you've got to try and decide because the books don't tell you […] And it even goes worse in that the SOBHD tries to teach people that a strathspey has a strong, weak, medium, weak accent. Well, it doesn't. It does if you play a trombone, but it doesn't if you play bagpipes. So the dancers are thinking, 'Well, that gives us a lift, but how

can we do it?' And they don't understand because you can't do it. You can't do a medium accent. A dancer can't do it; a piper shouldn't be trying to do it.[39]

This same consideration, about choosing music to fit the dance, is made by another piper when discussing piping for percussive step dance:

> You might want to get rid of some of the melody notes to simplify it [the tune], but I think generally, you just want to take out the gracings and the ornaments that are on those notes. They just tend to make it far too busy when it's a faster tune. When it's a slower, more deliberate strathspey, then these ornaments can be used because there's space and time to use them, but for step dancing there's no point in putting them in. That's something I think a lot of pipers need to learn a little bit more about so that they appreciate a different style of playing strathspeys, and don't think of it as this kind of regimented and very strict competition way. We shouldn't all have to follow the same guidelines for performing a piece of music. If there's a really good reason, such as a traditional form of dance, to play it differently, then you'd think musicians should know about it. Pipers need to learn about that.[40]

Piping for Percussive Dance

Individuals or associations who attempt to challenge the authority of the regulatory bodies, perhaps by altering their own performance style or by attempting to introduce a different method of performance to the accepted standards, do tend to meet with strong opposition. This is particularly the case with regard to piping for percussive step dance; a dance form that has been revitalized in Scotland during the last twenty years. Hamish Moore's original experiment between 2003–2005 to reinterpret a form of piping for dancing, based on the traditions of South Uist in the Scottish Outer Hebrides and the associated style of emigrants from there to Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, has been discussed recently by Joshua Dickson, who took part in the project as a piping participant observer.[41]

Moore has spent many years honing his skills as a pipe maker, basing his pipes on eighteenth-century models, and developing a style of piping that is less complex, and more danceable than the competition style. To this end, he has used as his model what he feels are the most pertinent aspects of the closely connected music and dance style of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. There, some of the older Scottish tunes are still played and danced to by descendants of the Scottish émigrés amongst others, although, unlike Moore's model, Cape Breton percussive dance is predominantly accompanied by fiddle and piano. In common with both Donal Brown and Bruce Campbell mentioned above, Moore has focused in particular on such stylistic aspects of the music as a steady pulse and strong, simple playing in order to create a closer connection between dance and music than tends to be found on the competition circuits.

Dickson has suggested that Moore is a revivalist and that his ideas of playing fall neatly into the six category model proposed by Tamara Livingstone, but it appears

more likely that he is trying to move piping forward by attempting to replace the dance style of playing that has been largely lost from contemporary piping. Moore's summer school workshops focus on listening and on dance skills, in order to impart a more rounded sense of musicianship in the player, and are intended to encourage pipers and fiddlers to connect more closely with dance.[42]

Alex Currie (*c*.1910–1998), a piper from Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, whose forebears emigrated from South Uist, was a great influence on Moore. Currie learned piping as a child, by ear, from his father and from his elder brother, Paddy. From an early age, he was taught the importance of dance timing. Currie believed that his style of what was essentially dance piping, was the old, Highland way of playing: 'I play a different style. I play the old-style music. And that came from Scotland 300 years ago, over here. That's the style I've got.'[43]

Alex Currie was primarily a dance player, and that seems to be the main influence behind Moore's great interest in developing a closer connection between dance and music. Currie was particularly concerned with getting the timing right for dancing:

> You go to a party, the old people wanted the old music, you know. It was dancing, and step dancing […] So you had to do the thing right. If you were playing a strathspey and you were playing it too high, or too low, you'd start it first. He'd [the dancer] stop you right there: 'You've got to go a little bit faster than that'. So at the last of it, he's getting right onto it, what he wanted. He'd get up, jump on the floor. There was nothing to it.[44]

To this end, Currie insisted on sitting to play, as he felt it was important to use the heels, balls, and soles of both of his feet to create a complimentary, accented rhythm to whatever tune he might be playing in much the same way as a dancer would. In analyzing Currie's foot rhythms, it becomes clear that he used accentuations – a toe tap amongst heel taps, or a sole beat amongst heel taps, to mark areas he felt were important to the rhythmic accentuation of the specific melody he was playing. This aspect of accentuation – an aspect that enhances the dance rhythms of the melody, is what Hamish Moore and those who adopt his ideals have tried to impart into dance piping as opposed to the competition style of piping, where dexterity in performing complex melodic accentuations has become more important than the rhythmic connection between the music and the dance.[45]

Conclusion

The close connection between piper and dancer, where the piper pays attention to the dancer's needs and the dancer in turn listens to the piper and produces an enhanced performance through the connection, is what appears to be missing from the music of those pipers who are steeped in the competition culture. That connection was found in the playing of the late Alex Currie, and is currently being encouraged by Hamish Moore. Dance pipers, such as Donal Brown and Bruce Campbell, themselves

dancers who play for competition dancing are few in that they strive to communicate to dancers through music what they feel is best suited to the dance in question, and through carefully judged tempo and accentuations. As long as more importance is placed on a highly technical, competition-based style of excellence in both piping and dancing rather than on a connection of the dance to the music – by both pipers and dancers – the piping becomes increasingly difficult to dance to. The pursuit of supreme technical excellence in execution at the expense of tempo, natural rhythm, and accentuation, means that pipers will soon have shed all the qualities that once made the music they play dance music. The same pursuit applied to Highland dancing means that the dancing becomes more a feat of supreme athleticism than a form of closely integrated movement with music: it loses its quality of making the dancers *part* of the music.

Yet it is certainly not a picture of doom as far as the relationship between piping and dancing in Scotland goes. As we have seen, an increasing number of pipers are concerned that the dance music should be played in a simpler and livelier style more suited to dancing. Pipes are increasingly used in a wider variety of musical contexts as shown by the popularity of bellows bagpipes, which can easily be played in combination with other musical instruments. Alongside the more rigid competition style of piping, more and more pipe music is being played in a style that makes the dancer want to dance.

Notes

[1] I am a percussive step dancer and a Highland dancer with a teaching qualification from the British Association of Teachers of Dance.

[2] Francis Peacock, *Sketches Relative to History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing […]*, (Aberdeen, 1805), p. 87.

[3] The Piobaireachd Society was formed in 1903, the College of Piping in 1944 and the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing in 1950.

[4] Richard Blaustein, 'Rethinking Folk Revivalism: Grass-roots Preservationism and Folk Romanticism', in *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. by Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 258–74 (p. 267).

[5] Joshua Dickson, ' "Tullochgorm" Transformed: A Case Study in Revivalism and the Highland Pipe', in *The Highland Bagpipe, Music, History, Tradition*, ed. by Joshua Dickson (Farnham; Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009), p. 200.

[6] Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, 'About Us', <http://www.sobhd.net/aboutus/> [accessed 28 February 2011].

[7] Billy Forsyth, 'Foreword', in *Highland Dancing The Textbook of the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing*, 6th edn (Glasgow: Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, 1993).

[8] Jeanie Campbell, *Guide to the College of Piping Graded Piping Exams*, ed. by Robert Wallace (Glasgow: College of Piping, 2010), p. 1.

[9] Donal Brown, interview on piping for dancing by Pat Ballantyne, 23 August 2010, Edinglassie, Huntly.

[10] For a detailed description of grace notes, see The National Piping Centre, *The Highland Bagpipe Tutor Book* (Glasgow: National Piping Centre, 2010).

[11] Roderick D. Cannon, *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995; repr. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2008), p. 142. William Donaldson, *Pipers: A Guide to the Players and Music of the Highland Bagpipe* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), p. 103. *Pipers* has a section on G. S. MacLennan, see pp.

127–29, and a discussion of the MacLennan family of pipers, see pp. 102–105. For a short biography of the three dancing MacLennan brothers, William, Donald, and Duncan, see Alastair MacFadyen, 'The MacLennans: Dancers and Pipers', *The Reel*, 258 (London Branch RSCDS: December 2006 – March 2007), p. 7. Available online at <http://www.rscdslondon.org.uk/061211Reel258.pdf> [accessed 11 March 2011].

[12] The Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama was renamed the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in 2011.

[13] Allan MacDonald, interview on piping in Scotland, by Pat Ballantyne, 24 June 2010, Barga, Tuscany, Italy. For the army background to piping, see also Cannon, *The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music* and Donaldson, *Pipers*.

[14] John G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping 1745–1945* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), p. 183.

[15] MacDonald, interview, 2010.

[16] Sources of data – Pipe Major Bruce Campbell, 'Piping for Dancing: Trying to Get it Right', *Piping World*, *24*, digital series (Prenton, Wirral: Duntroon Publishing, March 2011); D. R. Mackenzie, *An Illustrated Guide to the National Dances of Scotland* (Stirling: Stirling Observer, 1910); The Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, *Highland Dancing: The Textbook of the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing*, 6th edn (Glasgow: Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, 1993) <http://www.sobhd.net/downloads/index.shtml> [accessed 27 February 2011].

[17] Mackenzie, *Illustrated Guide*.

[18] Mackenzie, *Illustrated Guide*, p. 33.

[19] SOBHD *Highland Dancing (*1993), p. 31.

[20] Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, 'Forms and Downloads', <http://www.sobhd.net/downloads/index.shtml> [accessed 27 Feb 2011].

[21] Pipe Major Bruce Campbell, *Piping for Highland Dancing* (Prenton, Wirral: Duntroon Publishing, 2010). PM Campbell is also the publisher of a web-based monthly journal for pipers, *Piping World*, in which the survey results were published: 'Piping for Dancing', p. 51.

[22] Campbell, 'Piping for Dancing', p. 51.

[23] Peacock, *Sketches*, p. 87.

[24] Mackenzie, *Illustrated Guide*, pp. 41 and 46.

[25] Campbell, 'Piping for Dancing', p. 5.

[26] Mackenzie, *Illustrated Guide*, p. 46.

[27] See Campbell, *Guide to the Graded Bagpipe Study Examinations*, p. 1.

[28] D. G. MacLennan, *Highland and Traditional Scottish Dances* (Edinburgh: the author, [1950]), p.23

[29] For an example of this recording, visit <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/music/cd211a.m3u> [accessed 28 February 2011].

[30] Ibid.

[31] Peacock, *Sketches*, p. 108.

[32] Mackenzie, *Illustrated Guide*, p. 20.

[33] Calum MacCrimmon, interview on piping for dancing, by Pat Ballantyne, 3 March 2010, Glasgow.

[34] The Scottish Official Highland Dancing Association has been in existence slightly longer than the SOBHD, having been set up in 1947. However, it is a much smaller association than the SOBDH, and does not have the same following or influence. It places more emphasis on recognizing a large number of dances. See <http://www.sohda.org.uk> [accessed 27 February 2011].

[35] Brown, interview, 2010.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Bruce Campbell, Skype telephone interview on piping for dancing, by Pat Ballantyne, 4 January 2011.

[38] Campbell, 'Piping for Dancing', pp. 6–7.

[39] Campbell, 'Piping for Dancing', pp. 6–7. The reference to the SOBHD's 'strong, weak, medium, weak' style of accentuation can be found in *Highland Dancing*, 1993, p. 58.

[40] MacCrimmon, interview, 2010.

[41] Dickson, 'Tullochgorm'.

[42] Dickson, 'Tullochgorm', p. 193. For Tamara Livingstone's discussion of her model of what constitutes a music revival, see 'Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory,' *Ethnomusicology*, 43, no. 1 (Winter 1999), 66–85.

[43] Ronald Caplan, 'With Alex Currie, Frenchvale', *Cape Breton's Magazine*, 73 (June 1998), 29–45 (p.32).

[44] Caplan, 'With Alex Currie, Frenchvale', p. 33.

[45] Caplan, 'With Alex Currie, Frenchvale', p. 34.

14

Tradition and creativity: the roots and routes of fiddler Aidan O'Rourke

CHRIS STONE

Introduction

In searching for a topic that sat squarely between the theme of the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention conference, 'Roots and Routes', and my own musical and academic interests, I took the liberty of associating the phrase 'Roots and Routes' with 'Tradition and Creativity'. Bjorn Merker states the following elegant description of one type of musical creativity:

> Command of craft and grounding in a musical tradition are no less essential to musical creativity than is originality, since for a creature of culture both adequate tools and command of tradition are prerequisites for creating substance.[1]

While the word 'originality' and my use of the word 'creativity' are not precisely interchangeable, Merker goes on to describe the idea of tradition and creativity in terms of 'fidelity and novelty', implying that any creative work must come from a known area of departure (or tradition), which provides a reference for observers to measure 'novelty' or originality against. This description gives a clearer picture of my intended use of the word 'creativity' and the process it describes in this paper.

Balkin suggests that the word creativity is 'overused, misused, confused, abused, and generally misunderstood'.[2] However, within the constraints of Scottish fiddle music, focusing on the process and product of musical 'novelty' or 'originality' and the associated role of 'tradition', I felt that the word 'creativity' was suitably precise. The first Scottish fiddler that came to mind while mulling over these ideas was Aidan O'Rourke, and specifically his work with the band Lau. Here I felt was a clear example of tradition and creativity: a fiddler who has been immersed in the Scottish fiddle tradition and presents that tradition in ways that can be comfortably defined as creative.

It is generally understood that creativity cannot be measured objectively. Creativity is socio-culturally dependant: we have to understand the data that a creative person works from, in order to see the creative use of, or change in, that data. For example, if we had no background understanding or knowledge of traditional Scottish fiddle music to use as a reference, we would come to a very different conclusion about O'Rourke's creativity than the one I hope to articulate. We would have no knowledge of what is accepted as traditional musical forms or parameters in this particular domain. By firstly ascertaining O'Rourke's background training and grounding in the Scottish fiddle tradition, we will have a benchmark against which to view the creativity found in his work with Lau.

Balkin states that 'ultimately, society, right or wrong, rewards or rejects the creative person only for the products that emerge from the creative process'.[3] In this case, the recorded works of Lau are the most tangible part of the creative process, and will therefore be the primary reference point of this paper. I have chosen to focus exclusively on the instrumental tracks of Lau's album *Arc Light*.[4] A detailed discussion of what is and what is not traditional Scottish fiddle music is beyond the scope of this paper. However, assuming that most readers have a general knowledge of the Scottish fiddling tradition, the following brief outline of O'Rourke's musical roots should suffice.

Roots

O'Rourke was born in Glasgow, and within a year moved with his family to Oban before finally settling off the Argyll Coast on the island of Seil.[5] He began fiddle lessons at the age of eight with local fiddlers George McHardy and Maurice Duncan. While predominantly West Coast fiddlers based in the Gaelic tradition of song and pipes, these teachers also introduced O'Rourke to the more classically orientated North-East fiddle styles. This traditional background was augmented by a few years of classical violin lessons as a teenager. While studying in Glasgow for an engineering degree, O'Rourke continued to play traditional music during the holidays with fiddler/flautist Claire Mann. After graduation, he moved to Edinburgh for a gap year of music, ostensibly before beginning his career as an engineer. However, his demand as a musician was great enough to provide him with the alternative of becoming a professional musician. Although he never formally trained in music theory or composition, O'Rourke read extensively on the subject and began composing new works in his early twenties. A feature of his compositional work was a focus on cross-genre amalgamation, bringing his Scottish fiddle roots to new musical structures paired with jazz-based improvising musicians. O'Rourke comments that:

> As a composer, I've basically learned through trial and error: I was never taught music theory, but I've done a lot of reading about it, and when I'm working with all these different musicians I always ask lots of questions. I've learned to think much more three-dimensionally when I'm writing something now; I

have a clearer sense of what I want to get across, what the sonic capabilities of the line-up are, so it's all a bit more systematic, rather than just hitting and hoping.[6]

O'Rourke was soon winning a number of high-profile commissions. These included *Encore*, 2002, for a youth ensemble, *Sirius*, 2003, for a 12-piece folk/jazz ensemble, *Mantra Alba*, 2004, *An Tobar*, 2007, *Forward!* and *92.4°*, 2009, *Coriolis*, 2009, for the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, and *Bridge*, 2009. During this time, O'Rourke published two solo albums titled *Sirius* (2006) and *An Tobar* (2008), and appeared on more than eighty recordings as a guest artist.

O'Rourke was also a founding member of the band Blazin Fiddles in 1998,[7] helping to bring Highland and Island Scottish fiddle styles to a wide audience throughout Europe and North America. In 2004, the members of Lau, Kris Drever on guitar, Martin Green on accordion, and Aidan O'Rourke laid the band's early foundations with weekly rehearsals at O'Rourke's flat in Edinburgh. O'Rourke points out that:

> The three of us each have a very individual approach, but very similar tastes; we're all into improvising and we like pushing things to extremes. But we did work really hard at it [Lau] before we started gigging – with so many new bands around these days, we knew it had to be something special.[8]

They performed their first concert at the Leith Folk Club in Edinburgh a year later. Since then, they have become one of the United Kingdom's most highly lauded folk groups, also commanding the respect and praise from audiences and critics outwith the folk music scene. While delving into many musical styles, the Scottish fiddle tradition is a pivotal focus of much of their instrumental music. However, O'Rourke also states that 'I've always strived for and thrived on new challenges […] I don't want to give myself any boundaries, and I want to keep learning new things'.[9]

Routes

One could suggest that, broadly speaking, creativity in Scottish fiddle music has been primarily confined to the role of the accompanist. Traditionally, the fiddler would perform solo or accompanied by a simple bass line provided by a cello, most famously by fiddler Niel Gow and his brother Donald on cello. The creative application of jazz chords and rhythms and instrumentation to the accompaniment is just one example of how some musicians have brought a more modern feel to Scottish fiddle music. For example, Hazel Wrigley from the Orkney Islands uses swing guitar chords and rhythms from America to accompany her sister Jennifer on the fiddle. Contemporary Scottish bands, Shooglenifty and the Peatbog Fairies, use modern rock, electronic, and funk accompaniment with their original and traditional fiddle, pipe, and mandolin tunes. Bands like the Chris Stout Quintet use unusual instrumentation like the saxophone to add colour and depth to their tune

sets. Accompaniment must inevitably be taken into consideration as an integral part of the music as a whole. However, in this paper I shall attempt to identify creativity on a more fundamental level. In particular, how O'Rourke manipulates the function, extension, and fragmentation of the Scottish fiddle tradition itself as a creative tool within the overall musical structure and intent of Lau. Finally, I will explore the technological aids that O'Rourke uses in Lau's live shows to simulate creative effects used in the recording studio. Where appropriate, I have identified specific 'listenings' from Lau's album, *Arc Light*, in support of the discussion below. I strongly recommend listening to the full album first, before locating the specific sections that relate to the text.

Function

The first point I would like to make relates to the musical function of the fiddle within the structural texture as a whole. While the fiddle is traditionally a melody instrument, and a fiddle 'tune' is traditionally a 16-bar melody in AB format, O'Rourke makes use of melody-like material and identifiable melody-related bowing patterns in a role more akin to accompaniment than tune playing. For example, in the opening track of the album, 'The Burrian', he plays a reel-like figure, identifiable as a 'tune' (for the purpose of this paper, 'tune' refers to a Scottish fiddle melody traditionally played for dances). However, in the context of this piece, with Green playing a flowing, continuous reel on accordion and Drever strumming an accompaniment on guitar, O'Rourke's line functions more like a bass line, adding depth, texture, and shape. His choice of a low register and an obviously chordal approach to his note choices assist in the function of this line as an accompaniment figure. The key point here is that O'Rourke, in adding to the musical milieu, has drawn material from his own musical background, reworking the function rather than the content of the part itself (Listening 1 – see the Appendix). Speaking on the construction of this track, O'Rourke comments that:

> This piece began with the main accordion melody which was written by Martin and is based on the rhythm of the Lancashire 3/2 hornpipe […] My counter melody fits tightly with the chord chart which Kris added to the initial melody.[10]

In track three, entitled 'Horizontigo', we find a different kind of reworking of a traditional-sounding tune. This time, O'Rourke's part acts as a textural addition. During the track, while members of the band are creating a free atonal soundscape, O'Rourke has overdubbed a second fiddle line, a reel written by Green. This tune is busy, strong and engaging, and easily identifiable as the melodic and rhythmic focal point it becomes later in the track. However, in this context the reel acts as a background wash of sound, adding depth and momentum to the floating, airy effects already present. This effect was achieved by both the dynamic shaping of the performance paired with digital manipulation of the track in the mixing stage of

the album, specifically by gradually increasing the relative volume of the new line (Listening 2). O'Rourke made the following comment on this piece:

> We thought long and hard (about) what to do with the end of this track. We were very happy (with) how the air developed and the build existed before we knew where it would go. We tried various ideas and settled on the use of a reel. A tune Martin wrote years ago seemed to sit the best and this is what we used.[11]

The last point I will make regarding the function of O'Rourke's playing can be found in track six of the album titled 'Steven's'. Here O'Rourke reworks a classic bowing pattern, the birl or bowed triplet, traditionally used to embellish a tune. By the addition of double stopped chords to the birl, he creates an accompaniment figure that sits between the accordion's tune and the guitar's strummed accompaniment. This motif adds a percussive, rhythmic drive to the track, and helps to build the overall dynamic of the section (Listening 3). O'Rourke states that:

> This pattern again sits tightly with the chord chart. I commonly use birls to add sustain or attach to a chord. It's one of those intrinsically Scottish decorations. When playing with musicians from outwith the traditional scene it's the ornament that's most commonly queried and replicated.[12]

Extension

In the previous examples O'Rourke has taken identifiable Scottish fiddle techniques and changed their musical function to enable him to add depth, texture, and drive to the music. In the following examples, we can see a different type of manipulation: that of extending the structures, forms, and arrangements of a Scottish traditional tune. However, in contrast to the preceding examples, this is done while O'Rourke's playing maintains the function of the fiddle as a melody instrument.

Track three, 'Horizontigo', is a good example of how O'Rourke treats the structure of a set of fiddle tunes. The points of interest and change in a traditional set of tunes are normally rather symmetrical and conform to a predictable structure. Each tune is played two or three times, each 'A' and 'B' sections is repeated, resulting in a measured, balanced work. The final tune O'Rourke plays in this track is constructed in a traditional way. The arrangement of the track as a whole, however, significantly intensifies the effect of this final tune, through a simple process of suspense. The track lasts for seven minutes and seventeen seconds, but the tune or melody itself (when performed as the focal melody) begins five minutes into the track. Before this moment is reached, the slow build up of the previous tune and the extended 'jam' following strongly intensifies its eventual arrival. At this point, an immense sense of release is experienced, and the ultimate direction of the track is finally unveiled (Listening 4). O'Rourke points out that:

> We had the air and build long before we knew where it would go. We arranged the track for the desired release. We always knew the shape it would take.[13]

Another method of extension used by O'Rourke involves a creative paring of time signatures and associated forms. A prime example can be found in track eight, titled 'Frank and Flo's'. This set moves through some interesting time signatures, starting out in a simple 6/8 jig with sections of 9/8. O'Rourke adds a more unique twist, moving from the 6/8 section to a 4/4 feel that segues into a new 3/4 feel, keeping crotchets constant throughout (with the allowance of a slight tempo shift), then alternates between 6/8 and 3/4 feels. This type of accent shift is a common addition to jig playing for many fiddlers. However, the extent to which these changes and the accompaniment are worked into the tune via the addition of the 4/4 sections, and more importantly how pivotal they are to the structure of the track as a whole, is significant. The melodies throughout the track are engaging and lively, but it is these rhythmical changes that mark the progression, and ultimately the structure, of the track (Listening 5). O'Rourke explains that:

> I added my melody 'An Tobar' to Martin's 'Frank and Flo's'. We felt that there was an exciting rhythmic connection between the 6/8 and 9/8 feel of Martin's tune and the 6/4 in mine. There's a slight tempo change but the basic groove or pulse is connected. We enjoy playing around with changing time signatures. It adds its own sense of tension.[14]

Fragmentation

The last point I would like to make relates to O'Rourke's use of fragmentation, sampling and looping as a compositional tool. By using these techniques, he achieves a degree of tension, disorientation, and release that is often not apparent in the comparatively even meter of Scottish fiddle music. Again during the opening of the first track on the album, 'The Burrian', O'Rourke begins with a figure not unlike a reel in feel, although he is playing in 3/4. His lines are not closed, however, and after each phrase the tune is left hanging on a long, drawn out note, before moving to the next figure. By fragmenting the line, O'Rourke creates short waves of tension and release, and he continues to build on this throughout the track. This theme is utilised again at the end of the piece (Listening 6).

O'Rourke uses a similar technique during the middle section of track four entitled 'Saltyboys'. The material O'Rourke uses in the breakdown section towards the middle of the set is sourced from the tune leading up this point, but by taking only a fragment of the tune and looping it in cannon with the guitar and accordion, the section builds a great degree of tension for the listener. Perhaps this is only fully realised when O'Rourke begins the next section, the tune played in a straightforward manner, doubled by the accordion and accompanied by strummed guitar, at which point the tension is released (Listening 7).

Another good example of O'Rourke's use of fragmentation to build tension can be found in track six, titled 'Steven's'. After a simple introduction, O'Rourke exits the melody via a heavily distorted, atonal improvised solo. He then begins to loop a short fragment of melody. This motif is then layered with a similar theme on the accordion, before they join for a short looped motif in edgy harmony. O'Rourke continues until a second, overdubbed Lau (see 'Loop Pedals' below), mixed well back in the track, begins to make itself heard through the wash of sound created by the disorientating first Lau. Finally this second Lau wins the battle and the listener is once again released by the flowing, measured lines of the new tune (Listening 8).

Loop Pedals: A Technologic Aid in Live Performance

Throughout the album *Arc Light*, O'Rourke uses overdubbing – recording separate layers of music, then mixing these together to achieve the effect of more than one fiddle playing at the same time. For many of the points discussed above, overdubbing was either pivotal to the effect, or supportive of it. For instance, in Listening 2, an overdubbed layer of O'Rourke was gradually added to the original recording before finally taking the lead into the next tune. In the studio, this effect is simple to achieve.

When Lau perform live, arrangements like this that make use of overdubbing in the studio must be replicated. To do this, O'Rourke uses a loop (repeat) pedal. This works much like a recording device that can be synchronised with either a click track (regular beat provided to keep a band in exact time) or music being played live by the band. Where O'Rourke would normally leave behind one musical figure or function to begin the next, with a loop pedal, he is able first to record a section of his own playing during a performance, set up a continuous loop of that section, and then begin to play the next section himself. For instance, in Listening 3, O'Rourke explains how he performs both the birl-like accompaniment figure and the melody at the same time:

> When we play this track live I use a loop station to record this pattern live and then play it along with the guitar part as I play the melody. We use loop stations more and more in Lau to reproduce overdubbed ideas achieved in the studio.[15]

The loop pedal enables not only the replication of effects achieved in the studio, but expands the possibilities of O'Rourke's creativity as a composer and arranger. Using the loop pedal, O'Rourke can be active on multiple musical levels, effectively adding a fourth member to the group. This also means that Drever and Green are not required to fill a musical 'gap' as O'Rourke moves to a new figure, allowing them more freedom in what they play and why they play it. On the other hand, the consistency of style or effect that can be achieved with the loop pedal is also a valuable asset for Lau. O'Rourke comments that:

> We quite often build up numerous musical components that are interchangeable between instruments but sound quite different when played because of obvious tonal differences on the instruments but also because when we apply our own musical backgrounds and left to our own devices we phrase things quite differently.[16]

Rather than passing musical ideas around the group, with each member taking turns as accompanist and melody player with their own unique interpretations, O'Rourke can keep his interpretation of a figure or melody constant with the use of the loop pedal. This provides a more solid base for the far reaching musical exploration that Lau enjoy, by giving the listener a constant point of reference that indicates the underlying structure and direction of the music.

Intention and Inspiration

The powerful set of tools that O'Rourke has developed allow him to draw on his skills in Scottish fiddle playing and rework these abilities by extending, fragmenting and altering their function. These tools aid him in the creative dissemination of the Scottish fiddle techniques that are key building blocks in his compositional technique. While his playing remains identifiable as 'Scottish fiddle', his approach to the medium enables further musical development. While maintaining the original building blocks of a Scottish fiddler, O'Rourke has created a new, flexible and powerful vocabulary for their use. This new method of expression has enabled him to become more than, and yet remain, a Scottish fiddler at heart. O'Rourke remarks, 'First and foremost, I'm a Scottish fiddler […] there'll always be a part of me that just wants to sit down with my fiddle and an old book of tunes.'[17]

O'Rourke's creative approaches to Scottish fiddle music seem to have a common thread. While many fiddlers write and arrange tunes that stretch the traditional boundaries of the idiom, O'Rourke has a goal larger than Scottish fiddle music. Having stretched the tension and release inherent in the structural form of traditional fiddle tune to its limit, he has taken a bold step further. By using the techniques discussed in this paper, O'Rourke has freed himself from the idiom, and this has allowed him to apply tension and release in a more extended format. This in turn has enabled him to explore more sophisticated, larger-scale musical architecture. By using tune-like material in the way a classical composer would use a motif or a jazz improviser would use a riff, O'Rourke builds his compositions and arrangements with the content subservient to the form of the music. This is a considerable advancement in the sophistication of approach compared to a traditional fiddler, and in essence turns the function of a 'tune' on its head: a tune can now be purely source material for the compositional process. And this is where Lau's formula really works for the listener: both the instant access and enjoyment of tune playing paired with the more substantial emotional and intellectual content made possible though the large-scale compositional conception.

Only time can tell if a musician or composer re-inventing and extending the form of their own tradition will be broadly accepted or not. It appears that O'Rourke alongside Lau have carved not just a niche for themselves in the traditional music landscape, but potentially helped point the direction of the tradition for the future. Merker speaks of creativity as a moving mass: the substance of tradition being propelled by innovation and imagination.[18] Through the very nature of itself, no aural musical tradition can remain completely sterile or unchanging. However, I believe there can be notable instances of inspired change or development. O'Rourke appears to be deliberately taking Scottish fiddle music into a new realm. His thoughtful, inspired creativity draws directly from the tradition and while acknowledging Scottish tradition's forms and parameters, he has taken a bold step en route to liberating and furthering its artistic possibilities. There is no better definition of creativity.

Appendix 'Musical Listenings'

From Lau, *Arc Light*, NAVIGATOR20 CD, Navigator Records, 2009.

> Listening 1: Track 1, 'The Burrian', 0:00 to 0:37
> Listening 2: Track 3, 'Horizontigo', 3:50 to 4:25
> Listening 3: Track 6, 'Stephen's', 6:00 to 6:25
> Listening 4: Track 3, 'Horizontigo', 4:39 to 5:10
> Listening 5: Track 8, 'Frank and Flo's', 1:40 to 2:15
> Listening 6: Track 1, 'The Burrian', 0:00 to 0:37
> Listening 7: Track 4, 'Salty Boys', 2:29 to 3:15
> Listening 8: Track 6, 'Stephen's', 3:19 to 3:50, then 4:30 to 5:12

Notes

[1] Bjorn Merker, 'Layered Constraints on the Multiple Creativities of Music', in *Musical Creativity: Multidisciplinary Research in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Irene Deliege and Geraint A. Wiggins (Hove: Psychology Press, [2006]), pp. 25–41.

[2] Alfred Balkin, 'What is Creativity? What is it Not?', *Music Educators Journal*, 76 (1990), 29–32.

[3] Balkin, 'What is Creativity?', p. 30.

[4] Lau, *Arc Light*, NAVIGATOR20 CD, Navigator Records, 2009.

[5] 'Aidan O'Rourke Press Bio', February 2009, see <http://www.aidanorourke.net/pressbio.pdf> [accessed 21 August 2010].

[6] 'Aidan O'Rourke Press Bio', 2009.

[7] Blazin Fiddles website, <http://www.blazin-fiddles.com> [accessed 21 August 2010].

[8] 'Aidan O'Rourke Press Bio', 2009.

[9] 'Aidan O'Rourke Press Bio', 2009.

[10] Aidan O'Rourke, 30 June 2010, email correspondence with the author.

[11] O'Rourke, 2010.

[12] O'Rourke, 2010.

[13] O'Rourke, 2010.

[14] O'Rourke, 2010.

[15] O'Rourke, 2010.

[16] O'Rourke, 2010.

[17] 'Aidan O'Rourke Press Bio', 2009.

[18] Merker, 'Layered Constraints', p. 36.

15

Passing the bow: a Canada-Scotland panel on personal experiences of teaching and learning traditional fiddling

ANNE LEDERMAN (CONVENOR), CLAIRE WHITE, JAMES ALEXANDER, CAMERON BAGGINS

The Panel

Shetlander Claire White learned the fiddle with Dr Tom Anderson from the age of seven and played as a member of Shetland's Young Heritage in Europe, New Zealand, the USA, and Canada. She is now based in Aberdeen and plays in Shetland music duo Blyde Lasses and ceilidh bands Danse McCabre and Jing Bang. An experienced tutor, she has taught at summer schools in the UK and USA. By day, she is employed by BBC Scotland.

James Alexander lives in Spey Bay in Moray and is widely acknowledged as a leading exponent and teacher of Scots Fiddle. He adjudicates at most major Scots Music competitions, including the National Mod and the prestigious Glenfiddich Fiddle Championship at Blair Castle. In the early 1980s James formed the Fochabers Fiddlers, a group of approximately thirty-five young fiddlers with an energetic approach to Scottish and Celtic music, who have done nine North American and four European tours. He was syllabus coordinator and adviser to the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama's Scots Music graded exam project, and currently serves as an examiner both for graded exams and BA degree exams. In recent years, he has been involved with the University of Aberdeen's Elphinstone Institute and was part of the planning team for the first NAFCO in 2001. James also records as a soloist for two of Scotland's main record companies and is in demand as a session musician and producer.

As a classical violin teacher, Cameron Baggins first became inspired to teach and organize young fiddlers after hearing some of them try out their competition tunes for him during their lessons in Brandon, Manitoba. This led to the Fantasy Fiddlers group in Brandon, and later the Forty Fiddling Fanatics in Winnipeg. When it became clear there were no significant music education opportunities for

children in northern Manitoba, he launched two pilot projects through the Frontier School Division in 1998. These fiddling classes were instantly popular and led to rapid expansion. At the time of writing, Cameron co-ordinates the Frontier Fiddling Program throughout the province in 35 schools, employing approximately 10 teachers.

Canadian fiddler, composer, teacher and researcher, Anne Lederman is based in Toronto, Canada. Currently she performs solo, with the trio Eh?!, with Njacko Backo and Kalimba Kalimba, and with Muddy York, and is a former member of the Flying Bulgar Klezmer Band among others. She is known especially for her research into Aboriginal fiddle traditions in Canada and has written a two-person play about her work, *Spirit of the Narrows*.[1] Anne teaches traditional fiddling in Toronto at the World Music Centre of the Royal Conservatory of Music, and at workshops, camps and festivals throughout Canada and internationally. Anne has developed her own progressive teaching method, *Tamarack'er Down: A Guide to Celtic-Canadian Fiddling Through Rhythm*,[2] based on developing a solid technique for Canadian folk fiddling from beginning to advanced levels.

Introduction

In most areas of Europe and North America, folk fiddle pedagogy is a product of the last forty years, a child of the various revival movements that have occurred in that time. Within these few short years, hundreds of camps, classes, lessons, and workshops devoted to folk fiddling for adults and young people have developed in virtually every district of North America, Great Britain, and Ireland, as well as many other countries around the world. Given that most of the musical traditions involved have little or no history of formal teaching, the methods used in these new situations are various and sometimes contradictory. Many teachers are working largely in isolation from others, inventing their own systems without reference to other models. Moreover, because of the short-term nature of much of the teaching (camps and workshops), there is often no assessment of long-term results.

NAFCo 2010 modestly instigated what is likely to become an ongoing discourse at the conference – a panel presentation and dialogue on 'Passing the Bow', the dissemination of folk fiddle traditions in the twenty-first century. It is to be hoped that through presentations and discussions of this type, fiddle teachers from many countries will benefit from an exchange of information on many subjects: the history and development of various programmes, their curricula, aims, methods, and results.

We began by bringing together four player/teachers from both sides of the Atlantic to talk about their work, two from Scotland and two from Canada. While the current offerings are largely 'reports from the field', as is appropriate at this early stage, many questions are raised. For example, how do we best give students both a good musical and technical foundation on their instruments, as well as a feel for the rhythmic and aural nature of the tradition(s) involved? Is the establishment of standardized curricula, and examinations based on those curricula (as is being

instituted in various parts of Scotland), a useful approach in all traditions? Through these fiddle-based programmes, are students learning what they need in order to go on to post-secondary programmes in music, if that is their chosen career path? What musical and psychological effects are these teaching programmes having on the students? What effects are they having on the traditions themselves? How do we measure success? Hopefully, the future will yield insights into these and many more questions yet to be asked.

The Shetland Fiddle Renaissance: The Experience of One Pupil of the Late Dr Tom Anderson

Claire White

I was very fortunate to be a pupil of the late Dr Tom Anderson from 1985 until his death in 1991, and a member of his showcase group, 'Shetland's Young Heritage', from 1988 until 2006. I intend to tell you about the life and work of my fiddle teacher and his contribution to the thriving contemporary Shetland fiddle scene.

Dr Tom Anderson, or 'Tammy', as he was better known, was born in 1910 into a musical family in the north of Shetland in a remote yet beautiful place called Eshaness. He moved to Lerwick (current population approximately 22,000), in the 1930s to work as an insurance salesman before serving in the RAF in India during World War II. Whilst in India, he was inspired by the importance that traditional music had in the lives of ordinary people and resolved that on his return to Shetland he would make it his mission to collect and record traditional fiddle music. Moreover, he came under the influence of the English folk music collector, Patrick Shuldham-Shaw.[3] Tom Anderson's job as an insurance salesman and his passion for sound recording converged after the war, allowing him to travel throughout rural Shetland gathering tunes from elderly and isolated fiddlers on an early reel-to-reel Baird recording device. Over the course of his lifetime, he gathered between 500 and 600 seven-inch reels of material from crofters and fishermen throughout the islands.[4]

In 1960, Tom Anderson was asked to assemble a group of fiddlers to perform at a Shetland 'Hamefarin' ('Homecoming') event. He brought together forty fiddlers, picked out a common repertoire, and the exciting new sound of massed fiddles in Shetland was born. Amongst the ranks was fourteen-year-old Aly Bain, who was younger than most of his fellow members. Whilst the 1950s and 1960s were dark days for Shetland fiddle playing, as islanders hung up their instruments and turned on their radios and jukeboxes, Aly Bain bucked the trend. From the age of twelve up until eighteen years he studied with Tom Anderson, whom he credits with setting him off in the right musical direction.[5]

What is Dr Anderson's legacy? Moving on from his most famous student, we come to his considerable teaching work in Shetland schools and beyond, and his contribution to the Shetland fiddle renaissance which is still in evidence today. In the early 1970s, he campaigned to have traditional Shetland fiddle music taught in schools. He boldly approached a sympathetic Director of Education, John H. Spence,

demanding that his wish be granted and it was. Tom Anderson was the obvious choice as the first fiddle tutor. So, after retiring from his employment in insurance, he travelled across Shetland, including the outer isles of Yell and Unst, teaching tunes which he had recorded and, by this time, transcribed.

Dr Anderson's approach to getting his message across was multi-dimensional. For example, he formed a group of young fiddlers to play at a local beauty pageant in 1981, called 'Tammy's Peerie Angels' (because they were all girls, not because they were necessarily angelic!). In 1983 this evolved into a more formal ambassadorial group called 'Shetland's Young Heritage' which performed domestically and internationally at numerous concerts and events under his strict leadership.

In 1981, Tom Anderson also helped establish the first Shetland Folk Festival, a now world-famous event. One year later, he helped create the Young Fiddler of the Year competition, which became an eagerly anticipated date for the growing number of under-sixteen-year-old players who were now learning with Tom. Moreover, very quickly, he encouraged his own pupils to become teachers themselves. I vividly remember him saying, 'It's not your tradition to hold onto, you must pass it on'. I became a teacher at the age of fourteen, working every Saturday at the local community centre and in my home after school to share tunes as they had been passed down to me.

From 1978 onwards, Tom Anderson was also teaching summer schools at Stirling University, from which he was awarded an honorary PhD in 1981 to supplement the MBE (Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) for services to music, which he had been given a few years earlier (1977).[6] The Stirling summer schools, which attracted international students, were great fun for him, and the source of inspiration for new tunes, such as 'The Lazy Deuk' and 'The Erratic Washing Machine'. This annual gathering of top fiddle tutors from all over Scotland, including Aonghas Grant, Ian Powrie, and Alastair Hardie, became a platform for the developing profile of Tom Anderson's work. I remember vividly the excitement of participating in my first summer school in the tenth anniversary year, aged ten, being enthralled by performing in the beautiful Airthrey Castle and listening to music from Jean Redpath and others echoing around the wooden rooms.

Tom's teaching method was simple and engaging. The classroom full of eager students arranged themselves in rows behind Tom's piano and listened as he performed the tunes on violin at full speed. They then pieced together the tunes gradually from manuscript on their fiddles, until Tom was able to accompany them with rousing piano chords. Tom also used this method in one-to-one lessons throughout the year, with the added ingredient of confronting and repeating tricky phrases and techniques. Each pupil was expected to practise regularly before the following week's 20–30 minute lesson and have their tune(s) almost up to performance speed.[7]

By this time Tom Anderson's reputation was well established nationwide, so much so that BBC Scotland dedicated thirty minutes of prime-time television to a documentary celebrating his life's work on the occasion of his eightieth birthday

in 1990. Introduced by well-known Scottish journalist, Magnus Magnusson, and featuring contributions from many of Tom's closest musical friends, it was, sadly, to be his swansong and, in 1991, he died from ill-health.

But the end of Tom Anderson's life did not mark an end to his life's work. Shetland's Young Heritage continued where he left off, performing and promoting traditional music world-wide. There was a visit to the Middle East Technical University in Turkey in 1992, followed by a five-week 'Dream Tour' of the USA in 1993, which Tom Anderson had always hoped the group would one day undertake. A first album, *Visions*, was recorded to coincide with the trip, and the group gradually began to develop its sound to give it a more contemporary feel whilst staying true to its traditional roots. Further trips to Indonesia, Canada, Norway, and New Zealand followed, plus another album, *Bridging the Gap*, in 1997.[8]

Meanwhile, the Shetland fiddle scene as a whole was gaining momentum. Shetland Islands Council continued and extended fiddle tuition in schools as established by Tom. Currently there are more traditional fiddle teachers than classical violin teachers in Shetland schools. The energy and commitment which these staff members bring to their teaching has led to a proliferation of extra-curricular fiddle groups and bands which perform both domestically and internationally, and are breeding grounds for world-class talent. Bands such as Fiddler's Bid, featuring Chris Stout, and Filksa, featuring Jenna Reid, grew up in the 1990s, cutting loose from traditional music confines and bringing the tradition which Tom Anderson had revitalised to new audiences. Another of his best-known pupils was also establishing a musical career for herself throughout the 1990s; Catriona Macdonald, a founding member of Shetland's Young Heritage, has been a constant exponent of Tom Anderson's work and, amongst her many musical talents, skilfully re-interprets his archive recordings for new listeners.[9] Back home in Shetland these musical role models, to name but a few, are inspiring a whole new generation of fiddlers to greater technical standards, standards which I am sure Tom Anderson himself could never have anticipated.

This story closes at a very healthy point in Shetland's musical trajectory. The music industry, and especially fiddle music, makes a sizeable contribution to the Shetland economy. Countless pupils are taught traditional fiddle music in Shetland schools and the standard of musicianship at the annual Young Fiddler of the Year competition has, arguably, never been higher. Much of the credit for that success is owed to Dr Anderson.

Personally, I feel that the key to Tom Anderson's success lies in his comprehensive approach to his life's mission. The continuity of his commitment to fiddle playing throughout his lifetime was crucial, and the energy (sometimes impatience) with which he single-mindedly pursued his visionary goal is awe-inspiring. His instinct to make his message heard through recording, performing, publishing, teaching, and broadcasting simultaneously, all with characteristic wit, charm, and occasional ferocity, won the day.

Original copies of Tom Anderson's extensive musical archive are now stored in a bank vault but the recordings can be heard at the Shetland Archives.[10] Fragile tapes that once rattled along bumpy rural roads in the back of his car now travel the world at the speed of light as digital sound files, keeping this age-old culture alive and kicking. I think he would be very proud.

It's Cool to Play Fiddle

James Alexander

I teach violin in Fochabers, Scotland. I generally start pupils at around eight years of age after a musical aptitude test. Lessons are partly delivered through the school group teaching system (up to four in a group) or one-on-one for those pupils who are becoming more advanced and possibly looking at a career in music. I teach pupils to read notation mainly, but also encourage learning and playing by ear, particularly where I detect ability in this area. In the early stages of tuition I establish a general grounding in technique so that pupils have the option and ability to tackle different styles of music. I lean heavily on Paul Rolland's work,[11] and introduce technical practice according to the pieces being played and the skills required therein.

For those pupils who want to specialise in traditional fiddle, I introduce them to ornamentation and specific bowing styles used within the idiom. Since there are different ways of ornamenting traditional tunes, depending somewhat on regional or personal variations,[12] I encourage students to listen to other exponents and experiment in that area. Thereafter, I advise students on how to select repertoire, from building sets of tunes for recitals or competitions to dance sets suitable for ceilidhs. I encourage students to study the traditional music of the eighteenth century up until present day in the hope that they will appreciate the richness of repertoire spanning that period.

I am often asked why a village like Fochabers and its small satellite villages have a constant flow of budding young fiddlers and traditional musicians. Fochabers has approximately 1500 residents and the nearby rural area and small villages amount to a further 800 people or so. About 15% of the population is between 9 and 18 years old, somewhat fewer than 400 young people. Of that group, perhaps 25% (a hundred or so) play fiddle.

This trend was set in the early 1980s with the creation of a group known as the Fochabers Fiddlers. This group became so successful that now it is hard to satisfy the demand for fiddle tuition. My current practice consists of using experienced pupils to teach younger players. Not only does this ensure that additional tuition is provided but it reminds and reinforces these young teachers of the benefits of good technique, as well as allowing me some control and oversight of the teaching quality. However, the question remains: why is there such demand, given that, in the 1980s, we had great difficulty inspiring young fiddlers to continue playing, especially during the transition from primary to secondary school education (11 or 12 years and upwards). A number of things happened around that time which turned this situation around:

1. The group went on a performance trip to Shetland in 1988 where we linked up with Tom Anderson, and where students saw how 'normal' it was to play fiddle at all ages.
2. Since I had always been interested in experimenting with other musical styles, both as a player and arranger, I started introducing different chord choices, different accompaniment rhythms and styles, and different ensemble instruments, including drum kit, bass guitar, acoustic and electric guitar, and keyboard (experimenting with sounds other than piano). I found that young people were immediately interested and, indeed, enthused at being part of a musical ensemble using traditional melodies (some hundreds of years old, some new), but presenting them in a more contemporary way. This meant they were part of something they were proud to let their peers see and hear.
3. Being able to professionally record CDs and DVDs has added to the 'cool' aspect of being in a group like this, as has the use of 'on fiddle' microphones to allow the drummer to play without fear of drowning out fiddles.
4. The group has toured extensively, where the accepting, and indeed, enthusiastic reception for our music in North America and Europe has played a large part in encouraging interest.

Further evidence of the success of the group is seen at Speyfest – a celebration of Celtic music and arts held annually in Fochabers, where some of the world's finest bands perform. Last year, a survey was conducted to gather information to help develop the marketing of the festival. Festival goers were interviewed about a range of subjects and the majority said that their favourite act was the Fochabers Fiddlers. Given that a large proportion of the 6,000 people attending the festival are local, there may have been a partisan element, but it is hugely significant that 'it's cool to play fiddle' in Fochabers.

I am also told by group members that they enjoy the rapport and camaraderie which goes along with being part of the group. In conclusion, whilst there is much to recommend the traditional way of accompanying these great traditional melodies, there is always room for different interpretations. We have to keep an open mind so that these tunes will continue to be played in some form. We have to be accepting of different approaches and styles; no single method should be promoted to the exclusion of all others. Whilst it is important that historical, regional and personal styles are nurtured so that future generations can see and learn about them, it is also important that we, as teachers and performers, educate young traditional musicians as broadly as possible. Therefore, while we should teach the traditional styles and the repertoire of great Scottish composers, having acquired that knowledge, students should be encouraged to evolve and develop as musicians in their own way. Hopefully, one day, they will leave their own mark on this rich, diverse tradition.

The Frontier Fiddlers: Celebrating Achievement in a Time of Vulnerable Traditions

Cameron Baggins

Manitoba, Canada, has a fiddle tradition that traces back over 300 years through the fur trade. First Nations and Métis peoples acquired fiddles, tunes, and styles, both from the French to the east and from the Scots to the north, then blended and adapted them according to their own aesthetic.[13] From anecdotal accounts, this fiddle tradition became vital to the social fabric, becoming the mainstay at weekly Saturday night dances, weddings, and other celebrations; the fiddler was highly respected and necessary. However, in recent generations, with the advent of radio, television, hockey, and bingo, dances have retreated in social importance and fiddle music has consequently languished. By the 1980s, only a few elders were playing 'the old tunes', and there were very few young people taking up the instrument.[14] Instead, as guitars became more available, country and rock music gained popularity.

In 1995, Blaine Klippenstein, a young school principal in the tiny village of Sherridan, Manitoba, decided to learn to fiddle with his fourteen students. Fiddle practice became the first class of the day. However, it soon became clear to him that he needed some help. At the annual Festival du Voyageur in Winnipeg, he saw me performing with a group of Winnipeg students and invited me to Sherridan to work with his pupils. Over the next two weeks, they were organized into a performing group which undertook a tour of three concerts around the Pas, Manitoba. It was evident to me from this small beginning that young people were inspired to play the fiddle, and that it brought them happiness both to embrace the disciplined process of mastering an instrument and to share the music in their communities.

A few years later, I initiated fiddle programmes in two more schools in the Frontier School Division (the education authority that covers much of rural Manitoba, largely consisting of Aboriginal students). These projects met with such success that other instructors were hired and fiddle programmes began to spread throughout the Division. This has led to our current situation in which the Frontier School Division provides regular instruction in 35 communities to approximately 2000 students. In addition to mini-workshops and special events in various areas of the province, each spring up to 500 students travel by van, bus, train, or plane for a final weekend of concerts and workshops with guest fiddlers from across the country. Students have an opportunity to perform what they have learned for their peers and for the host community, and enjoy new opportunities for playing with each other and the visiting fiddlers. As a whole, the Frontier Program has led, in a dozen years or so, to a renaissance of fiddling in both old and new styles throughout Manitoba. We now have as teachers three graduates from the programme. Moreover, inspired by our success, other School Divisions and social agencies such as the Manitoba Métis Federation have initiated programmes of their own.

However, school-based programmes vary significantly from the solitary practice of the traditional fiddler in these communities in several ways:

1. Whereas fiddlers in the past learned entirely by ear, our students are taught in small groups through the use of tablature, i.e., horizontal lines representing the four strings of the fiddle with fingerings read from left to right. Bowing slurs are marked above the fingerings. This system encourages ear learning almost without the students realizing it. They have something to follow in front of them, while hearing and repeating back the phrases of the tune played by the teacher. Note reading is generally introduced at a somewhat later stage.

2. The use of tablature and playing in groups results in standardization of the tune settings, in contrast with the highly personal styles of older fiddlers in these areas.

3. The traditional repertoire of these communities is supplemented by music from a variety of styles – 'Old time' Canadian, French-Canadian, Cape Breton, Irish, and Bluegrass, for example.

4. Since everyone is encouraged to participate, there are a large number of girls developing a strong interest, unlike in the past when males were dominant and females were discouraged from playing.

5. Because this is a communal form of study, social connections are a part of the music right from the beginning. The opportunities for travel between communities to special events, such as workshops, fiddle camps, and performances, further enhances social networking. This is especially important to youth living in these remote, and sometimes isolated, communities.

Fiddle programmes have huge benefits for young people in these, often troubled, rural communities. Many choices present themselves to youth: drugs, alcohol, and gang activities result from and further contribute to destructive behaviours, dysfunctional families, and fractured communities. The social aspect of performing and jamming together is a hugely positive force, and the regeneration of a home-grown music tradition provides some young people with better options that boost self esteem and enhance their lives. Further, although no formal studies linking music to academic performance have been conducted in the Frontier Division, my observations are that the opportunity to study music enhances students' school experience, and develops skills that often improve scholastic achievement. As a result, more students complete their education.

Furthermore, fiddling among the youth has brought a gift back to the communities in which they live. Although the practices of square dancing and jigging have been maintained in many communities, fewer and fewer fiddlers have been available to play for them in recent years. With the success of our programme, many families and community events now enjoy live music again and are proud that their youth are carrying on this heritage, as we can see from the number of times our young fiddlers are featured in local news. Thus, fiddling also provides an important connection between the schools and community members, building trust and solidarity.

Beyond the effects on the students themselves, their families and their communities, the programme also has far-reaching ramifications for the general population in Manitoba. Our students are generating a positive image of First

Nations and Métis peoples that goes a long way towards improving relations between cultural groups. In short, they are ambassadors for their culture.

Fiddle is a Rhythm Instrument
Anne Lederman

My teaching method is based on the basic premise that we need a progressive system for teaching fiddle in Canada, from beginner to advanced, based specifically on the principles of the traditions themselves. This seems straightforward, but in a county as diverse as Canada with so many distinct styles of playing, it is anything but. Even if we can establish the important values and principles of the traditions we are working with, we are left with major questions of how we can best help students develop those techniques, over what period of time and in what sort of teaching and performing situations. Like many of us, I am sure, I have been wrestling with those questions in some form as long as I've been teaching. It helped me greatly that I had learned as an adult, and therefore have a sometimes excruciatingly clear memory of what I went through myself, trying to persuade every reluctant muscle of my body to do or not do certain things in order to get the sounds I was hearing. I went to classical teachers because that is all there was at the time, but I was always more involved with other traditions – jazz, various styles of Celtic-based North American fiddling (including Aboriginal styles), Country, Klezmer, Balkan, Greek and African musics as well as improvisation. For the purposes of this paper, I will confine myself to the 'Celtic-Canadian' traditions that form the bulk of my teaching practice.

'Celtic-Canadian' can mean many different things, and, in fact, the most common 'Celtic' style where I live (Toronto, the largest city in the country) is actually Irish, and more than one style of Irish music at that. But I want my students to look beyond the borders of their home town, to get a feel for the country as a whole, for how fiddling developed from one end to the other. I want them to understand enough about how the various Canadian styles overlap and differ that they could go anywhere in Canada and be flexible enough and musical enough to adapt to whatever the local fiddle dialect is.

While it is beyond our scope here to give a comprehensive picture of the entire Canadian fiddling landscape, I will present a bird's eye view. Looking at the older styles first (pre-recording age), we have Newfoundland in the far east (pretty much a world unto itself stylistically), Cape Breton Scottish style which extends into Prince Edward Island and other pockets of Scottish settlement, several somewhat distinct French-Canadian and Aboriginal styles (Inuit, First Nations, and Métis), and an older layer of mixed Anglo/Scottish/Irish/American repertoire that tended to dominate English-speaking areas of the country. All of these save that of Newfoundland are loosely based on Scottish tradition, but some have evolved significantly away from source.[15] Further, the latter broad 'Anglo' style evolved in the twentieth-century recording age into what is now known generally as 'Old Time' music, the style of most competitions and fiddle clubs. It is a style that owes a great deal to the playing of one man who, by some quirk of fate, was the first to have a national

radio and television show starting in the early 1940s – Don Messer (originally from New Brunswick). Even further complicating this landscape are newer infusions of Irish, Scottish, American and Canadian styles into specific areas as a result of both commercialization and revival movements. Now, we could liken the whole situation to a sort of stew where we still have recognizable chunks of the original ingredients, but all of which are gradually breaking down more and more the longer it cooks.

Keeping all this in my mind, where do we start? Is there at least something all these styles have in common, some aspects we can agree on as basic principles of traditional fiddling in Canada? The fact that most of the older styles are Scottish-based helps, but current Irish practice can provide an element of disruption, creating conflicts of technique. However, we do have one core idea above all; that the fiddle is a rhythm instrument first and foremost. Most teaching ideas and methods can be related back to that as a starting point. I do not mean to oversimplify, or to deny the melodic intricacy of the music in any way, but since, traditionally, most tunes are an expression of a particular rhythmic groove to which people dance, and since, fortunately, there are a limited number of these grooves overall, rhythm provided the unifying principle I needed.

I think of the grooves as the heart and soul of the tradition. The wealth of stylistic detail – the body/muscle work, the bowing, the left hand, the modes and arpeggio patterns, the double-stringing, the ear work – can be taught within, and as a function of these grooves. Leaving slow airs aside, I think of these grooves, in virtually all Celtic-based traditions as four groups:

1. '2/4s' – in Canada, this includes 'straight' marches (duple subdivision, not triple), polkas, 2-steps, and reels – any type of tune where the beat divides evenly into 2, then 4.
2. Jigs – single, double, or slip (triplet subdivision of the beat).
3. Waltzes – 3 beats to a 'bar', dancers step on each beat. We have two different ways of subdividing waltz metre in Canada – duple (confined mainly to Québec) and triple (the rest of the country). The latter is actually 9/8 but is almost never written that way.
4. Hornpipes, strathspeys, 12/8 marches, foxtrots, swing tunes – essentially in 12/8, in a 'long-short' pattern, with 2 main beats per bar ('1-ee and a 2-ee and a').

This is not to say that a jig, for example, always feels the same whether you are in Newfoundland, Ontario, or Nunavut, which it decidedly does not. But that can be dealt with at the appropriate stage of the learning process. First of all, I just want students to be able to feel and play the beat in the four rhythms, starting on open strings, then moving into simple tunes. Gradually, they learn to do more and more things within that beat. While, at first, we learn basic tunes drawn from all areas of the country, at a certain intermediate stage we choose a style to work with for some time in order the get the bowings, ornaments, and the basic feel and sound for that style. I think of rhythm as being like a basket that we drop the notes into, or a room, a space that affects everything that goes on within it. Another way to think of it is

that rhythms in a certain style are like characters in a play: Mr Cape Breton Jig or Miss Ontario Two-step. The voices of these characters are the voices of our culture. Those characters may have new things to say at any given moment (new melodies), but they are always who they are underneath.

The beauty of starting with rhythm and referring everything back to it is that it gets people feeling good the first time they put bow to string. In fairly short order, they can play along (albeit on one note) with more advanced players. As they put fingers on, their fingers learn to land in time to the established rhythm. As they become able to slur, or play faster, every new bow or finger pattern, including scales and arpeggios, is learned within the particular groove. We keep going back to old tunes to add in new things – bowings, ornamentation, extra notes. By the second year or so, they can start to accent on off-beats, which, in my view, is where dance grooves start to come alive.[16] Students build up their tune repertoire progressively, always moving from rhythms into tunes so they can get their bow arm relaxed and get their best sound on one note before getting distracted by the fingering challenges. This way, tunes are always a function of the groove, so students learn to be freer with their fingering hand, making it easier to learn the art of variation and improvisation later on.

Of course, it is not quite that easy in practice. There is so much to think about on the violin: the two halves of your body are doing entirely different things, light here, heavy here, relax this muscle, make this one work harder. Over years of teaching, though, I gradually realized I could divide technical aspects into five basic areas:

1. The Bow
2. The Fingers
3. Scales, Modes and Arpeggios
4. Developing Rhythm
5. Developing Your Ear

Everything can be built up progressively in each of these five areas and, I believe, it is important to be working on all five areas all the time. So, not only do we need a progressive set of practice techniques for each of the five areas, but repertoire must be chosen with all five in mind, an interesting challenge.

Since, for me, traditional fiddling is about playing what you hear and not what you see, I do not use musical notation for the most part. We sing a lot, we draw tunes out in the air, and we learn how to transfer those sound shapes that we are 'drawing' onto the fiddle. I love reading music and cannot remember a time when I could not, but many of the rhythms of Celtic-based fiddle traditions in Canada are simply not capable of being notated accurately (or, at least, not in a way that anyone would want to try to read them). Nor can the page tell you how much bow to use or how much to stress certain notes, or even how to get the right basic sound. I do think people should read, eventually, but only after the various rhythmic 'personalities'

have taken up permanent residence in their body; then the 'golf clubs' on the page (to quote an African musician of my acquaintance), will be assigned to the appropriate character, or hung on the wall of the right room.

Teaching from rhythm as a starting point is not a new idea, especially in traditions from other parts of the world (African, Latin, Indian, and so on), but my attempt to create a fiddle teaching method based on it, which will work for all of the various styles we think of as Canadian, is somewhat unusual. It also immediately helps demarcate the difference between learning classical violin and learning fiddle. Further, by encouraging students to always work with their ears first in a rhythmic way, they are working from a different, more intuitive part of their brain than when they are reading music. I believe that teaching this way has the potential to create better musicians, not only with good internal rhythm, but with a healthy, relaxed technique based on understanding how one's body works, with the ability to listen to other players, and adapt what one is doing to the circumstances – in short, the ability to play what one hears. From here, our students can go anywhere.

Notes

[1] *Spirit of the Narrows* began as a solo storytelling/fiddling performance, but was re-written in 2004 as a two-person theatrical event for the Blyth Theatre Festival. It premiered at the Festival on 20 July 2004 for a 5-day run and was brought back in 2005.

[2] Anne Lederman, *Tamarack'er Down: A Guide to Celtic-Canadian Fiddling Through Rhythm,* 'Part 1: Beginner', 'Part 2: Intermediate' (Toronto: Falcon Productions, 2011); 'Part 3: Advanced' is in progress.

[3] See <www.patshaw.info/> [accessed 23 May 2011].

[4] All of the biographical information in this presentation comes from personal conversations over years of working with Dr Tom Anderson.

[5] In 1976, Aly Bain and Tom Anderson, accompanied by Violet Tulloch, produced a joint album, *The Silver Bow: Shetland Folk Fiddling*, Vol.1, 12-inch LP, Topic Records 12TS281.

[6] See Tom Anderson, *Ringing Strings* (Lerwick: Shetland Times, 1983), p. 12.

[7] For a detailed account of the teaching methods used in schools, see Pamela Sherman Swing, 'Fiddle Teaching in Shetland Isles Schools, 1973–1985' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Texas, 1991).

[8] Shetland's Young Heritage, *Visions*, cassette, Heritage SYH001, 1993; Shetland's Young Heritage, *Bridging the Gap*, cassette, Heritage SYH002, 1997.

[9] Running alongside her career as an artist, Catriona Macdonald is a lecturer at Newcastle University and directs the BMus (Hons) in Folk and Traditional Music.

[10] See <www.shetland-museum.org.uk/archiveCollections/> [accessed 23 May 2011].

[11] Paul Rolland was a Hungarian-born teacher of classical violin in the USA, who published his ideas on technique widely and helped found the American String Teachers Association. His seminal pedagogical work is *The Teaching of Action in String Playing* (New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1974).

[12] The view that styles of Scottish fiddling change according to geographic region is partly a myth, in my opinion, that is, North-East style, West-Coast style, Shetland style, etc. I believe that the situation often boils down to who the well-known teachers and players were in a particular area at a particular time, and who, therefore, had influence over other learners.

[13] See Anne Lederman, 'Old Native and Métis Fiddling in Manitoba: Origins, Structure and the Question of Syncretism', in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 8, no. 2 (1988), 205–30; rpt. in *Canadian Folk Music Journal*, 19 (1991), 40–60.

[14] Anne Lederman, 'Métis Fiddling: Found or Lost', in *Actes du colloque Gabriel Dumont: histoire et identité métisses*, ed. by Denis Gagnon, Denis Combet, and Lise Gaboury-Diallo (Winnipeg: Presses universitaires de Saint-Boniface, 2009), pp. 365–75.

[15] French Canadian and Aboriginal styles are known especially for their asymmetric forms and phrases.

[16] In my experience, most, if not all, dance musics throughout the world have both a basic pulse that dancers 'step' to, as well as 'off-beat' accents that encourage other parts of the body to move.

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Pat Ballantyne is a PhD researcher at the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, investigating connections and disconnections between dance and music in Scotland. A percussive step dancer who also holds a teaching qualification from the British Association of Teachers of Dance, she is a former music instructor who plays piano in a cèilidh dance band.

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Chris Goertzen, who teaches at the University of Southern Mississippi, is the author of *Fiddling for Norway: Revival and Identity* (1997), *Southern Fiddlers and Fiddle Contests* (2008), and *Made in Mexico: Tradition, Tourism, and Political Ferment in Oaxaca* (2010), and co-author of *Alice Person: Good Medicine and Good Music* (2009). He is now studying the history of American fiddle styles.

Lesley Ham is a graduate student at Indiana University in the Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology and the School of Journalism. She is interested in tradition and innovation, public folklore, revival movements, festivals, and museums. She plays the fiddle, attends Irish music sessions, and contra dances as often as possible at the Greenfield Grange in Greenfield, Massachusetts.

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Gaila Kirdienė is a teacher and senior researcher at Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Vilnius. She holds a Master's degree in Violin (1990) and Ethnomusicology (1992) from the Lithuanian Academy of Music, and a PhD in Ethnology from Vytautas Magnus University (1998). She has had research stays in Gottingen University, Germany, and the Belarusian State Academy of Music. Her research emphasizes folk fiddling.

Anne Lederman is a performer, composer, fiddle teacher and researcher, and formerly Associate Professor of Music at York University in Toronto. She is especially known for her work with Aboriginal fiddle traditions in Manitoba. Currently she runs a teaching programme for Canadian fiddle styles at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto.

Mats Melin is a Swedish-born traditional dancer, choreographer, and researcher, and worked in Scotland from 1995, moving to Ireland in 2005. He is Lecturer in Dance at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance at the University of Limerick. He holds an MA in Ethnochoreology (2005), and was awarded a PhD at the University of Limerick in 2012 for his research in Cape Breton step dance.

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Emma Nixon is a performer, teacher, and researcher who is particularly interested in Scottish fiddle music. She has completed a Master of Music in Folk and Traditional Music at Newcastle University (UK). She is currently undertaking a PhD at Monash University (Australia), researching methods of dissemination of traditional Scottish fiddling.

Ian Russell is Director of the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen. His research is focused on the traditional culture of North-East Scotland, including singing traditions, instrumental traditions, and local craft skills. He has also conducted extensive fieldwork in the English Pennines, especially into Christmas carolling. He was the convenor of NAFCo in 2001, 2006, and 2010.

Chris Stone is an Australian violinist/fiddler who has toured extensively and currently writes and performs with the new acoustic trio *The String Contingent.* He was the joint-recipient of the 2012 Australian National Folk Fellowship producing a CD and tunebook of Australian-Scottish fiddle music entitled 'Roots and All'. His other research interests include creativity in performance, performer/composers, and expanding the traditional role of the violin.

Claire White a Shetlander learned fiddle with Dr Tom Anderson and played as a member of Shetland's Young Heritage in Europe, New Zealand, the USA, and Canada. She now performs in music duo Blyde Lasses and ceilidh bands Danse McCabre and Jing Bang. An experienced tutor, she has taught in the UK and USA. By day, she works for BBC Scotland.

Index of Songs, Tunes, and Dances

General Index

Routes & Roots

fiddle and dance studies from around the north atlantic 4
edited by Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen

THIS VOLUME, the fourth in the series, is the result of the 2010 North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, held in Aberdeen, Scotland, its theme being 'Roots and Routes'. 'Roots' has traditionally suggested beginnings, attachment to place, and stasis in general, whereas 'routes' has encompassed travel, migration, and displacement – in short, movement. But the research contained in this volume strongly supports a more modern, nuanced understanding of 'roots': earlier times have already featured plenty of the operation of the dynamics of change. Since 'roots' were packed with 'routes' from the start, the journey from conference to published volume entailed inverting these terms' customary order: hence the current 'Routes & Roots'. Contributors also addressed many other topics in this volume, approaches that were generally aspects of or interacting with the main thrust. These included: the interrelatedness of fiddle and dance traditions and how they have long been transformed by processes of globalisation as well as complementary processes of self-conscious localization; historical influences and voices of change; the importance of place and how this relates to identity; the nature of performance and the role of the individual; innovation and virtuosity; socialisation and competition; the interplay of dance and music in performance, and the essential natures of performance styles and of transmission.

The North Atlantic, in providing a unifying frame for these studies, is not conceived in terms of boundaries that separate and divide peoples, but rather as corridors through which cultures have flowed and continue to flow in a process of exchange and communication.

This collection of papers, both fascinating and timely, brings new insights into the field of international folk music studies, and represents the diversity of current research. It deserves to be read widely by scholars and enthusiasts alike.
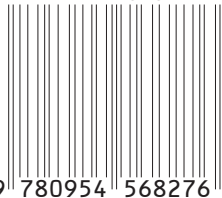
Cover: Nic Gareiss (dancer) and Caoimhín Ó Raghallaigh (fiddler) at the Blue Lamp, Aberdeen, NAFCo, 16 July 2010. Photo by Geoff Banks. Background detail from the 1661 map of 'The Old and New Towns of Aberdeen' by James Gordon of Rothiemay.